BOOK REVIEWS

Recording America's Past. An Interpretation of the Development of Historical Studies in America, 1607–1884. By DAVID D. VAN TASSEL. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960. xii, 223 p. Appendix, bibliography, index. $6.00.)

Dr. Van Tassel here presents what is termed "the whole range of American historical studies," 1607–1884. Actually, this statement is ambiguous. Materials which can hardly be called "histories" but which may include historical content (newspapers, sermons) are not included, nor is much attention given to writings on any history other than American. Within these limitations, however, the study is comprehensive in most respects and is based on a wide range of sources. Instead of focusing on special themes, the author seeks to identify and explain the main trends in historiography prior to the last seventy-five years.

One major trend is indicated by the organization of the work under such headings as "Problems of National History, 1776–1815," "Nationalism Versus Localism, 1815–1860," and "Localism—The Lost Cause, 1860–1884." Historians responded to the exuberant patriotism of the post-Revolution era, then to a reassertion of local or regional pride, and finally to the massive nationalism which emerged from the Civil War. Within this framework appeared certain minor but intriguing tendencies, such as the early projection of Massachusetts history across New England, and later the similar equating of the New England epic with that of the country as a whole. Reactions against both these tendencies appeared earlier than is now usually recalled. Another example of the pressures of social environment upon historians was the potency of political loyalties. Van Tassel provides interesting analyses of history made to order for Republicans or for Federalists and, subsequently, for protagonists of the Union or of states' rights.

More intangible than such influences was the response of writers to the cultural outlooks of their time. The author sums these up, for the latter part of the narrative, in terms of eighteenth-century rationalism and of a nineteenth-century blend of American filiopietism with European romanticism. These elements converged to produce an emphasis on the role of American democracy in the grand progress of mankind. Such enthusiasm found its most complete expression in the writings of the romantic nationalists (Bancroft, Parkman, *et al.*), who selected subjects which lent themselves to colorful and dramatic treatment.

Interest in different types of historical content (political, military, social) are mentioned, but no clear trends are brought out in this area. Perhaps

there were no such trends, but the issues were discussed and might have been analyzed in the present context. In practice, social data seem to have been of concern chiefly to local historians.

Regarding methods, the author describes the post-1820 enthusiasm for collecting documents and notes the role of the early historical societies in this connection. (A useful appendix lists these bodies and their dates of origin.) Implicit in this trend was a desire for more careful documentation, and Van Tassel believes that relatively high standards of accuracy were attained by the self-trained scholars of 1850–1885. He therefore concludes that these "amateurs" deserved more credit than later, "scientific," historians accorded them. The latter group—the professors—did largely take over historical writing after 1885, though it seems misleading to say that the day of the amateur was then ended. Nonprofessional historians and local societies have, after all, continued to be active into the present time.

Although the European background to historical efforts in this country is noted, the story is largely one of native response to the native scene. Foreign influences are summarized, whereas American are analyzed in detail. And there seem to be inaccuracies in some of these details, as in certain references to The Historical Society of Pennsylvania. There is, finally, no comment on the possible reverse impact of scholarship in this country on historiography abroad—particularly in relation to overseas writing of American history itself. But it would be unfair to ask too much of one book of limited length, which seems crowded at points as it is. The author has brought together much useful information on historiography as such, together with his own interpretation of the relations of this field with its social milieu. The study will doubtless provide a starting point for the history of the American Historical Association which is to follow.

American Philosophical Society RICHARD H. SHRYOCK

A Guide to the Archives and Manuscripts in the United States. Compiled for the National Historical Publications Commission. PHILIP M. HAMER, Editor. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1961. xxiv, 775 p. Index. $12.50.)

For those of us who have for years been awaiting this tool, it is breathtaking to have it in hand, a combined compass, key, and divining rod which will greatly increase the effectiveness of research in American history. It will take its place with Sabin, Evans, and the Library of Congress *Catalog of Printed Cards* as one of the four gateways to the materials for research. It records the holdings of some 1,300 repositories and in a 132-page index organizes the information under both personal and subject headings.

A glance at the *Guide* gives many surprises. Who would expect that the Archives of the German Legation at Peking, China, are now in the Trinity

College Library, Hartford, or that some of the letter books of the Confederate Treasury Department are in the public library of Auburn, Maine? An evening with the book located for me some twenty collections of manuscripts for which I have been searching, some of these for twenty years. There are similar surprises in such exotic fields as Babylonian and Chinese dynastic materials.

The editor of such a bibliography must make certain decisions of method, scope, inclusion, and exclusion which pain him as much as they do disappointed users; it is hard to see how Mr. Hamer could have done better. He has, for example, kept the *Guide* down to a single volume only by compacting its record of the holdings of repositories adequately covered by special guides or bibliographies, to which he refers. Thus, the vast holdings of the Maryland Hall of Records are in this book described in a few paragraphs with ample references.

Inevitably, the coverage is uneven, for the editorial staff in Washington could only organize the reports which came to them from the libraries and the archives, and the larger these were, the worse the problem of reporting. Some great institutions simply could not provide the staff to gather the data, particularly when they were busy making similar reports for the National Union Catalog of Manuscripts. At some time in the course of compiling this *Guide,* the decision was made to record by name the collections of papers of only those individuals who were important enough to get into the D.A.B. or similar lists. Before this decision, or unaware of it, the Harvard University Archives had thrown in the sponge when faced with the problem of listing its holdings by individuals, for it has manuscript materials, varying in amount from a few lines to hundreds of boxes, relating to a hundred thousand men. This means, in many instances, that the chief collection of an individual's papers is unrecorded, but peripheral scatterings are.

Much more frequently, however, the *Guide* shows material hitherto overlooked in even the great libraries. Of the score of collections for which I have been searching, half are here recorded as being in institutions of which I have been a familiar all these years, but which had not adequately catalogued their holdings. Others are listed as being in institutions which have denied having them; this volume will be a useful means of enforcing requests.

The week that the first copies of this volume were distributed, research libraries felt the impact. Students at once began writing for microfilms of small collections, presuming that they could be procured with the ease and dispatch of Sears Roebuck merchandise. The fact is, however, that the photographic facilities of most American research libraries are so strained that it commonly takes a year to obtain any kind of reproduction. Few institutions have the capital necessary for the needed expansion of facilities and staff.

Archives are going to be particularly hard hit by the new demand, for they are less able than libraries to handle the new burden on their reading

rooms and staffs; moreover, they are set up to serve the purposes of their institutions, not of the public, and frequently the institutions look coldly at the efforts of the archivists to serve the public. And, indeed, there are excellent reasons, which graduate students rarely understand, why institutions and corporations cannot open for general research the papers of their executive officers of the past fifty years.

In the introduction, Mr. Hamer warns the prospective searcher that before visiting any depository he should inquire as to the availability of the papers he seeks. One wishes that he had also printed in boldface type a statement of the law of literary property which so frequently ties the hands of the most willing custodians, to the great irritation of researchers.

The Hamer *Guide* will be a blessing without measure for those who use it without carping about the things which could not be done. And it will bring the service problems of many institutions to a state of crisis.

American Antiquarian Society CLIFFORD K. SHIPTON

American Literary Manuscripts. A Checklist of Holdings in Academic, Historical and Public Libraries in the United States. Compiled and published under auspices of the American Literature Group, Modern Language Association of America. (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1960. xxviii, 421 p. $5.00.)

Many people will have reason to rejoice in this book. It should make life easier for everyone whose field is American literature: scholar, biographer, critic, researcher, librarian, bibliographer, dealer, collector. Here are listed the nation's current institutional holdings of source material—original manuscripts, diaries, journals, letters and documents. Nearly three hundred leading American libraries participated in this project. A staggering total of 2,350 authors are to be found here: the famous and the forgotten, Emerson and Sumner L. Fairfield, Poe and Oliver William Bourn Peabody, Whitman and Amelia Ball Welby.

"In compiling this checklist of American literary manuscripts, our immediate purpose has been to provide for scholars a helpful new aid in their perpetual search for new materials." Thus the book's primary function; and in its excellent introduction the compilers cast further light upon their aims, hopes, and problems. This volume was first conceived as far back as 1950, and a decade of dedicated effort was required for completion. Every pioneering venture is reconciled to the necessity of clearing its own path, but here the thorns were particularly sharp.

Indeed, the very nature of manuscript material poses a problem. Every original letter, for example, is unique—a law unto itself, so to speak—and hence intrinsically resistant to classification. Books, by comparison, are manageable creatures; they conform with such good grace to standard

cataloguing procedure. But how should the perplexed librarian catalogue a letter? Under the name of its writer? Suppose, however, it is the recipient who gives the letter its importance? Or perhaps the subject matter is what really counts—the Battle of Gettysburg, let's say, described by an observer otherwise unknown to fame.

That is just one problem, encountered all the time and incapable of an easy solution. Family archives and business records provide another. They are being offered to public institutions with increasing frequency, and are, in fact, generally welcomed. But oh, the time and effort required to wade through the cartons for whatever scholarly gold may, or may not, be hidden there. Each letter, each document, is terra incognita: who knows what significant name or event may be lurking on the next page. Nor is it always easy to sail on to the next page; there exist, alas, such shoals as illegible handwriting, faded ink, and brittle paper broken at the folds. No wonder that libraries, short of time and personnel, are sometimes forced to catalogue whole archives, often containing hundreds of separate items, under one entry card.

These and other problems inherent in manuscript material—and their possible solutions—are discussed at length by the compilers. That alone is a distinct service, one which can lead to even more valuable results. Then, there is the checklist itself, pointing the way to all who seek out America's literary sources. Limitations do exist, and are stressed by the compilers themselves with disarming frankness. They emphasize that the checklist must not be considered either definitive or exhaustive. No claim whatever is put forth that the search for source material has been made easy; it has merely been made easier. It is further pointed out that no holdings in private hands are listed, nor those in the possession of dealers. And, despite a determined attempt to mine the rich lode stored away in the files of publishing houses and literary agents, no worth-while success was scored in that quarter. Due warning, also, is given that he who panteth for hitherto unknown material must still rely ultimately on his own digging.

