

BOOK REVIEWS

The Papers of Benjamin Franklin. Volumes 7-9 (October, 1756-December, 1761). LEONARD W. LABAREE, Editor; RALPH L. KETCHAM, Associate Editor (of Volume 7). (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963-1966. Illustrations, indexes. Each \$10.00.)

Reading other people's letters is fun. When I was a child, I was told never to do it; a person's letters, so my parents told me, were in a very special way his own private property. But in graduate school I was told that if I wanted to write a biography or a work of history, I must read as many relevant letters as possible, for they were often the most essential sources. I have been following my teachers' advice lately rather than my parents'. I have just been reading three volumes of the Labaree edition of the letters and papers of Benjamin Franklin. I have been having the time of my life. Many, perhaps most, people write dull letters, but never Franklin.

These three volumes include his papers from October, 1756, through December, 1761. During most of this period, Franklin was in London, as Agent for the Pennsylvania Assembly. It was a critical time in the colony's history. The Great War for the Empire was on. The Quakers had for the most part given up their control of the legislature and important military operations were under way in America in which Pennsylvania was involved—the attack on Fort Duquesne, the great battle on the Plains of Abraham. Though he was three thousand miles away from the fighting, Franklin had a crucial role to play, for it was through him that the Pennsylvania Assembly communicated with Parliament and with the Proprietors. Consequently, nearly half of Franklin's correspondence was taken up with official business. There are, for example, no fewer than forty-five long and important letters here from Isaac Norris, Speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly. The texts of these letters are almost all taken from letterbook copies in the Norris Papers at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Unfortunately, Norris was not so good a letter-writer as Franklin; there is a sentence in one of his letters that I should like to submit to the *New Yorker's* "Non-Stop Sentence Derby": it occupies no less than twenty-seven lines of type. Nevertheless, these and similar letters with Franklin's replies will provide historians of these important years with essential source material.

Besides carrying out his official duties as Agent, Franklin found time for many other activities. Some of his friends no doubt feared, as William Strahan, the London printer, did, that some of these activities might be carried on with one or another of the English ladies. Strahan even deliberately proposed to Deborah Franklin that she should come over to Britain

to look after her own interest. Of course, Franklin would try hard to be faithful, but "who knows," wrote Strahan, "what repeated and strong temptation may in time . . . accomplish?" (VII, 296).

One of the activities Franklin engaged in fairly constantly was the collection of honors. Though not yet fifty-five years old in 1759, he was awarded the degree of Doctor of Laws at St. Andrews' University, nominated to the Royal Society, admitted as a burgess and guild-brother to Edinburgh and Glasgow, and given the freedom of the burgh of St. Andrews. One hopes that Franklin was nowhere near so baffled by the Latin of his St. Andrews degree as most modern recipients of Latin degrees are. At the age of fifty-four in a far country Franklin was still given to playing jokes. When a friend complained of the great Baskerville's type that it tired the eyes because the strokes were all so narrow, he playfully tore the top off some sheets of Caslon's printing and displayed them as Baskerville's; the man promptly pointed out how narrow all the strokes were, although he had been reading Caslon's type all his life without feeling any pain (IX, 259-260). It is good to know that in far-off London Franklin still remembered with pleasure the old days of the Junto in Philadelphia. Writing to Hugh Roberts in 1761, he confessed that he still loved "Company, Chat, a Laugh, a Glass, and even a Song as well as ever," and expressed his hope that the Junto would be continued "as long as we are able to crawl together" (IX, 280).

The editorial work in these three volumes is as good as ever. Franklin's earlier editors all did as well as they could in their time, but somehow I think I can see William Temple Franklin, Jared Sparks, John Bigelow, and Albert Henry Smyth in Heaven (where they must all be) taking off their hats in admiration to Dr. Leonard Labaree and his collaborators.

Swarthmore College

FREDERICK B. TOLLES

Early Paper Money of America. By ERIC P. NEWMAN. (Racine, Wis.: Whitman Publishing Company, 1967. 360 p. Illustrations, appendixes, index. \$15.00.)

In the field of American numismatics probably no work has so long been needed as Eric Newman's exhaustive study covering the entire colonial and Continental paper currency series, and on which more than ten years has been devoted by the author. Earlier errors, which appeared in various writings, have been corrected, and practically all known definitive data is included herein to make this a most outstanding contribution to numismatic science. Mr. Newman has written many interesting and highly skilled studies over a period of twenty years, and this work must stand for generations to come as the acme of his efforts to focus attention and interest in this long-neglected phase of our heritage.

From the earliest emission in Massachusetts, in 1690, on through all colonial issues of each colony, to the final fractional issues of the Bank of

North America, in 1789, each issue is illustrated, numbering some 637. This in itself is an extremely difficult task, due to the extreme rarity of a number of the early eighteenth-century notes, some of which are unique, and of others but one or two specimens are known to exist. Illustrations are also included of all denominations of the Continental Congress issues, showing the various allegorical designs and mottoes used.

Data on the signers of all issues are included, with special emphasis in a separate section to those men who were signers of the Declaration of Independence or the Constitution, members of Congress, or who made significant contributions to our country's early history. Their signatures on specific denominations and issues provide a guide for those seeking such autographs and information. Another excellent feature of this fine work is the inclusion of amounts of each denomination struck, where such is available, for in some instances this information has been lost. Where certain denominations of notes were counterfeited, this important aspect has not been neglected, and is included where they are known to occur.

The introduction is complete and instructive, for therein is set forth a clear-cut description of the early "Paper Money Experiment," development and growth of the use of paper as a circulating medium of exchange, the basis upon which the notes were issued in the matter of security, interest payments, ultimate redemption, depreciation of the notes' value as it affected the colonists in their daily transactions. English restrictions and regulations on the issuance of paper money in the colonies as dictated by the British mercantile policy, and the continuing pressures to increase the amounts of paper in circulation demanded by the mounting costs of the Revolutionary War, together with the increase in trade and commerce, and a steady influx of settlers, are all clearly related and explained. Methods of redemption and destroying of the redeemed bills, facilities for printing and engraving of the notes, manufacturing processes for the manufacture of papers used, note designs, numbering, and explanations of the various mottoes and emblems are all carefully and accurately described.

At the end of each chapter, Mr. Newman has included a complete bibliography of his source material as a guide for those interested in further detailed studies of any particular colony. The jacket design is composed of photographs of a number of interesting notes, and is artistically executed. Appendixes showing the structure of the note sheets with plate letter positions are also valuable. Detailed descriptions of many counterfeit notes are given, along with tables of depreciation of values in various colonies from 1740 through 1783. A separate table shows the devaluation as it occurred during the war years of 1777 to 1781.

Values for notes generally obtainable in various conditions were compiled by B. M. Douglas and R. Picker, and these are also included, thus providing an excellent guide to present-day prices for collectors, gathered from a large number of private and auction sales throughout the country. There is no doubt that Mr. Newman's work will stand as the final word in the previously

little-explored field of colonial paper money, covering every facet for the historian and collector for many years to come.

Newfoundland, Pa.

RICHARD T. HOOBER

Old Philadelphia Houses on Society Hill, 1750-1840. By ELIZABETH B. McCALL. (New York: Architectural Book Publishing Company, 1966. 192 p. Illustrations, index. \$12.50.)

It seems hardly necessary to mention that Philadelphia is a city rich in architecture; examples of virtually every period of American architectural history are to be found within the city limits. The urban renewal program, which, in the last fifteen years, has changed the face of the center city area, has made it possible for many handsome domestic buildings to be returned to their original function as residences. Until recently, little notice was taken of many of these buildings except to record them as antiquarians' curiosities of interest largely for their genealogical connections.

Elizabeth B. McCall has written a book in response to a definite need; and, in *Old Philadelphia Houses on Society Hill, 1750-1840*, she presents a survey of buildings in the neighborhood to the southeast of Independence Hall generally designated as Society Hill, where there exist more eighteenth-century and early-nineteenth-century buildings than in any comparable area in the country. Mrs. McCall draws attention to the revitalization of this urban residential district; and while her book does not pretend to be an architectural study, she documents and records a number of landmarks in what is rightfully considered to be America's "most historic square mile." Although this is essentially a picture book, an introductory chapter, formed of notes previously published by the Old Philadelphia Development Corporation, outlines the evolution of Philadelphia houses through a chronology of style indicated by variations in brickwork, cornices, doorways, windows, shutters, and so on. The main part of the book is devoted to short studies of specific houses, arranged alphabetically, an order which is easy to follow, but which may bewilder the architecturally inclined. Early, late, and modern (reproduction) houses are intermingled. Churches and some public buildings in the area are also included, a fact serving to remind the reader that a residential neighborhood is composed of more than dwelling houses. In the selection of these illustrations, the author indicates the various forces—the various means of endeavor—which have brought about the preservation projects considered to be part of the urban renewal program. The Powel house, for instance—saved and maintained by the privately supported Philadelphia Society for the Preservation of Landmarks—and the Old Market, restored by the city, complement the buildings restored under the auspices of the National Park Service. Private restorations are perhaps the most significant, for it is these houses again being used as residences that have restored the character as well as the fabric of the neighborhood. Among

those discussed are the row of houses in Bell's Court, the Carson houses on Washington Square, the charming small house of Mr. and Mrs. C. Jared Ingersoll, and even an old tavern, *The Man Full of Trouble*. Demonstrating satisfactory solutions to the problem of maintaining houses too large to operate as residences are the Morris house, used as a guest house by N. W. Ayer & Son, the Cadwalader and Shippen-Wistar houses, now the headquarters of the Mutual Assurance Company, and the house on Fourth Street built and still used as the offices of the Philadelphia Contributionship. New houses, such as those of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Miller Watts and Mr. and Mrs. Richardson Dilworth, further illustrate the interest of Philadelphians in resurrecting what had been a blighted area.

