BOOK REVIEWS

The Contribution of Charles Pinckney to the Formation of the American Union. By Andrew J. Bethea. (Richmond, Virginia: Garrett & Massie, Inc., 1937. x, 142 p. $2.50.)

A competition sponsored by the South Carolina Bar Association furnished the subject and the title of this work, to which in manuscript the prize was awarded. The book itself is well printed and attractively bound, so that the reader begins its perusal in a favorable frame of mind. If he is at all critical, however, he is soon put on his guard. After three and a half pages of rhetorical generalities culminating in the usual denunciation of the weakness of the Confederation, there comes the following statement: "Charles Pinckney was one of the first men in the whole country, if not the very first, to discern the inutility of the Articles of Confederation and to perceive the need . . . 'proceeding de novo of a division of the powers of government into legislative, executive and judicial, and of making the Government to operate directly upon the people and not upon the States.'"

Pinckney was eighteen years old when independence was declared. Six years later, in 1784, he was one of the deputies from South Carolina to the Continental Congress, and became at once an ardent advocate of amending the Articles of Confederation. He deserves great credit for the part he took in that movement, but to say that he "was one of the first men . . . if not the very first," etc. is a strain upon credulity. The authority cited in support of this claim is Pinckney's own letter to John Quincy Adams written over thirty years afterward.

The whole argument is rather on the order of special pleading, which is regrettable, for Pinckney made considerable contributions to the framing of the Constitution that ought to be more generally recognized. To claim too much is to push him back into the shadow under which his reputation long rested.

The story is well known. As soon as the Federal Convention was organized the influential Virginia delegation through its spokesman, Governor Randolph, presented a carefully prepared set of resolutions the consideration of which was made the main order of business. At the end of that same day Charles Pinckney, one of the youngest members of the Convention, presented a plan of his own devising. It was formally referred to the Committee of the Whole that was to consider the Virginia plan, and weeks later in an equally formal manner was referred to the Committee of Detail. Nothing more was ever heard of it and the common supposition was that it had been completely ignored as probably it had deserved. When John Quincy Adams, as Secretary of State, was preparing the Journal of the Convention for publication, he wrote to Pinckney for a copy of his plan as he could not find one in the secretary's records. Pinckney replied in effect that he did not have the original among his papers but there were several copies of plans and he sent the one he believed to have been "substantially the same" as that he had presented. Adams printed this in good
faith, but it was immediately criticised and especially by Madison. Later study made it evident that Pinckney had copied, with some modifications, the printed report of the Committee of Detail and naturally the “Pinckney Plan” became a subject of derision.

In 1902, the late J. Franklin Jameson discovered among the Wilson papers a document that, by a brilliant piece of constructive criticism, he identified as being composed of extracts from the Pinckney plan used by the Committee of Detail in preparing the first draft of the Constitution. Two years later Professor Andrew C. McLaughlin identified another document among the Wilson papers as an outline of the whole Pinckney plan. McLaughlin summarized the matter by stating, “We can say that Pinckney suggested some thirty-one or thirty-two provisions which were finally embodied in the Constitution; of these about twelve were originally in the Articles of Confederation, and of course the fact that they were restated by Pinckney in his plan may not have had material influence in securing their adoption.”

Judge Charles C. Nott had been working for years upon what he finally entitled The Mystery of the Pinckney Draught, published in 1908, in which he noticed the discoveries of Jameson and McLaughlin but went farther than other students have been able to follow in suggesting that the Pinckney plan was used as printer’s copy by the Committee of Detail.

The present advocate does not go to the extent of accepting Judge Nott’s solution. He does conclude, however, that the copy sent to Adams was “‘substantially the same’ as the plan presented by Pinckney at the opening of the Federal Convention.” Through an amusing transposition of clauses this is stated “as frankly admitted by Pinckney.”

The author should have been content with his next conclusion: “That . . . the concrete plan that he did offer was indeed a ‘substantial’ and notable contribution to the frame work of the Federal Constitution.” If he had then put in evidence the material gathered, but with a little greater discrimination than has been shown, his argument would have been much more convincing. In particular, Chapter V, “Pinckney Proposals Embodied in Constitution,” presents data that cannot be refuted. The most important feature of that chapter is a “Digest of Pinckney Proposals” arranged in parallel columns with “Certain Provisions of the Constitution.” The comparison covers thirteen pages of fine print and makes an imposing array. Of course many of the similarities do not mean that these clauses necessarily originated with Pinckney, for some of them came directly from the Articles of Confederation and others from such sources as the constitutions of the several states. The author has further weakened his presentation by the same lack of discrimination shown elsewhere in the work. An opinion of Chief Justice Fuller is quoted as if it were on a par with an extract from one of the original documents.

