REVIEWS

THE GREAT ABERRATION OF THE 1890'S


In his textbook on American diplomatic history, first published in 1936, Professor Samuel Flagg Bemis characterized the acquisition of the Philippine Islands as "The Great Aberration." Oddly enough, the term "aberration" was not used in the sense of a deviation from a usual or normal course but to indicate a mistaken action. Professor Bemis, speaking of what he called "those years of adolescent irresponsibility," condoned all the territorial acquisitions made by the United States directly or indirectly through the war with Spain except for the Philippines. In a more accurate sense, then, it
would appear that the term "aberration" could appropriately be applied to the entire movement for overseas colonies which prevailed in the 1890's and marked a new trend in American expansion. The widening of national boundaries through the absorption of contiguous territory which had occurred in the first half of the nineteenth century was replaced by a European type of imperialism, not aimed at settlement or the rounding out of "natural" geographical limits, but designed to enhance commercial opportunities, provide additional military security, fulfill missionary zeal, promote national "interests" and contribute to the nation's prestige.

There is something almost unreal about the circumstances surrounding this radical departure in American foreign policy, and somehow the period lends itself more to fantasy than to history. Perhaps this helps account for the numerous attempts to explain what happened and why it happened, among them the racy best seller, *The Martial Spirit* by Walter Millis published in 1931 during the "debunking" era of American historical writing. In 1936 Professor Julius W. Pratt produced his scholarly *Expansionists of 1898: The Acquisition of Hawaii and the Spanish Islands*, which devoted considerable attention to the expansionist tendencies displayed in the abortive attempt to annex the Hawaiian Islands in 1893, an attempt frustrated by the rectitude of President Grover Cleveland. More recently, Margaret Leech reassessed the period in the Pulitzer Prize-winning study, *The Days of McKinley*, and the latest full-length account is *Imperial Democracy: The Emergence of America as a Great Power*, by Professor Ernest R. May of Harvard, published in 1961. The title of the latter work is notable for the use of the term "Great Power," since it has been customary for historians to conclude that the United States became a "world power" as a result of the victory over Spain in 1898. In his stimulating presidential address before a meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association in 1960, Professor Thomas A. Bailey dealt with "America's Emergence as a World Power: The Myth and the Verity," and concluded that the historical profession had been misreading the American record. In his opinion, the United States became a world power in 1776 with the Declaration of Independence, but by the 1890's the nation ranked sufficiently high in those elements which determined power relationships to merit the superlative "great." The humbling of Spain merely added the final ingredient of prestige. Though appellations designating distinctive epochs in a nation's past are often inexact and misleading, it appears that this recent clarification will reduce the confusion that prevails among a generalization-starved generation which is attempting to understand the past.

Of perennial interest to students of the period is the responsibility of President McKinley for the coming of the war with Spain. Professor May presents a detailed account of the multiple events and forces which, he finds, led a reluctant McKinley to accept war rather than risk personal unpopularity and possible disaster for his party in forthcoming elections. Though maintaining that Spain actually had not agreed to and would not accept American
demands for a solution to the Cuban problem, May contends that the President could have preserved peace by exercising leadership. "McKinley," however, "was not a brave man. In his whole political career, there had been no act of boldness. And the one resource which he did not employ in 1898 was courage." [159] This criticism of the President's failure to halt the war fever or guide it in another direction is shared by Margaret Leech, who concluded that "The President had consummately failed, not in the conduct of his diplomacy, but in restraining the belligerence of Congress and the American people." [180] Thus Leech and May agree that McKinley was a follower rather than a leader of opinion, and neither approves of the President's pursuing a course which resulted in war. They find the true tragedy of McKinley not in his failure to make up his mind but in the fact that he made it up in the wrong way.

To move from the outbreak of war to the gathering of the fruits of victory, the President again emerges as the crucial element. The annexation of the Philippines revealed that "The executive branch rather than the Congress had become the source of decision in foreign affairs."[3] But May believes this decision was not made on the basis of a mandate from the Almighty as indicated by McKinley's oft-cited statement. On the contrary, "The sole concern of the President was with the mood and whim of public opinion," which demonstrated that "not just McKinley himself, but the United States as a nation, seemed to have chosen imperialism as its policy."[4] Professor Paolo Coletta, in a recent article, also holds the President responsible for acquiring the Philippines but he cites other motivations, including Cabinet unanimity and the imperatives of "dollars, duty, and destiny."[5] In any event, it appears that in his efforts to resolve the Cuban and Philippine questions, the vacillating McKinley was overwhelmed by a complexity of pressures which he either would not or could not resist.

Certainly, the attempt to determine the motives of statesmen is one of the most difficult and hazardous feats of the historical profession. As human beings they are, no doubt, able to find reasons for doing what they want to do, and again, as human beings, they may seldom be sure just why they did what they have done. In choosing one course of action in preference to available alternatives they undoubtedly use a variety of criteria which may be moral, personal or rooted in the nebulous "national interest." One authority, speaking of the agitation over the annexation of the Philippines, observed that "the same motive, in accordance with varying interpretations of an issue, impelled different individuals in opposite directions. Both morality and national self-interest impelled some to expansionism, others to anti-expansionism."[6] Each decision is also a prediction, i.e., the individual is predicting that a particular course of action will prove to be more satisfactory (in terms of criteria) than any of the alternatives. Furthermore, a statesman cannot divorce his actions from the pressures and attitudes of the period, both abroad and at home. How far can any leader go, whether he is the elected representative of the people or a military dictator, in emancipating himself
from the prevailing winds of his age? Does he become a leader because he is tossed up by, represents, or lends himself to the predominant forces, or at least what he and his advisers believe these forces to be? Was McKinley, for example, a victim of the "psychic crisis of the 1890's" or the instrument of "crusading morality" stemming from "the reform element in the population."?

It may be impossible to determine public opinion on any given subject, but an elected representative, aware of the need for winning votes in order to remain in power, realizes that he must espouse popular policies on crucial major issues. In fact, it might be more important to try to determine what the executive believed public opinion to be rather than what it actually was. In this way a clearer insight into motivation could probably be obtained.

