BOOK REVIEWS

*William Penn As a Social Philosopher.* By EDWARD CORBYN OBERT BEATTY.

(New York: Columbia University Press, 1939. xiii, 338 p. $3.50.)

The study of anyone's social philosophy must of course be grounded in his way of life. Any effort to depict in terms of mere verbalization the views of a man toward the complex relationships of individuals in society is as misleading as it is superficial. Professor Beatty has fully realized this. He has at every point tested Penn's verbal statements of his social views by his social behavior. Although in pursuing this end Dr. Beatty has explored widely and carefully the unpublished Penn manuscripts in the major American depositories, he has of necessity, in recounting what Penn did in social relationships, retold much that is fairly familiar. But the resulting richness and depth of understanding is clear evidence of the soundness of this tridimensional approach.

In Penn's own divided life lies the secret of the inconsistencies, the rationalizations, the ups-and-downs that mark the expression of his social philosophy. The fact that he was the product of one culture and that without abandoning it he tried to live in part in accord with the tenets of another culture explains the confusion in his notions regarding the distribution of wealth, his racial views, his conceptions of the family and of education, his views on war and peace, his paternalism and his humanitarianism, his aristocracy and his democracy. The founder of Pennsylvania was on every level of his social thought and action moved by his loyalty to the Quakerism he had adopted. But at every level he was also pushed by much that stood in stark contrast to the other-worldliness, the mysticism, the simplicity, the equalitarianism of the Friends. He was and remained an aristocrat. His intimacy with the Stuart court pulled him into many a tussle with his conscience. His duty as an administrator and a colonizer, his interest as a feudal lord and a real estate promoter, led him into paths at strange variance with the mind and soul of George Fox. From these conflicts of interest and value it is clear beyond doubt that both Penn's religion and his class and economic status bulked large in shaping his social thought. It is also plain that the one modified the other; that according to the specific situation, one or the other was the determining factor; and that no complete reconciliation was really ever achieved.

"The end of everything should direct the means," wrote Penn; and in this pragmatic dictum Professor Beatty has found the key to the adjustments Penn made between his divided loyalties. His stalwart devotion to property rights, to the maintenance of a class society, to the success of his colony as a practical enterprise, compelled him to sacrifice the happiness of his colonists, or at least to modify the liberal arrangements he had made for their government. But on the other hand his abiding zeal for religious toleration, his paternalism, his pacifism...
and his humanitarianism also led him at times to subordinate his more immediate worldly interests.

Dr. Beatty discusses these conflicts and such resolution of them as Penn made under three general categories: the economic man, the political man, and the social idealist and humanitarian. This procedure at many points clarifies, but at some points it obscures. As Dr. Beatty himself fully realizes, there is no clear-cut line separating any person into these entities or functions. All that modern psychologists teach us about personality makes this clear. Before we fully understand the social philosophy of a man who in his action and values was as complex as Penn, we shall have somehow to reconstruct an integrated personality which transcends the somewhat atomistic breakdowns into such categories as economic, political and social. But Dr. Beatty frankly disclaims any intention or effort to introduce psychological analyses or techniques. Perhaps he feels that to venture into fields in which the canons of scholarship are still, for the historian, uncertain might mar the scholarly quality of the work he has done on the levels on which he elected to labor. Perhaps the social historian is not yet ready, or able, to do more than Dr. Beatty has done. But until he is, the problem of analysis and of organization remains unsolved.

One also wishes that Dr. Beatty had included a final chapter on the pictures which succeeding generations have held of Penn's social philosophy. Had this been done, the illuminating remarks which are from time to time made by way of comparing Penn's conception of social planning, for example, with that of the New Dealers, would be even more significant.

But Dr. Beatty has done so much, and has done that so well, that students of the history of colonial Pennsylvania and of American social thought will one and all feel indebted for a judicious, scholarly and thought-provoking book.

Columbia University

MERLE CURTI


Eight years ago Kenneth Porter's John Jacob Astor inaugurated a series of Harvard monographs on business history based on the study of a large portion of the records of the companies concerned. The man most responsible for these studies is Dean N. S. B. Gras of the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration who conceived the idea, secured funds to make the work possible, contributed a volume to the series himself, and edited the rest. Professor Hower's book is the fifth study to appear. Besides these labors the same group have edited and contributed to The Bulletin of The Business Historical Society, and collected numerous business manuscripts in the Baker Library. All in all, there seems little doubt that future historians will hail Dean Gras and his colleagues as the founding fathers of scholarly business history in the United States.

From 1869 until the early years of the twentieth century N. W. Ayer and Son was an old style partnership dominated by the energetic personality of
Francis Wayland Ayer. His was a typical nineteenth-century success story. Starting without capital, he forged ahead through hard work, good judgment, and able partners. The rule of the office was long hours, low pay, and frequent overtime, but there seems to have been a certain air of loyalty and respect for the partners who drove themselves harder than anybody else, only to eschew most worldly pleasures and reinvest their profits in the business. As a result of such policies they were able, as early as 1877, to buy up one of their rivals, Coe Wetherill and Co. and thereby inherit the remains of Volney B. Palmer’s pioneer business of the eighteen-forties.