Even with these limitations the evidence presented shows that Pinckney should be accorded an important place among those whom we honor for the contributions they made when our national government was in process of formation.

The Henry E. Huntington Library

Max Farrand

The biography under review is a most thorough, scholarly, and well-written piece of work. The importance of Roger Sherman in our early national life has not been fully appreciated. His contemporaries—Franklin, Washington, Adams, Jefferson, and Madison—were so great as to overshadow any lesser lights. Add to this Sherman's innate modesty and it becomes easy to see why so little is known of the only man who signed the Association, the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, and the Constitution (vide, p. 122).

Three factors appear to have exerted a most profound influence upon Sherman's life: his religion; his constant efforts to serve his state and nation; and his essentially legalistic attitude. He was always Judge Sherman: his reasoning was ever close and logical. However, he placed his duty to his fellow citizens on a higher plane, as he resigned his position on the bench of the Superior Court of Connecticut in order to assume the duties of a representative of his state in the first Congress of the United States.

Mr. Boardman tells the story of Sherman's life against a background of the history of his time. From the quiet of a Massachusetts town in the period following Queen Anne's War, the reader feels the increasing tempo of events as the break with England approaches. The stormy days of the American Revolution, followed by the rise of a new nation form the heroic setting for Sherman's mature years. Few biographies within the reviewer's experience so closely and so successfully identify the personal affairs of one man with the march of time. Not infrequently the importance of the man dwindles and is immersed in the sweep of events, but, after all, that is true to life.

A few items deserve particular mention. The facts connected with the history of the Susquehanna Company and with Connecticut's claim to land in the Wyoming valley are clearly stated. Sherman, in common with most citizens of his state, upheld its claims as opposed to those of Pennsylvania. The decision of the Court of Commissioners at Trenton (1782) was unanimously in favor of the latter. The real significance of the Wyoming controversy lies in two points. First, it may be regarded as one phase of the westward movement. Secondly, the decision of the Trenton tribunal was "epoch-making in that it was the first case of a decision by arbitration of any controversy between two states of the United States" (p. 159).

Several appendices of great value bring this book to a close. Additional data on the Sherman almanacs is given in Appendix A. This includes a list of the several almanacs, together with their locations. The numerous committees on which Sherman served are enumerated in Appendix C, while a most useful list of the Sherman letters quoted in the volume is given in Appendix D. Appendix E is devoted to a commendable bibliography. An index brings the work to a conclusion.

No more significant biography of Roger Sherman has yet been written. In a
very real sense, Mr. Boardman has made an excellent contribution to American biographical literature.

ALBAN W. HOOPES


Dr. Selsam's problem in this able monograph is to determine with some exactness which of the conflicting social interests in Pennsylvania were responsible for the first state constitution drafted and adopted in 1776. His materials and subjects are among the most important in the history of the Quaker commonwealth, for the movement toward the constitutional convention of July, '76, was part of a larger struggle which had been going on between various groups within the colony for more than a decade. The differences of opinion concerning "who should rule at home" had always been of more importance in the counties west of the Schuylkill than the issue of independence, and gradually as mercantile interests either joined the ranks of rebellion or were overwhelmed by the radicals, Philadelphians, too, became preoccupied with the effort to subdue the governing agencies to the service of certain groups. The contest over adopting the constitution represented not so much a difference in political credos as it did "the clash of economic, ethnic, religious, social, and sectional interests." It was an issue which pitted property against poverty, landlord against tenant, sect against sect; and in describing it Dr. Selsam quite appropriately uses the analysis which identifies the opinion with the interest—an analysis accepted in some quarters as the merest truism, but elsewhere still regarded as a dangerous and bleak materialism. If it were not commendable for many other reasons, his book would be important as an example of this suggestive type of historical criticism.