In assessing the American temper concerning the annexation of the Philippines, much has been made of the election of 1900. The Republican victory was hailed by some as an endorsement of imperialism, though it has been pointed out that the issues in the campaign were so complex that such a conclusion is unwarranted. Perhaps, however, one should consider the election of 1896 and the plight of the Republican Party. Too often the Democratic Party had served as the party of expansion, and in the political world actions speak with a stentorian voice. The Republican platform of 1896 jumped on the expansionist bandwagon by advocating the acquisition of Hawaii, the construction of a Nicaraguan canal and the purchase of the Danish West Indies. The Monroe Doctrine was reasserted, along with the stated hope for the eventual withdrawal of European powers from the Western Hemisphere. Sympathy was expressed for the Cuban rebellion, and it was advocated that the United States use its good offices to make Cuba independent. As an aid to a vigorous foreign policy, the continued enlargement and modernization of the navy was approved. On the other hand, the Democratic platform declared for the maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine and expressed sympathy for the Cubans in their struggle for independence. With the choice so clearly presented, could McKinley resist this directive from his party and, presumably, from the people who elected him on such a platform? An election may not be a mandate for any particular policy, but it is one of the most eloquent indications of the public will that an official can find. The election of 1896, therefore, and not that of 1898 or 1900, might well have been interpreted as a mandate for imperialism.

Another aspect of this "great aberration" deserves attention. Ever since World War II there has been frequent mention of Clauswitz' dictum that "war is a continuation of policy by other means." When the diplomats have exhausted their bag of tricks the generals and admirals are called in to furnish the means for enabling the nation's will to prevail. But the Clauswitz axiom does not fully account for the annexation of the Philippines. The original objective of the war with Spain, namely, to effect the freedom of the Cuban people, was altered by the very course of the hostilities. The electrifying victory at Manila Bay which sparked American popular interest in the islands
and provided justification for their retention is linked with the new American navy that began to emerge in the 1880's. This steel and steam fleet that was created in the final decades of the nineteenth century was spurred by factors other than mere technological change. The rapid naval growth of this period was a response to the pressures emanating from several elements in the population, and it in turn served as a catalyst for an acquisitive national impulse. If, for example, the modern navy had not existed, would the nation have been so eager to promote hostilities? At that it was a risk, calculated or not, for certain European experts thought the American navy no match for the Spanish fleet. Moreover, even if the old navy were thought capable of protecting American troops en route to Cuba and guarding their supply lines, not even impetuous Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt would have dared send the antiquated post-Civil War vessels into Manila Bay. 

So it is possible that without the modern navy there would have been no war, and probable that if war had occurred there would have been no victory in the Philippines and no compelling reason to acquire the islands. Perhaps this aspect of the interaction of force and diplomacy has been too often ignored by historians.

There is a constant temptation to indulge in what might be called the "want of a nail" type of speculation in dealing with momentous events. It is clear that not one but a great many nails, shoes and horses combined to make the United States a colonial power. On the other hand, the want of any one of a number of these components could have averted or delayed McKinley's agonizing decisions. But the central figure of the great aberration remains the President, for while the impetus to change the direction of American foreign policy came from many quarters, the final decision came from the White House. It is evident that the one man in the right place at the right time who exerts a profound influence on the course of history need not be a dynamic leader or a commanding personality. McKinley rode the crest of a wave instead of struggling against it, and as a result the United States assumed the assets and liabilities of an empire in the Pacific. The outcome of this departure from tradition is another story.

University of Kansas

Raymond G. O'Connor

Footnotes:

1 Samuel Flagg Bemis, A Diplomatic History of the United States (New York, 1936), Chapt. XXVI.
2 Ibid., 474-475.
3 May, 262.
4 Ibid., 255, 262. Miss Leach asserts that "McKinley was wont to evade the bleakness of constraint by dwelling on the moral mission of America," and concludes that "The President's political instinct was never more sure than in adorning territorial acquisition with the bright leaf of duty and the rose of spiritual salvation." [344, 345]
Paolo Coletta, "McKinley, the Peace Negotiations, and the Acquisition of the Philippines," *Pacific Historical Review*, XXX (1961), 345.


Freidel, 6.

Thomas A. Bailey, "Was the Election of 1900 a Mandate on Imperialism," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXIV (1937), 43-52.

Speaking of Theodore Roosevelt, his anxiety for fleet action in the Philippines in the event of war and the celebrated telegram of February 25 ordering Dewey to attack the Spanish fleet in the Philippines should war erupt, Howard K. Beale says: "The Assistant Secretary had seized the opportunity given by Long's absence to insure our grabbing the Philippines without a decision to do so by either Congress or the President, or least of all the people. Thus was important history made not by economic forces or democratic decisions but through the grasping of chance authority by a man with daring and a program."[70] The perpetuation of this myth is difficult to understand in light of the evidence that such a plan had been formulated for war with Spain and had been discussed with the President and other authorities the year before. See William R. Braisted, *The United States Navy in the Pacific* (Austin, Texas, 1958), 22-24, and May, op. cit., 244.


The 1920's has been one of the decades least explored by historians of the United States. The number of scholarly books on the period can be counted on the fingers of one's hands, so it is a pleasure to report that there were two substantial additions to this literature in 1962.

Professors Bagby and Noggle have probed deeply, with significant results, into two of the most controversial topics of the 1920's, respectively, the Presidential campaign of 1920 and the Teapot Dome question. Bagby demolishes the myth that Warren Harding was forced on the 1920 Republican...
convention by a small group of sinister men in a "smoke-filled room." He also presents evidence showing that the Republican victory in the general elections was due as much to an adverse public reaction to the wartime restrictions and postwar illiberality of the Wilson Administration as to a nationwide shift to the right. Noggle's volume is as gripping as a top-notch detective story. He reminds us that not only highly placed Republicans but also prominent Democrats, including the illustrious William Gibbs McAdoo, were caught up and besmirched in the Teapot Dome Scandal. Yet he demonstrates that none of them were proven guilty of anything more, at most, than bad judgement. He suggests that the greatest scandal involved might not have been the possible illegal use of the nation's natural resources but rather the defamation of public men who dared to cross swords with the Sir Galahads of the conservation movement.

One could wish that Bagby had paid attention to the role of the third parties in the 1920 campaign, and that Noggle could have read Bagby for the facts of the 1920 campaign that were pertinent to his study. Such minor defects, however, do not detract from the solid contributions made by these two scholars.