In the beginning all advertising agents bought space wholesale from the newspapers, and retailed it to their clients at whatever profit the traffic would bear. Ayer was one of the first agents to see that in the long run his interests were more bound up with the advertisers, his customers, than with the media owners from whom he purchased. Therefore, in 1876 he instituted the open contract form, whereby the agency received a fixed rate of commission based on the amount they actually paid for space. One by one other modern services such as copy preparation, field surveys, and campaign planning were added until the agency became, by 1900, practically the advertising department of its customers.

But bigness itself presented new problems. Ayer had inevitably become an important local figure, and was drawn into many affairs not connected with the agency. Advancing age and the duties of being a bank president, as well as an advertising man, brought him face to face with the necessity of institutionalizing the business so that it might grow and prosper without his personal guidance. This was made more urgent by the fact that hard work had broken the health of his oldest and most trusted partner, H. N. McKinney. From 1903 to 1915 Ayer struggled with the problem of turning an old-fashioned paternalistic regime into a modern systematized management. If we may judge by the record of earnings, he did not succeed very well (see table, page 577) but Professor Hower has been unable to present much material to explain the precise difficulties. At all events, the period of uncertainty ended when Ayer’s son-in-law, Wilfred I. Fry, was made president in 1916, and the war boom raised revenues to new high levels.

The prosperous years of the Twenties coupled with what seems to have been a more progressive management, although the author is cautious about offering comparisons, led to rapid expansion. In 1926 gross revenues, which had never equalled $5,000,000 before 1916, crossed the $25,000,000 mark; foreign branches were established; and pioneer work was undertaken in the field of radio advertising. The Fry regime also introduced a program of welfare capitalism including: insurance, saving funds, recreational facilities, rewards for exceptional service, and, after incorporation in 1929, an employee stock ownership plan. By 1936 the business had so lost its old atmosphere of personal rule that Fry’s death and the succession of H. A. Batten to the presidency could scarcely be noticed in the conduct of daily affairs. At the present time N. W. Ayer and Son is one of the eight or ten largest agencies. Although the increasing number of
firms in a highly competitive business has robbed it of its turn of the century
primacy in volume, its reputation for honesty and good taste still give it a valid
claim to leadership.

It would seem that in the case of a record so well above the average in regard
to fair and ethical dealings, there should be little trouble in agreeing to a frank
and critical history. But unfortunately Professor Hower appears to have been
faced by the usual dilemma of the business historian: without access to the
records no satisfactory account can be written, but the price of such access is
company censorship. In the case of an advertising agency, a house working in
close confidence with its clients, some censorship is understandable, but in many
of the present instances a zeal for caution in public statements seems to have
been carried to unnecessary lengths. It must be said in favor of both Professor
Hower and N. W. Ayer that no secret is made of the restrictions imposed in
several places. Yet a prohibition such as that against mentioning any failures
by the company robs a business history, right at the start, of much of its most
instructive material.

One wishing to make an honest critique of an institution without incurring
censorship or ill will, may resort to inserting his comments in a series of
specialized discussions. This allows the cursory reader to infer that while a
particular detail is bad everything else is all right. I do not believe that Professor
Hower had such a plan in mind, yet an excessive degree of departmentalization
in the study may well give the impression of avoiding major issues. The narrative
history, concluded in 203 pages, is followed by 425 pages of "analysis of par-
ticular aspects of Ayer development," with the result that the reader never gets
the feeling of seeing any period of the company's career as an organic whole.
The full picture with all its shadings and complex interrelations always eludes
us, yet it would seem as though the creation of just such a picture should be a
chief aim of detailed business history. The loss of the N. K. Fairbanks account,
for example, which N. W. Ayer himself said amounted to almost a quarter of
their business, is not noted in the historical narrative. Reductions in hours or
dismissals, prior to the nineteen-thirties, are not presented against a proper
background of changes in business volume, the practice of other offices, or the
pressure of the employees. Moreover, the whole question of union organiza-
tion and the open shop is dismissed rather too briefly to be convincing.

I suspect that the historian of a really fine business house may come to admire
his subject unduly just as do most of the biographers of great men, and in some
sections of this book it seems as though the author may have been unduly charmed
by the whole atmosphere of the Ayer firm. At least there is an over fulsome
ness of language in dealing with the major figures of the company that does not accord
with the measured estimate that a social scientist should place upon personalities.
This criticism cannot be documented by specific phrases or adjectives alone, it is
rather the result of the whole tone of certain passages. And in a way, N. W. Ayer
& Son suffer from such treatment, for their record might well have stood up
under a critical discussion such as N. R. Danielian has written of the A. T. & T.

Aside, however, from the question of specific treatment, I think that the gen-
eral historian may have a further cause for disappointment. While no one can question the right of an author and editor to define their subject as narrowly as they may care to, it still seems too bad that the products of such an exhaustive pioneer research should not be set in a richer environment. A business concern exists as a part of the organized life of the community with its charitable, political, financial, and economic relationships, and only against this background does the firm's history have full meaning. Even within the strictly business sphere the changes in business volume, the trade methods, and employee policies of one company can only be understood in comparison with the practices of its competitors. If such comparisons are ruled out by the company involved the result is like an experiment with no controls. Without more of a background of the development of the rest of the advertising business, and certain additional external relations of the firm, Professor Hower's accurate and well documented study represents the materials for history rather than the well synthesized finished product.

