BOOK REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTES

EDITED BY NORMAN B. WILKINSON


When an author undertakes a comprehensive study of all the Indians who lived in the area from the Hudson to the Mississippi, between the Ohio and the Great Lakes, he risks biting off more than he can chew, especially when he claims he is “utilizing historical, archaeological, ethnological, and traditional materials.” One wishes that Mr. Hyde had not extended himself over such a wide geographical area—or that he had delimited himself to a shorter time span.

A book so wide in scope taxes the competence of any one reviewer, and I shall largely confine my comments to the Indians of Pennsylvania, the area of principal interest to the readers of Pennsylvania History. But the author will certainly be challenged by other reviewers for proof of such claims as that the Adena folk were an Iroquoian people; that the Omahas were of the old Indian Knoll Shell Heap group; that the Indian Knoll people were Siouan; that from Archaic times to the Woodland Period the Indian population of the Ohio country was mostly Siouan, etc., etc. One can anticipate that reviewers may ask why he did not cite The Adena People by Webb and Baby (1957), and some of the 100 titles given in this work, to prove that he is as familiar with modern contributions in the mound areas as he is with Cadwallader Colden, I. A. Lapham, Shetrone, Schoolcraft, Parkman, Hodge, Hewitt, and the other “classics” cited in his bibliography.

Most of what Mr. Hyde has to say about the Delaware Indians, or Leni Lenâpé, he attributes to passages taken from the Walum Olum, the traditional account of the tribes' migrations. With disarming candor, he states, “I am using the version of the Walum Olum found in W. W. Beach's Indian Miscellany, 1877. I have not seen the new edition of the Walum Olum.”

Does Mr. Hyde know that W. W. Beach merely reprinted E. G. Squier's paper read before the New-York Historical Society on June 6, 1848? Does Mr. Hyde know that thirty-seven years later D. G. Brinton published for the first time all the pictographs from the Rafinesque manuscripts and a full translation of the Walum Olum? Does Mr. Hyde know that, speaking of Squier's text, Brinton said (The Lenâpé and Their Legends, Phila., 1885, p. 163) that "it was carelessly copied, whole words being omitted, and no attempt was made to examine the accuracy of the translation... hence, as material for critical study of the document, Squier's essay is of little value"? Moreover, does Mr. Hyde know that in 1954 the Indiana His-
historical Society published a full, comprehensive, and intensive study of the Walum Olun’s transcriptions with interpretations by capable ethnologists and historians?

The book adds little to our knowledge of the Iroquois League of the Five (later Six) Nations, and Mr. Hyde’s appraisal that “Hitler’s fanatical Nazis would have hailed them as brothers,” exposes an ethnic naiveté, also illustrated in his persistent effort to equate linguistic groups of the historic period with prehistoric cultures, and by his insistence on separating anthropologists from archaeologists as though one studied butterflies and the other some alien branch of the natural sciences.

Mr. Hyde’s bibliography does not indicate an awareness of the recent archaeological work in New York and Pennsylvania. He cites only two studies by William A. Ritchie, one dated 1937, and the other 1938, overlooking highly important contributions in the area of New York prehistory made by this outstanding archaeologist during the last twenty years. Furthermore, Pennsylvania’s leading archaeologist, John Witthoft, is represented by only one title, and this one is dated 1955! The extensive Algonkian studies of the late Frank G. Speck and M. R. Harrington are completely ignored. (It is somewhat of a paradox that Speck’s Naskapi was the tenth volume in the Civilization of American Indian Series of which Mr. Hyde’s book is the 64th.)

For reasons that are not clear Mr. Hyde seems unnecessarily to take potshots at archaeologists. He says that archaeologists refer to historical and ethnological materials now and then, “but most of them seem to regard Indian tradition as childish nonsense.” He praises H. C. Shetrone by saying that although he made mistakes, “on the whole he was a careful observer, capable of drawing conclusions, which so many scientific archaeologists, preoccupied with the study of minutiae seem unable to do.”

Although the volume has an excellent index, Pennsylvania readers will look in vain for reference to the Susquehannock Indians, the Indians of the Monongahela and Allegheny, nor will they find enlightenment regarding the Lenni Lenape or the Iroquois League of the Five Nations.