University of Kansas
Donald R. McCoy

WILLIAM PENN'S "HOLY EXPERIMENT":
The Founding of Pennsylvania, 1681-1701.

The book is a "chronological narrative, primarily political," despite the author's introductory avowal to have concentrated "on understanding the struggle for politico-economic-religious self-realization by the . . . English-speaking people." In his chronological attack the author is forced to deal, almost from the beginning, with the obvious failure of the "holy experiment," yet his method causes him to delay until the last chapter any attempt at analyzing this failure. These last minute analyses lose their impact. Mr. Bronner has contributed a well written book to the available material on Pennsylvania by furnishing that missing "thorough, well-documented, chronological study of Pennsylvania for the years 1681-1701."

Kansas State University
John E. Kitchens

Best remembered in American history for casting the ballot that prevented unanimous reelection of Monroe to the presidency, William Plumer has received a definitive biography. The significant role played by this humorless Yankee farmer-lawyer on the national and regional political stage between 1785 and 1829 has been precisely delineated and evaluated by Professor Turner. The results of his exhaustive research he offers in a graceful style, atypical of his profession. Atypical of any mold he found his subject. Plumer began his career as a preacher; within a year he became a Deist. An anti-French Federalist in the 1790's, and a power in Congregationalist-dominated New Hampshire politics, he became anathema to his colleagues, who rewarded him by election to the U. S. Senate in 1802. A rabid anti-Jeffersonian, he took part in the secessionist plot of 1803-04, wrote an excellent journal and collected the public documents of this period, and became a Republican in 1808. Later, during several terms as governor, he demonstrated true statesmanship by fighting to preserve the union, to reform the penal code and to bring about separation of church and state. A voluminous correspondent, Plumer wrote about and to all the major figures of his era; this study of his life is an important commentary on that period.

Kansas State University Clyde R. Ferguson


William Pitt Fessenden was both Representative and Senator from the state of Maine, holding the latter position during the nation's period of greatest upheaval. Elected to the Senate in 1854, he continued to represent his state in the upper house (except for a brief tenure as Lincoln's Secretary of the Treasury) until his death in 1869. Fessenden was an outspoken, unequivocal antislavery man, yet he tempered his antislavery zeal with an attitude of judicious moderation that set him apart from the Republican Radicals. He was above all a man of conviction, a facet that was demonstrated most clearly in 1868 when he, with six other Republicans, voted for President Johnson's acquittal in the impeachment trial.

Professor Jellison has rescued Fessenden from his "undeserved obscurity" in this well written and carefully researched biography. This
reviewer felt, however, that the author sacrificed at times some of the relevant background material in the interest of maintaining a sharp focus on Fessenden himself; as a result, a real appreciation of Fessenden's role in national politics during these years is sometimes difficult to achieve. Nonetheless, the book deserves a high place among recent works on the sectional conflict.

University of Illinois

Robert W. Johannsen


This book is neither a biography of the man nor a history of the times. Based largely on printed sources, it is a summary of the contributions of Adlai Stevenson to the discussion of major issues of public policy in the period from 1952 to 1960. The author deals topically with McCarthyism, civil rights, disarmament and other foreign and domestic problems.

The author argues that while Eisenhower drifted it was Stevenson who provided the nation with badly needed leadership. In this Professor Brown seems to confuse eloquence with leadership and logical clarity with the exercise of power.

Purdue University

Edwin Layton


This hundred page monograph purports to be a history of the Chautauqua movement, which began in 1874 and continued with waning influence until about 1920. But three of the five chapters are concerned with the career of William Rainey Harper (1856-1906), who assumed the presidency of the new University of Chicago in 1891 and tried to incorporate Chautauqua educational principles and methods of organization into the new institution. The account of the Chautauqua movement is sketchy and incomplete while the discussion of Harper's building of the University of Chicago rarely goes beyond the blueprint state. Both subjects are well worth treating, but they demand more space and considerably more detail than the present author provides. The statement in the Foreword that the influence of the Chautauqua movement "on the founding and early years of one of our greatest universities significantly shaped the present pattern of American higher education" is not convincingly demonstrated in this brief study.

University of Illinois

John T. Flanagan
Arthur Capper was one of the most influential Kansans of the twentieth century. He left his farm home in 1884, at age 18, to become a compositor. Capper worked his way out of the print shop to develop, over the years, an empire of newspapers and magazines, which largely spoke to and for farmers. He also found himself attracted to politics, and after several frustrations in seeking office, he was finally successful when, in 1914, he was elected Governor of Kansas. From the governorship, he went on to the United States Senate, where he served for 30 years and became known as one of the tribunes of agriculture. Professor Socolofsky has used a wide variety of sources in this straightforward account of Capper's life. Readers will be indebted to Socolofsky for his reconstruction of Capper, the publisher and philanthropist, but they will probably wish that he had dealt in greater detail with Capper, the politician.

The University of Kansas

Donald R. McCoy

Kit Carson: A Portrait in Courage.
By M. Morgan Estergreen. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press. 1962. $5.95.

The early nineteenth century trappers of the western plains and mountain regions, those men who served as the first shock troops in Turner's advancing frontier, are our true pioneers. More than the much more celebrated and much abused cowboy, the mountain man is America's true and unique folk hero. The greatest trail-blazer of them all, Christopher "Kit" Carson, has long deserved a serious biographical study, even though an earlier student of his life, Edgar L. Hewett, wrote that he was "apprehensive" that a wholesome, truthful biography of him (Carson) will never be written. Mr. Estergreen, with meticulous scholarship and skillful use of the limited sources available, has attempted to allay Hewett's apprehensions. With a minimum of tall-tale telling, he presents a detailed account of Carson's many expeditions, his innumerable encounters with Indians and his victories in battle. He meets Hewett's standard of a biography that is wholesome and truthful. But in spite of these merits, the biography fails to present Kit Carson as the vital and significant figure that he is in American history. Partly this is due to Mr. Estergreen's deliberate effort to restrict his own vision to that of his hero. We see Carson crawling through enemy lines in order to obtain help from the American forces in San Diego, but we do not see this isolated exploit as it is related to the larger events of the Mexican
War. We are told of Carson's carrying Jessica Benton Fremont's miniature portrait to her husband in California, but we are not informed as to whether he was privy to the Fremonts' bold dreams of imperialism. In short, we have here the single leaf in all of its detail, but never the tree, not to mention the forest.