New York University

THOMAS C. COCHRAN


The American land companies of the 18th century might be likened to some of the overseas capitalist enterprises of the present day. They were primarily interested in exploiting natural resources; they were mixed up in politics, both local and imperial; they were potential factors in creating war and in dictating peace; they were, in most cases, clothed with respectability and with the usual attributes of legitimate enterprise; they were a powerful factor in promoting and strengthening the American nation, in augmenting its population, in advancing its frontiers, and in increasing its wealth; they both fostered and symbolized the competitive individualism of such enterprise; and, while they sought and often obtained the support and protective influence of government, they were essentially adherents to the doctrine of laissez-faire. In literature, and often in sober, documented history, they have been portrayed less for their acquisitive purposes than for their patriotic efforts. The ideology back of Samuel Wharton's Plain Facts and Alice Tisdale Hobart's Oil for the Lamps of China is much the same, for all of the century and a half and the artistry that separate them. Even the Yazoo Frauds have found their defenders in sober, if partisan, history.

The historiography of these 18th-century land companies exhibits another curious trait: overemphasis on sectional or local considerations. Even Alvord's tour de force, his Mississippi Valley in British Politics, is a splendid fragment of sectional history. More to the point is Abernethy's monumental piece of research, Western Lands and the American Revolution, which is a painstaking and thorough, but partial, exposition of Virginia's role in opening up the West. Bailey's Ohio Company is a further example of this type of economic history which exhib-
its overemphasis on or partially for the contribution or influence of a locality. Modern investigation of historical enterprises, presumably imbued with the ideal of objective history, based on wide and painstaking examination of original sources, should not cause one to forget that even the most conscientious scholar may have local pride or, more probable, may become convinced by long concentration that his segment of history is the most important one.

Pennsylvania, long overshadowed by Massachusetts historians in the realm of political history, is threatened with a similar obscurcation at the hands of this newer school of western historians. With the firm establishment of the impressive works of Abernethy and Bailey, both extravagant in their claims for Virginia, Pennsylvania historiography may find itself, with respect to Massachusetts and Virginia, as North Carolina once was with respect to its neighbors on the north and south—a vale of humility between two mountains of conceit. The result will be unfortunate, for Pennsylvania historians doubtless will respond to the challenge from Virginia in the same way that many of them have to that from Massachusetts—by making extravagant or unwarranted claims for Pennsylvania. Objective history may still be an ideal, but it is rapidly becoming mildewed.

Since those who have written on the Ohio Company of 1748 have inevitably had to investigate the relations of the Company with Pennsylvania, and have to a considerable extent blamed the latter for the company’s failure, two important facts, usually overlooked, should be pointed out. First, Pennsylvania capitalists got into the land game relatively late in the 18th century, though there was Samuel Hazard’s abortive attempt in the 1750’s and Franklin’s suggestion for an inland colony. This was no doubt due partly to the fact that Pennsylvania’s charter boundaries were limited, but it was chiefly due to the preoccupation of Philadelphia capital with ocean-borne and inland commerce. Settlements on the frontiers followed the traders, and Philadelphia capital followed this sequence in the historic drama of the West. The Ohio Company, organized for settlement and trade, found it necessary to enter trade first and count on settlement later. This produced the first clash with Pennsylvanians, for traders from this province had long enjoyed an almost undisputed monopoly of the rich Indian trade of the Ohio and upper branches of the Mississippi. The Company leader and founder, Colonel Thomas Lee, complained with some acerbity that Pennsylvania permitted her traders to incite the Indians against the traders employed by his Company, robbed them, and threatened them with injury. Mr. Bailey admits justly that the “Ohio Company was not slow to use the same tactics as Pennsylvania.” (p. 115.) The truth is that both sides used these tactics simultaneously; at the time Lee was complaining to Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania, Hugh Parker, the Company’s agent, was trying to win over some of the Pennsylvania traders to his Company. After all, the frontier traders were notoriously a tough bunch of men. The Pennsylvanians were well established and they did not play a parlor game with those they regarded as interlopers (the modern phrase is “muscling in”). The French traders had no such clashes; they
operated under a well-knit organization. Those trading out of Pennsylvania or Virginia were merely reaping the fruits of laissez-faire.