Hockessin, Del. C. A. WESLAGER


Should William Penn come to life and read this book he would be somewhat surprised by the attribution to his influence of so much of what has taken shape in Pennsylvania since the 1680’s. For indeed the cult of the influence of the individual in history is as positively set forth here as anywhere in modern literature. Penn is characterized as “the most creative statesman in American history,” not alone because of the plans he drew but because in the long run, it is claimed, the free society which emerged from his Holy Experiment became the foundation upon which Pennsylvania and the nation were built. It is an intriguing idea and one which receives
To be more specific, Mr. Wallace refers to Penn's Indian policy of "Peace and Power," especially in dealing with the Iroquois, as one of Pennsylvania's "main contributions to the development of the American nation." Since "liberty of conscience must be a first consideration in any well ordered state," Penn founded democracy on that principle in Pennsylvania. Penn also laid the commercial foundations, established farms in three counties, encouraged industry and the merchant class, all of which contributed to the claim that more "firsts" emerged in Philadelphia than in any other city. It is a claim that others may dispute—with what success could only be proved by exhaustive research.

There follows an interesting array of claims of leadership. So far as the Revolution is concerned, while Pennsylvania did not spark it, she "provided the gunpowder." Unlike the hotheaded spirits of Massachusetts or the "all-or-nothing ardor of a Patrick Henry," Pennsylvania from the beginning "has exhibited a spirit of compromise," which Mr. Wallace attributes to the conscious use of experimentation.

The series of firsts in the United States bears elaboration. The first macadam turnpike, 1795. The "Stourbridge Lion," the first engine to run on rails, August 8, 1829. Olive Sougurst, Quaker, said to be the first woman school teacher, 1702. State-wide introduction of free public schools, 1834. First recorded protest against slavery, 1688. The first law providing for the gradual abolition of slavery. The "best spar timber in the country, if not in the world." Originator in 1859 of the petroleum industry. Birthplace of trade-unionism, 1794, of the first city central union, 1827, and of The Mechanics' Free Press of Philadelphia, 1827-1828, the first journal devoted to the interests of the working man. Site of the first theater, the Southwark, 1766. Moreover, Philadelphia is described as the first planned city in the country and the first city of broad culture. It is an imposing array.

Of course external influences affected growth, as for instance the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825, which "heralded the downfall of Philadelphia as the nation's first port." And although Pennsylvania is hailed as "the birthplace of the Industrial Revolution in America," adequate attention is given not just to the triumphs but to the enormities, out of which came the reforms which today are basic to the expansion of an industrial society.

While the end-paper maps are attractive, it may be that even many Pennsylvanians who read this book will need better maps. It is a minor criticism, but the publishers of the "Regions of America" series should do better by their readers.

A particularly attractive feature of the book is the author's ability to illustrate a period or the work of a society or a group by singling out a Benjamin Franklin, a "Johnny" Mitchell or a Gifford Pinchot, to say nothing of the admirable and sympathetic sketches of Milton Hershey, Andrew Mellon, and Owen J. Roberts. In many respects this book is a biography of a people and of a state, one in which enough is given of the
details of their history to weave an understandingly sympathetic picture of what they have been and what they are. William Penn might have an occasional doubt about the courses Pennsylvanians have sometimes taken, but on the whole he would be proud of them.

Albany, N. Y.

Albert B. Corey

*The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, Volume 5, July 1, 1753, through March 31, 1755. Leonard W. Labaree, Editor, Whitfield J. Bell, Jr., Associate Editor, Helen C. Boatfield and Helene H. Fineman, Assistant Editors. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962. Pp. 575. $10.00.)

Franklin was a busy man. In less than two years he managed to negotiate with Indians, work for colonial unity, serve in the Pennsylvania Assembly, administer Post Office affairs, write *Some Account of the Pennsylvania Hospital*, continue his electrical experiments and scientific speculations, collect Master of Arts degrees from Harvard and Yale and the Copley Medal from the Royal Society, grind out two Poor Richard almanacs, and attend to business interests.

Without slighting any of the manifold subjects that engaged Franklin during these months, historians probably will be most interested in his efforts for colonial unity. Here is the "JOIN, or DIE" snake cartoon appended to an account of how the Virginians lost the "small Fort in the Forks of Monongahela to the French." The evolution of the Albany Plan of Union can be traced from Franklin's "Short Hints towards a Scheme for Uniting Northern Colonies." The editors, after scrupulous examination, reject Lawrence H. Gipson's thesis that Thomas Hutchinson contributed more to the Albany Plan than traditionally believed and conclude that Franklin was its primary author.

