
This volume is a pioneer study of a significant subject. It comes to fill a gap in colonial history that long stood in need of attention. Agrarian society loomed so large, frontier conditions so characteristic, that emphasis upon them has clouded over the importance of the cities in the wilderness. This neglected aspect of the picture is now corrected and by that token the volume is thrice welcomed. Dr. Bridenbaugh sets forth in a wealth of colorful detail and in comprehensive manner the nature and genius of society in five chief cities: Boston, Newport, New York, Philadelphia, Charles Town. These representative port towns were essential factors in the growth of the colonies to stability and maturity. Colonial economic strength depended upon the exchange of natural resources as purchasing power for necessary goods from overseas. Port towns were necessary as entrepots of commerce. From the hinterland came the commodities on their way to all quarters of the Atlantic basin. From the outside world came the goods to be distributed throughout the colonies. These mercantile centers, laid out wisely in places favored by geography, slowly grew in response to the dictates of industry and commerce.

The study covers a chronological period sufficient in length to see the towns grow from birth and infancy to maturity. One part deals with the founding of the towns and the struggles of the villages to establish themselves. Then follows the period, 1690-1720, when civic consciousness emerges. The next two decades see the towns flower into maturity, solidly entrenched in established institutions. As one would expect, mercantile life stands out in bold relief. Here one sees the growth of a merchant aristocracy preoccupied with ledgers, goods, ships, docks, warehouses. Their profits are invested in land or loaned at interest. In each city the merchant class formed a ruling aristocracy buttressed by their wealth and held together frequently by intermarriage. As commerce expanded it provided for the employment of a growing army of artisans, small shop-keepers, and laborers. In time came a tension between the lowly class and the rich merchants who ruled the cities. It is hoped that Dr. Bridenbaugh will carry the story of the cities through the Revolutionary period. The place and part of the cities in shaping and directing the revolutionary movement in both its domestic and imperial aspects needs to be told.

From these pages one sees a clear and intimate picture of life and living in the towns in all their many aspects. Here one sees the taverns as centers...
of social interest or the churches as places of instruction and relaxation. Education and literature are described. The shady side of life, pauperism, crime, drink, immorality, are given their due place. Provisions for highways, bridges, paving, docks, markets, and other external phases of city life are properly explained and illustrated. The regulation of prices, weight, and quality of goods concern the city administration. One wonders why the author left out the lawyers who formed a more influential class than the doctors who are described.

The volume carries an abundance of detail. One is impressed with the patient labor which went into the collection, collating and presentation of the wealth of evidence. Little in the way of sources, printed and manuscript, eluded the watchful eye of the author. And yet it is not overdetailed. It is the detail which gives the whole story color, warmth, and intimacy. These five cities had their differences which the author makes clear and they had fundamental similarities which lend unity. Students of the era are delighted to welcome this scholarly work.

University of Iowa.

Winfred T. Root.


This scholarly and interesting volume is one of a series on western Pennsylvania history, written under the direction of the Western Pennsylvania Historical Survey sponsored jointly by The Buhl Foundation, the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, and the University of Pittsburgh. Its author is a native of western Pennsylvania, a member of the history department of the University of Pittsburgh, and the writer of Pittsburgh: The Story of a City.

Whiskey Rebels is the fullest and fairest account of the Whiskey Insurrection that has been written. Dr. Baldwin has made good use of his sources and has presented a lucid and well-documented account of an important episode in our early history. He portrays the so-called “rebels” as honest, hard-working, religious, democratic farmers who took the principles of the Declaration of Independence seriously and sought to protect their liberties against the federal government which was in the hands of the eastern moneyed classes, who considered themselves “gentlemen of respectability” and who looked with contempt on the “yahoos” of the back country. At the close of the Revolution the western Pennsylvanians faced a very critical situation. Indian raids continued along the frontier; the British still remained at various western trading posts; speculators gained control of much of the best land and were charging exorbitant prices for it; commerce on the Ohio and Mississippi was practically blocked; and the greatest scarcity of money made it difficult to pay taxes and caused all salaried officials to be extremely unpopular. There was a diversity of nationalities along the Pennsylvania frontier as well as a variety of economic interests, but there was one attitude on which all the pioneers agreed—hatred of the excise. This hatred was due to heredity and psychology as well as to economic and
demand for a standing army, and the suppression of the rebellion tended to strengthen the Federalist grip upon the national administration.

Unfortunately Dr. Baldwin did not have access to the Trench Coxe papers, which might have thrown light on the distilling industry in the United States in the 1790's. There are also gaps in the military history of the rebellion. In spite of these omissions, however, the author has presented a lively account of an interesting episode in our early history.

University of North Carolina

HUGH T. LEFLER.