As indicated by this checklist, Philadelphians may well take pride in the variety and importance of the literary treasures housed in this area. It must be reported, however, that many Philadelphia authors now dwell, archive-wise, in marble halls far, far from the scene of their childhood: Charles Brockden Brown (Harvard, New York Public Library, Princeton, Texas), Henry B. Hirst and George Lippard (Harvard, New York Public Library), T. A. Daly (Chicago, Harvard, New York Public Library). All are evidently represented in far more comprehensive fashion there than here.

But the rewards of this book far outweigh any jolt to local pride. It is a praiseworthy enterprise from every point of view, soundly planned and executed; and a pleasure to read besides, thanks to the typographical care of the University of Texas Press. A credit, indeed, to all concerned.

Philadelphia SEYMOUR ADELMAN

Edward Randolph and the American Colonies, 1676–1703. By MICHAEL GARIBALDI HALL. (Chapel Hill, N. C.: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture by the University of North Carolina Press, 1960. xiv, 241 p. Bibliographical essay, index. $5.00.)

Edward Randolph, surveyor-general of the customs in the American colonies, was probably the most cordially hated man in America around the year 1700. When William Penn, for example, said what he thought of him, he came as close as a good Quaker could to profanity: "He is the Scandal of the Government . . . as arbitrary a Villain as lives. . . . His name and a lye goes for the same thing 1000 Miles upon the Continent of America" (pp. 214–215). Nevertheless, Penn had to acknowledge that Randolph was an able and intelligent customs officer. Mr. Hall feels somewhat the same way about him. He grants that Randolph was an unlovable man, ambitious, conceited, irascible, officious, an opportunistic influence-peddler, a status-conscious prestige-seeker, seldom above using his official positions to improve his own private fortunes. Yet he has to admit that with all his private vices, so utterly characteristic of the civil servant of his time, he was, in his public capacity, single-mindedly dedicated to the achievement of one goal—the reorganization of His Majesty's disorderly hotchpotch of an empire into a rational unit, subject to centralized royal control.

With remarkable objectivity and fidelity to the widely scattered sources (which he found in the Public Record Office in London, the State House and the Massachusetts Historical Society in Boston, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Colonial Williamsburg, the Huntington Library in California, and elsewhere), Mr. Hall follows Randolph's American career with the persistence of a private detective from 1676, when he first arrived in Boston to investigate New England's flagrant violations of the Navigation Acts, to 1703, when he died in Virginia, unloved and unnoticed, having been superseded by Robert Quary, another disagreeable man but a less able official.

Randolph's achievements were considerable. In Massachusetts he challenged the formidable Puritan Commonwealth and brought about the surrender of its charter, though he had little to do with the ill-fated Dominion of New England which followed. During the 1690's, he became "indisputably England's best-informed colonial expert" (p. 221). In 1695, he drew up a proposal for a sweeping administrative reorganization of the colonies. Regionally organized around the great bays of the Atlantic coast, it was a thoroughly rational plan, characteristic of the Age of Reason and foreshadowing such recent developments as the Port of New York Authority or the Delaware River Port Authority; but it was as unacceptable to the realistic customs commissioners as it would have been to the stubbornly provincial Americans. In the next year, however, he was instrumental in persuading the commissioners to push through the Navigation Act of 1696, which "marked the coming of age of a customs organization in America"

and considerably "enhanced and clarified the authority of the crown in colonial affairs" (pp. 162, 165), and had the satisfaction of seeing his regional plan incorporated in the admiralty court districts set up by the newly formed Board of Trade.

There is no question that Randolph was the key figure in the administrative history of the American colonies during the crucial last quarter of the seventeenth century. By his ceaseless activities he "generated . . . a new concept of what London's colonial policy should be" (p. 220). He was, one might say, a one-man Hoover Commission or, in slightly less anachronistic terms, a shadowy forerunner of Lord Durham. Despite his personal faults, which Mr. Hall does not gloss over, he was, in the short run, a success as a colonial administrator. In the long run, he was, however, a failure. Let Mr. Hall explain why:

> William Penn once wrote in the heat of debate, "Can it Enter the head of any man of Common Sense knowing anything of America that wee came hither to be under a King's Governour that is Mercenary and has no Interest in the Country? Are wee comme 3000 miles into a desert . . . to have only the same privileges we had at home?" Penn understood America, knew that every settler from England came seeking a new life, came in flight from the old. The irony of Randolph's life was that he too had sought a new life in America (p. 223).

I have purposely made this review a summary of Michael Hall's book, not just because I can find little in it to criticize, but also because I should like to persuade those who, like myself, tend to shy away from administrative history to read it, for the importance of its content. I will only add that Mr. Hall writes in a style that is enviable for its economy and clarity.

Swarthmore College FREDERICK B. TOLLES

Robert Livingston, 1654–1728, and the Politics of Colonial New York. By LAWRENCE H. LEDER. (Chapel Hill, N. C.: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture by the University of North Carolina Press, 1961. xiv, 306 p. Illustrations, bibliographical note, index. $6.00.)

This volume has won the Institute of Early American History and Culture Manuscript Award and the Dixon Ryan Fox Fellowship and well deserves the prizes. Mr. Leder has studied the Livingston-Redmond Manuscripts now on deposit at Hyde Park and many of them have been especially translated from the Dutch for his work. Unpublished papers among the Winthrop, Blathwayt, and De Peyster collections, as well as much other documentary material from a variety of repositories, have been utilized.

Fresh illustrations of Livingston's astonishing career and new light on his two voyages to England add considerably to earlier information about both public and private activities in Albany and in New York State.

Robert Livingston descended from parents of clerical and mercantile interests. His father and mother took refuge from persecution in Holland, where his youth was spent. On the death of his father, Robert set out for New England, and by 1674 was in Albany, then a frontier town. Appointed town clerk in 1675, he soon added to this position that of the secretaryship of the board of Indian commissioners and made both reputation and profit from them. Marriage with Alida van Rensselaer, Peter Schuyler's widowed sister, allied Livingston with families powerful in the state, and by 1688 the favor of Governor Dongan had enabled him to acquire lands which by 1714 amounted to a manor of 160,000 acres. Part I of Mr. Leder's book deals with parentage, education, and the beginnings of a career.

Part II, "Years of Political Upheaval, 1689–1710," much the most substantial section, traces the often tangled story of involvements with Andros, with the events of the Leislerian revolution, with Governors Sloughter, Bellamont, and Cornbury. Two excursions to England were prompted by the vast arrears of money owed the New Yorker by the government. Part III, "Political Maturity," describes the troubles of both Livingston and the Palatine immigrants who came in during Governor Hunter's term. Indian matters continued to engage his attention, and he served in the provincial assembly where as Speaker he began to oppose administration policies. Illness forced retirement in 1725, and in 1728 Livingston died, leaving his many possessions to his two surviving sons.

Livingston lived not one but several lives. His private adventures, bereavements, illnesses and business activities would themselves have filled a book. He seems to have been a devoted husband and a careful, even fussy, father. Whatever else engaged time and attention, mercantile enterprise never ceased to be Livingston's most cherished occupation. He traded in furs. He had a hand in various semipiratical adventures. He bought and sold comestibles. He provisioned the Palatine settlers, and his wife baked bread for them. He sold to government and to private individuals, and his finances were never simple. To the complexities of his commitments must be added the inordinate delays of a distant bureaucracy and the rivalries between the merchants of Albany and New York which produced restrictions on trade in each area.

Mr. Leder uses Livingston's career to illustrate the politics of colonial New York emerging from the Dutch occupation, during the experiment of the Dominion government, and torn by the struggles of the Leislerian revolution. On the whole, he thinks the Leisler episode less important in determining party than the long-term imperial relationship, and he shows the colony mildly whig or tory somewhat in line with changing administrations in London. Certainly, Livingston trimmed his sails to keep in with successive governors. Yet he showed increasingly a sense of the interest of

the colony as distinct from, even opposed to, that of the Board of Trade and the English policy makers.

This is a book to read, study, and analyze. Much of New York's early history may be learned from it. But it is not easy reading. A chart of principal events and governors might have helped. The method is chronological and in a biography this is perhaps the best way to ensure continuity, but brief summations of public politics and private interests might have disturbed the story less than the effort now involved to keep clear the many strands of narrative forming the whole of Livingston's career. Mr. Leder writes clearly and well, but with such a wealth of detail he might have paused somewhat longer to gather together the parts that contribute to politics and to the amazing character of his hero.

Bryn Mawr College CAROLINE ROBBINS

Chancellor Robert R. Livingston of New York, 1746–1813. By GEORGE DANGERFIELD. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1960. x, 532 p. Frontispiece, bibliographical note, genealogical table, index. $10.00.)

This is both a big and a brilliantly written book. It does justice, at last, to a major figure of the revolutionary and early republican eras who has never had a biography and is ordinarily given little attention in general and textbook histories of the United States. In 1808, John Adams remarked that "Chancellor Livingston inherited a name, numerous and wealthy connections, and a fine manor. . . . These . . . have given him more influence in his country than all the titles and immense landed estates" of the greatest duke in England have given *him* in Great Britain. But for all his substance in his own day, Robert R. Livingston is in ours an exceedingly shadowy figure. Schoolchildren learn that he was Robert Fulton's financial backer in the first successful efforts in steam navigation. Persons acquainted with diplomatic history know that he collaborated, however uneasily, with James Monroe in the purchase from France of the half-continent then called Louisiana. And some may remember that he was one of the five members of the committee appointed to draft a declaration of independence in June, 1776, but fewer could say why he was appointed or what his contribution was, if any.