This raises the second point usually overlooked by those who have written on the Pennsylvania-Virginia rivalry for the trade of the Ohio Valley: the fact that in Pennsylvania, at least until the Revolution, the provincial officials kept themselves relatively free from commercial enterprise. The Ohio Company, as Mr. Bailey amply demonstrates, was controlled largely by Virginia officials, and at least a part of its failure was due to sectionalism and internal politics within Virginia. In one place and with respect to one incident Mr. Bailey seems on the point of grasping the fact that the Ohio Company clashed not so much with the government of Pennsylvania as with Pennsylvania traders and trading companies. But elsewhere throughout his essay he shows confusion on this point as other writers have. This leads him to suspect the motive back of Governor Hamilton’s offer to join with the Company in establishing a fort on the Ohio, whereas that offer came on specific orders from Thomas Penn because the Pennsylvania Assembly refused to accept a similar offer in order to oppose the French advance on the Ohio. It leads him also to accuse Richard Peters of being engaged in the Ohio trade, whereas, when Peters was carried away by the speculative fever in 1748 and sought to engage with Trent and Croghan in that trade, Penn peremptorily ordered Peters to desist on the ground that it was inconsistent with his official duty. Also, though Mr. Bailey points out the fact that “Certain Pennsylvanians... advised the Indians to trade wherever they could buy cheaper, whether it be from the Ohio Company or from Pennsylvania traders,” he concludes that this attitude of “certain Pennsylvanians” was exceptional (p. 115). It was exceptional only in being the official policy of the Pennsylvania government between 1750–1753. Thomas Penn time and again gave instructions to Hamilton and Peters to assist Governor Dinwiddie and the Virginia Company to build a fort at the Forks of Ohio. When Hamilton raised the question whether this area was in Pennsylvania, Penn was impatient; he declared that the larger question was the protection of the imperial interests and even if the Forks of Ohio was beyond the limits of Pennsylvania, it was the duty of the Assembly to assist Virginia or any other colony in building the fort—aided by his personal contribution of £400 for building and £100 annually for maintenance. When Cresap, acting for the Ohio Company, made trouble among the Pennsylvanians, Penn went to Hanbury in London, a leading member of the Company, and obtained a promise that Cresap should be quieted. When news came to Penn that Pennsylvania traders were making trouble for those of the Ohio Company, he urged Hamilton to use his “utmost endeavours to prevent our traders from infusing such jealousies in the Indians for the Future.” Penn, of course, was protecting his own interests by adopting a protective attitude toward the larger interests of the empire. He knew that intercolonial jealousies and intercolonial rivalry for trade and for the favor of the Indians were so much aid to the French enemy. For that reason he, Peters, Governor Thomas, and others in Pennsylvania as well as Benjamin Franklin urged intercolonial union
for the control of Indian affairs and trade. The Albany Plan of 1754 was in more respects than one a Pennsylvania plan. It was for these reasons that the proprietary officials, who were in charge of Indian policy, endeavored to assist the Ohio Company in making settlements and in gaining a fair treatment in the western trade.

Mr. Bailey has given the most competent and detailed history of the Ohio Company that has yet been attempted. While his bibliography does not list the manuscript sources consulted, it is apparent from footnote citations that his work is based on documentary authority. But he has by no means exhausted the materials available that must be examined before a definitive treatment of the Ohio Company can be made. It is not apparent, for example, that he has seen the Weiser-Lee correspondence, the Penn manuscripts, the Hamilton papers, or the important Peters manuscripts, to mention only a few of the pertinent collections in only one of the principal repositories. Some of these documents would considerably amplify the factual account of Mr. Bailey's story. Some would correct errors in his narrative: e. g., the statement that Peters (along with Lewis Evans) was engaged in the western trade. Some of them, perhaps, would answer some of the questions left unanswered by this monograph.

Despite the fact that this cannot be accepted as a definitive history of the Company, the factual narrative is the most acceptable part. It is against Mr. Bailey's conclusions concerning the influence and importance of the Company that the most serious caveat must be entered. These conclusions are: (1) that the Company must not be considered a mere land speculating organization, but predominantly as an imperialistic enterprise functioning patriotically for the advantage of the British empire; (2) that early knowledge of the Old Northwest "must be credited to the accounts of Christopher Gist, Colonel Thomas Lee, Thomas Cresap, George Washington, William Trent, Barney Curran, William Crawford, and Hancock Lee"; (3) that the Company's agents were actively engaged in settling the west and bringing it under British control, and included "practically all of the important Ohio Indian traders of the time"; (4) that the Company was the first organization fully to understand the Ohio problem and succeeded in turning the eyes of the world to this controversial area; (5) that, in the final analysis, the Company was successful because it was largely instrumental in bringing on the French and Indian War, thus helping to establish English control in North America. There is much factual basis for these generalizations, but they are subject to more qualification than Mr. Bailey has given them, if indeed they are not open to direct challenge.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania

JULIAN P. BOYD

*Whiskey Rebels*. By LELAND D. BALDWIN. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1939. 326 p. $3.00.)

When Parliament attempted to put into force the Stamp Act in 1765 the colonists jumped to their feet and refused to buy the designated stamps. When Alexander Hamilton decided to force the frontiersmen to respect his Excise Act in 1794 these full-blooded Americans also resisted and cried unfair. The federal
marshals who appeared in Pittsburgh to collect taxes from delinquent distillers were not cordially welcomed. The frontier militia sprang to the defense of what was considered American liberty and it was necessary for the federal government to suppress the insurrection with force.

In the present volume Mr. Baldwin paints a broad picture of the incident. He seems to understand the spirit of the rebels and the many forces which led them to oppose the government. He discusses the nationality of the settlers in western Pennsylvania, religion, education, land and land speculation, and the many problems with which the frontiersman was faced. The small farmer bartered the bulk of his whiskey and produce to merchants who had to send what little cash they received to the East to pay for their goods. "The West was thus in the position of seeing its cash drained away to the East for the benefit of eastern speculators and manufacturers."