Outlining first the nature of racial and religious groups, of geographical sections and classes within those sections, Mr. Selsam proceeds to a consideration (in two preliminary chapters) of some of the conflicts under the proprietary government. The difficulties of paper money controversies and the attempts by the Assembly to secure control of the purse receive proper consideration, as do sectional controversies and the issues of imperial power, but in so brief a survey of provincial politics more than a passing notice cannot be given to many important incidents of the quarrels between governor and legislature. It would have been helpful to find in this introduction a general, concise, and well-balanced résumé of the revolutionary movement; detailed treatments are easily available in other form, and the author's chief concern is after all with the events of 1776. But instead of this he has chosen to give considerable attention to some aspects of the decade following the Stamp Act at the expense of others, with the inevitable result that the picture is not always clear, and sometimes appears distorted. The literary method employed may also be criticized: there is a great deal too much quotation from source materials. These materials are always interesting, often germane, and (we remark it gratefully) never
put forward only because they are unfamiliar. But it would have been a service to his readers had Dr. Selsam summarized the information, and supplied the reader with only occasional illumination rather than a constant glitter from the pages of Graydon, Muhlenberg, and the Votes and Proceedings.

The sociologically-minded student, moreover, would find considerable satisfaction had the writer employed throughout the book a more exact language. If the investigation of historical problems in terms of the conflict of social classes and economic interests is to prove continually fruitful, surely (at least until the semanticists have solved all our problems for us) care should be taken to speak in terms which have one—a single—determinable, accepted, and specific meaning. The word “democracy” is certainly not such a term; and when used to describe any eighteenth-century manifestation it must be carefully and specifically applied. Thus Dr. Selsam’s theme, that the movement for a constitution proceeded from “the development of the spirit of democracy,” demands a thoughtful definition of “democracy,” “spirit,” and “development,” as well as some clear description of the concepts such emotional words evoke. If by democracy is meant only a widening of the franchise quantitative investigations should be made; but if a theoretical system embracing political equality is indicated considerable explanation should be furnished. Much light will doubtless be thrown upon the precise content of democratic practice and theory of revolutionary times in the study now being conducted by Dr. Justin Williams; meanwhile distinctions should be made between those reforms brought about by the strength of a political theory, and those which result from economic and social pressures. In the latter instances theory is likely to be the rationalization of a specific problem. Such was the case, I think, in the admission of new counties.

In this connection someone might well undertake the task of listing very carefully the various economic interests represented by the political leaders who file across his pages. It would be instructive to know, for example, what ties of interest united that diverse group consisting of Dickinson, Montgomery, Bryan, Allen and Taylor which during the late sixties formed an effective minority party in the Assembly; it would be a boon, also, if the interests of such a person as John Morton were examined, for here was a man of property sufficiently radical to vote for the Declaration of Independence but, with apparent inconsistency, sufficiently conservative to worry himself to death (so his doctor said) by “political hypochondriasis” resulting from his hatred of the revolutionary constitution. What were the reasons behind Morton’s conservatism in state and radicalism in national politics? Still another investigation is so obviously necessary before a satisfactory picture can be painted that it seems strange no one has pursued it: that is, an account of the career of John Penn as governor. This reviewer feels that many issues raised by Dr. Selsam would be more easily approached if we knew whether John Penn was the cleverest or the clumsiest politician of his day. Revealing at some times what can only be termed incredible stupidity, at others acting with sinuous and effective subtlety, he did succeed in preserving the proprietary establishment until the Continental Congress with its powerful leverage destroyed him.
These matters are mentioned here only to illustrate the fact that the revolutionary movement in Pennsylvania can still bear intensive examination. The distinguished monograph of Dr. C. H. Lincoln which has been of inestimable service for a quarter of a century remains the best account available, but there are problems which he did not solve that need attention. Dr. Selsam would have been well-advised either briefly to recapitulate Lincoln's conclusions, or extensively to re-examine the period. The hurried and ill-poised treatment of the material in these two preliminary chapters is neither helpful nor original.