Grinnell College

Joseph F. Wall


Too little has been written about the military campaigns on our frontiers, especially the later Indian wars. Therefore, this timely biography of General Nelson A. Miles is a welcome addition to the historical literature of the period.

In this well written appraisal, interestingly by a woman author, the career of General Miles is rather vividly presented. A Major General and holder of the Congressional Medal of Honor, he remained in the regular army after the Civil War, and broke the power of chiefs Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse. Later he captured Geronimo and in 1891 led the last campaign against the Sioux. This is a fine tribute to a colorful and important officer who fought as well as gestured.

New York University

North Callahan


Rear Admiral Cunningham was senior officer on Wake in December, 1941, outranking the well-known Marine major, James Devereux. The book tells briefly of the author's earlier naval career, and more lengthily of the comfortable few weeks on Wake just before the Japanese attacks, the attacks themselves, and Cunningham's long stretch as a prisoner of war in Shanghai. It concludes briefly with his later tours of duty until retirement in 1950.

Cunningham debunks a legend; the reported message from Wake, "send us more Japs," was based on a misunderstanding. No one on the island felt the slightest desire for more, and no one felt jocular about the situation.

The book is a businesslike account of a story that needed telling by an officer with no literary talents but who has the advantage of knowing the story from start to finish.

University of Illinois

Charles E. Nowell

This is a collection of forty-four fragments of Kiowa history, most with "no beginning, no end, and no plot." Gleaned by the author from Indian interviews in the mid-1930's or from the Hugh Scott manuscript in the Library of Congress, they are a charming blend of history and folklore written to retain much of the distinctive flavor of Indian expression. They cover a broad array of subjects, ranging from the lot of white captives among the Kiowas to a detailed description of the tribal medicine dance; from the Kiowa version of the famous Adobe Walls fight of 1874 to the more general and fundamental problems of transition to the forceably imposed white man's way of life. Since war played such an important role in Kiowa existence, it is not surprising that tales of violence and of daring against the enemy predominate. But above all, in war or in peace, the Kiowas emerge as a remarkable human group, their lives touched with humor and pathos, with bravery and folly, with happiness and tragedy.

It is good to have such fragments on paper, many for the first time. Enhanced by Nick Eggenhofer's fine illustrations, the volume indicates that down through the years Wilbur Nye's medicine remains very good indeed.

University of Illinois
Clark C. Spence


This book, in the words of its author, purports to be "a brief, yet reasonably comprehensive" treatment of the development of New Mexico. Insofar as these somewhat contradictory objectives can be reconciled, Mr. Beck can be granted a passing mark. For the casual reader desiring to learn a little (but not too much) about New Mexico, this work should be satisfactory. The present reviewer, perhaps from a natural bias, found the chapter on "Things Political" extremely interesting although regrettably condensed. The author's style is occasionally infelicitous, as illustrated in the following: "... the Apaches looked with contempt upon those who engaged in unnecessary acts of daring and seemed to have never developed a code of bravery." Consistently, too, in both text and index, the author misspells Pizarro as "Pizzaro." But these are minor irritations.

Eastern New Mexico University
Patrick L. Halley
THE AGRARIAN MOVEMENT IN ILLINOIS

Written under the direction of Professor Fred Shannon, this study is a competent addition to the literature on the antecedents of Populism. The author analyses the nature of agrarian discontent in Illinois in the 1880's, demonstrating the differences between Illinois and other states as well as differences within the state itself. The rise of the major agricultural organizations in the state and the rivalry between them is described as a background to the unsuccessful attempt at an alliance movement.

The author argues with good evidence that the failure of the attempt at independent political action by farm groups in Illinois forestalled any significant advance of the Populist party and the attempt to build the party contributed to the final destruction of the alliance movement.

University of Tulsa Ivie E. Cadenhead, Jr.


Social and cultural histories are important because they add flesh and blood to the skeleton of the past. This book, which presents a narrative of the theatrical activities in Galveston and Houston from 1838 to 1900, is such a history. Names of personages and theatrical troupes mentioned show how widespread stage activities were on the American frontier and how far some of the great names of show business travelled and, incidentally, in what great style.

It is very difficult to write this kind of narrative in which one is dealing with similar activities season after season and keep the writing interesting and fluent. The author has solved this problem as well as it can be solved.

Texas Christian University Karl E. Snyder

THOMAS JEFFERSON AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICAN PUBLIC EDUCATION.

In this book, an outgrowth of the Jefferson Memorial Lectures given at the University of California, Dr. Conant covers three themes: Jefferson as an educational innovator; the fate of Jefferson's proposals in the nineteenth century; and the relevance of Jefferson's ideas today. In his program for
"education as a whole" Jefferson detailed a proposal for free elementary education for all, and an increasingly selective education for poor boys (through scholarships) and the wealthy intelligent, on the secondary and university level.

Dr. Conant's thesis is that Jefferson's views regarding selectivity and scholarships were not needed in the nineteenth century because large government and an educated class were not imperative—opportunity without education was a reality. Therefore, only his ideas of a university and free elementary education made headway. In the 1960's Jefferson's selective and scholarship proposals are accepted because of the urgent need for highly trained scientific manpower from poor and rich alike.

This is a thoughtful and well-written summary of Jefferson's ideas in particular and American educational history in general. Appended are Jefferson's major statements on education.

Kenneth B. O'Brien, Jr.

PATRIOTIC GORE: Studies in the Literature of the American Civil War.

If this is not a major book, it is at least a very interesting one. One could say with some justification that Mr. Wilson's thesis is simply an excuse to hang some essays on; the thesis is, indeed, sufficiently obvious (nations at war, ourselves in particular, assume God on their side and become blind to their own ugliness) to give this accusation some force, and in truth some of the essays hang a little loosely. But then the thesis has never been presented in more effective total blackness than it is in Mr. Wilson's "Introduction," and the essays, if sometimes only peripherally related to it, are themselves uniformly satisfying entities.