The self-sufficient economy of the frontier required only the simplest government, and salaried officials were looked upon as instruments of tyranny. It was easy, therefore, to stir up separatist sentiment. Mr. Baldwin properly defends the men of the frontier: "Of course the pioneers were lawless when judged by the standards of the older settlements, but when judged in the light of western conditions, as well as by what are now considered inherent human rights, this was far from being universally true." Because of fundamental differences it was no wonder that the men of the trans-Allegheny region occasionally agitated for a severance of political ties with the East. As for the universal hatred of the excise: "it was rooted deep in the European past." It is important to bear in mind that the Western Pennsylvanian's attitude toward whiskey was the result of social as well as economic circumstances and was developed long before there was a federal excise law.

Mr. Baldwin examines Hamilton's excise and goes deeply into the reaction in the Pittsburgh region and the subsequent uprising. He is certain that "The Whiskey Insurrection was one of the signposts that marked the cleavage amidst the people, particularly between the agrarians and the rising industrial and mercantile class." This monograph is a distinct contribution to the history of the period. The research has been executed intelligently and thoroughly. The writing is marked by a sense of literary values. It is from all angles a competent and excellent study. There is a worthwhile, critical bibliography and an index.

Philadelphia

NATHAN G. GOODMAN

Business Enterprise in The American Revolutionary Era. By ROBERT A. EAST.

(New York: Columbia University Press, 1938. 387 p. $4.25.)

Such incommensurable writers as George Santayana, Alexis de Tocqueville and John Adams have, at various times in our history, noted the tendency of Americans to organize in cooperative endeavor. "Americans of all ages, all conditions and all dispositions constantly form associations," wrote de Tocqueville in 1840. "They have not only commercial and manufacturing companies in which all take part, but associations of a thousand other kinds—religious, moral, serious, futile, general or restricted, enormous or diminutive. . . .
Wherever at the head of some new undertaking you see the government in France, or a man of rank in England, in the United States you will be sure to find an association.” Santayana, in *Character and Opinion in The United States*, devoted his entire chapter on “English Liberty in America” to that “one gift or habit native to England, that has not only been preserved in America unchanged, but has found there a more favorable atmosphere in which to manifest its true nature—I mean the spirit of free cooperation. . . . Together with the will to work and to prosper, it is of the essence of Americanism” and at least a partial explanation of why the United States and England “excel in commerce and in the commercial as distinguished from the artistic side of industry.” John Adams, on the same subject, expostulated thus to John Taylor in 1814: “Are there not more legal corporations [in the United States]—literary, scientific, sacerdotal, medical, academical, scholastic, mercantile, manufacturing, marine insurance, fire, bridge, canal, turnpike, etc., than are to be found in any known country in the whole world? Political conventions, caucuses, and Washington benevolent societies, biblical societies and missionary societies may be added—and are not all these nurseries of aristocracy?”

If this feature of American life manifested itself in colonial society—and there are many indications that it did—this much is clear, it was not manifested with any force or clarity in economic organization. Cooperative effort was restricted chiefly to religious and civic functions until the precipitous events of a major war made demands or created opportunities too large for individual capacities to cope with. Perhaps the transition from strict individualism to cooperation did not become a crucial feature of American economic life until the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861. Long before that date, however, the corporation, now the symbol of cooperative endeavor even unto state organization, had hewn for itself an influential position in American economy. Together with the unincorporated association or joint stock company, it had come to dominate such economic activities as banking, insurance, land sales and transportation. The roots of this early development are to be found not in the Civil War, nor in the War of 1812, which gave a great but premature impetus to domestic manufacturing, but in the American Revolution itself.

The caustic effects of this eight years’ war were not limited to undermining imperial relations. Agrarian conservatism, as Parrington has noted, was profoundly disturbed. Economic atomism was outstripped. Colonial jealousies were temporarily dissolved or bridged at least by the exigencies of war. Nor was the Revolution only corrosive. As Dr. East writes in the volume now under consideration: “Constructive forces for advancing the modern economy have accompanied all modern wars. Those which appeared during the American Revolution include the encouragement of a gainful and speculative business spirit; the expansion of some markets, foreign and domestic, along with the loss of others; the stimulus for new investment ideas, resulting from war loans and from the discouragement of older investment habits; the rise of new business groups and the ideal of large scale business association, as a result of extraordinary war activities.” Before the outbreak of the Revolution, there was not a single com-
commercial bank in the colonies. Loans were made by private capitalists out of their own holdings. There were no insurance companies; marine insurance was laid by any group of merchants for specific voyages. There was hardly a factory or a good road. Certainly adequate transportation facilities were lacking, as war leaders discovered when British occupation or blockade of American ports diverted intercolonial trade to overland routes. During and after the Revolution, these conditions were put on the road to oblivion. The end of credit relations with Britain impelled the creation of American banks of discount and deposit. The risks of war opened vistas of great profit to insurance companies that proved to be reality and not mirage. Manufacturing and commerce, no longer hobbled by imperial restrictions, grew apace and roads and canals began to appear in ever increasing numbers during and after the "critical period" that followed the end of the war. The corporate form of business organization, hitherto restricted in large measure to non-commercial organizations, was adapted to the needs of business and employed ever more frequently as a means to organize capital for new enterprises.