Written by an experienced journalist, the studies of these buildings are handled in an interesting, if not scholarly, style. Making use of the guide-book technique, the author gives addresses and the times when certain of the houses are open to the public. The end papers feature a map of Society Hill. The descriptions have the flair of real estate advertisements, listing such interior details as the number of rooms on a floor, the number of baths, whether there is an unusual mantel in the main room or access to a garden. Whenever possible, Mrs. McCall has quoted insurance surveys in order to describe the features of the houses in terms familiar to their builders. In almost every case the history of ownership is given, but unfortunately there is little in the text of interest to the architectural historian. There is a good index, no footnotes, legends are repeated, and, perhaps unavoidably, some mistakes in fact. It is surprising that a book on this subject would refer to the noted Philadelphia antiquarian John Fanning Watson as James F. Watson.

The book serves a real purpose in recording the progress of the Society Hill restoration and in arousing interest in this important and significant project. It is not an inexpensive book, and therefore one might wish that the photographs were better and the printing of a higher quality. Nonetheless, the reader gains the privilege of seeing the interiors of many interesting buildings, and is inspired to visit them if possible. Mrs. McCall quotes Struthers Burt's description of the Cadwalader house as "modest, but still noble," a most appropriate characterization of Philadelphia architecture, which deserves many more books. It is hoped that Mrs. McCall's work will be followed by that of others.

Winterthur Museum

JOHN A. H. SWEENEY

The Road To Independence: The Revolutionary Movement in New York, 1773-1777. By BERNARD MASON. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1966. xii, 279 p. Appendix, note on sources, index. \$7.50.)

The colony and period covered by this book and the approach are accurately indicated by its subtitle and chapter headings: Royal Influence in

New York; Division into Tory and Whig; Crystallization of the Revolutionary Spirit; The Tide Sets for Independence; Government prior to the Constitution of 1777; and Framing the Constitution.

There is an interesting introduction largely concerned with the maneuvering in New York City as to what to do in the crisis precipitated by the British Tea Act of 1773 and the British East India Company's decision to ship tea to America for sale on its own account. There is also a brief concluding chapter, *Reconsiderations*, in which Mason emphasizes one of the main theses of his study: "The Revolution in New York was not primarily a question of which class would control the state. For the Whig leadership of landed magnates, merchants, lawyers, and middle-class freeholders, it was a war of liberation. . . . But the very nature of the conflict with the parent nation opened the door to power to the middle-class farmers, who were learning political self-reliance and independence."

The book has a two-fold value. It successfully rounds out the accounts of the political developments in New York in Becker *The History of Political Parties in New York . . . 1760-1776* (1909) and the recent excellent studies by Dangerfield, Gerlach, Klein, Morris, Varga, Lynde, and Champagne, cited on page 264 of Mason's book. It also points out in an Appendix (pp. 253-255) a number of errors in Flick *Loyalism in New York During the American Revolution* (1901) and, unobtrusively, here and there, several in Becker. The correction of Flick is relatively unimportant because students of the period have long since learned to take his work with a considerable grain of salt. But Becker's *History* has stood up so well over the years as to be justly considered a classic, and the corrections, noted below, firmly documented by Mason, are therefore a highly valuable contribution.

Becker—As to Cumberland County New York, "there is no record of any action on the Association [the Continental Association of 1774] until after the battle of Lexington" (p. 173). Mason—In March, 1775, Whigs in Cumberland county elected a committee to try (though unsuccessfully) to execute the Association (p. 9).

Becker (p. 194) indicates that the New York City Committee of Sixty took no action on receipt of news of the battle of Lexington except to publish a circular calling for a new committee. Mason—The Committee of Sixty immediately dispatched an express with the news of the battle and other pertinent developments to the like Committee at Philadelphia (p. 70).

Becker—The election of members of the New York Assembly in January, 1775 "aroused but little interest" (p. 242). Mason—The election aroused much interest (p. 129).

Becker—Only seventy-six delegates, representing ten counties, were elected to the second New York Provincial Congress in the fall of 1775 (pp. 232, 238). Mason—Eighty delegates, representing twelve counties, were elected (114-117).

Becker—The resolution of the Second Continental Congress in March, 1776, that all who refused to "defend by force of arms these United Colonies" be disarmed, "by the end of April had scarcely been attended to at

all" in New York (p. 262). Mason—The resolution had been attended to by this time, at least to some extent, in seven counties (p. 144).

Becker—In the Fourth New York Provincial Council "about one-third of the deputies were new men" (p. 274). Mason—Only eight of the one hundred and six members were new men (p. 182).

Singly, none of these corrections is of importance; but, excepting the last, collectively they are significant as evidencing that Becker's picture of the New York Whigs as sluggish must be modified.

Mason's book is admirably free from inaccuracies, but I note that he repeatedly cites Sabine *Memoirs of William Smith* without volume number whereas there are two published volumes of the *Memoirs*, and in his citations of entries in the second volume, he cites the manuscript instead of the published volume, though these entries have been printed in the second published volume.

Chester, Conn.

BERNHARD KNOLLENBURG

Revolutionary Doctor: Benjamin Rush, 1746-1813. By CARL BINGER. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1966. 326 p. Illustration, bibliography, index. \$7.95.)

Although Benjamin Rush is one of the lesser lights of the American Revolution and the ensuing Federal period, his life has always attracted considerable interest. It is easy to understand the appeal of this fervent and vigorous man, who signed the Declaration of Independence, served in the medical department of the Revolutionary Army, fell out with George Washington but kept a lifelong friendship with John Adams and Thomas Jefferson and effected their eventual reconciliation. His contributions lay in the areas of political endeavor, social reform, science and medicine. He was an early leader in the fight in America for criminal reform and the abolition of slavery, and his writings on alcoholism have earned him a claim to the title of the founder of the temperance movement. In the educational field, he was actively responsible for founding Dickinson College and played a lesser role for the Franklin and Marshall College. More generally, he advocated tax-supported education for poor children and believed strongly in the improved education of women. Rush is better known perhaps for his work as the first professor of chemistry in this country, his dynamic instruction to thousands of medical students who were drawn to Philadelphia, his monistic and mistaken theory of disease which led to his energetic and alarming bloodletting, and finally, but not least, his psychiatric reforms, teaching, and writings.

Such is the man that Carl Binger has undertaken to describe in this new biography. Dr. Binger is a distinguished psychiatrist and psychoanalyst, well known in his profession for his medical writings but more widely known for his book *The Doctor's Job* (1945). How well I remember the impact of

this book when I read it as a fledgling medical student in 1946. Certain characteristics mark that work of Binger's. Written with an easy eloquence, the book glows with an understanding warmth and humaneness that is accompanied by good balance and a scholarly soundness. I am happy to report that Binger's new book follows his own excellent precedent. Rush comes to life as a unique person and against the social ferment of his time. Based largely on published sources (especially Rush's autobiography and published letters), Binger sketches the broad outlines of Rush's life and fills in the details by the frequent use of Rush's own words, which he skillfully and unobtrusively weaves into his narrative. No new documentary information of any significance comes to light; one can find more detailed information in Nathan F. Goodman's out of print and scarce *Benjamin Rush: Physician and Citizen* (1934), but one will only turn to Goodman's much duller book for reference information, while one will read Binger not only for knowledge but for pleasure. Binger makes it clear that he is not trying to write a definitive biography, but says, "instead, I have tried to reveal the significant facets of Benjamin Rush's personality and character as they are highlighted by the important events in his life."

Rush's character is a fascinating one. One never doubts his courage, but this was coupled with an intense singlemindedness of purpose and an equally strong conviction that he was correct in his course. Such self-righteous aggressiveness did much to create the stormy episodes that are described in Binger's biography. This, combined with his lack of humor and his sensitivity to the slights and onslaughts from others, might have led him to become an intensely bitter old man, but his inner integrity and the mellowing process of age left him less avid, more skeptical but also more tolerant. Rush was so lacking in insight into his own personality that he tempts one to apply psychoanalytic insights in order to get a more satisfactory picture of this man than he himself provides. Binger does this, but aware that heavy-handed psychoanalytic interpretation has ruined many a biography, he brings his special knowledge to bear with skill and care. For the most part Rush portrays himself, and Binger only occasionally does some gentle probing: analyzing Rush's dreams, for example. The book shows at its best the use of psychoanalytic knowledge in producing a sound, readable, humanistic biography. It deserves to be in the hands of interested readers everywhere and in the public and university libraries throughout the land. An up-to-date bibliography, an index, and a handsome design add to the value and appeal of this book.

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ERIC T. CARLSON

George Washington's Map Maker: A Biography of Robert Erskine. By ALBERT H. HEUSSER. Edited and Introduced by HUBERT G. SCHMIDT. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1966. xix, 268 p. Introduction, maps, index. \$10.00.)

This biography of Robert Erskine by Albert H. Heusser is obviously a "labor of love," and since it is not the usual scholarly biography reviewed in the *Magazine*, a statement about the author seems required. During the fifteen or so years prior to 1920, Heusser, a local news reporter in his home town of Paterson, New Jersey, acquired a printing business and became interested in local history. Apparently by chance he was employed in 1920 by the Hewitt family of Ringwood to trace the history of the "manor" there. While engaged in this research and in subsequent assignments, he came across numerous Erskine papers. Encouraged by Erskine Hewitt, Heusser began writing a biography of Erskine which was published in 1926 in serial form in the magazine *Americana*. His pay was in the form of two thousand reprints to which he added an introduction and an index, and had the work bound and published in 1928 under the title *The Forgotten General*. Professor Hubert G. Schmidt of Rutgers University is editor of the new edition.