The plan, however, was universally rejected. Franklin took Pennsylvania's action philosophically, remarking, "Popular Elections have their Inconveniences, in some Cases; but in Establishing new Forms of Government, we cannot always obtain what we may think the best; for the Prejudices of those concern'd, if they cannot be remov'd, must be in some Degree comply'd with." A few months later and a bit more exasperated he exclaimed, "Every Body cries, a Union is absolutely necessary; but when they come to the Manner and Form of the Union, their weak Noddles are presently distracted. So if ever there be an Union, it must be form'd at home by the Ministry and Parliament." Franklin's subsequent (1789) remark that if the Albany Plan or some similar idea had been adopted the Revolution would have been postponed, is included in this volume.

Franklin conceived of the British Empire as a Commonwealth. "Britain and her Colonies should be considered as one Whole, and not as different States with separate Interests. Instructions from the Crown to the Colonies, should have in View the Common Weal of that Whole, to which partial Interests ought to give way: And they should never Aim at extending the Prerogative beyond its due Bonds, nor abridging the just Liberties of the people: In short, they should be plainly just and reasonable, and rather
savour of Fatherly Tenderness and Affection, than of Masterly harshness and Severity.” Franklin reiterated this commonwealth idea in 1754 when discussing universal American acceptance of the principle of no taxation without representation. The colonists were earnest about representation long before the French and Indian War. Franklin thought close union with Britain would be “very acceptable” to the colonies provided they were fairly represented in Parliament and that restrictions on colonial trade and manufactures were repealed. Then if it were in the interest of the whole empire and not just a “petty corporation” or “set of artificers or traders in England,” Parliament could re-enact some or all of those laws and Americans would “cheerfully” submit.

Not only students of the British Empire but those interested in Indians (particularly in their eloquent speech); in the history of humanitarianism, science, and medicine; in colonial history and literature; and especially in colonial Pennsylvania, will find much in this volume. For example, what better illustration of currency stringency could there be than Peter Timothy chasing all over Charleston for dollars, “but Dollars (which are every Day scarcer) were not to be found.” Finally, after great difficulty Timothy was successful. Here also is Poor Richard with his disconcerting combination of shrewd common sense and self-righteous platitudes smacking of hypocrisy; George Whitefield’s comment on Franklin’s epitaph urging him to “Believe on JESUS, and get a feeling possession of 00 in your heart, and you cannot possibly be disappointed of your expected second edition, finely corrected, and infinitely amended”; and the beginning of Franklin’s May-December relationship with that Block Island belle Catherine Ray. Since Katy promised kisses on the northeast wind, Franklin wrote during the worst snow storm of the winter, “Your Favours come mixd with the Snowy Fleeces which are pure as your Virgin Innocence, white as your lovely Bosom,—and as cold:—But let it warm towards some worthy young Man, and may Heaven bless you both with every kind of Happiness.” Whatever Franklin did he did with grace.

The greatest compliment to the editors is that they have maintained their own impeccable standards set in earlier volumes. Their notes are both interesting and invaluable. Our indebtedness to them mounts.

Pennsylvania State University

ARl Hoogenboom


Volume 24 of the Proceedings of the Lehigh County Historical Society, issued every two years, is again a blue, hard-covered, well-printed book. This volume consists of two papers on the Allen family.

The first article, by Ruth M. Kistler, compartmentalizes the life of William Allen, Founder of Allentown and Pennsylvania Loyalist, into major and minor segments as “Business Interests,” divided as (1) Mer-
chant, (2) Iron Master, (3) Land Speculator; in "Public Life" as (1) Councilman, (2) Philadelphia Mayor, (3) Recorder, (4) Assemblyman, (5) Judge, (6) Boundary Commissioner; followed by Allen and Franklin; the Philanthropist; Death and Downfall of the Family; the Children; and finally, an Appraisal. Other sections touch on Allen's support and interest in an unsuccessful expedition to discover the Northwest Passage and the exploits of his larger merchant vessels used as privateers.