Mr. Wilson still dislikes the Sut Lovingood tales, and his feelings, if a little wrong-headed, are at least refreshingly different than the current wave of rather uncritical admiration for every aspect of "the southwestern humorists." Also refreshing are his dead-serious studies of works and authors too often dismissed with a well-worn cliche or two: Harriet Beecher Stowe, Thomas Nelson Page or Oliver Wendell Holmes. His discussions of Grant, Sherman, Mosby, Lee and Alexander Stevens both in terms of their careers and his thesis and (for those who wrote memoirs) as literary personalities, strike me as perhaps the most important, useful and original things in the book. Mr. Wilson's broad and literary intelligence certainly deserves title to whatever land it chooses to explore. The accusation that he is wasting his talents on little men and little minds seems unfair: for one thing, as Mr. Wilson presents the drama of personality, General Grant for instance does not seem a little man or a little mind.
Indeed, the chapter on Grant is perhaps the best brief account of the man we have, and the techniques of interpretative literary criticism applied to Sherman's writings produce our most plausible account of the genesis of his blood lust. Wilson's main concern seems the creation of emotionally satisfying essays ( appended to the Sherman chapter is a brief account of the strange career of his Jesuit son. Artistically the two function together splendidly).

What we have then is an odd but successful marriage of the brief biography ("little buckets") form of Eminent Victorians—though Wilson's work is far more honest, far less apt to distort for sake of effect, even though effect is a major goal—with the techniques of literary and historical scholarship. And because the conclusions are broadly cultural, the work seems another document to demonstrate that at its best American Studies needs no special formula; intelligence and breadth of knowledge are all that are required.

SGL


Professor Hyder had done in this volume what many biographers of Kittredge could not have done: written a factual, scholarly and thoroughly delightful life. Kittredge's eccentricities, his enormous prestige, the body of classroom legend which has grown up about him—and has indeed become part of the American academic heritage—all of these have defined for his biographer a task demanding discrimination, meticulousness and insight. In accomplishing it, Professor Hyder has been completely successful. The account, as the title indicates, concentrates on Kittredge's professional career—his almost unrivaled reputation as teacher and lecturer; his brilliant studies of medieval literature, balladry, Shakespeare, linguistics, colonial America and witchcraft; and his overall contribution to Harvard and scholarship throughout the world.

One of the strongest points of the book is that it assesses Kittredge's achievement accurately and still portrays the picturesque personality of the man, and it is this latter feature that the generality of readers are most familiar with and indeed love best. Professor Hyder has put the total image in proper focus. By including only stories that could be documented and by pointing out some of the most famous apocryphal anecdotes, he has corrected—for those who need it—the opinion that the most noteworthy fact about Kittredge was his colorful personality, that he was, above all, an academic "character."

Perhaps no other American scholar received the recognition and acclaim which Kittredge did in his lifetime, yet he was not without his detractors,
chiefly those who identified him with the Germanic tradition in scholarship. Professor Hyder demonstrates that Kittredge was not the doctrinaire traditionalist his critics attempted to make him out. Still, he symbolized to many the philological approach to the study of literature. An important chapter in the biography comments incisively on this phase of the teaching of English in American universities.

Kittredge's private life is dealt with in considerably less detail, yet enough emerges to reveal him as an affectionate family man and "a devout Christian spirit."

Professor Hyder has written an informative and perceptive biography of one of America's greatest academicians. He is to be congratulated. Centenary College of Louisiana Lee Morgan


Henry Adams wrote in February, 1908 to William James, a propos of his Education, of the difficulty of composing an autobiography "with an end and object, not for the sake of the object, but for the form. . . . The world does not furnish the contrasts or the emotion." "Your brother Harry," he said, "tries such experiments in literary art daily." It is fitting that the present biographer be a scholar willing to experiment. Professor Edel's object, through his form, is to enrich and clarify our understanding of a mystery: how a great writer's imagination was fed and how it developed in the course of a life. It is a life all the more mysterious and challenging to a biographer because Henry James tried to destroy documents and generally cover his tracks, as Edel explains in his Alexander Lectures on Literary Biography.

Edel believes that as a literary biographer he must unite the qualities of critic and psychoanalyst, studying James' works as revelations of his hidden life. The method, one surmises, is chosen also for the sake of giving contrasts and emotion to the story of a life outwardly quiet. Edel is far beyond the simple psychologising that merely adds legends: he is very sensible, for example, in discussing the famous injury of 1861; and his account of Alice James is a remarkable contribution to the history of American women of the nineteenth century. But the method makes some difficulties. It is believable that the pains and puzzles of James' boyhood can be traced into the writings of maturity, but the biographer has sometimes been obliged to say this rather starkly. The discussion of The Portrait of A Lady, for example, reduces Gilbert Osmond and Isabel Archer as characters and diminishes the
power of the novel, as is not the case with the chapter on that novel in a new
book—The Ordeal of Consciousness in Henry James—by Dorothea Krook,
who is not attempting to be a biographer as well as a psychological critic.
(Here too Edel neglects James' distinction between coldness and generosity,
a judgment which Katherine Anne Porter long ago traced to life in the James
family and which need not be forgotten as one stresses the hostilities in the
classic family drama.)

And although Edel wishes to show that psychic wounds deepen the
writer's insight, the discussion of them does rather obstruct the view of
James' intelligence. The tales too often seem—even after the narrative
reaches James' maturity—projections of inner conflict or a relief to the
feelings, rather than works which a whole imagination has composed, bring­
ing to bear critical evaluations and a sense of the larger human relationships
of things.

The fourth and final volume may add much. Meanwhile there is no
question about the amplitude of the work in many of its aspects. We feel
that we are living through a long and absorbing life. Most interesting perhaps
is Edel's restoration of James' experiences with people and places, especia­ly
in the second and third volumes. Sympathetic readers have always perceived
that James knew a great deal about life; Edel's admirable research makes it
possible to see what he looked at and whom he knew while he was learning it.
Family, friends, acquaintances, societies, cities in America and Europe
are here in the foreground. One of the best sections is the brilliant state­
ment of what in The Princess Casamassima James' imagination could work
upon: knowledge of American radicals of his father's time and of Nihilists
of Turgenev's circle, observation of Victorian London and reflections on the
dilemma of liberals in the 80's.