Robert Erskine was born in Dunfermline, Scotland, in 1735, attended the University of Edinburgh briefly in 1748 and in 1752, and then went to London. Until he left England for America in 1771, details of his life are scanty. An early venture in the hardware business failed, but he later achieved success as an engineer, specializing in hydraulics and inventing water pumps. The author gives no information as to how Erskine acquired his competence; his scientific achievements, however, led to his election as a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1771.

Sometime in 1769 or 1770, Erskine was asked by the British owners to take over the management of the American Iron Company. The company was supposed to produce pig iron, potash, and other commodities at Ringwood, Long Pond, and Charlotteburg, with its activities centered at the manor in Ringwood. Erskine arrived in New Jersey in 1771, and although he was moderately successful in making the enterprise solvent he had not achieved his goals when the Revolutionary War began.

Erskine was prompt to organize a local militia company in 1775, and the following year offered suggestions to his superiors as to how various obstructions could be used to prevent the British from using the harbors and rivers along the coast, especially the Hudson. General Washington somehow learned of his surveying and map-making ability, and Erskine was commissioned as the first Geographer and Surveyor General to the American Army on July 27, 1777. Before his early death on October 2, 1780, he had drawn more than two hundred maps of vital military sectors in New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania. Most of the Erskine maps are at the New-York Historical Society, and a list as well as several reproductions of the maps are included in the book.

Since Heusser was neither a trained historian nor a literary craftsman, the writing lacks many of the qualities usually found in a standard biography. He used many quotations, some of which are irrelevant, and on occasion strayed momentarily from his subject to include an item which could be justified only as a whim of the author. This reviewer wishes that there were more information on many facets of Erskine's life. It is apparent

that Heusser did his best to locate the extant material, and for his effort biographers should be grateful. Erskine's role as a map maker is encompassed in two of the fourteen chapters. But Erskine was more than a map maker: he was also an excellent engineer and iron master, and his contributions in supplying iron products to the Revolutionary forces may have been equally significant. Mr. Schmidt has corrected factual errors and commented on Heusser's peculiar interpretations. His edition may prompt someone to write a definitive biography of Erskine.

Kansas State Teachers College of Emporia

JOHN J. ZIMMERMAN

The Papers of Alexander Hamilton. Volumes 10-11 (December, 1791-June, 1792). HAROLD C. SYRETT, Editor; JACOB E. COOKE, Associate Editor. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966. xix, 615 p.; xiv, 657 p. Illustrations, indexes. \$12.50 each.)

The contents of these two volumes, like those of the four volumes immediately preceding them, consist largely of documents relating to the administration of the Treasury. However, there are some notable exceptions. One is the Report on Manufactures which takes up 362 pages of volume ten. The first document is a draft by Tench Coxe which was found in the Tench Coxe papers now on deposit in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The Coxe draft is followed by four drafts by Hamilton. These various drafts between the fall of 1790 and December, 1791, when the report was delivered to Congress, are evidence of the extraordinary care with which the subject was considered and the large role manufactures played in Hamilton's economic planning. However, the difficulties of developing manufactures are illustrated in other papers relating to the ever-worsening plight of the Society for Establishing Useful Manufactures with which Hamilton was so much concerned.

Another remarkable document is Hamilton's lengthy defense of the excise tax on liquor in March, 1792. He writes page after page to prove that the tax is not contrary to the "principles of liberty" in an effort to counter the rising antagonism that was to lead to the Whiskey Rebellion of 1794. The letters from William Short in Europe continue to reveal much about the international finance and the handling of the American debt. There are several letters relating to the collapse of William Duer and the financial panic of 1792. Here Jefferson split with Hamilton over the latter's efforts to maintain the price of government bonds, a split spelled out at length in Hamilton's long letter to Edward Carrington in May, 1792, in which he denounces both Jefferson and Madison as hypocritical politicians.

On a quite different level are the letters relating Hamilton's squalid affair with Maria Reynolds. The editors print in their chronological place the letters between Hamilton and his mistress and her blackmailing husband. Hamilton himself published these letters in a pamphlet in 1797 to defend

his public integrity, perhaps one of the most remarkable actions ever taken by an American political leader. The letters should at least give some comfort to people like the English historian J. H. Plumb who recently complained that "an English historian must tiptoe as he draws near the American Pantheon, stuffed as it is with white marmoreal figures—austere, virtuous, dedicated," men whose private lives were apparently quite unlike those of English rulers and leaders such as Elizabeth I, James I, Lloyd George, and others.

University of Wisconsin

MERRILL JENSEN

Patrons and Patriotism: The Encouragement of the Fine Arts in the United States, 1790-1860. By LILLIAN B. MILLER. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966. xv, 335 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$8.50.)

Any study of "the Encouragement of the Fine Arts in the United States, 1790-1860," as this book is subtitled, is bound to be complex; this study is no exception. The art history of that era is so complicated with all sorts of cross-currents and eddys that no mainstream is immediately apparent, and there is a real danger of its becoming a morass of conflicting quotations from half-forgotten controversialists. Yet I think if we take care to keep above the struggling factions and take a broad overall view of what was going on, two quite clearly distinguishable currents of thought can be made out; once recognize them and their interactions, and all the seeming confusion is soon clarified. Put most simply, the central issue being fought out in those years was, What Is Art?—that is, what is the nature and purpose of the activity we call art, and what is it that those we call artists are supposed to be doing in and for society?

One side in the controversy held that art was an activity growing naturally and inevitably out of the needs of society, and that as the social needs to be served changed, not only would the forms of any given art change accordingly—as styles in painting, for instance—but also the relative importance of the various arts would shift: in one age painting may be the dominant art, in another it might be sculpture, in another furniture or architecture or whatever. Opposed to this view were those who held that art was something "High," something above the ordinary concern of living, something spelt with a capital "A". These people tended in consequence to believe also in certain ages as being "classic," and held that whatever was characteristic of those "classic" ages—both the kind of art and the particular forms of it that then predominated—was good for all time to come, so that any age or culture which failed to produce similar things was therefore provincial, decadent, or barbaric as the case might be. Either Professor Miller herself was not entirely aware that the interaction of these two currents is the theme of her book, or her professional objectivity as a historian led her to obscure it; in any case, it would have helped had she made the

point directly and plainly at the beginning, for if you read the book with this basic principle in mind, you will find enlightenment on every page.

You will see how in the earliest Republic, under the stimulus of the Revolution, the idea of art growing and changing in response to social needs—"democratic" was a favorite word for it—predominated. This is what Franklin meant when he said that "To America, one schoolmaster is worth a dozen poets, and the invention of a machine or the improvement of an implement is of more importance than a masterpiece of Raphael . . ." (i.e., the mechanical arts were properly the predominant art form for that time and place). This is the point of William Tudor's idea in 1816 that "the influence of the fine arts could be felt in many industries" and of those others who "emphasized the relationship between improvement in manufactures and proficiency in the arts of design" (p. 22). This is why John Quincy Adams urged that the decoration of the Capitol should be an "obvious and intelligible" expression of the "duties of the Nation or its Legislators." Art growing naturally out of the needs of the people was the inspiration for the famous lotteries of the American Art-Union, to which Professor Miller devotes an excellent chapter, and the reason for their success; this principle too was responsible for the first (and perhaps the last) great flowering of a truly American painting in the middle years of the nineteenth century, when every city had its own vigorous artistic life (as Professor Miller demonstrates in separate chapters devoted to them) without being dominated by any one center, as has ever since been the sad case.

But there was always an undercurrent of opposition from the champions of High Art. John Trumbull was an early example of it, with his notions of a Grand Style and an Academy which "increasingly . . . became an exclusive club inaccessible to both the ordinary citizen and the aspiring artist" (p. 95). Men of his stamp, preferring to see all painting suffer than to have "vulgar" and "low" painters flourish, were instrumental in destroying the Art-Union and all its potential. And as you go through the pages of *Patrons and Patriotism* you will find many more examples of both sides among patrons as well as painters. On the whole, the champions of a socially useful art prevailed until the Civil War; but once American self-confidence had been shaken by that catastrophe, the purveyors of High Art moved in, and they have dominated the American scene ever since. That, however, is another story, and another book. I would like to see Professor Miller write it, for she has certainly done an excellent job with this one.

University of Victoria, B. C.

ALAN GOWANS

The Monroe Doctrine and American Expansionism 1843-1849. By FREDERICK MERK with the collaboration of LOIS BANNISTER MERK. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966. xxiv, 290 p. Illustrations, index. \$6.95.)

Human behavior is often determined by phantasy. The imagination provides "facts" which have little reality but which seem highly significant.

Such was the situation which guided much of American foreign policy in the 1840's, the romantic age of Manifest Destiny.

The prevailing interest was one in territorial expansion but it was one plagued by fear. The American government responding to popular enthusiasm wanted Texas, Oregon, California, and areas in the Caribbean. But it was beset by apprehension that monarchical Europe, particularly Great Britain and France, was determined to thwart and confine us, even to the extent of interfering with our domestic arrangements, particularly slavery which they wished to destroy. Motivated therefore by desires for expansion and security, the Tyler, Polk, and Pierce administrations proceeded to formulate a foreign policy. The Monroe Doctrine which dedicated the American hemisphere to national autonomy for the various republics must be maintained by the United States, at the same time that it was fulfilling its manifest destiny by spreading its beneficent system over ever wider areas occupied by aboriginal and less fortunate white or mixed societies.

This ambition was not easy to achieve. It was expensive, it involved bloodshed and it aroused sectional rivalry between free states and slave states and thus made American politics dangerous to the point of threatening the permanence of the Union. In order to justify expansion the leaders of the Democratic Administrations, particularly James Knox Polk, produced an official justification, namely that Great Britain and France were threatening our peace and safety. Our expansion measures were necessary for national defense against traditional enemies.