Allen's activities during the "French and English War Crisis" and "The Revolution" are recounted, and Miss Kistler appears fully justified in her "Appraisal" in stating that, "Prior to the Revolution, as a loyal American he did his utmost to support government and promote the King's service and when on his trips to England was equally zealous to support the rights of America. During the Revolution, the position of Allen and his family became a trying one. They would not engage in open rebellion against the King to whom they had sworn allegiance and pledged their honor; to them the established form of government was necessary for the protection of property and the enforcement of laws. Not until the plan for Union, as outlined in the American Crisis, failed, and the independence of the colonies became the declared object of the war, did his opposition to royal government cease. From this time on his sympathies were enlisted for the loyalist cause."

The second paper, entitled "Trout Hall and Its Owner, James Allen, Esq.," was written by a member of the Society's Board and a local architect, John K. Heyl. His account contains much more than a physical description of the eighteenth century mansion, Trout Hall. The headquarters of the Lehigh County Historical Society since 1917, Trout Hall was built in 1770 by William Allen's son, James.

Of special interest to this reviewer are the excerpts from James Allen's diary covering the years of 1770-1778, closing abruptly, for James died four years before his father.

In brief, the lot that befell his pretty young wife and four children is covered, though the zenith of the Allen family prestige, fortune, and service to Pennsylvania had been reached by the father, William, in the busy and prosperous pre-Revolutionary years.

With illustrations of Trout Hall as it appeared in 1848 and in 1962, the Benjamin West portrait of William Allen, the Gilbert Stuart portrait of his daughter, Anne Penn Allen Greenleaf, and the sketch of the son, James Allen, Volume 24 of the Society's Proceedings contains information of interest and value to every student of early Commonwealth history who wishes to understand the role played by one of its prominent and influential families.

Bucks County Historical Society

Leonard G. Johnson


This small book is written in a style which makes it easy to read, but,
unfortunately, the reader does not feel completely satisfied when he con-
cludes the book. The author attempts to explain what happened in Pennsyl-
vania in 1776 which made it possible to overthrow the venerable Charter of Privileges of 1701, and to replace it with the "upstart" Constitution of 1776, which lasted only until 1790.

The reader would have been aided by a brief descriptive list at the be-
ginning of the book to assist him in straightening out the various commit-
tees, conferences and conventions. There was the Committee of Safety, or
the Council of Safety—accused of Toryism—which assumed executive power in Pennsylvania after the departure of John Penn. On the other hand, the
Committees of Privates, an informal organization among members of the
Associators or militia, which also organized Committees of Correspondence, favored independence. The various Committees of Inspection and Observation which existed in the counties, created at the suggestion of the First Continental Congress in 1774, were usually in the hands of the moderates, who opposed independence. There was also the Provincial Conference, called on June 18 to lay plans for the Constitutional Convention which was elected July 8.

The author makes it clear that the Quakers were not in control of
Pennsylvania in 1776 and thus could not have been overthrown in the
dramatic episodes of that year. He indicates that the group which was in
control was an economic group, not a religious one, and that it was com-
posed of members of powerful merchant families who not only controlled Philadelphia, but had established strong connections in the back counties. Relatives of the Allens, the Smiths, and the Shippens, for example, lived in the western part of the colony and exercised considerable influence there.

He also suggests that the western part of Pennsylvania was not so
radical as it has been portrayed by previous historians. He points out that
when the Assembly, early in 1776, agreed to enlarge itself by adding seven-
teen seats, four from Philadelphia, and thirteen from the back counties, the
advocates of independence hoped to pick up additional support in the May 1
election. The results were disappointing, for not only did the moderates
win three of the seats in Philadelphia, but they also elected a majority of
the new men coming from the west, including representatives of powerful Philadelphia families. In addition, his analysis of the people living in
western Pennsylvania modifies the stereotype of flaming radicals panting
for an opportunity to overthrow Philadelphia.

Mr. Hawke indicates how closely the radical leaders of the Second
Continental Congress worked with the advocates of independence in Penn-
sylvania, and points out that much of the impetus for radicalism in the
Keystone State stemmed from outside pressure. He believes that the key
to the radical changes of 1776 is to be found in Philadelphia rather than
in the back counties. He says that such men as James Cannon, Timothy
Matlack, Thomas Young, Thomas Paine, and for a time Christopher Mar-
shall, were responsible for the overthrow of the Assembly and the moderates.
He describes the success of the proponents of independence in ending the
power of the Assembly by boycotting the proceedings and preventing a quorum from gathering.