Another great virtue of the biography for students of American literature
and culture is Edel's demonstration of how Henry James outgrew the conflict
between life at home and life abroad—a phase in which literary journalists
like to leave him perpetually—and became a writer whose questions for him­
self were deeper and whose studies of Americans changed with the changes
in their lives as well as in his own.

Vassar College
Caroline G. Mercer

HOWELLS: A Century of Criticism.
Edited by Kenneth Eble. Dallas, Texas:
Southern Methodist University Press.
1962. $4.50.

This book attempts to do two things: suggest critical views of Howells
during his lifetime, and survey the Howells criticism since the Dean's death.
Professor Eble's first objective is more successfully met than his second,
where four major headings—The Howells Revival, Realism and Reticence,
Reviews

Howells' Social and Economic Views, and Current Opinions--both limit and obscure the editor's imagined scope. The brief headnotes to the articles are uneven and add little to the value of the volume. Sometimes the information given is incorrect: for example, Howells wrote only one comic opera and dramatized his novels only with the help of collaborators. Professor Eble's collection contains only a few of the essays in Cady and Frazier's The War of the Critics Over William Dean Howells, but in general Eble's essays are not as carefully chosen to present "Howells criticism" as those in the Cady-Frazier volume.

University of Kansas

Walter J. Meserve


With this first full biography of the novelist Robert Herrick, a critical complement to his earlier Edith Wharton, Professor Nevius seemingly has heralded a recent proposal by Edwin H. Cady (Indiana), William M. Gibson (N.Y.U.) and other scholars for the establishment of a research center to further authentic reappraisals and re-editing of American authors. Rejecting formal biography, Mr. Nevius offers a cogent interpretive analysis of the Herrick novels, whose immediacy may have been lost but whose comprehensive pictures and sensitive criticism of upper middle-class American life--in the interregnum between Howells and the writers of the Twenties--still have authentic historic interest. Moreover, Mr. Nevius traces the development of Herrick's personality as reflected in the novels, since these are "so immediately the product of his experience--the persons, places, and events that influenced him, as well as the books he read and admired." By means of interviews, examination of public records, evaluation of cultural influences, detailed textual analyses, chapter notes and bibliographies, Mr. Nevius brings again to critical attention Robert Welch Herrick, who in the breadth of his social survey "is unmatched by any of his contemporaries during the first fifteen years of the century."

Southern Methodist University

Ima Honaker Herron

Generally, those writers with the best feeling for Poe's biography are the worst critics. Poe scholars are deeply in debt to Arthur Hobson Quinn for *Edgar Allan Poe: A Critical Biography* (1941), monumental, revolutionary and sane as a biography, unbelievably naive and inept as criticism. T. O. Mabbott, the charming and learned man who knows more about Poe than anyone, perhaps even Poe himself, ever has, will not, I hope, be offended if I say that he is no critic. Now comes Mr. Buranelli to write a brief survey of all of Poe, and the results are mixed. There are some exceptions, but for the most part, his biographical portions rest on the best biographical work done on Poe, and his critical portions on the worse. Sound: "If Poe's normal traits are being stressed too much today, it is an error on the right side." "If he did not read comprehensively or exhaustively in the giants of literary criticism, he read enough in them or about them to locate the concepts he needed." "If Poe lacked a sense of humor." Equally off-target is this statement: "Why . . . the French . . . adopted Poe . . . is a question for which a satisfying answer . . . will be a long time in coming." (Patrick Quinn provided the answer in *The French Face of Edgar Poe* [1957]). Finally and most foolishly, "[Poe] has a strong claim to the titles of our best poet, our best short story writer and our best critic." (Poe is America's greatest writer, and the American writer of greatest significance in world literature.)


This affords a valuable outline and summary of Jeffers' career and sketches in recent material in order to bring Jeffers scholarship up to date. It reminds us that Jeffers is poet, not philosopher; it draws together the major influences upon his work; it outlines the 'plots' of his major works and places each in its proper relationship to the others.
However, as criticism, the book seems hastily-written and rather fanciful, especially spotty in its treatment of Jeffers' style and hesitant in its discussion of themes. Opaque references to "vivid imagery" and "imaginative phrases" are summoned all too frequently to describe Jeffers' style; Mr. Carpenter, unable to settle upon Tamar as evil incarnate or the exorcist of her family's evil, makes of her a devil "casting out devils by Beelzebub"; though most sources for the narratives are pointed out, Jeffers' debt to Euripides' Bacchae is conspicuously missing from Mr. Carpenter's discussion of The Humanist Tragedy; in a critical extravaganza, Mr. Carpenter more or less directly associates Jeffers' power as a poet with the development of our atomic age.

In general, the "outline" approach has produced a book which should serve the non-specialist as an introduction to Jeffers' work, though the specialist will be impatient of its inadequacies.

Bowling Green State University  Ann N. Ridgeway


Like that of most of the schoolroom poets, the poetry and prose of Oliver Wendell Holmes are badly in need of critical reassessment and careful selection. Though this new biography is an appreciative one, being well documented and honestly presented, it fails to place Holmes' writing in an artistic perspective. His best works, "The Deacon's Masterpiece," "The Chambered Nautilus," Elsie Venner and the shorter social verses are merely paraphrased and labeled as successful. What criticism there is consists of trite comments like "rolling meter," "ringing tones" and "rhythmic shout of joy." Such cliches unfortunately characterize the tenor of Professor Small's approach and severely limit any critical evaluation of his achievement or failure. It is also hard to understand why the trivia that filled Holmes' final six years should merit a complete chapter. Even the biographical sections and those dealing with his medical activities fail to convey the personality of the man and doctor. At no time does this book rival the vividness and illuminating characterization of Eleanor Tilton's superb biography, Amiable Autocrat. However, on the credit side the sections dealing with Holmes' prose and novels, especially the examination of The Guardian Angel and A Mortal Antipathy, are rewarding reading and do present neglected areas in these works. Still, if Holmes is ever to be read and appreciated by a modern audience, more detailed critical reasons will have to be advanced.