Among a thousand interesting things Mr. Dangerfield tells us is that the strange craft in which Fulton and Livingston puffed and clanked their way up the Hudson from New York to Albany in 1807 was at first named simply "The Steamboat." There was only one, and this was therefore sufficient identification. To a whole generation of New Yorkers, and for that matter of Americans, Robert R. Livingston was simply "The Chancellor." He was not only the first law officer of the state, but the owner of many square miles of

inherited lands on both sides of the Hudson and in New Jersey, one of the principal architects of the New York constitution, the first secretary for foreign affairs appointed by the Continental Congress, the head of a great clan of Democratic-Republican grandees, Jefferson's first minister to France, a scientific agriculturalist and author of a treatise on sheep, and monopolist of steam navigation rights on the Hudson River.

Using the extensive Livingston Papers acquired not many years ago by the New-York Historical Society and earlier unavailable to scholars, Mr. Dangerfield has given this portentous figure flesh and blood and has treated every chapter in his long career in detail and with meticulous documentation. Not knowing him well, historians have naturally been puzzled by some of the turns and windings in Livingston's public life. How did a man of his simon-pure aristocratic precedents and views commit himself to American independence? His biographer shows that he did so only with reluctance, yielding to the torrent in the hope of directing its course. In a word, he "accepted everything about the Revolution except the fact that it was revolutionary," though he was never quite so explicit as his mother in beseeching the Almighty to "give us . . . deliverance from the persecution of the Lower Class."

Livingston's rebukes as foreign secretary to our ministers abroad who refused to accept French dictation became notorious. Was he himself acting under French dictation? His biographer thinks not, and makes a good case for the defense. Livingston was too remote from, and at this early stage too innocent of, the realities of international power politics to fathom Vergennes' duplicity. But his views were his own and not acquired ready-made from the French legation in Philadelphia. As for his switch from Federalism to Republicanism in the 1790's, Mr. Dangerfield has provided fuller details from Livingston's private correspondence, and a more plausible explanation of this momentous political incident, than can be found anywhere else. Briefly, it sprang from a combination of pique and principle. This is always a strong combination of motives, and in a man of Livingston's temperament it was bound to—and did—have spectacular results.

Though they deal mainly with the well-worked subject of the Louisiana Purchase, the chapters on Livingston's mission to France are among the very best in this excellent biography. If they do not greatly alter the known outlines of that amazing transaction, they do assess Livingston's role much more even-handedly and authoritatively than has been done before.

In taking up this book one might wonder whether its subject is worthy of so lavish a treatment and, for that matter, of so gifted a narrator as the author of *The Era of Good Feelings*. The wonder lingers through the early chapters giving the annals of a long-tailed and self-satisfied family. But it retreats when Livingston himself is brought onto the continental stage. "The Chancellor" had the complacency of his class, and he left few memorable utterances on record; but his capacity for affairs matched the obligations his status imposed on him, and at the same time he displayed some

engaging vagaries of temperament and human weaknesses. It is good to have him brought so vividly to life among his greater and lesser contemporaries on both sides of the Atlantic. This obligation of modern scholarship has now been admirably discharged.

Massachusetts Historical Society L. H. BUTTERFIELD

They Came To Emmaus. A History. Compiled by PRESTON A. BARBA. (Emmaus, Pa.: Published by the Borough of Emmaus, 1959. xvi, 378 p. Illustrations, appendices. $5.00.)

Though the author states that he is neither by training nor inclination a historian, he has produced a volume of special significance to Pennsylvania regionalism and to Moravian religious and civic history. Emmaus was a congregational village founded in Pennsylvania in 1758 and incorporated in 1859, and it is therefore fitting that such a volume should receive the backing of the town borough on the occasion of its centenary. Both author and the civic management of Emmaus deserve congratulations for the combination of skill and finances that made such a volume possible.

The treatment of the early Moravian settlement and their coming to Pennsylvania, their missionary activity, church building and educational activity will interest the student of religious history. The chapters on "A Village is Born," and "Emmaus, Then, Shall Be Its Name," and "Some Rules and Regulations" embody the early community and civic affairs. Many facts, documents, chronicles, diaries and names are packed into these chapters. That the author could present so much factual information is probably to the credit of the early Moravian ministers who were required to keep diaries and accounts, but also to good Moravian archival management.

The chapter on "Emmaus in the American Revolution" is one of the more interesting social-historical chapters, and perhaps the most moving account to the outsider. When the Moravians of Georgia abandoned their southern communities to come to Pennsylvania they did so to escape the fear of being forced to take up arms. It may be surprising for the members of the modern-day historic peace churches to discover that the Moravians, like the Friends and Mennonites, were nonresistants. When Emmaus became the hospital for the Continental Army, they won the respect of many, though they received their share of suffering for conformity to principle. The author's treatment of the "The Old Order Changeth" and his discussion of the transition from church village to borough is given perhaps too much in chronicle form to make it interesting to the casual reader. This reader would have welcomed more discussion of the nature of the early communal life.

One of the most striking features of contemporary Emmaus is the number of small industries in the community. The volume includes a sweep-up of the community institutions, churches, service and social organizations, as

well as its industries. The history of the Rodale Press, for example, with its contribution of "Finder" books for writers and its thrust in organic farming publications, is just one illustration of the many creative institutions in this fertile human community.

The sketches and illustrations are an asset to the volume. An index to the entire book would have made it more functional for future use. The printed end papers and the quality of the binding are attractive features.

University of Alberta JOHN A. HOSTETLER

Forts on the Pennsylvania Frontier, 1753–1758. By WILLIAM A. HUNTER. (Harrisburg, Pa.: The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1960. xii, 596 p. Maps, illustrations, appendix, bibliography, index. $5.00.)

This work is the first volume of a two-volume treatment of the forts of Pennsylvania. It is intended to replace and to amplify *The Report of the Commission to Locate the Site of the Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania*, commonly known as *Frontier Forts*, which has been the principal available source in this field since its publication in 1896. The period covered in the present volume extends from the first fortification by the French on Lake Erie and the upper Allegheny River in western Pennsylvania to the end of Forbes's campaign in 1758. In some cases, the histories of the individual forts have been continued "beyond the year 1758 in order to round out the story."

This is not merely a reworking of the older volumes, but is truly a new work in the best tradition of modern historiography. The discussion is arranged on an individual fort basis, but much attention has been given to background material and to placing the story of each fort within the framework of the general military and political situation of the period. The individual forts are not treated in an isolated manner, but are related one to the other within the general attitude of defense. Mr. Hunter has brought together what was, in its predecessor, mere recitation of local history and mythology, and produced a historical survey of the period on a firm documentary basis. He has told the story of Pennsylvania's nonparticipation and participation in this colony's phase of the world-wide conflict during the critical years of 1753 to 1758, as well as the story of her frontier forts. For his task, the author is uniquely qualified; with a dozen years as Senior Archivist and, more recently, as Associate State Historian, his writing is based on a broad familiarity with the sources and on a sound knowledge of the history of colonial Pennsylvania.

In a work of this magnitude, errors are bound to creep in, but those noted have been of a minor nature. It is felt, however, that the following observations should be made concerning references cited as being in the

Bureau of Land Records at Harrisburg. In Note 10 on page 552, and in Note 20 on page 554, "Application No. 805" is cited. There are, actually, three separate sets of "Applications," as contrasted with "Warrants," in the Land Office Bureau: "East Side Applications," "West Side Applications," and "New Purchase Applications." This citation should more properly read "East Side Application No. 805." In Note 120 on page 398, there is a reference to "Copied Warrants, Cumberland County, 1-A, Nos. 34 and 40, Bureau of Land Records." Since the reorganization and modernization of the Land Office, these "Copied Warrant Books," not being original records, have been relegated to storage space on the sixth floor of the Capitol. The original warrants, long folded and filed in envelopes, have now been flattened and laminated, and are readily accessible. It has been possible for many years to locate them by county indexes; this citation should more properly read "Warrant Index, Cumberland County, A-34 and A-40," the letter "A" denoting the initial letter of Armstrong, John and George respectively, to whom these warrants were issued. These observations are not made to be picayunish, but merely to attempt to smooth the road for anyone whose research may take him to the Land Office.

This work fills a long-felt need in its field. It should serve as an excellent source book on the Pennsylvania forts, as well as an inspiration to any local historian who would delve more deeply into the forts of his immediate neighborhood. The illustrations are well reproduced and appropriate; there is a very good bibliography and index. The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission is to be congratulated on its publication, but, in the final analysis, it must stand as a fitting tribute to Mr. Hunter's industry, familiarity with the sources, and over-all knowledge of Pennsylvania's colonial history.

Dillsburg JOHN V. MILLER

The Rise of the British Treasury. Colonial Administration in the Eighteenth Century. By DORA MAE CLARK. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1960. x, 249 p. Bibliography, index. $5.00.)

In *The Rise of the British Treasury* Miss Clark has undertaken the double task of tracing the development of the British Treasury from the reign of Queen Anne to the Declaration of Independence in 1776, and of showing the part played by the Treasury through the use made of its increased powers in bringing about the revolt of the thirteen colonies. The title of the book, even with the inclusion of the subtitle, *Colonial Administration in the Eighteenth Century*, gives no hint of this double purpose, but the opening sentence on page 1 of the first chapter makes it very clear: "In 1776 when the American colonies declared their independence, they were revolting against a set of policies devised by the British Treasury and the methods by

which those policies were enforced." Since this volume is based on years of painstaking research in the unpublished sources of the British Museum, the Public Record Office, the Henry E. Huntington Library, the William L. Clements Library, and in the papers of Lord Rockingham and the Duke of Grafton, both the narrative and conclusions deserve serious consideration.

Chapter I deals with the way the Treasury functioned in the reign of Anne and with the relations of the government with the colonies. Miss Clark concludes that the Treasury had at this time found no formula for making the colonial governments self-supporting and for keeping them dependent on the Crown. Chapters II and III treat of the growth of the Treasury under Walpole and the Pelhams from 1715 to 1762. These years are marked on the positive side by the extension of the influence of the Treasury in the administration of the colonies and by the encroachment of Parliament in government on the sphere of the Crown; and on the negative side by the failure to force the colonists to pay toward their own defense and other expenses. Thus, if the colonies refused to contribute more, it became a question of how long Parliament would be willing to pay the bills. This problem which Walpole and the Pelhams dodged was tackled by Grenville, Townshend, and North. Since neither side would give way, the decision was settled by force.