Dr. Merk has made a most meticulous and comprehensive search of the evidence existing here and abroad and concludes that so much of the cited supporting evidence was just not true and at best it scantily supported the accompanying assertions. Whether President Polk was, as was asserted at the time, "mendacious," or merely gifted with a great capacity to think true what was convenient is anyone's guess. He does not appear to have possessed a highly critical judgment, he was in fact a romantic of a romantic age. The prevailing credulity goes far to explain the reasons why the nation was headed for the disaster of 1860-1865. The comprehensiveness of the study arouses our admiration, such a complete well-articulated analysis has not before been published; it includes all phases of our expansive and defensive experience. The American Nation, it was proclaimed, was beset particularly on its periphery by aggressors. "The best way to hold off [the aggressors] was to acquire the periphery," from Cuba to Oregon. It is remarkable how much of it was secured.

University of Pennsylvania

ROY F. NICHOLS

James K. Polk: Continentalist, 1843-1846, Volume 2. By CHARLES SELLERS. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966. x, 513 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index, \$12.50.)

In this, the second volume of his planned trilogy on the life of James K. Polk, Professor Sellers has further enhanced his reputation as a political biographer. The fact that the subject of his study was among the least self-revelatory of all American statesmen and that he was all but devoid of colorful or attractive personal qualities did not ease Sellers' task. Nevertheless, the portrait that emerges—of a man who was narrow, devious, humorless, reserved, intensely ambitious, and utterly self-sufficient—is firmly etched. That such a man could win election to the presidency, bring to that office an enlarged concept of presidential powers, and impose his policies on a discordant party and a reluctant Congress strains our credulity, unless we are prepared to recognize the quite indomitable nature of Polk's will and his amazing political acumen.

The volume begins with Polk seemingly in eclipse following his second successive defeat for the governorship of Tennessee and concludes three years later with the first ominous debate on the Wilmot Proviso. In between we are guided through the intricate maneuvers that secured for Polk the presidential nomination and are fully apprised of the political machinations that brought the divisive issue of the annexation of Texas to the fore. Victorious by the narrowest of margins in an election that could scarcely have constituted a mandate for bold policies, Polk was determined "to be *myself* President of the United States." Accordingly, he sought to create an administration of which he would be the undisputed master. Contending against formidable obstacles raised up against him by Calhounites, Van Burenites, and other worthy adversaries, he soon consummated the annexation of Texas, forced Great Britain to a compromise solution of the Oregon dispute, brought about war with Mexico, and secured the enactment of the Walker tariff and his "constitutional treasury" bill. With considerable justification, Sellers describes the first session of the Twenty-Ninth Congress as "the most remarkable congressional session of the nineteenth century" and commends Polk for "a brand of presidential legislative leadership that the country would not see again until the time of Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson."

The major theme of the volume is Polk's "continental vision." Proclaiming in his inaugural address the "clear and unquestionable claim" of the United States to all of Oregon and setting his sights on the acquisition of California and such other portions of Mexico as might be obtained, Polk was willing to risk—or provoke—war in order to achieve his ends. Of his vision and aggressiveness there can be no doubt. But Sellers is unable to explain what inspired such a vision in Polk; we learn only that it was "silently conceived," and the silence remains. A second theme, which Sellers handles expertly, is the eruption of the slavery issue, with its consequent sectional antagonisms and party disruptions. The villain was John C. Calhoun, who calculatingly exploited the Texas and Oregon questions in order to solidify the proslavery South under his demoniacal leadership.

Admirably written and authoritative in its handling of each major episode, this study is exciting as well as informative and heightens our sense of anticipation as we await the concluding volume.

Rutgers, The State University

RICHARD P. McCORMICK

The Architectural Heritage of Early Western Pennsylvania. By CHARLES MORSE STOTZ. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1966. xix, 293 p. Illustrations, bibliography, list of structures, map, index. \$17.50.)

This large and attractive volume is essentially a reissue of one first published in 1936 under the title *The Early Architecture of Western Pennsylvania*. Fiske Kimball's original introduction has been retained as a foreword, while the author's earlier foreword, rewritten to take into account the present status of some of the buildings illustrated in the first edition, now serves as the introduction. In other respects the text and illustrations are unchanged.

Even the Great Depression had its benefits, among them the enforced leisure that permitted some of the country's most competent architects to devote time to making measured drawings of historic structures. A number of Philadelphia's buildings were recorded in this way, and such a survey, undertaken in 1932 by the Pittsburgh Chapter of the American Institute of Architects, forms the basis of Stotz's book. In recognition of the permanent value of projects of this kind, the federal government in the 1930's established on a continuing basis the Historic American Buildings Survey as part of the National Park Service, and the list of buildings in the twenty-seven counties of Western Pennsylvania recorded in the HABS Catalogs of 1941 and 1958 has appropriately been appended to this new edition.

In the thirty-year interval between the two editions of his book, the author has been elected a Fellow of the American Institute of Architects and is said to have had a part in nearly every major restoration project undertaken by the State in the area under discussion. Such recognition is well deserved, for Stotz's text shows a knowledge of architectural history and an ability to write intelligibly about it that is all too rare in books of this kind. Part I is devoted to brief but helpful discussions of the historical background of the early architecture of Western Pennsylvania, the origins and development of the principal styles found there, and a somewhat longer section on the early builders, their methods and materials. In Part II specific categories of architecture are selected for examination and illustration: log buildings; Late Georgian houses; domestic architecture of the Greek Revival; accessory structures (i.e., barns, springhouses, smoke houses, and the like) and architectural details. Taverns, bridges, canal structures, and toll houses are grouped together as the "Architecture of Transportation." The communities established by the Harmony Society, Harmony and Economy

(the latter recently restored under the direction of Stotz and Ralph E. Griswold, landscape architect and member of the original survey committee), are given a separate chapter, as are institutional buildings (schools and churches) and government and military structures. The illustrative material consists of approximately 500 photographs and drawings, some quite small as befits details, but many full-page.

Several general impressions are suggested by even a cursory examination of this notable collection of buildings from Western Pennsylvania. The first is of the architectural excellence of a number of the structures illustrated. The Joseph Dorsey house near Brownsville (c. 1787) or the Manchester house near West Middletown (1815) are notable examples of the Late Georgian style, while the William Croghan house in Pittsburgh (built c. 1835 and now demolished) or the United States Bank of Pennsylvania in Erie (1839) are as handsome representatives of the Greek Revival as could be found anywhere. As might be expected from their geographical location, none of the major structures can be dated before the Revolution, and in many cases there is readily apparent a considerable "stylistic lag" when the buildings of Western Pennsylvania are compared with those of the cities on the Atlantic seaboard. For example, the projecting central pavilion and flanking dependencies identify "Mt. Braddock," the important Isaac Meason house near Uniontown (1802), as belonging to the High (Middle) Georgian style that appeared in Philadelphia and elsewhere in the East a full half-century before.

One is also struck by the exclusively classical basis of the styles of most of the major buildings illustrated, whether the Roman forms of the Georgian (Renaissance) style or the Greek ones of the later so-called "Revival." Despite the comparatively late terminal date of 1860, the survey offers little that could be considered "Gothic," aside from St. Peter's in Brownsville (1844). And there is nothing at all of the Egyptian, "Oriental," or Italianate styles, so popular during the latter part of this period. Some of this apparent lack may be due to the conservative character of the arts in this western area of Pennsylvania, but it would not be surprising if in 1932 those conducting the survey had little interest in seeking out these more exotic styles. Stotz was probably expressing the prevailing view of the architectural profession at that time when he described "the Gothic Revival period, from 1850 to 1860, [as of] little importance architecturally and heralding a worldwide decline in architectural taste and vitality" (p. 17).

The superb measured drawings that provided a large part of the reason for being of the 1936 edition do not appear to have suffered by republication, but most of the photographs have lost much of their original excellence. This is a fault common to many of the books now being reissued in considerable numbers, but one the public at large seems willing to overlook in order to have readily available at acceptable prices such invaluable studies as this.

The Brandywine Home Front During the Civil War, 1861-1865. By NORMAN B. WILKINSON. (Wilmington, Del.: Printed by the Kaumagraph Company for the Historical Society of Delaware, 1966. vi, 171 p. Illustrations. \$6.50.)

Life on the home front in the North during the Civil War has not received the attention that writers have given to it in the South. This book helps fill that gap and, besides, shows how the du Pont family contributed to the war effort personally, as well as in supplying a vital war material. Henry du Pont, head of the powder works, was a major general in the Delaware militia; Admiral Samuel F. du Pont, a career naval officer, commanded the Atlantic blockading squadron and later a major attack on Charleston; Lammot, an active member of the firm, made a difficult and successful trip to England to secure 3,000,000 pounds of desperately needed saltpeter, and was a captain in the home guard; and Henry A. du Pont, a recent West Point graduate and an officer in the Regular artillery, served with distinction in the field, winning a Congressional Medal of Honor at Cedar Creek.

The du Pont powder mills supplied two-fifths of all the black powder used by the Union. Since the top price paid by the government was twenty-four cents per pound, and the saltpeter alone cost du Pont fifteen cents, it may be seen that only careful management enabled the firm to make any profit at all, if indeed they did. On several occasions the mills were threatened by the enemy—when Lee invaded the North in 1862 and 1863, and by a cavalry raid in 1864. Though no Confederate troops ever reached the area, the danger was real, and caused something like a panic in the community. Sabotage was always a threat; once two probable enemy agents were caught in the area, but their guilt was not established. A series of explosions that wrecked some of the mills and killed workmen were thought to have been accidents, but in such instances the evidence is always blown sky high.