Rice University  John B. Pickard
The University of Minnesota Pamphlets on American Writers (Paper only)


The usefulness of a condensed critical and biographical essay on Hawthorne is debatable. The relations between his life and work are surely more oblique, more difficult to unravel than those of most authors. Mr. Waggoner deals briefly with the "well adjusted" outer Hawthorne and the "inner man" or artist. Such an analysis is perilous when fully documented, and the scope of this pamphlet (45 pages) precludes the fine points of biographical evidence.

In the comparison of the sketches and the fiction, however, Mr. Waggoner has done an admirable job. For the student and the general reader there are brilliant comparisons of ideas in the sketches with theme and form in the fiction. The discussion of initiation and commitment in "My Kinsman, Major Molineux" and in "Beneath an Umbrella" is especially perceptive.

The selected bibliography will be useful for undergraduates. For fuller scholarly treatment the student should find it easy to go from this pamphlet to the books on Hawthorne by Mr. Waggoner, Roy Male, or Arlin Turner.

Oklahoma State University Clinton Keeler


In considering the many facets of John Crowe Ransom, John L. Stewart achieves a remarkable well balanced judgment, despite a somewhat tiresome and surely unnecessary account of the "Southern Renaissance" and of those qualities which distinguish Southern writers. He praises Ransom's poetry for "unabashed elegance and artifice." He acutely notes that Ransom's criticism was less revolutionary than has been thought and is less important than it may once have seemed, largely because of Ransom's defective notions of psychology and his imperfect concept of science. As editor of the Kenyon Review, Ransom became "whether he would or no, the patron of the young Turks of American letters. . . ." Mr. Stewart's assessment is a fine, fair estimate: "Inevitably his reputation in criticism will decline. . . . But his reputation as a poet, which is high, will continue to rise."

Oklahoma State University Samuel H. Woods, Jr.
E. A. ROBINSON. By Louis Coxe.
Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1962. $.65.

Despite fine detailed analyses of "Eros Turannos," "The Clerks" and "The Gift of God," Mr. Coxe's account is more biographical and historical than critical. It is also slightly defensive: Robinson wrote "the finest poems written in America between 1900 and 1920," but Mr. Coxe must grant that Frost and Eliot were yet to be heard from. Mr. Coxe sees Robinson as "a late Romantic, a Victorian, a Transcendentalist whose lust after the abstract was inveterate and nearly always, when indulged, destructive," as in the longer poems. Mr. Coxe rightly praises Robinson's "laconic, sinewy plain diction" and his "'mixed' lyric, the poem rooted in situation which combines narrative, lyrical and ironic, often humorous, qualities." I wish Mr. Coxe had been more willing to concede Robinson is a minor poet, but a minor poet comparable to Hardy. I wish, too, Mr. Coxe had distinguished between Robinson's "New England quality" and Frost's, for both poets belong very much to that region, yet Frost transcends mere regionalism while Robinson remains confined by it.

Oklahoma State University
Samuel H. Woods, Jr.


Mr. Cambon's thesis here is that the academic palefaces have absorbed the redskins' vigor into their poetic technique, and he demonstrates it in analyses of seven poets: Richard Wilbur, W. S. Merwin, Anthony Hecht, W. D. Snodgrass, James Wright, Galway Kinnell and John Logan. The Beat Generation Mr. Cambon does not consider except in passing as an "energetic reminder" like recent work by Pound and Williams that the fifties were not entirely tranquilized. Even in noting this composure in the verse of the last ten years, he also sees in the work of several younger poets (Denise Levertov, Gary Snyder and Jack Hirschman) evidence that "American poetry is seeking to recapture the restless experimental spirit that made its modern 'renaissance' so exciting, from 1912 through the mercurial twenties."

Oklahoma State University
Samuel H. Woods, Jr.

The archetype of Recent American Novelists is Saul Bellow (11 pages); Ralph Ellison (6 pages), exhibit #2, proves that Bellow is representative. Then come dislocated comments on Mailer, Salinger, Styron and Capote (about 3 page each) that add little to the meaning of Ludwig's essay. A final declining six pages barely touch Flannery O'Connor, James Baldwin and Bernard Malamud but encyclopedize many other names.

The thesis is developed only in terms of Bellow and Ellison, but there it is well supported: American novelists, reacting against narrow views of form, are experimenting with looser and freer styles that reflect their desire for participation instead of contemplation.

The University of Texas


Most of the essays in this volume have already been published elsewhere, and few of them are of lasting interest. The title essay, which is published here for the first time, offers some interesting insights but is not especially significant. In short, there seems to have been little justification for bringing together this rather undistinguished collection in a hard-cover book. It is regrettable that Professor O'Connor chose to include, as the final selection, an exercise in name-dropping which he calls "The Hawthorne Museum: A Dialogue." He might, with equal accuracy, have called it "Some Noted Writers I Have Met, and Random Things That They Have Said to Me."


In this volume on the creative contribution of James, Mr. Wright reviews at some length many of the better known stories of James and hints at many more of the lesser known ones. His writing is sensitive, touched in places by the loveliness of James himself at his best. Mr. Wright successfully illustrates his thesis that for Henry James "creative composition was
very closely synonymous with living itself." The third section of the study considers the early stories of James, many of which "have more pertinence as biography than as art."

From this section Mr. Wright moves to what he terms The Ultimate Theme: The Quest for Reality; this was for James the "mystery of human thought and human passion," a theme which occupied James increasingly from his middle years on. From the aspects of theme, character and tone, Mr. Wright analyzes many stories to show how James was perennially concerned to interpret the complexity of human life. "The Turn of the Screw" Mr. Wright refers to as a "touchstone in literary criticism" in which James succeeded in making the governess do "in a superlative way what less harassed minds do in a more subdued fashion."

The study ends with a chapter in which Mr. Wright shows how Henry James has succeeded in fusing technical proficiency with his own particular kind of artistic insight; this section deals in detail with "The Altar of the Dead," The Wings of the Dove, The Ambassadors and The Golden Bowl; it concludes, as the whole study began, with Mr. Wright's thesis that for Henry James the fusing of the known and the felt, the conscious and the spiritual is indeed "the madness of art."

Ohio University
Elizabeth B. Stanton

MAN IN MOTION: Faulkner's Trilogy.