The author is least convincing when he attempts to explain why Pennsylvania, which elected moderates to the Assembly on May 1, swung to independence in June. Nor does he explain how the Committees on Inspection and Observation which had been moderate on May 1, became radical in June and forced the naming of independents to the Provincial Conference, and the election of radicals to the Constitutional Convention. He does discuss the importance of the threat of invasion by the British, and the economic pressures caused by inflation, but these provide only a partial explanation.

There is a paucity of information about this particular point. Several of the participants destroyed their correspondence for the crucial period, and it is often difficult to discover why people behave as they do. The generally positive impression created by the book is somewhat modified by the absence of specific information about this important turn of events. However, it is a useful book, and the time and effort which the author lavished on the subject is indicated by the informative footnotes and extensive bibliography.

Haverford College

EDWIN B. BRONNER


This volume is the second of four by the author in an attempted major historical synthesis bearing the overall designation, The Frontier People of America. Appearing earlier was Forth to the Wilderness: The First American Frontier, 1754-1774 (New York, 1961), which contained an introductory blessing by the dean of frontier historians, Ray Allen Billington.

The current work opens on the eve of Revolution and follows, as upon a chessboard, dynamic pieces labeled British Government, Tory Sympathizers, Revolutionary Government, Frontiersmen, and Indians, through 1783. With his novelist's technique, the author focuses on a central protagonist, the men and women of the expanding frontier. However, his hero's involved relationships with other motive forces are never obscure. Here, perhaps, lies Van Every's major accomplishment; he provides a remarkable overview of the Revolutionary years, one involving component parts all too frequently lacking in other presentations of the period.

From his pen these years emerge as a time when British and Revolutionary governments were trying to win over or neutralize a powerful Indian civilization retreating reluctantly before the encroaching whites. The Revolutionary authorities labored under the severe handicap of their own land-grabbing frontiersmen who sabotaged at almost every turn, as in the assassination of Cornstalk, efforts at peaceful settlement with the Indians. During the ensuing conflicts the author traces the rise of such natural leaders among frontiersmen as George Rogers Clark, and among the Indians,
the amazing figure of the Mohawk, Joseph Brant. He sees the achievement of the frontier people during this chaotic era to have been the tenacious seizing of land beyond the Appalachians and holding it before an Indian and Tory fury.

Of particular interest to students of Pennsylvania history is that portion of the book devoted to their state's frontier regions. The battle of Wyoming is vividly portrayed and correctly assessed as a "battle" and not a "massacre." Sullivan's march is also presented. It is in this area, too, where a broader use of source materials would have enriched the narrative and saved a few minor errors (such as, when discussing the battle of Wyoming, Van Every places Forty Fort in present Kingston township). Use of such good regional studies as O. J. Harvey and E. G. Smith, A History of Wilkes-Barre: Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, 6 vols. (Wilkes-Barre, 1909-1930), or W. Brewster, History of the Certified Township of Kingston, Pennsylvania: 1769 to 1929 (Wilkes-Barre, 1929), would have helped. Also surprising is the sparse treatment of land companies and the apparent neglect of so vital a study of old frontier history as the newly reprinted, J. P. Boyd, ed., The Susquehanna Company Papers, 4 vols. (Wilkes-Barre, 1930-1933), which is missing from the bibliography. One hopes that the author's subsequent volumes will reflect a fuller utilization not only of sound regional studies, but also of solid articles and unpublished dissertations.

The author's style is lucid and at times eloquent. Van Every reveals himself as the frontier's Bruce Catton. From the point of view of scholarship, some of the trappings are lacking, such as detailed chapter notes. Footnotes are few and far between and are explanatory rather than citing. Unlike some other writers on the frontier, the author sees his heroes with a full measure of understanding of their faults as well as their virtues. The Indians he sees with more detachment, although laced with pity in the face of such frontier atrocities as the slaughter of the Christian Moravian Indian men, women, and children at Gnadenhütten. One wishes Van Every could have brought them the same measure of feeling as did W. C. McLeod in his monumental study, The American Indian Frontier (New York, 1928). It is to be hoped that the author successfully completes his project, which will easily be the most readable introduction to the history of the American frontier.