The portion dealing with the year 1776 is by contrast both enlightening and well-balanced. The story of the months preceding the constitutional convention is the tale of the gradual eating away of the provincial charter by a group of popular leaders powerless in regularly constituted courts and Assembly, but potent with the great unenfranchised mass of the people. These leaders utilized every opportunity to broaden the charter government but, when they failed to bring about any liberal changes in the administrative agencies, they began a series of attempts to check and control or harass and embarrass the Assembly. Thus when the Continental Congress recommended the formation of local committees the opportunity was offered the radicals to undermine legally constituted authority. The thousands who were denied the vote, who played no part in the government, found political expression in these extra-legal committees which they elected, controlled, and directed. Dr. Selsam traces the growth of these popular revolutionary bodies, illustrating the manner in which they arrogated more and more of the governing powers to themselves. He explains very lucidly indeed the relation between provincial politics and the issues of national independence and unity. He emphasizes the position of the Associators in the revolutionary movement; and he picks out the various successive aspects of the struggle between the old government and the new which reached a climax in the meeting of the Provincial Conference of June, '76. This was a meeting that had "no foundation nor any basis at law, yet it was successful in all it undertook, and planned the convention which drew up a new constitution of Pennsylvania."

Under the presidency of Thomas McKean this body met and provided for the election of delegates to the Constitutional Convention; every Associator in the province could vote for members from his city or county, if he was twenty-one years old, had lived a year in the province, and had "contributed at any time before the passing of this resolve to the payment of either provincial or county taxes, or . . . been rated or assessed toward the same." This provision Dr. Selsam interprets as a liberal broadening of the electorate because the fifty-pound property qualification was abolished; by it, he asserts, the franchise was "put on a democratic basis." The phrase would be more meaningful if it were accompanied by a statistical analysis (which can be made for some of the counties); and such a definition would be a welcome comment upon the statement in the constitution's preamble, that "all free men, having a sufficient evident common interest with and attachment to the community, have a right to elect officers, or to be elected into office." The Conference, beyond providing for the Convention, assumed the governing powers in the province and with
the huge weight of its popular backing smothered the last sparks of life out of the proprietary establishment.

In thirty pages the various provisions of the new constitution are discussed item by item; the last chapter—a distinctive and important contribution to Pennsylvania history—deals with the struggle over adoption and the beginnings of the new government. In conclusion Dr. Selsam speaks of the influence of the frontier and of immigration upon the movement he has described. He ends with a few remarks concerning the "reactionary" constitution of 1790, exhibiting that despite the tenor of this document the principles enunciated in 1776 exerted a "permanent influence upon the political thought of Pennsylvania." It is to be hoped that a subsequent study from the same author's pen will carry this story on down to the end of the century, properly including the effect upon constitutional ideas of Pennsylvania statesmen of the Jeffersonian election of 1800.

Iowa State College

J. H. Powell


It would be difficult to overestimate the significance of the industrial revolution's impact on iron manufacturing or of the major part played by it in determining the trend of other industries, old and new, during the emergence of the machine age. In America, Pennsylvania's iron industry developed so rapidly during the eighteenth century that it was well prepared to take the lead when new forms of power, improvements in technique, and the growing market of the new nation made their appearance and encouraged the wider use of abundant natural resources. "Iron manufacture in all parts of the country during the eighteenth century was quite similar to that of Pennsylvania," says Dr. Bining (p. 8). If such is the case, the reader may apply the author's findings beyond the borders of the Quaker State.

Beginning with an account of ironmaking in America before the first bloomery was erected in Pennsylvania in 1716, the author proceeds to a description of the iron plantations on which the larger works were run. In comparing these plantations with small mediaeval manors, he shows not only how closely industry was allied to agriculture but also how manifold were their activities embracing the "mansion house" and workmen's cottages, fields and gardens, furnace and forge, grist- and saw-mill, store and church. While Dr. Bining makes it clear that "ironmaking was only a part of the work on the plantations" (p. 35), one wonders whether in many cases it may not have been merely incidental to local agricultural pursuits. In describing the social aspects of the plantation in its maturity, the author has progressed far beyond those scholars who have confined their study of industrial history to purely economic factors; however, the reader will fail to find an account of the way in which the large plantations gradually evolved from more simple forms.

In his survey of the Pennsylvania ironworks before 1800 Dr. Bining enumerates by region the establishments of greater and lesser note—Colebrookdale,
Pennsylvania's first blast furnace, in the Schuykill Valley, the famous Durham Iron Works in the Delaware Valley, Cornwall mines and furnace in the Lebanon district, the more remote furnaces and forges in the Juniata Valley and west of the Alleghenies. Although he has prepared a chronological list (Appendix A) of the works and their location, it is regrettable that no map was included for constant reference. Incidentally, the source of the "Plan of Durham Iron Works Property" (p. 54) is not given. The assertion that, among the factors determining the location of ironworks, an adequate ore supply was "perhaps the most important," is undoubtedly correct. Timber and at least seasonal water power were usually near at hand, while accessibility to markets seems often to have been an afterthought on the part of most early ironmakers throughout the country.