Considering the great revival during the past two decades of economic nationalism, Dr. Hutcheson's recent study of Tench Coxe, Philadelphian, is an appropriate and valuable addition to the history of American economic thought. Even to the majority of American historians Tench Coxe today is little more than a name. The Federalist historian, Richard Hildreth, once described him as "a mousing politician and temporizing busybody, though a man of considerable financial knowledge and ability." Actually he was a man who exerted some influence upon his generation and deserved well of the nation which he served.

From 1785, when he served as a delegate to the Annapolis Convention until his death in 1824, Coxe gave a considerable proportion of his time and thought to public affairs. Although he held office under both Federalist and Republican administrations, the positions were hardly important. His influence was exerted rather through his friendship for Hamilton, Jefferson, Madison, and other political leaders, whom he advised on economic matters, and through his tireless advocacy in the press and elsewhere of his belief in economic nationalism. Believing that political nationalism was essential to economic nationalism, he wrote ardently in defense of the proposed federal Constitution, and his essays were probably as widely read, particularly in Pennsylvania, as the more famous writings of Hamilton, Madison, and Jay. As Hamilton's assistant in the Treasury Department he undoubtedly aided in the latter's _Report on Manufactures._ Later under Jefferson and Madison and during the period of our commercial difficulties with France and Great Britain, he consistently urged the importance of a well-rounded economic life and minimized the importance of foreign commerce. Perhaps his most important concrete contribution was his tireless advocacy of the development of manufacturing and the expansion of cotton culture in the South.

As a writer Coxe concerned himself chiefly with propagandizing his ideas, and over the years he produced a considerable amount. Dr. Hutcheson lists forty-one items, but as Coxe usually wrote under a nom de plume, some of his writings have probably not been identified. His best-known work is his compilation in 1814 of the first industrial census, and for this economic historians have always had for him a warm spot in their hearts.
social considerations. The excise was not new in Pennsylvania; one had been imposed as early as 1684; the excise of 1756 had caused prolonged controversy; and in 1780 several excise officers had been attacked. The Hamiltonians claimed that the westerner did not bear his share of the expense of government; yet the tax records indicate that the western Pennsylvania counties were nearly always the first to return their full quotas, except for the hated excise on liquor. The westerners considered the "Hamilton Excise" as a device used by speculators in state securities and by the great property holders in general to shift the burden of "assumption" to the shoulders of the consumers.

Dr. Baldwin interprets the Whiskey Insurrection as an essentially agrarian movement. In the early 1790's the Monongahela counties of western Pennsylvania had between 1300 and 1400 stills, which was about one-fourth of the nation's total. Most of the ready cash of the western farmers came from the sale of whiskey, and it seemed to these hard-working frontiersmen that the commercial and industrial classes of the East were allied with the federal government to crush out the small entrepreneur and to cut off the farmers' most satisfactory source of income. Much of the whiskey made in western Pennsylvania was for domestic use, and the excise therefore fell on the farmers as a direct tax. They saw no good reason why they should be taxed for the benefit of the propertied men of the East, and they deeply resented that provision of the "Hamilton Excise" which required that cases arising under the law be tried in the courts at Philadelphia.

The author of this book gives a detailed account of events of the uprising between 1790 and 1794—the beginning of direct action, Bower Hill, the Mingo meeting, the gathering at Braddock's Field, the action of the "Whiskey Boys in Sodom," the meetings at Parkinson's Ferry, and other steps leading to the outbreak of violence in 1794. He has no apology to make for the rash action of certain leaders of the rebellion. David Bradford, the outstanding spokesman of the "rebels," was hotheaded and irresponsible; some of the leaders were mere popularity seekers; others, like young Albert Gallatin, attended the meetings and sought to check the trend to violence. It is interesting to observe that many of the leaders of the uprising were of English stock and that the Germans took little or no part in the rebellion.

The story of the collapse of the Whiskey Insurrection is well known. Governor Mifflin, apparently afraid of losing popularity with the western farmers, refused to call out the militia. President Washington thereupon called for 15,000 men from Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania to march against the rebellious counties by the first of September, 1794. The "Watermelon army" which finally marched to western Pennsylvania consisted of 12,950 men, a force larger than the number of men of military age in the counties which were in rebellion. Hamilton, who accompanied the army in a civil capacity, secured the arrest of eighteen leaders (some had already fled) and had them sent to Philadelphia for trial. Two of these were convicted, but Washington pardoned them. Dr. Baldwin says that there is no proof that the Federalists intended to stir up an insurrection, but nevertheless it proved a godsend for them; furthermore, it justified the Federalist
As an economist Coxe was often superficial, but on the whole he well understood the complications of his problem. There is little evidence that he was widely read or greatly influenced by the European economists of the national school. In general he worked out his own theories from personal observations, and they were quite at variance with those of classicists of his day. "He is entitled," insists Dr. Hutcheson, "in common with Alexander Hamilton, to rank as a precursor of the 'American Nationalist School.'" This school—the two Careys, List, Raymond, Rae and Niles—produced more finished economic writing than did Coxe, but none sensed the true balance of American economic life better than he.