DANIEL R. MACGILVRAY
Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, Wilkes-Barre


Historical books by journalists are often marred by superficial research, snap judgments, and a tendency to overemphasize the dramatic. Mr. van der Linden, Washington correspondent for the Nashville Banner, in this book is free from these shortcomings. Obviously fascinated by the interesting and vital people who seemed to throng the scene in the early days of the American republic, he has read widely in the basic sources and has oriented
himself in the field by a sound acquaintance with the principal secondary works. The materials from this research have been organized imaginatively and presented in a style distinguished by pace, clarity, and a facility for deft characterization. The result is an altogether happy one. Historians will find little that is new to them in Mr. van der Linden's book, but they will find quite as little to disparage.

The author pursues a double theme in his writing: "the story of the public battles and intrigues" leading to Jefferson's election as President, and the story of the romance between Margaret Bayard and Samuel Harrison Smith, who was to become the editor of the National Intelligencer, the principal Jeffersonian newspaper in the country. Mr. van der Linden believes that Jefferson's triumph ended "the Federalist era of aristocratic rule" and opened "the way to the age of modern democracy"; it was, therefore, the "turning point" in our early political history.

Beginning with the election of 1796, the author sketches rapidly the political and social scene at that time and then moves on through the eventual years of the XYZ affair, the quasi war with France, the Alien and Sedition Acts, and other incidents to a dramatic climax in the suspense-filled story of the balloting in the House of Representatives to break the tie between Jefferson and Burr for the presidency. Displaying a remarkable impartiality, Mr. van der Linden discusses without rancor or partisanship such diverse personalities as Jefferson, Adams, Hamilton, Pickering, Robert Goodloe Harper, James A. Bayard, and a host of others. Only in the case of Aaron Burr and his associates does this impartiality break down; Burr is always seen in the unfavorable light of the unprincipled intriguer. Without attempting to deny the validity of such a characterization in general, one wonders if Burr's early activities have not been interpreted in the light of his later escapades.

As a sort of accompaniment to this political story, the author gives much space to a description of the courtship of Samuel Harrison Smith, who wooed and won Margaret Bayard, despite her Federalist descent and sympathies and his Jeffersonian enthusiasms. This charming episode is related in absorbing detail thanks to the fine collection of correspondence in the Samuel Harrison Smith Papers in the Library of Congress.

Although the book is generally free from errors and strained interpretations, there are a few things that might be mentioned. Pinckney was a minister not an ambassador, and it was Madison, not Jefferson, who wrote the Virginia Resolutions. Mr. van der Linden says that one elector each in Virginia and North Carolina "tossed a complimentary vote to [Adams] in remembrance of his services in the fight for independence," and asserts that Adams would have lost the election of 1796 by 69 votes to 70 "without those two windfalls." Since the record shows that Thomas Pinckney, the other member of the Federalist team, received exactly the same number of votes in these states, it is unlikely that the votes for Adams which assumed his election were the result of whimsy on the part of these two electors.

The Turning Point is a sound, well-written book which presents an absorbing story of a stirring period in our history. It is highly recommended for
BOOK REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTES

The layman and the undergraduate, and it is also of interest to the professional historian.

Rice University

S. W. HIGGINBOTHAM


A Ph.D. dissertation, done under the guidance of Professor Joseph Dorfman at Columbia University, has been developed into this description of proposals for solving the problems underscored by the economic stringencies of 1818-1821. An introductory chapter summarizes the origins of the crisis and its principal effects. Appendix A notes the "minor remedies" proposed, calling for action on internal improvements, usury, poor laws, control of brokers, high hotel rates, subsidization of household manufactures, toll reduction, establishment of savings banks, utilizing estimates of trade demand, and union demands. Appendix B provides a skeletal chronology of relief legislation, 1818-1826, in the fields of stay laws, minimum appraisal, compulsory par and summary process laws; this brief listing is useful as showing at a glance where action was most often attempted and the ebb and flow of demand for action. The book is rich in notes and has a good bibliography and index.

The author's primary objective is to describe the major remedies which were proposed, and to these he allots space in the following, descending order:—state proposals and actions for monetary expansion, direct relief of debtors, proposals for national monetary expansion, proposals and actions for restriction of bank credit, and the movement for a protective tariff. It is demonstrated that the panic spawned a high calibre of economic thinking among many leading politicians and influential journalists; and Rothbard surmises that it gave much impetus to the launching of a class of economists in America. He concludes, with recent analysts, that inflation vs. sound money was not a farmer-debtor vs. merchant-creditor alignment; but neither does he go so far as Bray Hammond in estimating it as a hard-money-agrarian vs. merchant-businessman-inflationist battle. He decides that the contradictory reasoning of the various protagonists makes impossible a rigid classification of them, unless it be on the tariff.