The story of the growth of the Treasury in the eighteenth century and of the difference between the consolidation of this power in Britain and the mere assertion of it in the colonies has been related very effectively. It is when the failure to use this power before 1763 and the manner in which it was used after that date by the Treasury is blamed for the loss of the colonies that the scepticism of the reviewer is aroused. The blurb on the wrapper describes the book as a "vital account of how the Treasury came to have this power and how the colonies were lost as a result of it." Miss Clark does not go quite this far when on page 1 she states that: "As a consequence of these developments the Treasury, more than any other branch of the British Government, was responsible for the loss of the American Colonies." It may be true that the Treasury was more responsible than any *other branch* of the government, but this seems to confuse the instrument used with fundamental causes and with the men who operated it. The narrative shows that both Parliament and the ministers came to look after the interests of the British commercial classes in the colonies rather than those of the Crown. To the reviewer, these conclusions seem to place too much emphasis on the institution—the Treasury—and not enough either on the pressure which the commercial classes would exert or on the differences in the abilities and policies of individual ministers. Surely, the commercial classes would have brought pressure to bear on any government or set of ministers to maintain and extend their vested interests; and there were other possible solutions of the colonial problems than the neglect of Walpole and the Pelhams and the brusque aggressiveness of Grenville, Townshend, and North.

In view of the number of policies and solutions suggested at the time and by scholars since, the concluding paragraph in the book (p. 202) seems to be too cautious: "Private individuals might dream of a commonwealth of nations. But among political leaders there was no one, with the possible exception of Chatham, who had the qualifications for remolding the empire along new and daring lines." Yet the author concedes (p. 164) that the history of the ten years following 1766 might have been different if the men at the head of the government had built on the foundations laid by Rockingham. Hence, the reviewer believes that the conclusions would have been strengthened if Miss Clark had been willing to give policies and solutions suggested at that time and since, and even to have passed judgment on their merits, instead of dismissing them as dreams of private individuals. Lastly, her pessimism about all political leaders except Chatham is certain to arouse vigorous dissent in many quarters, especially from the present-day admirers of Shelburne.

Western Reserve University DONALD GROVE BARNES

George III. The Story of a Complex Man. By J. C. LONG. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1960. xii, 372 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. $6.00.)

A historian who wishes to apply the techniques of psychological analysis to biographical study could scarcely choose a more appropriate subject than George III. From what we already know, George was singularly unable to use the still great powers of the monarchy in the best interests of a turbulent and changing nation, beset during the sixty years of his reign with a succession of crises at home and overseas. There is, of course, the interesting problem of the protracted fits of insanity, and a childhood and adolescence spent in a morass of low morals, family contention, political conflict, and intrigue. It would be difficult to contrive an environment better suited to the formation of an abnormal personality or the accentuation of inherent instability.

It was evidently J. C. Long's intention to explain the unhappy personal life of the king and the failures of his public career in terms of complexities of personality produced by the experiences and environment of his youth. It is not sufficient, however, to substitute description of the events and people in this background for explanation. Princess Augusta was obviously far from an ideal mother and Lord Bute was not a suitable friend and adviser. But the real problem is how these and other influences molded the character and affected the future policies of the king. Despite considerable effort to show that George was alert, intelligent, educated, and liberal in religious matters, he nevertheless remains a rather dull, simple person whose obstinacy, pride, deviousness, and, sometimes, good intentions were re-

placements for the missing intelligence and ability. It may be that Long misplaced the complexity; for George's floundering behavior suggests a person of few resources overwhelmed by men he could not match and events he could not comprehend.

The determination to see in George III greater talents than he in fact possessed convinced Long that the king devised and implemented a sinister political plan in the 1760's. The political turmoil of the decade becomes once again the old story of a monarch bent upon the restoration of his powers and prerogatives through the corruption of Parliament and the subversion of the constitution. Modern scholarship in English or American eighteenth-century history has had little influence upon this book. If the king was plotting a tyranny at home, he was also responsible for having "driven the American colonies away from the British flag. . . ." The bill of indictment in the Declaration of Independence is accepted as a fair and accurate catalogue of the evil, personal actions of George which produced the American Revolution. "George, egged on by his mother and Lord Bute, had determined to rule and now [*1776*] was the day of reckoning."

In places, Long writes with skill and charm, but the work contains far too many odd interpretations and mistakes in fact. At times, these are unintentionally amusing. Discussing the condition of the navy in 1778, he notes that the British fleet had adopted the practice of protecting the hulls with copper sheathing and "that proved to be a ready defense against the superior numbers of the Bourbon ships."

Whatever complexities existed in the personality of George III, how they came about and what their effect was in the affairs of England—in short, the whole life and times of the man—still can be studied. The inadequacies of the work are especially apparent in the interpretations of the great political and imperial problems of the age. The combination of error and naïveté makes this an unsatisfactory book for either the scholar or the general reader.

University of Michigan WILLIAM S. HANNA

Daniel Morgan, Ranger of the Revolution. By NORTH CALLAHAN. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961. x, 342 p. Illustrations, maps, bibliographical notes, index. $5.00.)

Professor Callahan has become one of the foremost writers about the American Revolutionary War. His biography of General Henry Knox, which appeared in 1958, established him as an authority on the war, and his study of Daniel Morgan is a fine successor to his *Henry Knox*.

There has long been a need for an up-to-date biography of Morgan. Professor Callahan has responded to the need and has attempted, as he has explained in his foreword, to place Morgan "where he belongs" in the his-

tory of the country "for which he fought so well." The reviewer believes that the author has succeeded admirably.

Morgan played an important part in the defense of Virginia's frontier in Indian wars, and then earned an outstanding military reputation for his stands against British regulars during the Saratoga campaign (1777) and at the battle of Cowpens (1781). He experienced defeat and heartbreak as well as victory and acclaim. He participated in General Edward Braddock's ill-fated campaign against the French and Indians in 1755. Twenty years later, he served as an officer in the American army which was defeated when it attempted to take Quebec by storm in December, 1775. He was taken prisoner when his column of infantry was surrounded and overwhelmed by superior numbers of the British in the streets of Quebec's Lower Town.

America would have been deprived of the services of an excellent front-line officer if Morgan had been killed in action, or had remained in captivity. However, he was soon exchanged for a British officer. He participated in some skirmishing in New Jersey during the spring of 1777, but was detached from General Washington's army and sent northward before General Sir William Howe began his invasion of Pennsylvania. Consequently, Morgan was not present at the battles of Brandywine and Germantown. He arrived on the Albany-Saratoga front in time to play a key role in the battles of Freeman's Farm and Bemis Heights.

Morgan commanded a body of light infantry during the Saratoga campaign. His soldiers were armed with long-barreled muzzle-loading rifles, and most of them were frontiersmen who were accustomed to the use of such weapons—they were able to kill game, Indians, or British soldiers at ranges in excess of two hundred yards. The wooded terrain of the Saratoga area was ideally suited to their tactics and marksmanship, and Morgan furnished them with skillful and courageous leadership when they were committed to action. They inflicted a heavy toll of casualties upon the British in the two battles in which they were engaged, and, in response to Morgan's orders to shoot the "epaulet men" (officers), they took a particularly heavy toll of officers (including one brigadier general, who was mortally wounded).

Morgan resigned his commission in July, 1779, because Congress had passed him by in promoting colonels to the rank of brigadier general. He remained a civilian during the British invasion of South Carolina in 1780, but returned to the army in the fall of that year when it appeared that North Carolina might be overrun. He distinguished himself as commander of a "flying army" of light infantry and dragoons, and, on January 17, 1781, he gained a brilliant victory against the British at the battle of Cowpens. The victory was won largely as result of Morgan's use of unorthodox tactics which he devised to obtain maximum fighting power from an army made up partly of militia and partly of Continentals.

Professor Callahan's description of the battle of Cowpens is excellent except for one slip. He mentions (p. 216) that Colonel John Eager Howard's Continentals broke the British infantry with volleys from "long rifles."

Howard's men were not armed with rifles but with smoothbore muskets, and were trained to fire volleys (unlike riflemen who fired at individual targets at ranges three or four times longer than effective musket range).

The author is to be congratulated upon writing an excellent biography of a rough-and-ready frontiersman who worked his way to the rank of major general on merit in an age in which high rank was usually reserved for the rich and wellborn.

Lehigh University GEORGE W. KYTE

The Federalist Era, 1789–1801. By JOHN C. MILLER. [New American Nation Series.] (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1960. xvi, 304 p. Illustrations, bibliographical essay, index. $5.00.)

George Washington's first annual message to Congress contained an admonition to his fellow citizens which was reflective of the turbulent past and prophetic for the whole Federal Era. Americans, he said, would have to be able to tell the difference between "oppression and the necessary exercise of lawful authority" and distinguish between "the spirit of liberty" and "licentiousness." The warning in those words was clear. While overthrowing British control, the Revolution, explosive and violent, had unleashed reckless elements which, if left uncurbed, might endanger stability and even freedom itself. How to effect a satisfactory balance between freedom and authority and to define the bounds of each were the major problems of the era. When the period ended, solutions acceptable to all obviously had not been found, nor have they yet, but the ideas, concepts, and methods contributed by the opposing ideological and political camps became solid bases for future developments.

The problems were so vast and complex that they affected and were affected by practically all the political and economic issues which came within the purview of governmental administration: foreign affairs, the Constitution, finance, nation-state relationships, the judiciary, sectionalism and political factions. Concerned with them, of course, were the formulators of political ideologies and the practicing politicians, often one and the same, and it is no exaggeration to say that posterity has judged them by the contributions they made toward their solution.