Warren Beck, author in 1941 and 1942 of four articles on Faulkner, has written almost twenty years later a study of the Snopes trilogy. More importantly, he argues convincingly for the literary unity of the trilogy, and future students should henceforth accept this and move on from there. This study should suggest to Faulkner's publisher the suitability of issuing the trilogy in a format such as a Modern Library Giant. Also, the detailed analyses of Flem Snopes, Gavin Stevens and Ratcliffe are perceptive and good. Though more readable than so much of Faulkner criticism, this book in its early chapters has a too frequent use of multiple epithets, reminiscent of Faulknerian prose. Moreover, the relation of the trilogy to the whole of Faulkner's works and the extent of the novelist's use of the manner and themes of 19th century Southwest humor and regional folk humor are glossed over. Finally an index is needed.

Youngstown University
Ward L. Miner

The scrupulous scholarship of this volume is what one has come to expect from Dr. Kirk, one of the most perceptive critics of Howells' subtle revelations of his age. The period treated was critical, not only in shaping the national mind but also in bringing to final form Howells' own philosophy. Making use of letters, the original Altrurian essays as they appeared in The Cosmopolitan and of the Altrurian novels, A Traveler from Altruria (1894) and Through the Eye of the Needle (1907), Dr. Kirk presents two themes. One of these is Howells' awareness of how far his nation had strayed from the Greco-Christian traditions underlying American civilization; the author follows Howells' exploration of Christian socialism as a means of return. In this connection his efforts on behalf of the Haymarket "anarchists" and his abortive editorship of the liberal Cosmopolitan under the ownership of J. B. Walker provide evidence that Howells was active in reform if not a "crusader." The second theme involves Howells' gradual self-identification with Mr. Homos, the Altrurian traveler, and a growing certainty that "complicity" rather than ruthless self-interest was the path to "the redemption of the individual in terms of brotherhood." This volume adds new depth to the portrait of Howells while suggesting many topics modern in interest and worthy of further study.

Bowling Green State University Alma J. Payne


To reassessments of Mark Twain's narrators by Kenneth S. Lynn and Henry Nash Smith, Mr. Covici adds an emphasis on their fidelity to sense-impressions, their bluffing of the world, and their intuitive value-judgments. Huck Finn, Hank Morgan (in A Connecticut Yankee) and Theodor (in "The Mysterious Stranger") were fully-fleshed characters, torn between "official" shams and personal integrity. Through "hoax-as-satire," Twain indicted reality itself as a dream or hoax, but paradoxically he felt that man might yet construct valid ideals.

Hazy definitions of hoax, parody and burlesque, and neo-Freudian theorizing about humor are outweighed by Covici's interrelating of Twain's humor to his basic values and to the main stream of American fiction. Result: a good general introduction to Mark Twain.

Iowa State University Norris W. Yates
THE LETTERS OF JAMES KIRKE PAULDING.
Edited by Ralph M. Aderman. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press. 1962. $10.00.

The best comment on Paulding's literary career is Das englische Erbe in der amerikanischen Literatur by Teut Riese (1958). Here is a more rounded image: wit, patriot, author, statesman and gentleman farmer all appear in these 416 letters. Paulding's governmental correspondence will undoubtedly benefit the historian. In literary matters, he is still in 1846 the "emphatically American writer" of the 1820's who decries imitation of "superannuated Europe." The letters indicate that his literary oblivion may stem partly from disagreements with publishers in his later years. Dr. Aderman's brief annotation is adequate to the understanding of the letters, and he is to be congratulated on his painstaking edition.

University of Oklahoma

THE COLLEGE NOVEL IN AMERICA.

The reader who likes to think of books shelved according to subject matter and who is especially interested in academic life will like The College Novel in America. Written by one English professor (University of Wisconsin), introduced by another (Harry T. Moore, University of Colorado) and published by a university press, it inevitable smacks of the campus.

Professor Lyons has shown that college and university novels have multiplied in America while decreasing in England. Four-fifths of the 215 in his bibliography have appeared since 1925. Hawthorne's apprentice-period Fanshawe (1828) was the first. By 1898 the critic George Saintsbury in a Macmillan's Magazine article recognized the genre's potential importance. Early novels stressed glamorous student life, but emphasis shifted, first to the student seeking to find himself in society or art (Bildungsroman, Künstlerroman); next to professors, often maladjusted ones and most numerous English professors; then to campus politics, social problems including segregation and controversy over academic freedom. Many of the novels mentioned are by otherwise obscure authors, some of them the sole publication of their writers, but a number of known authors and several prominent campus teachers of writing are represented.

From his inside point of view, Professor Lyons does not look on the college novel as a major contribution to American literature. He sees, or implies, several reasons. Foremost is the tentative, inquiring, experimental quality of college life itself, which gives the subject matter more pettiness than sublimity. But the production of campus novels, some of them widely read, at a rate averaging four a year indicates that the genre has become a
significant rivulet in the mainstream of American fiction. Like Professor Moore, I found the volume "pleasant and informative." It should have some interpretive values, especially for the reader who finds himself getting lost in the maze of modern fiction.

Texas Christian University

Cecil B. Williams

AN INTRODUCTION TO FOLK MUSIC IN THE UNITED STATES. By Bruno Nettl. Detroit: Wayne State University Press. 1962. $2.50.

In this first revision of his 1960 brief but authoritative survey of folk music in the United States, Professor Nettl, one of America's foremost ethnomusicologists has added an index and has updated the sections on bibliographical aids. In spite of the fact that the book has only 125 pages, there is no better comprehensive introduction to the subject of American folk music. After defining folk music and distinguishing the general characteristics of folk and primitive music, Nettl masterfully surveys, albeit in cursory fashion, American Indian music, the British tradition and the immigrant traditions stemming from Europe and Africa. Chapters are also devoted to urban folk music, the vexing problem of the professional singer of folk songs, the collection and study of folk music and its use by composers of art music. The discussion is illuminated by thirty-two musical examples. There are notes and bibliographical suggestions (including references to the pertinent anthropological and European musicological scholarship) for each chapter.

Unlike most treatments of folk music, Nettl's includes consideration of both primitive (Indian) and folk (Anglo-American) tradition. Praiseworthy also is the fact that attention is paid to both text and music. The book is ideal for interested laymen and for students of folklore and folk music.

University of Kansas

Alan Dundes