The story of these new stirrings in American business is the major burden of Dr. East's book. He has told that story well. Superficially one may cavil at the author's arrangement of material, since, as he himself says, "the first twelve chapters . . . really serve as an introduction to the last two, in which the earliest of those [new] enterprises are analyzed." In the first twelve chapters, however, and particularly in those eight comprising Part II of the book under the main heading "Years of Chance, 1775-1782," Dr. East has arranged and interpreted an enormous amount of detailed material in a way indispensable to any understanding of the economic atmosphere and events of the war and post-war years. Charles and Mary Beard, in *The Rise of American Civilization*, state that "the chief sources of information" bearing on the economic situation in the so-called "critical period," "are the assertions and lamentations of but one faction in the great dispute" over the constitution. Dr. East has gone beyond these sources and in the manuscripts and newspapers of the period he has unearthed a quantity of material casting vivid light upon what businessmen were actually doing in a business way while they were complaining about political conditions. The populism of the early years of the war and of the period of the Articles, was not welcomed by businessmen. On the other hand, it was not as pervasive as was once believed nor as obstructive to business activity.

Dr. East has considered the Revolution in a retrospective light. He has consciously emphasized its constructive aspects rather than those destructive. He has sought in war activities, the sources of capital for later enterprises and he has indubitably found them there. He has examined war-time financial practices, thus disclosing the speculative experience of later investors and speculators. He has examined inter-state trade in war supplies, thus indicating the breakdown of colonial jealousies and the basis for Hamilton's national system. He has investigated the quest for new markets to replace the closed ones of Britain, thus revealing the beginnings of the Dutch and large West Indian trade that was to stand Americans in good stead when accustomed British ports remained
shut to them even after the war. Nor has the removal of British restrictions on western expansion escaped him, thus allowing him to indicate how the greatest speculative commodity of the 1790’s came to acquire the position it did in the American economy of those and previous years of independence.

All this Dr. East has done with thorough documentation, keeping always in view at the same time, the major theme, the transition from personal to institutional enterprise, from individualistic to cooperative endeavor. His book richly deserves the John H. Dunning Prize recently awarded it by the American Historical Association.

University of Pennsylvania

William Miller

Pennsylvania, A Regional Geography. By Raymond E. Murphy and Marion Murphy. (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Book Service, 1937. 591 p. $4.00.)

Most Pennsylvanians know that their Commonwealth is one of the wealthiest in the Union. This book offers an opportunity for one to become better acquainted with the products of every section. Each of nineteen geographic regions is surveyed minutely and attention is given to such phases of the natural setting as landforms, drainage and water resources, the mineral heritage, the climate and its influences, and the soils. The conclusions and facts have been reached not only after a study of printed sources, but also after extensive field work throughout the state. The authors are members of the faculty of the school of mineral industries of the Pennsylvania State College. Especially interesting to historical students is that part of the book which treats of landscapes of the past from 1600 down to 1930. The authors are frank to point out that their work is only a “preliminary” geography, and that as more and more field studies are carried on throughout the state, a more exact treatment will be possible.

More than half of the book concerns itself with a detailed regional picture of the geography at the present time. There follows a bit of prophecy although it is admitted that “many of the changes that will come cannot be predicted.” Soils have been carried away by erosion, forests have been cut down, mineral resources are being constantly extracted. Change goes on constantly and so it is necessary that a book of this type be revised every few years. More charts, statistical tables, and illustrations might well be included in future editions.

Philadelphia

Nathan G. Goodman


When historiography was in its infancy the unhappy author of Ecclesiastes voiced the opinion that “of making many books there is no end; and much study is a weariness of the flesh.” The length of publishers’ lists has grown with the passage of time and the accumulation of historical records leads the modern scientific historian to the conclusion that this opinion is, perhaps, something of an understatement. Yet, despite the publication of innumerable works on almost every conceivable historical subject, few state histories, good or bad, have
been written. To catch the sweep of great "forces" and "underlying movements" in our national history from Jamestown to Roosevelt undoubtedly requires breadth of knowledge and a fine selective ability, but to do the exhaustive work essential to a comprehensive social history of a state an author must have a genuine love of history, tireless zeal, and unusual skill in weaving the thousands of details into an interesting and authoritative narrative. These requirements are fulfilled by Mrs. Johnson in her social history of ante-bellum North Carolina and the work deserves the adjective monumental.

Stretching from the dunes of Currituck, Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds to the beautifully wooded peaks of the Blue Ridge Mountains, North Carolina extends nearly five hundred miles, presenting the greatest variety of climate, soil, and scenery. Chartered as a proprietary of eight English noblemen in 1663, it passed to the Crown in 1729, and achieved its independence as a commonwealth in 1776. The transition of its people, institutions, and politics from a frontier society to a well-established order would be an interesting story under any circumstance, but it is all the more so because of the natural handicaps the people faced and the reputation the state obtained.