Dr. Miller recognizes these problems when he states that the dominant themes of his book are "Union and Liberty." If one were to judge his work by the clarity and comprehensiveness with which he recounts the political struggle for and between these two concepts in Congress and at the seat of government he would come off with fairly high marks. But in developing his themes he would have attained better balance and coverage if he had placed greater emphasis on the role of the states in the contest between the proponents of individual rights and those who sought a stronger union. That is, the critical question of nation-state relationships is so directly apposite here that it deserves more attention.

Dr. Miller has not ignored the question, by any means. The classic illustration of it, the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, is presented, along with some lesser manifestations, but throughout the period the states were reacting with peculiar sensitivity to most of the important measures that were adopted or considered by the national government. The reactions of the states were both political and economic, but regardless of the intemperate character of some of the language used by local politicians in expressing these reactions one cannot help wondering whether the author would not have qualified his belief that sectional influences were dangerous to the Union if a fuller study of nation-state relationships had been made. For example, can the assertion that the United States seemed to be "on the verge of civil war" in 1794 be supported with concrete evidence? Again, was the Union really "in danger" in 1799? Perhaps the fears of disunion expressed by John Adams and Rufus King, cited by the author, were as exaggerated as were those of their opponents who saw monarchical tendencies in the administrations of Washington. Incidentally, while denying that the Federalists had monarchical inclinations, Dr. Miller states: "If any real danger of monarchy existed in the United States, it was during the period of the Articles of Confederation, when conservatives were alarmed by the precarious position of property rights." This is another statement that needs a little buttressing.

In this book the themes "Union and Liberty," if we are to judge by content and emphasis, are essentially political in nature. The editorial decision to stress political subjects here (constitutional and social matters are or will be dealt with in other volumes in the series) was probably a wise one, for it correctly recognizes the major motif of the era. When economic matters are discussed they are usually placed in a political context. The editors were also wise in selecting Dr. Miller to write this survey. His scholarship is broad, his sources are the most recent ones available, and, as always, his writing is smooth, lucid, and precise. The most interesting and controversial portions of his book deal with the contest between Hamilton and Jefferson, and in his appraisal of these two men his sympathies are definitely on the side of Hamilton. Generally speaking, his judgments on them are fair, but surely there are many people who would question the connotation inherent in his description of the truly great Jefferson as a "shifty-eyed Southerner."

Temple University HARRY M. TINKCOM

The Court-Martial of Commodore Perry. By JAMES A. RHODES and DEAN JAUCHIUS. (Indianapolis and New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1961. 192 p. Illustrations, bibliography. $3.95.)

Every historian who has written of Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry and the battle of Lake Erie has speculated on the peculiar hesitancy of Captain Jesse Elliot to commit the *Niagara* to the conflict. All have wondered also

at the bitter troubles which plagued the Commodore after the victory, the inevitable court-martial when Perry in anger struck Marine Corps Captain John Heath, and the duel between Perry and Heath when Perry refused to return Heath's fire.

Starting with these familiar facts, the authors of *The Court-Martial of Commodore Perry* have built up a hypothesis "that a foul conspiracy had been at work against the illustrious Commodore during his naval career." They admit that this is "based on a circumstantial framework of fact," and they add, "We have made use of the author's license, but we trust we have used it with the historian's conscience."

The result is a readable book, part factual, part imaginary, but ingeniously so. The members of the fictitious conspiracy are named as Commodore Isaac Chauncey, Captain Elliot, and Captain Heath. Chauncey, it is suggested, hinted to Elliot not to fight too eagerly, and when Perry begged Chauncey for more sailors he was sent ailing castoffs and backwoodsmen. Whether or not there was any conspiracy, it is interesting in retrospect to suggest that Chauncey's efforts backfired; the *Niagara* was undamaged when Perry transferred to her to turn the tide of battle, and it may have been the woodsmen who were responsible for the fact that on all of the six British ships every commander and every second in command were either killed or too badly wounded to keep the deck. An officer in a conspicuous uniform must have been an easy mark for a Kentucky rifleman sitting in the rigging.

The authors carry the conspiracy on after the victory, with Elliot causing Perry as much trouble as he could and Heath deliberately egging his superior officer on until Perry struck him. It is quite possible that each of these three officers disliked Perry and did try to harm him, but this reviewer finds it impossible to give credence to an actual conspiracy to lessen the chances for a victory which was so vital for the safety of the Northwest Territory and to prevent the encirclement of the colonies.

In the short history of the Commodore's family, the authors state without comment that the Commodore's father was married in the home of Dr. Benjamin Rush. How this came about may interest Philadelphia historians. Christopher had met his future bride in Scotland, and the couple came to America on the same ship. Sarah came to join relatives in Philadelphia, but Rush had to break the news to her that all of them had died of yellow fever. When Rush learned that the couple planned to marry, he offered his home for the wedding.

There is one error in the family history: the first Perry to come to America was named Edward, not Edmund.

The book has eight uncredited illustrations, including one of the battle, the original of which by J. P. Newell hangs in the Newport Historical Society. As do all the paintings and engravings of the battle of Lake Erie, this pictures the little brigs far larger than they were and so perhaps more worthy to win such an important victory.

Villanova O. H. Perry Pepper

The Papers of John C. Calhoun. Volume I: *1801–1817.* Edited by ROBERT L. MERIWETHER. (Columbia, S. C.: Published by the University of South Carolina Press for the South Caroliniana Society, 1959. xlii, 469 p. Illustration, genealogical table, bibliography, index. $10.00.)

This volume represents a South Carolina contribution to the papers-of-great-men movement. The energy and meticulous scholarship of the late Robert Meriwether assembled more than 30,000 of Calhoun's papers in order that a scholarly edition of them might be prepared, and a devoted group of the historian's coworkers have carried through to publication what is hoped will be the first of a set containing all the significant papers of the statesman.

The present selections cover the years 1801 to 1817, that is, from schoolboy John Calhoun's letter to his cousin Andrew Pickens, Jr., to a report of the newly appointed Secretary of War to his mother-in-law on the progress of his family's journey to Washington. Besides seventy of Calhoun's letters, the book contains eighty-one of his speeches and legislative papers and eight letters to him. Much, though not all, of this material is printed elsewhere. but here it is conveniently presented and splendidly edited. In addition to the editorial preface, the book contains an introduction providing the historical background for the selections, editorial explanations and keys, a useful chronology, and an excellent index. Furthermore, the editor, with intelligent restraint, has summarized chronologically and located for the reader a number of less important Calhoun papers not printed in the volume. As a result, the printed selections constitute a meaningful group while the book remains a reference tool for the scholar's special needs. The editorial work on the letters is careful and accurate, though some quarrel might be had with the practice of placing notes after instead of before the selection with which they deal.

Losses caused by the passage of time, always great for eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century figures, seem especially severe in Calhoun's case, and it is remarkable to note how few of the personal papers have survived from the first thirty-five years of the life of a man from whom we have so much later writing. As one would suspect, no new Calhoun emerges from this collection. What does emerge is a powerful, purposeful mind whose serious master was as much a stranger to playfulness as to irresolution. "The cast-iron man" is no more malleable in youth than he is to be in old age. He studies the law he loathes ("I can never consider it, but as a task which my situation imposes on me") in order to enter politics. Soberly he assesses his own personality ("I am not much given to enthusiasm; nor to anticipate future happiness"), and seriously he extols rationality even in the act of falling in love ("How important it is, on that occasion to have the full, and entire sanction of our reason"). Even the classic pose demanded of the early nineteenth-century public man does not entirely explain the dispassionate phrases of this orderly mind.

"A well regulated republick, and a good system of farming universally diffused are to me most interesting subjects," Calhoun wrote in 1817, and "To attain each is the summit of my desires." The first ambition unquestionably outranked the second in this regulatory personality. The smell of the soil does not rise from these pages as from so many of Washington's and Jefferson's. The young Calhoun is far more reminiscent of the dapper first Secretary of the Treasury, many of whose arguments reappear in the public papers of this volume. Indeed, the shade of Hamilton must not only applaud the constitutional arguments for tariff, bank, and internal improvements, but also the impatient personal attacks on the Jeffersonians:

> We are literally boren [*sic*] down under the effects of errors and mismanagement. I am sorry to say that many of them lie deep; and are coeval with the existance of Mr. Jefferson's administration. . . . I feel myself from peculiar considerations bound to give the administration every support towards carring [*sic*] on the war; when I have not the least confidence in them. As to fair open wisdom they have none; their whole art is in management.

So, from the pages of private letters (few so frank as that cited) and public debate, the reader watches the young statesman carry on war measures, exhort political legions, fight his oratorical duels with Randolph and the other scoffers, and emerge triumphant, fired like most of his fellow Americans with a surging nationalism; the longer and less victorious years lie ahead. Scholar and general reader alike await with real anticipation the appearance of future volumes with the literary record of this intense figure.

Rice University W. H. Masterson

Erastus Corning, Merchant and Financier, 1794–1872. By Irene D. Neu. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1960. xii, 212 p. Frontispiece, bibliography, index. $4.00.)

This is an excellent biography of one of the outstanding businessmen of the mid-nineteenth century. Erastus Corning was born in Connecticut, but soon moved to Troy, and later to Albany, New York. While Corning sought to conform to the idea of the "self-made man" by frequently recalling that in his early days he was a crippled, friendless, and penniless boy, the facts were really otherwise. Crippled he was, but never without money or friends. His uncle, Benjamin Smith, who brought the thirteen-year-old boy to work for him in his hardware and iron store in Troy, was an excellent sponsor and protector. Soon the quick and cheerful young clerk was permitted a side line of buying and selling tobacco, pipes, brushes, needles, bedcord, sugar, and boxes of lemons and oranges. By the time he was nineteen, the boy had saved $500 from his wages and mercantile pursuits and was ready for new employment in Albany.