The strength of hard money sentiment in this state-bank era, and the "set" against a national bank bred by the panic in the minds of such later leaders as Benton and Jackson, are stressed. Surviving among small groups to this day is the faith in the "fundamental virtues of industry and economy" more commonly cherished in 1819.

Of course this subject is presented to attract only a very limited class of specialists, and the author must expect disagreement in this controversial field. Also, some may note an occasional awkwardness in presentation of statistics. But economic and political historians can find here, by thoughtful implication, more than is overtly asserted.

University of Pennsylvania

JEANNETTE P. NICHOLS
It is not strange that James Warner Bellah, novelist and soldier, should have turned his literary skill and military experience to the drama of the battle of Gettysburg. Many others who have not had his experience in both areas have done so in the continuing attempt to bring new points of view into the "real" story of this fascinating struggle between two great armies.

Soldier's Battle is described by the author as an account based on the statements of contemporary eye-witnesses who served in the ranks—the conflict as seen through the eyes of the common soldier. To achieve this desirable but difficult objective, he uses frequent quotations from letters and reminiscences at various stages of his narrative, providing a certain amount of vicarious realism, but not improving the continuity of the battle sequence.

Of course, the common soldier never sees more than a minute fraction of anything so complex as a major battle, and Mr. Bellah has included an appreciable amount of description and explanation of the action and strategy of the three-day battle, adding distinctive touches of color and drama by his skillful use of descriptive phraseology and flashes of imaginative and stirring expression which have made him so successful a novelist.

The result is a rather curious combination of the simple and sometimes crude descriptions given by the men in the ranks, the necessary and conventional narration of battle action to provide coherence, and the distinctive and dramatic style of interpretation which Mr. Bellah has used in certain areas of special interest. The soldiers' descriptions are well-chosen, and although the author expresses the fear that his book is "too stiff with quotations," one cannot help feeling that much more space might have been devoted to additional extracts of this type, since they constitute the most original contribution of the work, even at the cost of devoting less attention to such traditional and insoluble problems as Longstreet's tardiness on the second day of the battle. However, Mr. Bellah demonstrates, in the narrative portions of the work, that he is a capable historian and a competent analyst of military problems, and one can easily understand why he would be tempted to indulge in speculation about the myriad mysteries of Gettysburg.

This is a brief, pleasant book, with evidence of considerable research in some areas, and the presentation of a permissible amount of rather familiar material. It must be said that the style is somewhat disconcerting, for the reader finds himself partially in the atmosphere of a "Soldier's Battle," partly in the atmosphere of a military classroom, and the rest of the time in the glamor of an historical novel. An occasional reference to modern military leaders, like Eisenhower or Patton, an occasional bit of World War II military jargon—air reconnaissance, S.O.P.—interrupts the mood which has been established by the accounts of Civil War soldiers, and by Mr. Bellah's touches of dramatic style, viz., the two armies are "dangerous as rutting panthers." "It may well be that Lee was, at 4:30 p.m., conscious of the fact that the Confederacy was being offered to him on a golden platter," etc.
The author has given thoughtful interpretations to the problems of the major military leaders—Meade, Lee, Longstreet—and his conclusions are as valid as those which have been debatable for many years. The book contains a few clear maps, bibliographical references but no footnotes, a few familiar legends always associated with the battle, and few serious errors. For example, it was Fitzhugh Lee, not W. H. F. Lee, who accompanied Stuart into Pennsylvania.

As a new approach to a description of this much-described battle, Mr. Bellah has succeeded rather well in including new material with pleasant and stimulating reading.

*Franklin and Marshall College*

**Frederic S. Klein**


Historians have long needed an exhaustive guide to Civil War material in the National Archives, and centennial commemorative events have re-emphasized the need. As part of its contribution to the commemoration, the National Archives has had prepared this guide, which Wayne C. Grover, Archivist of the United States, points out in the Foreword fulfills one of the objectives laid down by the Civil War Centennial Commission. In the words of Chairman Allan Nevins, this objective is the promotion of "the publication of books and the collection of sources, which will stand as a permanent memorial of this commemoration."