This study is a clear, concise, and scholarly presentation of the somewhat meager information available regarding Tench Coxe. Unfortunately the Coxe family has so far refused to make available the main body of manuscripts which would throw light on his life. Except in pinning down details and in more clearly ascertaining Coxe's influence in the formulation of Hamilton's Report on Manufactures, it is probable that they would reveal little that is not here. It is regrettable, however, that such a body of manuscript should be withheld from the serious research student.

Smith College

HAROLD U. FAULKNER.

**Writings of General John Forbes Relating to His Service in North America.**


This volume is one of the most important books dealing with the history of Pennsylvania and the surrounding area which has appeared during the past year. He who would read it will do well to begin by reading Francis Parkman's heroic chapter "1758: Fort Duquesne" in his *Montcalm and Wolfe*. The task assigned to General Forbes was a critical one. Should he succeed in capturing Duquesne, the long frontier from New York to Carolina would no longer be harassed by fire and scalping knife, and an important campaign in William Pitt's world strategy of empire would make its anticipated contribution. To this end, though suffering from a malady which required him at times to be carried on a litter over his newly cut road, Forbes penetrated the wilderness and made a willing sacrifice of his own life to the interest of his king and country.

The 200 documents here printed cover the story of this campaign and deal with the events of the period, 1757-1759. They were found only by prolonged and painstaking search in numerous depositories as widely separated as the British Museum in London and the Huntington Library in California, the Dominion Archives of Canada, and the Library of Congress. Three-fourths of the documents have never been previously printed. As a result of the work of Professor James, the place of General Forbes in the French and Indian War, heretofore generally not emphasized sufficiently by historians, can now be definitely described. Still, there remains the mystery
BOOK REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTES

of possible papers in the hands of his descendants in Scotland yet to be exploited. A trip to Great Britain by the editor might have solved this mystery, had the Buhl Foundation been able to finance it. An excellent introductory essay and index has been included. In the absence of a bibliography, however, first citations in footnotes should have been in complete bibliographical form.

Forbes was "early ambitious of the military character." After long service in the Scots Greys, Pitt appointed him brigadier general and gave him command of the expedition against Fort Duquesne. The details of this expedition are given in these documents with all the realistic spirit of the time. They shed new light upon such men as Washington, Sir William Johnson, George Croghan, Pitt, Gage, and Bouquet. Indian affairs also loom large. Forbes did not appreciate the services which Sir William Johnson, George Croghan, and Christian Frederick Post rendered to his expedition. Had it not been for the courageous and skillful work of Post and Croghan in detaching the Ohio Indian tribes from the French, his expedition could not have been so successful. On the other hand, the pressure of Forbes' army undoubtedly assisted Post and Croghan in their difficult negotiations. In these constant and changing interrelations it is very hard at any one time to say which was cause and which effect. Perhaps the editor, imbued with Forbes' point of view, neglects in his introduction to give due weight to the contribution of the Department of Indian Affairs.

The organization of the British and colonial military forces and the extreme difficulty of the work of the quartermaster and adjutant generals' divisions are graphically portrayed in these letters. It is here that Forbes laid the foundation for his success at Duquesne. His superb diplomatic tact and astuteness enabled him to overcome the selfish interests of powerful colonial leaders, the apathy of the people of Pennsylvania, and the jealous rivalries of Virginia and Pennsylvania. It was thus that he secured necessary cooperation.

This volume is a credit to the exacting scholarship of the editor and to the group of Pittsburgh scholars and men of means, who during the last decade have done so much to place their metropolis upon the national historical map. It is also a credit to the sponsoring Colonial Dames of America and represents exactly the kind of historical work which such an organization ought to sponsor as useful and enduring memorials to pioneering ancestors.

Ohio University

A. T. Volwiler.


This exceedingly well-written and informative book by Harry Emerson Wildes deals with the story of a handful of Americans, more or less in arms, who spent a hellish winter during the American Revolution. In the public eye Valley Forge stands out as the supreme example of Revolutionary suffering and of human endurance and heroism. Yet, it was not the only
winter of this description. Morristown, where the fate of American liberty hung just as much in the balance and black despair reigned, can vie with Valley Forge in horror. One may well wonder why Valley Forge invariably comes to mind as the epitome of distress. Was it because of the glaring contrast between it and Philadelphia, between one army fasting and the other feasting in close proximity—between the American army facing starvation and dissolusion and the British forces in the American Capua indulging in gluttony and grog? The bare rudiments of life were desperately wanting at Valley Forge; even water was at times scarce. While the Americans "held a rendezvous with death, the British held theirs with rum." Was it because American prisoners in a city famed for its charities frantically sought nourishment from blades of grass and died of starvation in the Walnut Street Gaol, while their conquerors reveled in luxury? Was it because in a state where food was most abundant, American soldiers went without?