Economic historians will be especially grateful to Dr. Bining for his careful description of the technique of iron manufacture in its successive stages (chapters 4 and 5). Every industry has its own terminology and the manufacturer talks and writes for his contemporaries, if he writes at all. From the sources and reference works of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries Dr. Bining has rehearsed the various processes of mining, coaling, blooming, smelting, refining, and casting, with resort to modern terms or equivalents when necessary. The significance of a static or a changing technique in industrial evolution is still too little appreciated by many historians, while others in dealing with this factor take too much for granted on the part of the general reader. The advance of technique in Pennsylvania is revealed in the early abandonment of the primitive bloomery, in the appearance of steel furnaces, slitting-mills, and nail works, and in the variety and improved quality of castings, not to mention inventions and experiments under way before 1800. While the rôle of the blacksmith as a skilled artisan is mentioned (p. 85), the author does not relate this fact to the prevailing high quality of bar iron which could be used for a variety of purposes by a single craftsman before the age of specialization. Indeed, in this study the reader will not find a correlation between the technique so well described and economic factors pointed out in other chapters. Since no contemporary pictures of eighteenth century American ironworks in operation could be found, a few illustrations of similar European works were included. These would be more useable if a key had been given to the letters and numbers on the various parts of machinery and construction work.

Scarcity of labor and freedom of opportunity, so typical of economic life in eighteenth and nineteenth century America, had a marked effect upon the workers and the ironmasters of Pennsylvania. In spite of the seasonal character of ironmaking on the plantation, there were other jobs available. Skill received its proportionate reward, especially among the founders and itinerant potters. Dr. Bining points out a slight rise in wages during the eighteenth century and declares that "the ironmasters, as a whole, dealt fairly with their employes" (p. 124). His account of the number of men, skilled and unskilled, needed for each operation affords an illuminating comparative picture of the variety of workers and tasks. Some of these workers rose from the ranks to become ironmasters; the industry also attracted some yeomen and more merchants with
capital. The inducements it offered to men in public life as investors or joint owners bespeak its roseate promises of fortune, yet all too frequently matched with failure. The list of prominent operators and investors, headed by James Wilson, John Dickinson, and Joseph Galloway, is impressive; the most pathetic failure was the one-time prosperous Henry William Stiegel who died in poverty.

Chapter Eight on relations with England is chiefly a summary of the author's British Regulation of the Colonial Iron Industry (1933), with special application to the situation in Pennsylvania. He emphasizes the uniform opposition of the ironmasters to British attempts at regulation and the dismal failure of English policy. The iron industry was, of course, indispensable in carrying the Revolutionary War, but unfortunately one catches only glimpses of its service here and there throughout the book. In the account of the postwar years, Pennsylvania's tariff acts and the first laws of the United States are discussed in some detail, along with our unsatisfactory trade relations with England. In this connection, it would seem that the whole story might have been continued more effectively to the year 1815. The book concludes with a sketch of the progress of the industry throughout the eighteenth century.

The bibliography is forceful evidence not only of the author's thorough and painstaking research, but also of the manuscript treasures pertaining to business history, especially in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. It will be well for other historians to emulate Dr. Bining in studying intensively this industry and others in other states. It is pleasing to note that he plans to continue his own research on Pennsylvania iron manufacture into the nineteenth century.

University of Virginia

Lester J. Cappon

The Voyage of the New Hazard. To the Northwest Coast, Hawaii, and China, 1810-1813. By Stephen Reynolds, a member of the crew, edited by Judge F. W. Howay, F.R.S.C. (Salem: Peabody Museum, 1938. xix, 158 p. 12 Illustrations. $4.00.)

No portion of America's maritime commerce has been endowed with quite so much romance and glamour as has the early trade with China. Practically every secondary account dwells on the fabulous wealth of silks, porcelains, teas, rare ivories, precious stones, and what not to be found in the hongs at Canton. These, waiting to be purchased for little or nothing, upon being transported home were sold at such enormous profits as to make the owner of the ship a wealthy man immediately. The same accounts also delight in giving the details of luxurious life ashore: the dozens of servants; the forty course dinners of strange foods, eaten while exotic music drifted across moon-filled gardens and slant-eyed enchantresses made the men of Salem, or Boston, or Philadelphia forget America existed. Every day occurrences apparently, if one credits the majority of present day versions of the China trade. To shatter such romantic conceptions comes a first hand realistic account, a journal of the voyage of the Brig New Hazard, kept by an observant twenty-eight year old foremast hand, Stephen Reynolds.