Professor Neu has written a book in which the varied and interlocking activities of the successful Corning are all carefully reviewed. She has successive chapters on the man's mercantile, banking, railroad, and land speculating ventures. After but two years of clerking, the young man bought a partnership in John Spencer and Company on Albany's "Hardware Row." Corning's business was profitable from the start. The importing of iron, its fabrication in a mill near Troy, and its ultimate sale to western merchants all brought money into the firm. In 1829, when he had been in Albany but fifteen years, Corning's firm was valued at $85,000. The rising merchant was soon in politics and as a member of the Albany Regency, the Democratic organization of the capital city, was in turn alderman, mayor, state senator and representative in Congress. His interests in iron manufacture grew through the years, and his Troy ironworks very profitably supplied the armor plate needed in the building of the *Monitor* in 1861–1862. Soon Corning was in banking, also, for the expansion of his varied ventures required much working capital. As early as 1833 he held stock in half a dozen banks in the state. His major interest, however, was in the Albany City Bank, a state bank incorporated in 1834 during Jackson's attack on the Bank of the United States. Corning was president of the bank from the first and soon had the voting power of a clear majority of the stock. The author has an excellent chapter on the banking career of the Albany merchant, followed by three chapters on his land speculations. Corning early saw the potentialities of the western country, and soon had extensive individual and co-operative holdings in New York, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa. Corning's landholdings were important, but Professor Neu, in devoting nearly a quarter of her volume to this subject, may have overemphasized this facet of Corning's career.

The railroad activities of Corning were certainly among his most important achievements. His first rail investment was in the Mohawk and Hudson in 1831, but much more important was his interest two years later in the connecting seventy-eight-mile Utica and Schenectady. Corning never took a cent of salary during the twenty years he was at the head of the Utica and Schenectady, being content with the privilege of supplying most of the rails, tools, running gear and other iron and steel products used by his railroad. The iron merchant had only slightly less advantageous arrangements for providing a portion of the iron needs for such western lines as the Michigan Central and several short roads in Illinois. Corning was the major "architect" of the New York Central Railroad, a merger of the ten lines between Troy and Albany in the east and Buffalo and Niagara Falls in the west. When this combination was chartered in 1853 with a capitalization of $23,000,000, Corning became the first president, retaining that position for more than a decade. The chapter "Corning of the Central" gives a full account not only of Corning's profitable creation of the new trunk line, but also the process wherein Cornelius Vanderbilt gained control of the system a few years later. Corning's rail investments were so extensive that it was

possible for a traveler in 1869 to cross the country riding entirely on roads in which the Albany merchant had a major interest. No small part of his $8,000,000 fortune came from his rail holdings.

In this very readable and thorough biography the author has treated her subject in a friendly but fair fashion. The footnotes are where they should be, and frequently complement the text in a helpful way. The chief source of information used by Professor Neu is the Corning Papers in the Albany Institute of History and Art. Unfortunately, these papers include very few outgoing letters, and the only account books available are two small books Erastus kept when he was a boy. In spite of these source limitations, the author has done an excellent job in reconstructing the life of an important figure in the business world of an earlier America.

Purdue University JOHN F. STOVER

The Letters and Journals of James Fenimore Cooper. Edited by JAMES FRANKLIN BEARD. Two volumes. (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1960. xlvi, 444; viii, 420 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. $20.00.)

These superbly edited, printed, and illustrated volumes of the Cooper letters and journals cover the years from 1800, when he was eleven years old, to September, 1833, just before he and his family returned from their seven-year sojourn in Europe. As one may judge by the chronological disproportion of the two volumes, relatively few letters survive from his earlier years. More than half the material in the first volume (1800–1830) and all of the second (1830–1833) was written in Europe. Two thirds of the letters in the entire set will have been published for the first time.

Mr. Beard's editing and glossing are excellent. In presenting texts he makes a sensible compromise, preserving the peculiarities of Cooper's spelling, punctuation, grammar, and paragraphing without making the transcriptions literal to the point of needlessly distracting the reader. He is a tireless glosser; patient research on allusions and proper nouns greatly increases the usefulness of many letters. He has wisely reproduced all letters, whether they have been published previously or not, including those that were printed in contemporary periodicals. Though he does not print letters to Cooper, he makes use of some of them in the notes. He has tracked down manuscripts all over the western world, from the Atlantic coast to the Pacific, from London to Vienna and Rome, in public and in private collections. Because the Cooper family has made him the official editor of the papers (of which he gives an interesting history), he has access to a mass of material which has never been thoroughly examined by any other scholar.

We shall not know the full importance of these letters for a revaluation of Cooper until Mr. Beard finishes his biography, but they are an important

step forward in the modern scholarly study of Cooper begun by Robert E. Spiller and others some thirty years ago. Cooper emerges here as the contentious and prickly person that we knew him to be, but now we are in a position to judge the rights and wrongs of some of the squabbles, personal and public, in which he was involved. New facts about his finances reveal that he was not the rich man, independent of the writing profession, that he was generally supposed to be.

Though there are a number of letters to publishers, European and American, these throw little light on the subject of his fiction per se, but much on the massive nonfictional element in his writings. As Beard says, Cooper believed that fiction "could be responsibly employed to arouse the curiosity, increase the knowledge, and refine the sensibilities of the widest possible audience. . . . Responsible art, like responsible politics, would contrive to foster an individuality finely aware and keenly discriminating." The letters reveal the great breadth of Cooper's interest in matters of knowledge, taste, and opinion. He was an observer and analyst of European politics, economics, and social institutions, and was sufficiently committed in some of the issues of the Revolution of 1830 to get himself involved in political activities. Because he had entree to French aristocracy, he could observe upper-class manners from the inside and make long, chatty, fascinating reports to his friend Mrs. Peter Jay. Nor were his interests limited to European affairs while he was abroad: he kept up a considerable correspondence on American public problems, including a letter to the President on ways of reorganizing the Navy.

He was an insatiable tourist, and something of a connoisseur of painting, architecture, and sculpture (there are many letters to Horatio Greenough, whom he generously patronized). His fondness for *expertise*, so obvious even in his frontier romances, extends to methods of taming wild horses, a subject on which he wrote a long letter to the *American Turf Register*. The journals consist for the most part of factual detail about his tours; he used them in his five travel books and in his European romances.

We cannot rank Cooper as a major letter writer, for his reserve was such that he could communicate only from the surface. Yet these volumes enlarge the surface considerably.

Ohio State University WILLIAM CHARVAT

Lincoln's Manager, David Davis. By WILLARD L. KING. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960. xiv, 383 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. $6.75.)

David Davis, Illinois circuit judge, before whom Abraham Lincoln tried thousands of cases, Supreme Court justice, United States Senator, and presidential aspirant, has been extensively written about in Lincoln biog-

raphies because he was the man more responsible than anyone else for Lincoln's nomination for President. Davis has also been the subject of monographs which told much about the man. But none of these told enough, for his personal papers are privately owned and not accessible to researchers. Willard L. King, however, a Chicago lawyer with a flair for history and an excellent writing style, has carefully and extensively studied his subject's personal manuscripts and written a first-rate biography. The author brings his subject vividly to life, and has a fascinating tale to tell in a book which may be definitive.

Lincoln almost as much as Davis is the author's hero. "Davis and Lincoln each molded the judgments of the other," he writes. "It could hardly have been otherwise, considering their long association and their admiration for each other. For ten years—six months out of every year—they lived together on the circuit. On the long rides, during the long evenings in the taverns, all day in court, Lincoln explored the Judge's mind. Lincoln's professional success depended on his ability to influence the Judge. And no man could be exposed to Lincoln to that extent and not be swayed by him. Lincoln's influence on the Judge resulted in his joining hands with the hated Abolitionists. Davis's impact on Lincoln may be seen in Lincoln's acceptance of the Judge's suggestions in the Lincoln-Douglas debates, and in the appointments the President made on the Judge's sponsorship."

This close association led Mr. King astray in his choice of title. Davis was actually Lincoln's manager for one week only, that of the Chicago Convention. That was a tremendously important week. Without those events, history would probably know Abraham Lincoln only as a United States Senator, appointed to succeed Douglas in 1861 when the Little Giant died. But Davis had little to do with Lincoln, except in the courts and in politics, all the rest of his life. During Lincoln's Presidency, Davis knew almost nothing about what his friend was doing, or why. The two wrote many letters to each other prior to March 4, 1861, and Mr. King has turned up four unpublished Lincoln letters, none of which has any historical significance. But when Lincoln became President, the correspondence flowed largely in one direction. On Lincoln's death, Davis was administrator of his estate. But all this made him something less than "Lincoln's manager."

Mr. King gives much attention to controversial aspects of Lincoln biography, such as his severe melancholia of January, 1841. A variety of explanations has been offered, to which Mr. King adds two more. He suggests that Lincoln was depressed because he had played so large a part in committing Illinois to an expensive schedule of internal improvements which threatened, by 1841, to bankrupt the state. Although no direct evidence shows that Lincoln was depressed by this, he should have been. The author follows up this seductive thesis by embracing the familiar and preposterous notion that Lincoln felt bad because the weather was bad. Lincoln went through another bad time late in March, 1861, because, apparently,

Washington was assaulted by stormy weather. The Confederacy, Jefferson Davis, and General Beauregard's army, it seems, had nothing to do with it. Actually, the whole hypothesis is disproved by a later chapter in which Mr. King brilliantly sketches life on the circuit. Judge Davis complained bitterly about dirty towns, bad food, bedbugs, and the like, while Lincoln paid no attention to any of them.

The author's main attempt at historical revision occurs in his account of the Chicago nomination. Using much new material, he contends that Davis did not win the prize for Lincoln by promising Cabinet posts. Try as he will, however, Mr. King does not manage to make his account convincing.

David Davis emerges clearly as a plain man who lived from day to day, without much balance, confidence, or consciousness of large events. Despite his personal wealth, about which the author is very reticent, he was always afraid, when things went wrong, that everything was going to pot.