There were diverse industries along the Brandywine, including paper, textile, machinery, and other factories, and even then, over a hundred years ago, they were dumping chemical refuse into the stream, causing a stench but apparently not a serious health hazard. Then, as now, the citizens were unable to exert sufficient influence to abate the nuisance. This is only one of the phases of the social and economic life of civilians in wartime described by Dr. Wilkinson, but it must be conceded that the book is more of local interest than for the general reader. The author shows, in his opening to Part III, for example, that he is capable of some really beautiful descriptive passages, but he only gives a slight taste of this. I would have appreciated, too, more on the du Ponts, something (other than their letters) that would have made them come to life, but presume this was not the purpose of the book.

There are numerous contemporary pictures and maps, and the sources consist chiefly of the correspondence of the du Ponts and excerpts from local newspapers. One of the principal merits of the book is the data on

powder production, which furnishes a needed reminder that the nation has been well served by its producers of strategic war materials.

Historical Times, Inc.

WILBUR S. NYE

Mankind and Medicine: A History of Philadelphia's Albert Einstein Medical Center. By MAXWELL WHITEMAN. (Philadelphia: Albert Einstein Medical Center, 1966. xiv, 269 p. Illustrations, notes on sources. \$5.00.)

Institutional historiography is, of course, beset with a particular set of potential pitfalls for the historian and his readers alike. Abject subservience to parochial interests, on the historian's part, tends to alienate the potential nonparochial reader, whereas a larger frame of reference that might engage the attention of the latter may result in the sacrifice of some data that the parochialist would regard as fundamental. It seems to the present reviewer of this book that its author has been, on the whole, remarkably successful in producing an institutional biography that should be of absorbing interest to the immediate family and, at the same time, be found rewarding by those with general sociological interests. It is, in brief, the story of a successful Philadelphia Jewish socio-medical experiment set in the frame of the developing Jewish community at large.

The chapter headings are, in general, but meagre guides to the contents: "Between War and Peace"; "A Hospital Emerges"; "Men, Medicine and Nurses"; "The Twentieth Century"; "A New Era"; "The Downtown Hospital"; "A New Hospital in an Old District"; "Depression, Transition and War"; "The Advent of the Einstein Medical Center."

The first chapter sets the stage for the formal organization of the Jewish Hospital Association, in February, 1865, and for the purchase of a hospital site in West Philadelphia in the same year. The next chapter deals with the West Philadelphia years (mid-summer, 1866–September, 1873) of the Jewish Hospital—"unquestionably dedicated to be 'free to the suffering poor of all religions'"; and with the removal of the Jewish Hospital and Home for the Aged and Infirm to North Philadelphia, at the site of the present Einstein Medical Center.

The third chapter deals with developments, including the institution of a Dispensary, the Lucien Moss Home for Incurables of the Jewish Faith, and a Nurses Training School, in the remaining years of the 19th century. The next chapter covers the ever-expanding plant, services, staff in, roughly, the first quarter of the present century.

"The Downtown Hospital" recounts the movements leading to the emergence of the Mt. Sinai Hospital in South Philadelphia in 1905, and details of the hospital's subsequent vigorous expansion. The "New Hospital in an Old District" was the Northern Liberties Hospital, opened in 1925 as successor to the Lebanon Hospital and Dispensary. The heading of the next chapter,

"Depression, Transition and War," may be regarded as sufficiently indicative of the textual contents. The final chapter introduces us to the personalities and events leading to the amalgamation in 1951 of the Jewish, Mt. Sinai, and Northern Liberties Hospitals, to form the present Albert Einstein Medical Center; and then brings the story up to the centennial year, 1965-1966, of the Jewish Hospital, the little acorn that grew into today's big oak.

As narrated by Mr. Whiteman, the story is primarily one of a great Jewish community achievement based on the noblest of human motives, and that drew, as it continues to do, on the physical and mental energies of the most progressive and dedicated members of the Jewish community. There were dramatic conflicts from time to time, naturally; these are handled by the author with full appreciation of the drama, if occasionally without a strict *quid pro quo* approach. The number of personal names figuring in this narrative of a century-old movement is, of course, very considerable; most of them are writ large in the medical and sociological history of the city, and many are accorded more than cursory mention. The "Notes on the Sources," as well as the text itself, bear evidence of an impressive amount of research in both primary and secondary sources. The lack of an index may be thought exceedingly regrettable in view of the complex of hospitals and other institutions, and the multiplicity of personal names encountered in the reading.

*The College of Physicians
of Philadelphia*

W. B. McDANIEL, 2D

Pennsylvania Politics, 1872-1877: A Study in Political Leadership. By FRANK B. EVANS. (Harrisburg: The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1966. vii, 360 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$5.00.)

In *Pennsylvania Politics, 1872-1877*, Frank B. Evans has tried to trace the development of the various factors which combined to make "Pennsylvania a bulwark of Republicanism by 1877." He has approached his task by allowing "The formal political process itself . . . [to provide] the basic continuity." The end-product is a book which is more revealing about the formal political process than anything else. For the reader who seeks knowledge of the course of Pennsylvania politics between 1872 and 1877, its personnel, parties, platforms, candidates, conventions, votes, and issues, this is an excellent book. But those who like their history analytical will be disappointed.

Nevertheless, the volume has much to offer all readers, for it contains a wealth of information on many important facets of Pennsylvania political history. Evans has not developed all of his excellent points, nor has he seemed to realize the importance of some of them, but he has clearly shown

the very important fact that the Republican machine was an alliance of many different organizations and groups: that it contained soft money men as well as hard; that while businessmen supported it because of its high tariff stand, labor did so as well; and that, in the last analysis, waving the bloody shirt to reawaken memories of the Civil War was the party's most unifying and successful campaign device of all. Evans also shows how, in the face of these things, a Democratic party, divided in its leadership and on the issues of the day, without a clear-cut alternative program, and apparently, to a degree, corrupted by the Republicans, did not offer a viable alternative to Republican rule.

Unfortunately, while it is possible to praise the general narrative, it is necessary to say that Evans has neglected important elements in the political scene and sometimes he has misinterpreted his own facts. To mention only a few points, the author says that James McManes was boss of Philadelphia, but then never mentions him after the first few pages. He ignores the power of the Post Office, Customs House, and Navy Yard in Philadelphia politics. He never deals with the influence in state politics of business in general, or the Pennsylvania Railroad in particular. He represents Grant as the creature of the spoilsmen, but then shows that the state Republicans were angry at the President because of his handling of the spoils. He never properly evaluates the role of J. Donald Cameron in the party structure. Don Cameron's rise to the Cabinet and Senate thus becomes the product of his father's power whereas it was, at least in part, due to his years of labor for the party and his capabilities as a planner, organizer, and manipulator.

In addition to these shortcomings, the author's artistry failed him. He has written a book lacking in "living" people. Though he was dealing with one of the most colorful groups of political leaders of all time—old Simon Cameron, Matt Quay, and all the "M's": McManes, Mann, Magee, McMullin, McClure, and Mackey—none of their vibrant aliveness comes through at all. The concept of the Republican machine dominates the book, submerging the men who made the history.

This fault is a serious one. Evans presents the machine as doing things, not men. There is no evidence, anywhere in the whole book, that Cameron, Quay, and Mackey ran the Republican party in Pennsylvania. Cameron and Quay, in fact, hardly appear in this story at all. Cameron is sort of a gray eminence lurking about in Washington, but telling the boys in the party what to do through his newspaper. (One wonders, despite the author's repetition of the statement, just how much the *Harrisburg Telegraph* was "Cameron's journal" and how much it was the Bergners'.)

Beyond the deadening presence of the machine is the fact that it is presented as a monolithic monster. Everything that happens is explained on the basis that the machine made it happen. Hence, Evans says, without any real proof, "Chief responsibility for defeating ratification [of the Constitution of 1873] was assigned to the Philadelphia ring, which stood to lose both the Registry Act and the profits of the row offices should the new frame of

government be adopted" [my italics]. But it seems clear from the importance of the issues at stake that the Philadelphia political leaders needed no urging to attempt to defeat the new constitution.

And the belief in a monolithic machine leads Dr. Evans to ignore all his own evidence for the divisions within the Republican organization. For example, in 1874, Mann of Philadelphia insisted that the state committee change the date of the convention, and got his way; in the same year, State Treasurer Mackey was feuding with State Chairman Errett; in 1876, the new State Treasurer, Rawle, supported Bristow for the Presidential nomination while most of the state leaders insisted on Governor Hartranft; and in 1877, when the Camerons wanted J. Donald to enter Hayes' Cabinet, Republican Mayor Stokely of Philadelphia opposed them.

Thus the picture of the state Republican organization tends to be oversimplified. Evans states forthrightly that the Philadelphia and Allegheny County organizations "were particularly influential in the State government and in party conventions" and that "the problem of Republican leadership increasingly became [and he might well have said, always had been] a matter of reconciling the conflicting interests and ambitions of the various local organization leaders, and particularly the leaders of Philadelphia and Allegheny counties," yet his general approach tends to ignore these divisions and to present everything in terms of the machine. There is, however, adequate material within the Cameron papers to indicate that Simon's problems with Philadelphia were major, and that the wily old pro never was able to dictate to the Philadelphia politicians.

Evans' problems with the machine seem, in fact, to suggest that this long used analogy is not only no longer useful, but positively dangerous. The term has its own built-in coercions which force one, despite the far from mechanical behavior of politicians and political organizations, to portray their activities in mechanistic terms.