With a crew of twenty-four men she sailed from Boston October 9, 1810, first around the Horn to the Northwest Coast of America, where she traded
with the Indians to secure sea otter skins, then to the Hawaiian Islands for sandalwood, the two commodities most in demand in the Orient. Eventually she made her way to Whampoa, arriving December 24, 1812. There her peltry and wood were sold, a cargo of Chinese wares loaded, and she cleared for Boston via Hawaii and Tahiti. She arrived at her destination with a British cruiser in her wake on Christmas Eve 1813, a little over three years out and back.

Every phase of life from the departure to the return is given with considerable detail. There was little or no romance and rather much of hard and dangerous work. For instance, "April 17 1811 Morning, washed deck; then had to take soap and sand and scour bulwarks in the rain"; Christmas 1812 "Unreeving rigging in order for stripping the vessel. Worked very late, as usual." Even rest on Sunday was denied, "Sunday January 17 1813 until now we have had no Sunday that day being devoted to washing deck, and setting up the rigging." The Indians of the Northwest Coast were none too friendly; "it might be most prudent in us not to go ashore" is a phrase frequently noted. "It was their [the Indians] intention to come alongside in the night and kill the captain." Food was bad and none too plentiful and a brutal first mate made life miserable for the hands with floggings. Only occasionally were there moments of recreation: playing checkers; a hornpipe or two on deck during spells of calm at sea; and of course while the New Hazard was in the Islands there are entries noting the presence of "About thirty girls on board." But sprees were not always unalloyed for after one we read: "Girls stole allowance of pork."

The journal has been edited and introduced by the foremost authority on Pacific Northwest History, Judge F. W. Howay, F.R.S.C. His annotations on the geography, the customs of the Indians, and the various phases of sea life and of affairs at Canton are extremely thorough, completely clarifying what might otherwise be obscure passages even to those familiar with the trade and the locale. The volume has been beautifully printed and illustrated with collootypes of the vessel, the personnel, and the places visited. It is to be hoped the Peabody Museum will continue to share its almost unrivaled collections of maritime source materials by issuing more publications similar to this.

Philadelphia

MARION V. BREWININGTON


To those who loved the old theatre this book will have a strong appeal. Compounded of Harry Watkins' diary and a wealth of vivid comment and amusing anecdote added by Mr. and Mrs. Otis Skinner, it is a history in parvo of the American stage of the mid-nineteenth century. Watkins began his diary in November, 1845 when he was twenty and carried it on with few omissions to the end of 1860. This twenty year panorama, centered on the rebuffs, hopes, despairs, engagements, progress and travels of the diarist, unrolls its gaudy length from Texas to Boston.

Early in 1846, soon after his first stage appearance Watkins left New Orleans with a sorry group of thespians for Corpus Christi, where they acted
for the soldiers encamped there before their adventure into Mexico. When they departed for the war, Watkins returned to New Orleans and went by boat to Cincinnati. There he obtained an engagement in the stock company, and with a constant change of bill and innumerable minor parts "to get up" he acquired valuable experience. By 1848 he had arrived in Boston. During that year and the following one he was in a stock company where he played small parts in support of the visiting stars. Both Forrest and Macready, the foremost actors of that day, played Boston in the autumn of 1848 and it is amusing to contrast the adulations they customarily received with the opinion our youthful diarist had of them. "They treat Forrest as if he were a god. Everybody is required to be perfect at rehearsal. When standing in the wings you must not talk above your breath. He is Sir Oracle. Every thing must be done as he says, right or wrong." Of Macready Watkins was equally critical: "King Lear to a full house. I think his acting in the part inferior to Booth's. They call him the greatest artist on the stage. I consider him the only one. He disposes of all the actors and actresses on the scene until he kills their parts entirely. When he is on the stage he contrives to fix the whole attention of the audience on himself though the scene may belong to another actor."