University of Florida WILLIAM E. BARINGER

The Confederate Congress. By WILFRED BUCH YEARNS. (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1960. viii, 293 p. Appendix, bibliography, index. $5.00.)

Letters of Warren Akin, Confederate Congressman. Edited by BELL IRVIN WILEY. (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1959. vi, 152 p. Frontispiece, index. $3.75.)

The concentration of interest on the military aspects of the Civil War and the voluminous and controversial records and writings of the military personnel have caused the civilian effort to be neglected by historians. But the war was full of politics, and the work of the lawmaking bodies on both sides deserves more attention than it has received. In recent years, however, the balance is being redressed. C. Merton Coulter in his *Confederate States of America* has made a notable contribution to the civil history of the South, and these books under review are further examples of the kind of work that is much needed.

Wilfred B. Yearns has given careful and effective attention to the Southern lawmaking process. He describes the difficult task which the 267 men who at various times endeavored to make law for the Confederacy were forced to undertake. They had to create an army and a navy, establish a civil government and a body of law, fight a war, and find the money to do all this. This had to be done during a war, for there were only two short preliminary months of peace. For most of the time, they were working in a city constantly threatened by an invading host and on occasion they could hear the thunder of battle.

Their capital city after the first few months was an armed camp and hospital center. Their republic was for the most part blockaded and, since

they never had an adequate industrial system, the Congressmen must continually deal in makeshifts for war making. A final handicap was the fact that the call to arms was more attractive to many than the perplexing technicalities of lawmaking, and the best talent of the Confederacy generally was in the field. The author gives a clear and candid description of the lawmaking process, presenting a balanced appraisal of the strength and weakness of men so circumscribed as were the Confederate solons. Whatever gaps may be detected in the analysis are due to the fact that the evidence is scanty, rather than to any lack of perception by the author.

In effectively editing the letters of Warren Akin, Bell Irvin Wiley provides a case study of one Congressman, which gives a timely illustration of the process described by Yearns. It is most appropriate that the University of Georgia Press brought these books out together. Warren Akin was a member of the Second Confederate Congress and his letters home are one of the few such bodies of material that have survived; they illustrate so vividly the problems of Confederate lawmaking. The Congressman writes frequently to his wife and gives a vivid psychological picture of a situation which must have been duplicated in the case of many of the 267.

Akin had to live uncomfortably, penalized by inflation to the extent that he did not have enough to eat, or to wear. Washing was expensive, his clothes were ragged, and his shoes not weatherproof. The streets of Richmond were not safe at night. The mails were slow and uncertain. The legislative chamber was cold and draughty. He had colds and diarrhea and his head itched. His meals though well-cooked and abundant had no dessert most of the time and were uncomfortably spaced. At first, candles strained his eyes, and when gas was put in, it poisoned him. He missed his wife so much and went as far as a Methodist lay preacher would permit himself to write of his longing. He tells us too little of the politics of his position, but there are interesting pictures of Davis and Lee, and his wife gives revealing comments on public opinion at home. These two books throw much light on the history of the Confederacy. It is very appropriate that they appear at the opening of the Centennial; they will contribute much to understanding the conflict which is to be commemorated.

University of Pennsylvania ROY F. NICHOLS

Column South with the Fifteenth Pennsylvania Cavalry. From Antietam to the Capture of Jefferson Davis. Compiled by SUZANNE COLTON WILSON. Edited by J. FERRELL COLTON and ANTOINETTE G. SMITH. Drawings by BARTON A. WRIGHT. (Flagstaff, Ariz.: J. F. Colton & Co., 1960. xxii, 390, (25) p. Illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. $12.50.)

Column South with the Fifteenth Pennsylvania Cavalry is a massive book, admirably compiled by Suzanne Colton Wilson. If the reader is not dismayed by its heft—or by the inscription line on the frontispiece which reads

"No book is so bad but that some good may be got out of it"—he will find in the pages of *Column South* a rich, personal revelation of the Civil War as it appeared to those who fought in it.

The heart of this remarkable book, which, incidentally, is replete with maps, photographs, and drawings, is the parallel diaries of two young Philadelphia brothers, Mathias Baldwin Colton, called "Ball" for short, and William Francis Colton. The Colton boys enlisted in the Fifteenth late in 1862 because they simply felt they "ought to be in this war."

The first entry in Will Colton's diary, which began on August 4, 1862, puts in it a "let-the-chips-fall-where-they-may" style. After noting that the weather was "cloudy and sultry, very warm," it goes on to state: "Decided today that it was my duty to volunteer and do what I could to serve my country. So help me God!" Will's brother, Ball, evidently felt the same way, for he enlisted along with him.

The Fifteenth Pennsylvania Cavalry was organized by William J. Palmer, then private secretary to the president of the Pennsylvania Railroad. Originally, it was intended to serve as a headquarters troop for General Robert Anderson of Fort Sumter fame. Later, the Anderson troop was expanded into a full regiment of about 1,200 carefully selected men, representing some thirty counties in Pennsylvania, with Philadelphia and Allegheny supplying the majority.

The long, hard trail of riding, scouting, and fighting led the brothers from Philadelphia to the Battle of Antietam—scarcely a month after enlistment—and then south and west to the outer stretches of the Confederacy. In three years of service, they saw action at Stone's River, Chickamauga, Tullahoma, Chattanooga, Franklin, Nashville and other places, all of which become storied, bloody stars on the battle flags of the Union Army of the Cumberland.

As one reads this book, a strange feeling of *being there* begins to build. Perhaps it is because the brothers took time to see things for others and did such a masterful job of reporting what they saw in their letters and diaries. Here's the way Ball saw one phase of the battle for Chattanooga: ". . . today there has been a heavy battle for the possession of Lookout Mt. Hooker's men have been fighting hard all day. Charge after charge was made and we could distinctively hear them cheering. They took all the rebel rifle pits and now have the mountain up to the white house halfway up. The musketry and cannonading has been incessant all day, and as a result, I am happy to say, the Potomac boys have taken 2,000 prisoners and killed 500 of the enemy. . . ."

In their diaries, both Will and Ball speak of places and people in and around Philadelphia whose names one will recognize today. Furloughed home because of a wounded foot, Will went to Atlantic City for a week end, leaving from Vine Street Wharf, traveling, apparently, by rail from Camden, and arriving some two and a quarter hours later—which is good time even for today!

One of the best bits in the book is a letter from Delia Louise Colton to her brothers Will and Ball, describing the scene in Philadelphia and the reactions of its citizens when the news came that Richmond had fallen. She wrote: "Is the world enchanted, or am I crazy? Which is it, oh cavaliers of mine—can you tell? For such days never dawned upon the peaceful city of your birth as these two which are now closing with thunder of cannon and cheer of street. Let me tell you of the reception in Philadelphia of the wonderful telegrams that flashed across the wires last week, setting sober men crazy and shaking fat old beer-drinkers into patriotic convulsions that all the hot baths in the world couldn't alleviate. . . . it was impossible to stay in the house. By this time the church bells were jingling merrily, and now and then across the tumult I could hear the tones of the State House bell triumphing gloriously over the strong west wind and sweeping by to the Schuylkill, which was already gay with steamers. . . . I could go only to 8th Street; below was a confused mass of life. The steam fire-engines were all in State House Square, steam up, whistling frightfully and men working at them as if to put out Richmond forever. . . ."

If there is anything for which this book could be criticized, it is the fact there is just too much of it. The author seemed hesitant to cut and organize her material, for fear, no doubt, that she would lose some cherished family word or name. But this book should not have been put together solely through family pride. There is so much here to be learned, in these days of peril, that it is unfortunate it was not presented to us in an easier-to-take form. Still, with this reservation, it is a commendable work and deserves attention, not only from Civil War buffs, but from all Americans who may need to be reassured by history that this nation of ours is here to stay.

Philadelphia R. SHEPARD BROWN

Pennsylvania Constitutional Development. By ROSALIND L. BRANNING. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1960, [viii], 166 p. Bibliography, index. $6.00.)

This book is an important addition to the growing library concerned with the political and constitutional history of Pennsylvania. It is the first book that considers at length the work of the Constitutional Convention of 1872–1873 which prepared the present constitution of the state—the Constitution of 1874. As such, it merits serious reading on the part of all who are interested in Pennsylvania history.

In part, this book is the work of a careful scholar who has made a study of an important chapter in Pennsylvania history; in part, it is the work of a zealous advocate of constitutional reform. The author is frank in her criticisms of various provisions in the existing constitution. She is of the

opinion that the delegates to the Convention of 1872–1873 placed in it too much material that was essentially legislative in character. Consequently, she feels that the document is too rigid to be readily adaptable to the needs of Pennsylvania in the mid-twentieth century. However, she is very fair in her evaluation of the pressures under which the delegates worked. These men were able, informed, and concerned to eliminate existing evils in their society and government, and the document they prepared did mitigate certain of the problems, particularly legislative corruption, which had previously plagued the state government. But, in her opinion, this constitution is no longer adequate and must be replaced. Revision by amendment is not enough.

The author deliberately chose not to include a discussion of the colonial charters of Pennsylvania in her study. However, she makes clear the continued indebtedness to these charters of the conventions which drafted the later constitutions of the state. The first three chapters of the book are devoted to brief but informative accounts of the Constitutions of 1776, 1790, and 1838. While the author does not present any new material about them, she made extensive use of the records of the conventions which drafted them.