When this inexcusable want of necessities in the very heart of the colonial granary is admitted, it is a fact worthy of note that the American army never spent a winter better supplied than the one at Boston in the first year of the war. New England always lacked food even for its peacetime consumption. Professor Channing states that wherever an American army of any size was gathered, want immediately appeared. Yet the army was certainly less in numbers at Valley Forge than about Boston. Mr. Wildes attributes the shortage to insuperable transportation difficulties. Do, then, Pennsylvania winters present greater impediments of this kind than those of New England?

Much is made, in this thorough-going study, of the incomprehensible lethargy and want of enterprise of the British. A great deal of this attitude can be charged to the well-known mental and physical characteristics of the inexplicable commander-in-chief, William Howe. Yet, did he differ markedly from most of the other specimens of military mediocrity who contributed materially to the winning of the war? The professional soldier in the eighteenth century fought only in the least inclement months. War started in late June or July and ended as winter approached in September or earlier. Seven years did the American Revolution last—or would it not be nearer the truth to say that it occupied seven months?

Ensconced in Philadelphia, the British could not be induced during the Howe regime to stir their pegs. Twenty miles was far too cruel a distance for them to march in winter. Besides, the reports brought in daily by the stream of deserters were not conducive to any inclination to go out and visit a spot which dearth and death dominated. Certainly there was no gold in those hills, and what glory would accrue from beating a semi-military mob fast moldering away? Craving no more extensive acquaintance with the wooded wilds of the new country, the army from across the sea sat as tight as ticks in the taverns. Their superiors found occupation instead in ardent campaigns against "the American fair," who, it was whispered, occasionally surrendered.

While the event which made Valley Forge an American shrine rightfully occupies the heart of the book under discussion, the reader is rewarded with
instructing glimpses of the spot before and after the Revolution. Not only does Valley Forge play a prominent part in the period which "tried men's souls"; it has touched and partaken of the great drama of American development, the conquest of the wilderness.

Mr. Wildes has made skillful use of authorities on his subject, though he seems to have overlooked the famous Military Journal of George Thatcher, surgeon. It is, of course, an unfortunate mistake to make an ex-soldier "in late July, 1787, profuse in his apologies for not having recognized his old commander, now the President of the United States." This incident is said to have occurred when Washington came to visit Valley Forge during a recess in the sessions of the Constitutional Convention. Mr. Wildes asserts that this was the only visit of the man who saw the desperate undertaking through at Valley Forge and elsewhere from Boston to Yorktown.

There are two chapters which deal with modern times. One contains an absorbing discussion of the struggle to make Valley Forge one of the greatest of American shrines, and the other combats the many historical errors which have grown up inevitably about the spot. On the whole the book gives the general reader the best available account of the thrilling event which made the place memorable, and specialists, too, can peruse its pages with profit.

Those who in the midst of present perplexities find inspiration in the exhibition of dauntless courage in overcoming seemingly insuperable dangers will remain permanently in debt to this notable achievement of Mr. Wildes.

Temple University

Anson Ely Morse.


On September 19, 1789, Mifflin county, formerly part of Cumberland county, was created. The authors have written an interesting history of the origin of the county. They have considered briefly the early Indian tribes, the treaties made with the tribes, and the achievements of the white explorers and traders. They have portrayed more fully the activities of the early settlers, the methods of issuing land warrants, and the policy of levying and collecting taxes.

The French and Indian War, followed by Pontiac's Conspiracy, forced the settlers to abandon temporarily their frontier homes. The authors have described the situation in the following words:

Mifflin county's settlement during the 1754-1789 period was by no means a peaceful and steady inflow of settlers. Three distinct wars swept over the frontier, the first two of which drove every settler from the valleys of Juniata and Kishacoquillas, while in the third, the Revolution, Mifflin county was the frontier, threatened continually with invasion by British inspired Indians. [p. 15.]
The period of Indian warfare, therefore, materially retarded settlement in this frontier country. During the Revolution, however, the settlers made slow progress. Immediately after the Revolution the westward migration took place which carried new families into Mifflin county and some of the old settlers farther west into Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee.

Since this study has made its appearance in the year that Mifflin county is celebrating the sesquicentennial of its formation, it should have a genuine appeal to the inhabitants of that section of the state. With profit, perhaps, the authors might have devoted more space to the period from 1783 to 1789.

The book contains an adequate bibliography and a list of useful dates. It has sixty-eight pages, printed in double columns. The proof reading is exceptionally faulty.

Lehigh University

George D. Harmon