It was while acting in Boston that Watkins commenced playwrighting. He made his first hit there by his impersonation in The Drunkard, a crass melodrama which moved audiences to thrills and tears. In 1850 Watkins submitted a play in a contest for a $1000 prize offered by H. O. Pardey, manager of the New York National Theatre. He not only won with his melodrama, Nature's Nobleman, the Mechanic, but played the hero during a successful run. Obviously the strolling player was coming along in the world. For the next few years Watkins was playing in Louisville, Cincinnati and St. Louis. Returning to the East, he undertook an adventure in theatrical management on his own account in 1857. With that admirable actor E. L. Davenport, he leased the Chambers Street Theatre in New York, but it proved a losing venture and late in August he accepted an engagement as "comedian" at $40 a week with Burton in Philadelphia. During 1858 his talents as playwright, actor and stage manager were absorbed by the theatre of that amazing showman P. T. Barnum in New York. There Watkins produced his melodrama, The Pioneer Patriot, in which he played a Negro in a "serio-comic" part. Both play and actor drew crowded houses for many weeks.

During the run of this piece and its successor, The Bride of an Evening, a dramatization of a novel by Mrs. Southworth our diarist became enamoured of the charms of the leading lady, Rose Shaw, whom he married in 1860. Thereafter the pair spent three years in England where they met with some success. Returning to America they toured the land in melodramas written by Watkins, the most popular being Trodden Down, first produced January 7, 1878 in New York. In this play Watkins made his last appearance on September 23, 1893 at the Girard Avenue Theatre. He died in New York February 5, 1894.

To Mr. Skinner's question, "Did actor ever devote his life more ardently to the profession he adored?" the readers of Watkins dairy must respond emphatically "Never." It is this passion for his calling that raises Watkins'

Among the group of distinguished Pennsylvanians who contributed so much to the Revolution and the young Republic it is indeed surprising to find so important a personage as Thomas Willing completely overlooked until now. Mr. Konkle suggests that Willing has remained without a biographer because his life was lacking in picturesque incident and unenhanced by the spectacular glory of military adventure. Mr. Konkle seeks to remove this stain of neglect and ingratitude. Previously Mr. Konkle has made many other successful efforts to rescue Pennsylvanians worthies from the limbo of the half forgotten or the completely so. The reader who is not aware of his industry in the field of Pennsylvania history receives a constant reminder in the footnotes to the present volume, for out of some fifty-three references to secondary sources no less than twenty-three list his own meritorious contributions.

Thomas Willing, the son of an eminent merchant of Philadelphia, inherited much from his father in point of character, social position, ability, and wealth. Of these he made striking and laudable use, and rose to such eminence in Philadelphia that he held for many a year the position of first citizen of that metropolis. Nor were his abilities confined to his province, his state or his city. After an outstanding career as a successful merchant; after having played an important part in the pre-revolutionary movement, he was called to the presidency of the Bank of North America, an institution which contributed not a little to the final Revolutionary victory. Here the faithful and successful discharge of his duties recommended him as a suitable person to head the newly created First Bank of the United States, a quasi-national institution, and for nearly seventeen years he guided this bank with notable success. Such in brief was the life and achievement of a man who undoubtedly deserved well of his state and his country.

The picture of Thomas Willing's early life in Philadelphia as Mr. Konkle presents it, is full of charm. His experience in England as a boy and a student at the Inner Temple gave him a breadth of education which was put to good and effective use later when he was elevated to the Supreme Court of the Province of Pennsylvania. On his return from England he entered with zest and marked success into the mercantile activities of a bustling colonial port. The sudden death of his father while mayor of Philadelphia thrust on young shoulders unusual burdens which were manfully and capably borne. Then came his own introduction to public life and, eventually, his election to the mayoralty of the city.

So far the sailing had been at least relatively smooth, but with the conclusion of the war in 1763 new and vexatious problems regarding the relationship of the colonies with England began to arise. Thomas Willing like many another
a colonial merchant was ready to bring all kinds of pressure against England to redress the grievances of his country and his class. He would not only engage in economic warfare but would support an armed effort to convince the mother country of the seriousness of America—a thing England had doubted. But when the Revolution actually began, which strictly speaking was not until independence had been declared, Mr. Willing found himself quite out of sympathy with the effort to separate from the country where he had spent so many impressionable years. This stand caused his elimination from the congressional delegations of Pennsylvania where he had hitherto had a busy and fruitful usefulness. For the time being his political career was finished. Ten years later in his autobiography he gave his reasons for objecting to the Declaration of Independence. In substance they were those shared by others, neither few in number nor lacking in influence, persons who at this present time—so far removed from the fierce hatreds of that period—command respect.