The major portion of the book is devoted to the work of the Convention of 1872–1873. The economic, social, and political conditions which led to the calling of the convention are described in considerable detail. However, the author fails to relate the importance of the political reform movement which developed in Philadelphia in 1870 and 1872 to the statewide movement for constitutional reform. She does not mention the contribution which The Union League of Philadelphia made to this movement. She has analyzed the major problems confronting the delegates in a competent fashion. She has described in a concise manner the solutions to these problems that were agreed upon in the convention. In admirable fashion, she has described the intense struggle fought over the provisions of the railroad article. She has noted the instances in which the delegates relied too heavily upon existing well-established forms and procedures, as in the preparation of the article on the organization of county governments; on the other hand, she does point out that some delegates were conscious of the needs of the growing cities of the state even though they did not see the answers to these needs as clearly as they are seen today. Adequate attention has been given to the intensive but unsuccessful efforts of the woman suffrage and temperance forces which sought to convince the delegates of the righteousness of their causes. More attention might have been given to the brief but sharp debates over the education article, the provisions relating to the separation of church and state, and a proposed equal rights section. Each of these matters is of great importance to Pennsylvania today, and each was dealt with in a significant way in the convention. The author made extensive use of the *Debates* and *Journal* of the convention. However, more extensive use might have been made of newspaper sources; it would appear that the author

relied largely on Pittsburgh and Philadelphia newspapers to the almost complete exclusion of papers published in other sections of the state.

In her review of the ratification struggle, the author has described accurately the alignment of political and regional forces. However, she makes no note of the effort of the Philadelphia Republican machine to manufacture a majority in opposition to ratification. Happily, this effort was halted in its late stages by Mayor Stokley when he realized that the upstate majority in favor of the new constitution could not be overcome by a majority manufactured against ratification in Philadelphia. Perhaps more might have been done to portray the delegates and the various political leaders who had a deep interest in the work of the convention as living persons. The bibliography does not contain a reference to Charles Buckalew's *An Examination of the Constitution of Pennsylvania*. Buckalew was a leading member of the convention, and his commentary published in 1883 is a major reference work for students of the Constitution of 1874 and the constitutional history of Pennsylvania. On page 61, Note 5 states that Buckalew was elected to the state senate in 1869 and re-elected in 1870, 1871, and 1872. Actually, he was elected to a three-year term in 1869. But these are minor matters. On the whole, Dr. Branning has given us a useful account of the work of the Convention of 1872–1873.

The tenth chapter of this book contains a helpful review of the numerous amendments which have been added to the Constitution of 1874 and somewhat detailed accounts of the several efforts which have been made to call a new convention. In the last chapter, the author writes more as a political scientist than as a historian in an evaluation of recommendations made in 1959 by the Commission on Constitutional Revision. She is of the opinion that this report would have its greatest importance as the groundwork for a constitutional convention rather than as the basis for a piecemeal amendment of the existing constitution. The author concludes her book with an appeal which is not usually found at the end of a scholarly work, but which nevertheless must be spoken by the aroused citizen: "The need for constitutional revision is urgent. The most practical as well as the most intelligent approach to modernization of our fundamental law is through the well-recognized system of proposal by a popularly chosen convention followed by ratification by the people."

Albright College MAHLON H. HELLERICH

Wilson: The Struggle for Neutrality, 1914–1915. By ARTHUR S. LINK. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1960. xiv, 736 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. $10.00.)

The third volume of what Professor Link describes as his "biography of Woodrow Wilson and the history of his time" starts with the initial Amer-

ican reactions to the outbreak of World War I, and covers the first fifteen months of the conflict. The author apparently contemplates devoting seven volumes to his task, which should prove to be the definitive study of the man and his period for many years to come. The scholarship is admirable, representing years of exhaustive research in private and public archives in this country, Britain, Germany, and even Japan. However, the book is really a historical monograph, which will delight the specialist but is too detailed to attract the general reader.

Link concludes that the great majority of Americans were intent on avoiding war, even though most of them demanded that their government vigorously uphold their right to travel and carry on trade as usual. Wilson, while personally sympathetic to the Allies, was determined to carry out what he believed to be the will of the people. Moreover, to aid him in his purpose, he urged that all Americans exert their utmost efforts to remain neutral in thought as well as deed. He also intended to keep himself available to act as mediator, in the expectation that both sides would finally lose all hope of decisive victory and would turn to him in desperation to arrange a compromise peace. As was only natural under the circumstances, American extremists for either cause denounced him as secretly favoring the other side; while the great mass of people, especially workers, farmers, and those who lived in small towns, were very well satisfied with the results of his neutral policy.

A chief merit of the book for scholars is a full account of the lengthy diplomatic negotiations between the United States and Germany over the outbreak of the submarine campaign, the sinking of the *Lusitania*, and the *Arabic* crisis. The author's use of the records of the German Foreign Office, as well as other recently opened German sources, enables him to tell the story as seen simultaneously by Berlin and Washington. Not only does he recount in detail the exchanges among Wilson, Bryan, and Lansing, but also the bitter struggle to obtain the Kaiser's ear, involving Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg and the civil authorities on the one hand, and the admirals headed by von Tirpitz on the other. Those who have tended to discount the force of public opinion in Imperial Germany will be obliged to revise their views in light of these revelations. Unfortunately for historians, however, the British have never disclosed the minutes of their Cabinet meetings, while their official documents covering World War I have not yet been published. Consequently, the inner workings of their government, as it dealt with the United States on questions of interference with neutral trade, as well as with the attempts at mediation conducted by Colonel House, cannot be disclosed with any real assurance.

As if the problem of finding accommodation to the encroachments of the maritime systems of Britain and Germany were not enough for Wilson, he was also faced with other problems in the field of foreign affairs that proved continually distracting. The most annoying was Mexico, where Wilson had the patience to refrain from military intervention, despite a highly confusing

situation and a great deal of singularly bad advice. At one time, Wilson and Bryan were actually convinced that the Mexican man of destiny was Pancho Villa! By October, 1915, however, although Wilson had not overcome his dislike for Carranza, he was willing to accord the First Chief *de facto* recognition, and hope for the best. He had also made the decision to play an active role in defending China against Japan's Twenty-one Demands. On the other hand, he had allowed himself to be maneuvered into taking steps which were to lead to many years of occupation of Haiti and the Dominican Republic by United States Marines. So, by a strange irony, a pair of determined democratic idealists—Wilson and Bryan—managed to impose foreign dictatorial rule on two little helpless republics!

Yet the sum and substance of this volume serve only to enhance the reputation of Wilson. Link makes a strong case for his conclusion that, in the all-important effort to remain neutral, and at the same time protect the lives of American travelers and carry on as much legitimate trade as possible, the President and his advisers achieved remarkable success during this period. However, he warns that only time would tell whether they had also advanced the interest of the United States and served the peace of the world.

Philadelphia C. PARDEE FOULKE

Conestoga Wagons in Braddock's Campaign, 1755. By DON H. BERKEBILE. [Paper 9, Contributions from the Museum of History and Technology, United States National Museum Bulletin 218.] (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1959. 14 p. Illustrations.)

Old English Patent Medicines in America. By GEORGE B. GRIFFENHAGEN and JAMES HARVEY YOUNG. [Paper 10, Contributions from the Museum of History and Technology, United States National Museum Bulletin 218.] (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1959. 30 p. Illustrations.)

North Devon Pottery and its Export to America in the 17th Century. By C. MALCOLM WATKINS. [Paper 13, Contributions from the Museum of History and Technology, United States National Museum Bulletin 225.] (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1960. 44 p. Illustrations. $.35.)

Tea Drinking in 18th-Century America: Its Etiquette and Equipage. By RODRIS ROTH. [Paper 14, Contributions from the Museum of History and Technology, United States National Museum Bulletin 225.] (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1961. 32 p. Illustrations. $.40.)

The papers comprising the "Contributions from the Museum of History and Technology," prepared, for the most part, by members of the staff of the United States National Museum and published by the Smithsonian

Institution, are widely varied in their subjects. Attractively presented in booklet form, a number of the papers are of interest to historians of the American scene.

Conestoga Wagons in Braddock's Campaign, 1755 tells the familiar story of Benjamin Franklin's successful efforts to procure wagons for Braddock's army. In discussing the particular character of these "Dutch" or "Conestoga" wagons, Don H. Berkebile points out that the farm wagon of the 1750's was in all probability closely similar to the farm wagon of the 1850's, and, to a lesser degree, to the better-known prairie schooner. Detail drawings of the freight-carrying wagon of the 1800–1820 period are included.

Patent medicines have a surprisingly durable life. Today, in England, for example, one can still purchase Bateman's Pectoral Drops (patented 1726) and Hooper's Female Pills (patented 1743); in America, formulas for Godfrey's Cordial (possibly late seventeenth century), Turlington's Balsam (patented 1744), and Dalby's Carminative (1780's) are still available. There are others, but most have fallen before the advance of medical science and restrictive legislation. George B. Griffenhagen and James Harvey Young, in *Old English Patent Medicines in America*, give a full and interesting account of the origins of these remedies, their use in America down to the twentieth century, early patents, formulas, packaging and advertising.

The archaeological excavations at Jamestown, Virginia, 1935–1956, unearthed untold numbers of shards which led to speculations on early American pottery making. Other finds in Maryland and Massachusetts raised doubts that this pottery was of colonial origin, and it has now been substantiated that seventeenth-century ceramic ware—sgraffito ware and a cruder earthenware, as well as earthen baking ovens—was imported in considerable quantity from the pottery towns of Barnstaple and Bideford in England. C. Malcolm Watkins explores the history of this pottery, its types, export, and use in his thorough analysis, *North Devon Pottery and its Export to America in the 17th Century*. Among the many illustrations is a color reproduction of sgraffito ware from Jamestown.

Rodris Roth has delved into an important phase of colonial social life in her study *Tea Drinking in 18th-Century America*. Using genre pictures, contemporary manuscript accounts, a number of them from Philadelphia, and comments of travelers in America, she has gone into every phase of tea drinking. In her prefatory remarks, Miss Roth notes that tea, coffee, and chocolate were all known in Europe early in the seventeenth century, but it was not until the end of the century that tea became a social drink. (Originally, it was valued for its medicinal qualities.) Once the tea drinking custom caught hold, however, it developed its own particular etiquette and equipage, which Miss Roth discusses in detail. The paper is well illustrated, having as its frontispiece a color reproduction of Joseph Van Aken's painting "An English Family at Tea" (*c.* 1720).

These papers may be secured from the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

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