The analogy forces one to see candidates emerge from conventions, and legislation from legislatures, with machinelike uniformity and regularity. In fact, political organizations do not work that way at all. In Pennsylvania, Simon Cameron was, at the most, the first among equals. He had to hold his party together in good times and in bad, so he constantly sought a consensus within the party and seldom acted in a dictatorial fashion. Thus to say, as Evans does, that Cameron exercised "political leadership and control of political power without public responsibility" and that "the desires of the party rank and file could be ignored in nominations and elections" is far from the mark. Cameron was forced to be responsible to be elected (even though that election was by the legislature) and he could not, by any means, ignore the party rank and file.

If the machine analogy is no longer useful for describing human activity and living organizations (with all the failings—the distance from perfection—that those terms imply), it is possible that the traditional approach which Evans has used to political history—that is, writing history largely from

newspapers and manuscript collections—is not too revealing of actuality either. No doubt these sources cannot, and should not, be avoided completely, but excessive dependence upon them leads to a superficial, little-more-than contemporary knowledge of a period. This is the way most Pennsylvania political history has been written, but as a result we know a good deal more about what happened in the state than we know about why it happened. We need, to name only one lack, much more analysis of census and election returns to discover more precisely the geographic location of Republican and Democratic voters (where Republicans and Democrats were located in the state, and where in the countryside, the village, town, and city), the voters' economic status and activity, their ethnic background, and so on. Without this information, all rationalization about who voted Republican or Democratic and why they did so in a given election is really only a guess.

Despite all these shortcomings, this is a valuable study because it tells the story of these important years, in detail, for the first time. And if Dr. Evans has failed to break any really new ground, it must be admitted that this is a difficult task which often ends in failure. What Evans chose to do, he did well, and if this reviewer is critical of him for not doing other things, it is only because of a belief that he was capable of doing the analytical work that so badly needs to be done before we will have any real idea of the "whys" of Pennsylvania politics.

Yale University

BROOKS M. KELLEY

America's Frontier Heritage. By RAY ALLEN BILLINGTON. (New York: Holt, Rinehart Winston, 1966. xiv, 302 p. Bibliographical notes. \$7.95.)

In the foreword to this stimulating study, the editor of the series in which it appears says "it tells a complete story . . ."; it is "written by a leading authority who brings to his task an intimate knowledge of the subject that he covers and a demonstrated skill in narration and interpretation," and elsewhere the author says "this book will argue . . . it will maintain . . . it will defend what scholars call the 'frontier hypothesis.'" If any author could tell a complete story of a thesis that has been so pervasive, so generally embraced by scholars of one generation and so vigorously attacked by another, it would be Ray Billington. What we have is not a complete story but a magnificent defense that draws upon the full panoply of the social scientists to buttress the intuitive and delightfully imaginative hypothesis of Frederick Jackson Turner.

As I read I found myself deeply impressed by the author's efforts to deal fairly with the opposition, by his erudition and sincerity. Yet nagging doubts continued to assail me. When Billington discusses the stark reality and crudeness of the frontier and pictures the first wave of settlers as indo-

lent backwoodsmen, he draws upon accounts of travelers who misunderstood them, as I feel he does. The huge files of petitions, memorials, and letters from people on the frontier directed to the General Land Office provide no support for such views. Frontiersmen were hard driving, ambitious, grasping men anxious to get a piece of land of their own which they could improve and perhaps sell, so that on a second or third try they would have sufficient means to commence their operations on a better standard. Billington errs as Frank Owsley did in drawing too close distinctions between poor whites and yeoman farmers. Every white man in Iowa was a squatter in 1838, and one can find scoffing accounts of their crudeness and vulgarity for they were living under primitive conditions. But the view that they were lazy and indolent should be discarded. The application of social science techniques surely requires an evaluation of the critics, as well as of those criticized. Some of the critics cited were plain snobs and their comments are not to be taken at their face value.

The author defines the frontier on page 25 but the evidence that he brings to bear on it is frequently drawn from areas that do not fit this definition. Nor is he always consistent. Cf. pp. 67 and 74, and 100 and 152.

Naturally the West did not blindly follow the East and may have shown itself somewhat more adaptable than older areas, but this is about as far as one can go. The concept of hard work is more associated with Puritanism than with anything peculiarly relating to the West; the locational instability of westerners is no different from that in the East. Billington quotes with approval the statistical evidence compiled by Malin and Curti to show the high degree of mobility of western population and assumes that this mobility of the West is unique, in the absence of studies to the contrary. The very people who made up the West are surely an indication of mobility in the East. One agricultural authority said in 1851 that every farmer from Eastport, Maine, to Buffalo had his price and was ready to sell and move on to the West. Experimentation, mobility, hard work, equality, and democracy may all be qualities uniquely American but they were as characteristic of the East as of the West.

Notwithstanding what I have written I like this book very much indeed. It starts us all over again examining western influences and provides all the essential references to and summaries of the literature on Turner's hypothesis. Its social history is well done, for Billington is thoroughly at home in this field. But when he attempts to apply social history to the West it comes out not as western but as American.

Billington, like Turner, Paxson, and all the textbook writers on the West, have been so caught up with the shibboleths of equality, democracy, individualism and self-reliance that they have missed the one great issue distinguishing the western states from other sections: the ownership of public land by an absentee government. Western issues were sharpening, not diminishing in 1890. The West had long deplored federal control of the public lands and had tried to have them turned over to the states in which

they lay. This goal had not been reached, but by the Reclamation Act of 1902 the West accomplished one of its objectives: income from the public land was to be spent in the West; it was not to go into the general treasury funds. As a result, reclamation projects, vast public power projects, and huge irrigation ventures have been undertaken, and an ever-growing income from mineral and timbered lands is being returned to the western states of origin. Finally, the West, and the South, won control over the tidelands with their enormously rich oil deposits.

The West manages to act more as a unit when its principal interests of land, forests, minerals, and water are involved, than the East. It has always been ambivalent on the question of federal ownership of resources but it has learned to live with it and to profit from it.

Cornell University

PAUL W. GATES

Presbyterians and the Negro—A History. By ANDREW E. MURRAY. (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Historical Society, 1966, xiv, 270 p. Bibliography, index. \$6.00.)

The Presbyterian Historical Society has been doing a great service for students of American church history by providing excellent volumes on the history of Presbyterianism in American life. The work under consideration here, Volume VII of the series, adds significantly to our knowledge of one particular aspect of Presbyterian life as well as to the growing body of literature dealing with the relations between the white Christian church and the Negro. In 1965, David Reimers' *White Protestantism and the Negro* surveyed the entire scene and now Murray's work deals with the work of one predominantly white denomination, the Presbyterians.

The author's qualifications for doing this study are impressive. He was for many years Professor of Church History and Dean of the Theological Seminary at the predominantly Negro Lincoln University in Pennsylvania and, since the Seminary's closing in 1959, has been chairman of the University's Department of Religion.

Murray begins by denying that Negro Christianity is different from white Christianity: "If there is any assumption in this book it is that Negro and white Christians share a common Christianity, and that it is only the existence of racial segregation that prevents each group from recognizing this basic oneness" (p. ix). He points out that, whereas some say that the Negro has certain distinctive religious needs, those needs can be explained as stemming from the peculiar conditions of the slave system rather than as racially inherent. The study proceeds, then, based on primary sources from the records of the meetings of groups of Presbyterians and the writings of Presbyterian leaders, black and white alike, through the years.

The contents of the book are arranged in chronological order by section, North and South. Instead of attempting to summarize these contents, I

would like to make a few comments about Murray's approach. The author correctly notes that:

Apart from the opinions of individual laymen and ministers, the crucial question in the Presbyterian church was the action of the judicatories. In the Presbyterian system these judicatories can act either by issuing pronouncements, which have a moral authority, or through disciplinary action, which determines the member's relation to the church. This disciplinary action is crucial, for while pronouncements may help in encouraging wavering members, only discipline allows the church to purge its ranks of those who disregard its teachings. On the question of slavery the Presbyterians found it impossible to use the power of discipline over their members, since such action would have destroyed the unity of the church. Instead the church had to rely on moral pronouncements to shape the opinions of its followers (p. 16).

With this paragraph Murray sums up the problem of the white church and the Negro. The higher levels of the church bureaucracy can make pronouncements of a progressive nature on race relations but unless there is some way to control the behavior of the individual members, the moral influence may go for naught. So it was with the Presbyterians. In 1818, the General Assembly condemned the institution of slavery but continued to welcome slave owners into the church. And this attitude has not changed with the passing of the years. After surveying the entire history of the church on this matter, Murray concludes that: "In practice, the church's racial policy was usually set by local congregations, which might not follow the more liberal policies of their denomination" (p. 219).

One important aspect of this book is its balance between the statements and attitudes of the larger church bodies (e.g., General Assembly) and the attitudes of influential churchmen. We are grateful to Murray for giving us access to the views and activities of such prominent Negro Presbyterians as Matthew Anderson and Francis Grimke of the post-Civil War generation as well as Edler Hawkins and James Robinson of our own times.

Although Murray is white, his analysis is in no sense an *apologia* for white Presbyterianism. His work is, rather, one of the most straightforward treatments of this controversial material that I have seen. I was particularly pleased to note that Murray's understanding of religion is informed by the social scientific literature. He sees Christianity in a functional sense, both restricting and liberating the Negro: "Was Christianity primarily a form of social control, designed to make him a more obedient servant? Or, was the new faith a means of liberation, giving him new status and freeing him from the bonds of caste? As will be shown, both interpretations are possible, reflecting a fundamental tension within Christianity itself" (p. 29). It is to the author's credit that he does, in fact, keep this promise and provide us with a competent and thorough analysis of the Negro and Presbyterianism in America.