William Byrd, the second, the witty and wealthy Virginia gentleman from Westover, recorded in his famous History of the Dividing Line about 1739 that "surely there is no place in the World where the Inhabitants live with less Labour than in N. Carolina. It approaches nearer the Description of Lubberland than any other, by the great felicity of the climate, the easiness of raising Provisions, and the Slothfulness of the People." These and other highly uncomplimentary observations of Byrd no doubt provoked chuckles and approving nods in Charleston, Williamsburg, Philadelphia, and Boston, but they did North Carolina little good. Justifiable or not, the State at the beginning of the nineteenth century was regarded as the most backward member of the Union, and its lethargy for some time thereafter became something of a standard of comparison. Yet on the eve of the Civil War the State had become the most progressive member of the southern tier and stood near the top in comparative tables of the wealth, internal improvements, commercial and industrial expansion of the states.

This is the period Mrs. Johnson has chosen for her study and it is truly a fascinating one, because "This picture of North Carolina—a body politic emerging from the simplicities of the frontier to the complexities of civilized life—has cast long shadows, prophetic fingers pointing to the inevitable for a hundred years to come. The years between 1800 and 1860 shaped the future; it was a time of origins which still control many ways of life in North Carolina" (p. xi).

The book is well balanced and organized. In a short introductory chapter on colonial origins the author describes those geographical influences which so seriously handicapped the State in its competition for population and commerce. No state facing the Atlantic Ocean has a worse coast line than North Carolina, making navigation impracticable except for small vessels. Nor were the rivers suitable for commerce save for a short distance inland, in contrast with those of
Virginia and Georgia. The broad coastal plain was separated from the piedmont plateau by a sparsely populated region stretching from the valley of the Roanoke to that of the Cape Fear rivers. This contained few rivers and consequently little "bottom" land. Back of the piedmont was the Appalachian region, a mountain-studded plateau. These physical features, together with racial, economic, and social factors produced internal sectionalism.

The various sections of North Carolina were more isolated from each other than from the neighboring states. Means of communication were poor and transportation expensive, with the result that the two sections were scarcely able to establish a community of interests and understanding during the ante-bellum period. Perhaps the people themselves were responsible for the poor reputation of their State, but they were unjustly maligned. Land-locked and devoted to agricultural pursuits, with real geographical barriers to internal unity, the State portrayed the characteristics common to such a region: provincialism, sectionalism, conservatism, individualism, and superstition. A society with such an environment could hardly be expected to develop native talents much less attract men of creative ability from other sections.

Yet we discover in the pages of this work the record of a remarkable development. In the six chapters devoted to the social life, customs, manners, town life and country life, we learn of lyceum club lectures, theatrical societies, musical organizations and town bands, and see the people at subscription balls, political barbecues, cock fights, horse races, and revival meetings. While all these chapters are interesting and informative, the reviewer was particularly struck with those on the town and town life, wherein the pictures are well drawn and deftly touched with local color. Public celebrations, such as the visit of Washington and that of Lafayette, the inauguration of Jefferson, the somber joy of an important funeral ceremony, the chatter and excitement of court week, general muster, and election day—all these pass before us as we read.

The President of the University of North Carolina stated in 1829 that the commonwealth was "three centuries behind in public improvements and education" (p. 267). Joseph Caldwell was too lavish with the time element but that improvement was needed was beyond dispute. Subscription schools, academies, special schools, and denominational colleges, and, of course, the University, were agencies of long-standing, but public state-supported schools came only after a long period of agitation by a few reformers and statesmen. The author traces the development of these institutions in three chapters, Public Schools, Private Schools and Colleges, and Educational Methods. One is struck by the valiant fight in the press, the pulpit, and in the halls of the legislature, and the efforts of Archibald DeBow Murphey and Calvin H. Wiley, in the creation of a system of free public schools, while the activity of Princeton graduates in the Presbyterian schools reminds one of the sons of Yale and their work in Georgia.

The Episcopalian and Presbyterian churches enjoyed a prestige far out of proportion to their numerical strength, the Friends, Lutherans, and Moravians made notable contributions to the building of a better society and pointed the
way in a denominational manner to the more abundant spiritual life, but it was
the Baptist and Methodist churches that enrolled the members and held sway
among the masses of the people. Four chapters trace the development of these
denominations, the camp meetings and revivals, and the benevolent activities
of each. The role of the church in everyday life and in the broader humanitarian
movements, the anti-slavery crusade, for example, is adequately presented.

While North Carolina was from the first committed to the institution of
slavery it was never one of the leading slaveholding states. Of the ten seceding
states the census of 1850 ranked North Carolina eighth in the ratio of slaves
to whites, and in 1860 of the total number of families 72 per cent owned no
slaves at all. Mrs. Johnson treats the subject of slavery in its several aspects in
five chapters: The Slave System, The Slave Code, the Social Life of the Slave,
Anti-Slavery Sentiment, and the Free Negro. Here again one marvels at the
thoroughness with which the various topics are treated, and the analysis of the
anti-slavery sentiment is unusually well done. The State had a comparatively
large number of free Negroes, 30,463 in 1860, and prior to 1835 they seem to
have enjoyed more civil rights than those elsewhere in the South, even being
accorded the right to vote (pp. 601-604). In the Constitutional Convention of
1835 the resolution to disfranchise free Negroes carried by a vote of only 62 to
65, with that highly respected jurist, Judge William Gaston of Newbern re-
marking that he disliked seeing “an honest man, and perhaps a christian . . .
politically excommunicated” and “an additional mark of degredation fixed upon
him, solely on account of his color” (p. 603).