The guide not only examines the records of all federal agencies during the Civil War period, but also evaluates data pertaining to the Civil War created at a later time through legislative process, pension activities, and investigating committees. References to related material in the Library of Congress and historical societies are included, as well as bibliographies, finding aids, and studies made of archival record groups.

Each section opens with a historical statement of the functions and responsibilities of a particular branch of the government, with emphasis on its wartime duties. This is followed by a description of the general records in its custody, along with a separate account of papers controlled by each subdivision.

The announced aim was "to produce a Guide complete and definitive," and the authors have fulfilled this purpose. The volume is exhaustive, and they have brought order and clarity to what was previously in many instances confusion and chaos. The information is logically arranged and presented. Use of the excellent index provides the answers to many research questions. Scholars and graduate students searching for suitable research topics will find many suggestions in this volume.

Historians will find this guide invaluable and will look forward to the publication of the announced companion volume on the Confederacy. Its favorable reception should encourage the National Archives to publish similar guides to other periods of American history, so that the richness and variety of
manuscripts in the national depository may be better displayed and scholars may be able to make more intelligent use of its resources. Students interested in the Civil War, large libraries, and all historical societies will find the volume indispensable. Both the National Archives and the scholars who prepared it may be proud of their achievement.

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"Should America be an orthodox military power, or a revolutionary one?" Over the past two centuries, this question has provided the framework within which most of the debates about the military policy of the United States have taken place. The Revolutionary War provided a dual military legacy—its history offered support both to the proponents of a regular, professional force, modeled on the traditional European pattern, and to the proponents of a mass citizen army in the "minute man" tradition. The differences between the two sets of advocates have never been reconciled, and they continue to set the tone for current discussion of military policy.

In Towards An American Army, Russell F. Weigley, associate professor of history at Temple University, and editor of this journal, has examined the continuing debate among Americans about their military policy. He is the first to do so in any logical, coherent form, and he has produced a significant new work which will both encourage and aid further studies in American military policy.

Still, Towards An American Army displays many of the shortcomings seemingly inherent in any truly original project. The book lacks balance: Weigley’s discussion of Elihu Root, Theodore Roosevelt’s Secretary of War and America’s most noted army reformer, is cursory; he does not even mention General Winfield Scott Hancock, one of the earliest and most important professional advocates of a citizen army; General John J. Pershing is dismissed in less than four pages; the examination of American military policy from the end of World War I to 1946 covers only nineteen of 254 pages.

Weigley concentrates on the thinking of regular army men about American military policy. His contention is that General Emory Upton, nineteenth century reformer and author of The Military Policy of the United States, guided the thinking of almost all officers who followed him. Weigley then asserts that Upton was an opponent of the citizen army, and that he therefore left a legacy of "profound pessimism." The army, according to Upton and his followers, was caught in a tragic dilemma; it could not accept the citizen army, both because civilians could not be taught to fight without extensive training, and because politicians insisted upon controlling the citizen army, and Congress would never give it either a large standing army of professionals nor allow the regular soldiers to control civilian volunteers in an emergency.
This framework allows Weigley to launch into his second major area of concentration—"The attitudes and thought processes that have been traditional and habitual among American professional soldiers." He is concerned with the competency of professional soldiers when they approach the issues of military in relation to national policy, and with the traditional attitudes which have shaped their judgments on such issues. His conclusion, while never explicitly stated, is nonetheless clear—the professional soldiers in America have lived in an intellectual vacuum and their thinking about military and national policy has been almost entirely negative. Consequently, the American soldiers have contributed little to the creation of an American army which can best meet the needs of democracy and national policy.

There have been exceptions. In the last chapter Weigley praises Generals John M. Palmer and George C. Marshall for their enunciation of the program of universal military training. But, he quickly points out, both Palmer and Marshall were outside the main stream of professional thought.

Towards An American Army is an exciting and challenging book. Many of Weigley's fundamental conclusions need more proof before they can be accepted. Upton's pessimism was probably not as great as indicated here, and the professional soldier has seldom been as narrow as Weigley portrays him. But Weigley intended to start discussion and arguments, not to write a definitive monograph. He has succeeded.

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