He concludes, supporting the analyses of Reimers and others, that: "In the field of race relations, the Presbyterians, like most American Protes-

tants, took a conservative position, tending to reflect current American racial attitudes rather than to mold them" (p. 255).

New York Institute of Technology

THOMAS R. FRAZIER

The Pennsylvania Germans, 1891-1965. By HOMER TOPE ROSENBERGER. [Seventy-fifth anniversary volume of the Pennsylvania German Society.] (Lancaster, Pa.: Pennsylvania German Society, 1966. 619 p. Illustrations, index. \$12.50.)

It is fitting and proper, now that the Pennsylvania German Society is consolidating with the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, that the older of these organizations should look back across its history and assess its own achievements. The transformation in the attitude of American historians toward descendants of colonial Germanic settlers has so changed during the last half century that the story has to be told.

In this volume, which it seems will be the last to appear under the imprint of the Pennsylvania German Society as such, Dr. Homer Rosenberger, who served as President for some years, tells of the achievements, history, and changing opinion about those Americans who come from the largest non-British colonial group, original settlers in a land area larger than that of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island together. Seeking to relate the accomplishments of these people since the time of the founding of the Pennsylvania German Society in 1891, this work also relates the changing attitude toward this cultural group, gathering materials which, the author hopes, may serve as a "bench mark" from which future historians may start their appraisals.

The scope of this work is wide. After repeating the often-told story of the colonial period, Dr. Rosenberger moves to the renaissance of the dialect between 1868 and 1890, which preceded the founding of the Pennsylvania German Society and which many scholars view as the foundation of Pennsylvania German studies. He also discusses the scholarly activity which preceded the First World War. After 1918 recovery ensued culminating in a tidal wave of popular interest between the wars when the basic change in attitude became apparent that the Pennsylvania Germans had become Americanized. Next, this work records, with considerable detail, the rising tide of interest in things Pennsylvania German after the defeat of Nazi Germany. The work concludes with several topical surveys: a check list of Pennsylvania German dictionaries and grammars; a listing of the important literature about the Pennsylvania Germans during the last sixty-five years; the Pennsylvania German Nobel and Pulitzer Prize winners; an illuminating listing of illustrious Pennsylvania Germans; and finally a list of archives and museums where Pennsylvania German materials are being kept.

This needed book, while unusually comprehensive in scope, was forced by spatial and other limitations to overlook many important facts. Some of

these appear to this reviewer to be glaring omissions. Sometimes the author relied too heavily upon accepted and established reputations and judgments, without digging deeper. The main fault seems to be that this work is concerned chiefly with the Pennsylvania German heartland and that it does not dig deeply in the problem of the migrations from Pennsylvania south and west. The notable exceptions are the presidents of Pennsylvania German extraction, Herbert Hoover and Dwight Eisenhower. Perhaps thorough reading of Faust's *The German Element in The United States* would have helped. Then too the author has overlooked some details: no mention is made of Jim Hill's motor car which was chugging about the dirt roads near Fleetwood around the 1880's and which may have been the first motor car in America, perhaps the world; there is no mention of the possibility that one of Abraham Lincoln's forbears may have been Pennsylvania German; and there is but slight understanding of the great role that the High German language played among the Pennsylvania Germans even at this late date, although the title pages of several High German works are reproduced. Finally, Dr. Rosenberger does not include the name of the greatest savant of things Pennsylvania German, William J. Hinke, in his list of eminent Pennsylvania Germans, although Dr. Hinke prepared the greatest work of the Pennsylvania German Society, *The Penn-German Pioneers*.

However, Dr. Rosenberger's book is a delight. With modesty and reticence—and it would have been easy to become bombastic and boastful—he tells our story, one which has moved from scorn to admiration, from shame to reasonable pride. In reading Dr. Rosenberger's book we may note that two of our sons occupied the White House, that two of us—Jane Addams and Pearl Buck—won Nobel Prizes; that many, many descendants of the poor redemptioners who entered Philadelphia and then sold themselves out for seven years service to pay the costs of their passage have gained distinction in modern America, adding their natural skills in the building of this new world.

In the final analysis, however, this is not what this book documents. What this book tells is not so much the story of the Pennsylvania German achievements resulting from special abilities of an admittedly gifted people, rather this document tells us what opportunity American freedom gave to Europe's downtrodden in this free and open society. For this book is a record of what can be done with freedom.

Kutztown State College

JOHN J. STOUT

John O'Hara. By SHELDON NORMAN GREBSTEIN. [Twayne's United States Authors Series.] (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc. 1966. 175 p. Selected bibliography, index. \$3.95.)

When John O'Hara obligingly consented to face one of those formidably grave audiences in the Hall of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and

answer the questions of Professor Wallace Davies and myself without previous rehearsal even of the kinds of questions to be asked, he was being true to his own integrity and irreverence.

I asked the question which I thought would be in everyone's mind: "Mr. O'Hara, is your interest in this Society prompted by the thought that you may be yourself, in your work, a kind of historian?" I happily now forget the rather abrupt answer I got, but it did not matter because his answer is in his preface to *Sermons and Soda Water*: "I want to get it all down on paper while I can. . . . The United States in this century is what I know, and it is my business to write about it to the best of my ability. . . . I want to record the way people talked and thought and felt, and to do it with complete honesty and variety." And the revised *Literary History of the United States*, of which Mr. Grebstein seems to have counted the paragraphs on O'Hara without reading them, sums up his role and his very real achievement in similar terms: "Like Lewis and Marquand, O'Hara appropriated a particular segment of American experience and explored it minutely. . . . O'Hara's characters lived vicariously for his readers a rich, flowing, exciting life, only to be caught up in the end by the ironies of their restricted society and of their own innate weaknesses."

One reason Mr. Grebstein finds that a complete critical and biographical study is difficult to write is that the story is such a simple one. To ask whether he is or is not "great," a moralist, a philosopher, a reader of character, a stylist, or any of the things one must ask in order to do a thorough academic job of criticism and biography, is to get tangled up in the wool that was meant merely to knit a sweater. Thank goodness, there are still authors who can hold their readers and, for the most part, elude the critics. One can read Trollope or Balzac or Cooper by the hour and day and week without noticing whether the passage at hand is one of the best or one of the worse in the history of fiction. And so with O'Hara. May he live long enough to write the same story over again a hundred times more. He is writing history.

University of Pennsylvania

ROBERT E. SPILLER

Before the Waters: The Upper Delaware Valley. By ELIZABETH G. C. MENZIES. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1966. 109 p. Illustrations. \$7.50.)

Some twelve thousand acres of land will be inundated by the building of the Tocks Island Dam on the Delaware River just above the Water Gap. This will mean obliteration of much of the culture, landscape, and architecture in the upper reaches of the Delaware River. The reservoir for water, power, and a debatable amount of flood control will extend up-river thirty-seven miles. The fringe area around this reservoir will consist of seventy-

two thousand acres and will be known as the "Delaware Water Gap National Recreation Area," to be administered by the Department of the Interior.

Before the Waters: The Upper Delaware Valley, by Elizabeth C. G. Menzies, is largely a book of photographs with captions. Photographs dealing with landscape, fauna, and flora are incredibly fine, likewise many of the portraits of local inhabitants are excellent. All photography is the work of the author.

A brief historical background deals largely with the early history of the Minisink Indians and their relationship with white traders and settlers in the area. This historical account ends at about 1765 and appears to have been well handled, however footnotes would have been a welcome addition. One feels that the historical account should have been brought up to the present century so that the reader would have a thorough appreciation of the historical and cultural background of the area that is to be flooded.

It is somewhat disappointing that more coverage, both photographic and text, was not given to the archeological digs that have been carried on in the area. A few good photographs and captions do appear but perhaps an entire chapter could have been devoted to the archeological evidence that has been uncovered. No attempt is made in the book to explain the plus side of the Tocks Island Dam; no mention of the vast recreational opportunities that the project will afford; the technological phase of the project is little mentioned.

The real purpose of the book appears to be limited to a photographic record of an area that is to be claimed by the dam. In this respect, the book is a success; as an historical document, it appears to lack content and direction.

Pennsbury Manor

DEWEY LEE CURTIS

Guide to the Archives and Manuscript Collections of the American Philosophical Society. Compiled by WHITFIELD J. BELL, JR., and MURPHY D. SMITH. [Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, Volume 66.] (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1966. vi, 182 p. Index. \$3.00.)

With the appearance of this *Guide to the Archives and Manuscript Collections of the American Philosophical Society*, that Society has joined with The Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia and The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, among Philadelphia's learned institutions, in providing a guide to the manuscripts in its collections. These are varied and important as a glance at the book will show. They range in content from quantum physics to business account books, from anthropology to zoology, with

much on science, the history of science, medicine and pathology, exploration and the social sciences.

The compilers have followed the usual form in listing the collections. The author of each is identified, his dates of birth and death are given, and, if possible, references for additional biographical information are listed. The description of each collection includes the dates covered by the papers, the size (in pieces, reels, boxes, and/or volumes), and a short summary of the contents. If any of the papers have been previously published, that fact is brought out in a note.

The Guide falls naturally into two parts. The first of these is the archives of the American Philosophical Society itself. These archives are amazingly complete. They begin with the minute books of the Junto, a predecessor of the American Society, one of the two societies which joined in 1769 to become the American Philosophical Society. From 1769 to the present date the minutes, correspondence, committee reports, membership records and other records have been kept with very few breaks.