The chapters on the court system and the criminal code deal with that part
of the general movement for humanitarian reform during the entire period di-
rected at the judiciary and penal systems. The impetus for reform that accom-
panied the American Revolution made little impression upon the state of affairs
in North Carolina, but reformers waged their fight throughout the years. The
hanging of a man for grand larceny in 1845 * evident of the need of reform in
the penal code. It was not until 1868 that any fundamental change was made
in the judicial system.

Humanitarian efforts to relieve the afflicted and oppressed during the ante-
bellum period reflect a gradually awakening social consciousness but the record
of achievement on the eve of the Civil War fell far short of the objective of re-
formers. Yet constructive legislation was obtained and the basis laid for greater
service at a later time. One group of reformers devoted their attention to the
improvement of sanitation and health, and this chapter (XXIV) is a valuable
contribution to our knowledge of this subject.

“During the last two decades of the ante-bellum period,” writes Mrs. John-
son, “there was such a dipping into the inkpot that newspapers thought the State
was experiencing a real intellectual awakening” (p. 810). There had been,
indeed, a marked increase in the number of newspapers and periodicals published,
while the volume of broadsides, almanacs, and pamphlets grew steadily. This
movement is covered in the two final chapters, in which the nature and character
of the press are treated, the editorial policies and methods of financing discussed,
and the literary contributions given some detailed treatment.
Throughout this excellent book no important phase of the social history of the State is neglected and the author successfully avoids the romantic and sensational. Extremes are noted from time to time but these serve to adjust the perspective to a truer line. The book is replete with colorful extracts from the sources, none so long as to prove tedious, and they add greatly to the interest of the narrative. The preface, documentation and bibliography testify to the painstaking research that has been done, and it is not surprising to read in the preface that the author has made use of data from the “Library of Congress to a farmhouse attic in Texas.” There are 75 pages of bibliography, with 72 separate collections of manuscripts listed, and the contemporary newspapers and periodicals used take up eleven pages alone. The 26 pages of index make it easy to find particular items, an especially important feature because of the length of the book and the wealth of information it contains.

New York University

RALPH B. FLANDERS

A Check List of Manuscripts in the Edward E. Ayer Collection. Compiled by RUTH LAPHAM BUTLER. (Chicago: The Newberry Library, 1937. ix, 295 p. $5.00.)

A check-list is to a library as an aperitif to a dinner: it whets the appetite. The check-list of the manuscripts in the Ayer Collection is no exception. For many years scholars have known that the Ayer Collection is a repository of prime importance in the field of the archaeology and ethnology of the American Indian. Few descriptions of Indian Captivities are complete without the statement “Ayer No. such-and-so,” or more rarely, “Not in Ayer.” But the present catalogue throws light on a more recondite part of the collection, and possibly the most historically significant part.

The trend in historical research today is more and more towards original unpublished source material, and this check-list shows us what material may be found in the Ayer Collection. One is disappointed perhaps to read an entry, “Pizarro, Francisco. Affidavit referring to dispute between Pizarro and Almagro as to their respective domains in Peru, Lima, No. 1537,” and then find out that the entry refers to a photostat from the original in the Huntington Library, but then it speaks well for the Newberry Library that they troubled to have such photostats made for the convenience of students. One wonders what method of selection was used to decide what documents not in the Ayer Collection were worthy of copying. The field is not completely covered, of course, and the selection is often tantalizing.

The most refreshing feature of the collection is the comprehensive character of the original manuscripts. It is no hackneyed list of the A’Beckett to Zwingli type. There are a few “name” documents, that is, a document bought as an exhibition piece, or as a sample of handwriting. The names of the writers of these papers are for the most part refreshingly new. They give promise of unpublished source material, of new facts, of new history.

The book is divided into seven sections: North America, Spanish America, Philippine Islands, Hawaiian Islands, Indian Languages, Philippine Lan-
The entries under each head are arranged alphabetically by authors. It is impossible to cite many noteworthy entries, but perhaps it might be interesting to note an Indian Treaty between the Six Nations and the United States, held at Easton on February 6, 1777, written by Thomas Paine, who was then secretary of the congressional committee; and the statement of Richard Peters and Jacob Duché, regarding the actions of the Quakers at Easton, during the conference between William Denny and the Indians, 1757. The arrangement and cataloguing, by Ruth Lapham Butler, are most satisfactory; the printing, by the Lakeside Press, impeccable. It is to be hoped that scholars will avail themselves of the clues presented by this checklist.

Philadelphia

EDWIN WOLF 2ND


An excellent account of one of the richest mineral deposit areas in the world. Begins with the first reference to this coal bed in 1751 and covers in detail, the period up to 1830, with references of value after that date. Contains also, a portfolio of relevant and very informing maps and charts.


University of Pennsylvania doctoral dissertation. A good study of industrial education from colonial beginnings, through the period of indentured servitude, and later institutional developments. Narrates not only what was done but measures the community's interest in such education at various times.


A study of individual case histories seeking to document the idea that "The Religious Liberty that we enjoy today with so much nonchalance is a rich legacy that was bequeathed to all the world by our Baptist forefathers." (Preface.)


"A short history drawn from source material." Contains many interesting details and a selected bibliography.