It is with Mr. Konkle's treatment of this period of Mr. Willing's life that the reader finds most to criticize. Here apparently an ardent enthusiasm for the subject of his biography has led the author to make extreme statements about the nature and extent of Willing's activities. A conviction that somehow Thomas Willing has been robbed of his rightful and supereminent position in the creative period of this country pervades and at times threatens to vitiate parts of this otherwise valuable study. It is responsible for frequent and sometimes irrelevant comparisons of Willing, the "financial and economic 'Father of his Country'" to Washington and other great men from Franklin to Monroe. Extravagant praise is apt to have the unfortunate effect of alienating the reader, especially where the author's dicta are based on what appears to be insufficient evidence, as is sometimes the case in this study. Inasmuch as Thomas Willing's services as president of the Bank of North America and the First Bank of the United States were of real value and importance it is regrettable that they were not allowed to speak for themselves, for they would have assured Mr. Willing of his rightful place in the historical scene.

As a matter of fact Mr. Konkle's account of the Bank of North America in which Willing started his career as the outstanding banker of his time is most informative, and even more detailed than that found in Laurence Lewis' History of the Bank of North America. It is to be regretted, however, that the archives of the Bank were apparently not used. Chapters XI, XII and XIV devoted to this subject; Chapter XIII contains Willing's autobiography the larger part of which was written in 1786.

The greatest service both as to length of time and solid achievement which Thomas Willing contributed on a more than provincial scale was his presidency of the First Bank of the United States. Here he served most acceptably from the day the Bank opened its doors in 1791 until a partial stroke of paralysis caused his resignation in 1807. The history of this bank and its successor occupies the balance of the book and is undoubtedly the most valuable part of the biography. As to Mr. Willing's achievements and the Bank's value to the nation the estimates of Mr. Konkle and the other writers on this subject differ widely. In this case the reviewer is inclined to accept the biographer's by no
means modest estimate of Thomas Willing's abilities. To cause a United States government to curtail its extravagances and above all to make it pay its debts to the Bank is to stamp Mr. Willing as nothing short of a miracle worker.

In his autobiography, Willing wrote: "My success in life has not been derived from superior abilities, or extensive knowledge, a very small and scanty share of either having fallen to my lot; therefore it can only be ascribed to a steady application to whatever I have undertaken, a civil and respectful deportment to all my fellow citizens, and to an honest and upright conduct in every transaction of life." Whatever the cause—native ability, or application, or both—there can be no doubt that Thomas Willing merits a high place in the annals of American history, especially the history of American finance.

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A. E. Morse

*General Philip Kearny Battle Soldier of Five Wars. Including the Conquest of the West by General Stephen Watts Kearny.* By THOMAS KEARNY, with a preface by Frank Monaghan. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1937. 496 p. Illustrated. $4.00.)

Philip Kearny, lover of brave soldiers, colorful uniforms, and beautiful horses, has at last found a tolerable biography. Thomas Kearny's recent book is quite obviously the result of serious research into important sources hitherto unused. The dashing personality of Philip Kearny, the romantic hero who figured in five wars, is vividly portrayed. Kearny saw service with the French in Africa, the United States in Mexico, fought the Indians of the Northwest more than once, and served the Union in the War between the States. In each of these wars he performed creditable and often brilliant service.

Too often a writer of biography makes the principal character the hero or the villain. In this case Philip Kearny is ever the hero. Whether fighting, writing his severe criticism of his fellow officers—Generals Casey, Hintzelman, and McClellan, or expressing his belief that the annexation of Texas and the Mexican War were brought about by the machinations of an aggressive slaveocracy whose continued existence and wellbeing they were designed to advance, Kearny is ardently supported by his biographer. However, in spite of the tendency to idolize his subject, Thomas Kearny has produced a worth while and much needed biography.

In conclusion it should be remarked that this biography is more than a history of the life of Philip Kearny for it includes also some account of the more prominent and historically important members of the Kearny family. The author in particular portrays the brilliant campaign of Stephen Kearny across New Mexico to California, bringing that enormous country under the control of the United States.

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