The general collection comprises not only original manuscripts owned by the Society, but also microfilms, photostats, Xerox, and other types of copies of papers held elsewhere. The collections cover many fields, but are heavily weighted toward the sciences. However, the historical field is represented by many important groups of papers. Among these may be mentioned the large collections centering around Benjamin Franklin, those concerning the Peale family, and the Thomas Jefferson papers. The Society has on microfilm the papers of the Adams family and of Stephen Girard, the Philadelphia philanthropist. Many of the smaller collections will be interesting to Pennsylvania historians and scholars. Among these, to list only a few, are the Burd-Shippen and Edward Shippen (1703-1781) papers, the papers of Timothy Horsfield (1708-1783), the papers of Henry Augustus Philip Muhlenberg (1782-1844), Henry Augustus Muhlenberg (1823-1854) and the Muhlenberg family, and the many entries under the Sellers family. The collections also include four volumes of William Penn papers, while under Pennsylvania thirteen collections are listed, with five under Philadelphia.

The Guide is, in general, well written and well edited. The descriptions, though short, are easily comprehended. The compilers of this Guide, Dr. Bell, Librarian, and Mr. Smith, the Assistant Librarian of the American Philosophical Society, are to be commended for making better known the extremely valuable collections of that institution.

Historical Society of Pennsylvania

J. HARCOURT GIVENS

Technology in Early America: Needs and Opportunities for Study. By BROOKE HINDLE. With a Directory of Artifact Collections by LUCIUS F. ELLSWORTH. (Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture by the University of North Carolina Press. 1966. xix. 145 p. Index. \$4.50.)

Since 1955, the Institute of Early American History and Culture has published surveys of the literature and sources in the fields of science, education, the arts, and the American Indian. With the appearance of Brooke Hindle's contribution, this valuable service now covers our early technological history down to 1850. The descriptive and critical bibliography is preceded by a twenty-six-page essay on "The Exhilaration of Early American Technology." A third section, prepared by Lucius F. Ellsworth, is a directory of artifact collections. An eighteen-page index facilitates the student's search.

Hindle's essay moves from a discussion of particular problems to a consideration of the broadest influences of technology upon culture. He maintains that technological advance has been near the center "as an expression and a fulfillment of the American experience" (p. 28). As progress came to be regarded as inevitable, technological development caught both the imagination and the enthusiasm of the innovators. But before we can comprehend the social relations of technology, says Hindle, we must know its internal life. Since the greatest values may lie beyond immediate details, the historian "must be prepared to ask the large questions of small episodes" (p. 28).

Hindle stresses the importance to the scholar of a visual examination of the technological specimen, particularly when descriptions, sketches, and photographs are inadequate. For example, much can be learned about the quality of machine workmanship in the late 1820's by studying Matthias Baldwin's first stationary steam engine in the Smithsonian. The evidence of this craftsman's care and precision is unmistakable; therein lies a key to his later success and reputation. Behind the specimens, restorations and reconstructions, however, are often unpublished engineering reports that Hindle properly emphasizes as indispensable to the researcher. These studies have usually been made by the museum specialists as a preliminary part of their preparation of exhibits. Invariably, they contain specific information that should not be overlooked.

The bibliography devotes seven pages to guides and sources and fifty-eight pages to surveys and studies. The latter has a number of major categories such as agriculture and food processing and mining and metals. Under civil engineering and transportation, there are eleven subdivisions (e. g., canals, railroads, bridges), and under manufacturing, nine sections (clocks, glass, pottery, paper, etc.). Specialists might be disappointed by apparent omissions, but the breadth of the compilation is impressive and the comment on the selections invaluable. Furthermore, many of the entries are of articles from various periodicals, usually more difficult to locate than monographs.

The directory of artifact collections follows the broad categories of the bibliography: raw materials production, manufacturing, tools and instruments, power, transportation and communication. Ellsworth also provides a survey of the writings on artifact collections and a statement on the scope

and intent of the directory. He cautions that many museum holdings are either unknown or ignored, that numerous artifacts are in small historical societies or in private collections, and that in certain areas—mining, tanning, papermaking—not many relics survive.

Recognizing that the bibliography is to the scholar what the map is to the traveler, the compilers have fulfilled their purpose admirably. They reveal the best of what has been done and point the way to what should be done. Historians of early American technology will begin their research with this little book.

College of Charleston

MALCOLM C. CLARK

The Papers of Woodrow Wilson. Volume 2. 1881-1884. ARTHUR S. LINK, Editor. JOHN WELLS DAVIDSON and DAVID W. HIRST, Associate Editors. T. H. VAIL MOTTER, Consulting Editor. JOHN E. LITTLE, Editorial Assistant. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967. xviii. 680 p. Illustrations, index. \$15.00.)

The second volume of the Wilson Papers begins with Wilson's withdrawal from the University of Virginia law school because of ill health, and concludes with his completion of his first semester at Johns Hopkins, where he had become a graduate student in political economy. The letters and documents cover the period of his recuperation at home in Wilmington, North Carolina, his unrequited love affair with his cousin Hattie Woodrow, his unsuccessful attempt to practice law in Atlanta, and, most important of all, his falling in love with and becoming engaged to marry Ellen Louise Axson.

Although Wilson applied himself conscientiously to studying law, his letters show that his heart lay elsewhere. Even before moving to Atlanta in May, 1882, he entertained certain misgivings about his choice of a profession. His experience in trying to establish a practice in partnership with another youth, only two years older than himself, soon cured him; and within less than a year he determined to enter Johns Hopkins and become a professor of politics. The only fruitful field of the law open to a man in his position lay in "ambulance chasing," a pursuit for which Woodrow Wilson was eminently unsuited both by character and temperament: no wonder he preferred to devote his afternoons to writing and studying history and politics. He wrote a number of short articles on the changing economy of the South, two or three of which were published in the New York *Evening Post* through the good offices of his old college friends, Robert Bridges and Parke Godwin, whose father owned the newspaper. He was less successful, however, in finding a publisher for his essays on cabinet government, which he

would afterwards consolidate so successfully in *Congressional Government*. Perhaps he did not actually fail at the law, as his hostile critics have always enjoyed pointing out, and as his friendly editors deny in an editorial note, but it was most fortunate that he decided to shift his profession to education.

It is when we turn from Wilson's intellectual progress to his emotional life, however, that we find our greatest rewards in the present volume. His brief love affair with Hattie Woodrow seems little more than a passing infatuation from the rather stilted letters he wrote her, while she never looked upon him as anything more than a cousin, and his subsequent description of her as "heartless" is manifestly unfair. When he caught his first glimpse of Ellen Louise Axson, however, while visiting his Uncle James Bones in Rome, Georgia, on a legal matter, he at once found himself in a real romance. Although parts of their correspondence were published in 1962 by their daughter Eleanor Wilson McAdoo in *The Priceless Gift: The Love Letters of Woodrow Wilson and Ellen Axson Wilson*, many more letters turned up after the second Mrs. Wilson's death, so that the full correspondence that remains is now to be published for the first time. Since neither held anything back from the other, they are of the utmost importance in understanding Wilson and his problems; and it would be premature to attempt another biography until they have been read and thoroughly digested by students of the man and his period.

The letters in the present volume depict a courtship without precedent in the annals of the American presidency. It is hard for many to realize the inner tenderness of this outwardly austere man, as he goes to the greatest pains to analyze and reveal himself to the woman he loved. It is most fortunate for those who seek to understand the true nobility of Woodrow Wilson that he was separated from his fiancée from the moment of their engagement in September, 1883, until he rushed from Baltimore to Savannah four months later to console her when her father was stricken with a mental illness that soon proved fatal. Otherwise we should never have been permitted to tear aside the veil that would have hidden their beautiful courtship from posterity. For Ellen, too, was a highly intelligent and sensitive creature, and her letters are as beautifully written as those of Wilson himself. It is fascinating to watch the growing ardor of this charming but reserved daughter of the manse, who had vowed that she would never marry anyone as long as she had to keep house for her widowed father and her younger brothers.

This volume closes with Wilson about to embark on his second semester at Johns Hopkins, determined to win a professorship that will enable him to marry his Ellen. He was sharply critical of the three professors in his department, especially of Herbert B. Adams, the head of it, and even seems to have concocted a "plot" to secure their dismissal. But his father very properly discouraged his attempting anything so foolish that would most certainly have done him no good, even had the plan succeeded, which was most unlikely.

The editors have fully equaled their brilliant performance in the previous volume; and all admirers of Woodrow Wilson can look forward to the continuance of a project that will do for a great modern American statesman what other scholars are already doing for certain of the Founding Fathers.

Princeton, N. J.

C. PARDEE FOULKE

The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission is undertaking to revise and update its *Bibliography of Pennsylvania History*. If any of the readers of this publication are aware of specific omissions in the earlier edition (1957), the Commission would greatly appreciate having them called to its attention. Also suggestions to improve the usefulness of the *Bibliography* will be welcome. Should readers encounter significant articles germane to Pennsylvania history in foreign or obscure publications, the Commission would be glad to learn of them.

Correspondence should be addressed to Daniel R. MacGilvray, Bibliography Editor, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Post Office Box 232, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania 17108.

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Founded in 1824, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has long been a center of research in Pennsylvania and American history. It has accumulated an important historical collection, chiefly through contributions of family, political, and business manuscripts, as well as letters, diaries, newspapers, magazines, maps, prints, paintings, photographs, and rare books. Additional contributions of such a nature are urgently solicited for preservation in the Society's fireproof building where they may be consulted by scholars.

Membership. There are various classes of membership: general, \$10.00; associate, \$25.00; patron, \$100.00; life, \$250.00; benefactor, \$1,000. Members receive certain privileges in the use of books, are invited to the Society's historical addresses and receptions, and receive *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*. Those interested in joining the Society are invited to submit their names.

Hours. The Society is open to the public Monday, 1 P.M. to 9 P.M.; Tuesday through Friday, 9 A.M. to 5 P.M. The Society will be closed from August 5 to September 6, 1967.

