BOOK REVIEWS

The Triumphant Empire: Thunder Clouds Gather in the West, 1763–1766.

Having examined in Volume IX the far-flung variegated British Empire, with its multitudes of perplexities, Professor Gipson has now, in Volume X, concentrated his attention upon the problem that was ultimately to disrupt it. Here he carries the story down to 1766 in a much more thoroughly documented and extensive treatment than in his The Coming of the Revolution, 1763–1775 (Harper & Brothers, 1954).

The opening chapter gives a masterly analysis of the “Colonies Ripe for Revolt.” There was then nothing in the whole world to compare with this situation. From their infancy, the colonies had grown up in the tradition of self-government patterned on the model of English institutions. In a population of nearly two millions they had developed a free press and they had established centers of higher learning which were of no mean regard. They had built a shipping industry that rivaled that of England, and their mercantile interests had grown so hugely that some Americans were veritable merchant princes. Nevertheless, the old colonies had lived for generations under the menace of hostile attack, and they naturally relied on the mother country to underwrite their security. When at last “The Great War for the Empire” blew away the French Empire in America, it wrought a profound psychological revolution in the old colonies by uncovering the constitutional problem in the British Empire.

The next few chapters give a detailed account of how the old colonies, by being reimbursed by the mother country for half their war expenditures, were easily able to liquidate the other half. Meanwhile, before hostilities ceased, Pitt spied a dangerous leak in the imperial trading system and he ordered the strict enforcement of the Trade and Navigation Laws. By collusion of local customs officials, American merchants had long enjoyed a thriving traffic in French goods, particularly in molasses. Now the attempt to stop this trade by using writs of assistance was practically nullified by the powerful shipping and mercantile interests of Boston, and Otis proclaimed the doctrine of natural rights.

Another challenge to the rights of the Crown came to a head over the old Twopenny Acts, when Virginia defied attempts to override its legislation. On that occasion, Patrick Henry denounced “the bondage of the people who were denied the privilege of enacting their own laws.” Much more serious in its consequences was the position of the great planter
economy of Virginia—it was bankrupt. Yet, until the outbreak of the Revolution, merchants in Britain continued to supply the orders of the planters, and at the same time to complain bitterly of confiscatory practices in the Old Dominion. In 1783, a friend wrote to Patrick Henry, "If we now have to pay the debts due to the British merchants, what have we been fighting for all this time?"

In Britain, the search for new revenue to alleviate the inexorable pressure of the mounting national debt led even to the purchase of the Isle of Man. In the colonies, the Sugar Act of 1764 was vainly designed to make the old Molasses Act more palatable, and at the same time the Stamp Bill was postponed for a year to give the colonies an opportunity to propose a better one. When the Act was passed, prominent colonials were appointed to implement it and, though stout opposition had arisen, Benjamin Franklin advised acquiescence "whatever may be the Madness of the Populace or their blind Leaders." But the "Sons of Liberty" erupted in mob violence, and the Stamp Act Congress signified that the colonies were preparing to take concerted action. The impending crisis produced "The Great Debates" in the House of Commons, which only adjourned the crisis by repealing the Stamp Act. As Gipson has so ably demonstrated throughout this volume, the constitutional problem of the Empire was at the heart of the matter.

University of Minnesota

A. L. Burt

William Shirley, King's Governor of Massachusetts. By John A. Schutz. (Chapel Hill, N. C.: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture by the University of North Carolina Press, 1961. xii, 292 p. Illustrations, appendices, bibliographical essay, index. $6.00.)

Although the jacket announcement states that this is the first complete biography of William Shirley (1694-1771), it seems more appropriate to this reviewer to classify it as a limited biography. The first thirty-six years of Shirley's life are disposed of in two and one-half pages, the last fifteen in twenty-two pages. Quite rightly, Mr. Schutz concerns himself chiefly with the important middle years, from 1731, when Shirley arrived in Boston seeking a career as lawyer and public official, until 1756, when he returned to England under a cloud, no longer in command of the British military forces in America and soon to lose the governorship of Massachusetts which he had held since 1741.

While Shirley undoubtedly resented the questionable tactics of Thomas Pownall in ousting him from his post as governor, he was too old a hand at the game of politics to be shocked. And it is to this aspect of Shirley's career—his success as an Anglo-American politician—that Mr. Schutz primarily devotes his attention. Basing his analysis on new manuscript sources hitherto unavailable, the author demonstrates how Shirley, secure in the patronage of the Duke of Newcastle, steadily strengthened his own
position in Massachusetts politics while undermining that of his rivals. Welding together disparate groups long at odds with Governor Jonathan Belcher, and helped greatly by the currency crisis, Shirley was able in 1741 to wrest the governorship from Belcher. For fifteen years thereafter he held this post, binding to his support by an astute use of patronage those individuals and groups in Massachusetts and London who were motivated by desires of economic and political gain. A talented administrator, a hard worker, and an official who knew when to compromise, Shirley gave the province a relatively peaceful administration—unlike those that preceded and followed it—and established a firm reputation as one of our great royal governors. That he had won the affection of Massachusetts was evidenced in 1756 at the time of his recall, when the General Court paid him the following tribute: "The affairs of this Province have been so wisely conducted by your Excellency that your name ought to be ever dear to the inhabitants."

The gradual development of Shirley from spoilsman to imperial administrator is traced succinctly and well. As Mr. Schutz indicates, Shirley's successful promotion of the Louisbourg expedition of 1745 gave him the confidence to make known his views on imperial policy. For the next ten years he produced plan after plan designed to strengthen the Empire: plans for the reduction of Canada, for colonial union, for the capture of Fort Niagara. All of them failed, largely due, in the author's opinion, to Shirley’s inability to command sufficient patronage at critical moments. Instead, he raised a number of influential enemies who were finally successful in pulling him down. His last post was the relatively untroubled one of governor of the Bahamas.

A clear, concise, unpadded biography is what we have here. Mr. Schutz has accomplished admirably what he set out to do. Would that there were more biographies like this one! He also appends a fascinating bibliographical essay, and lists of the Massachusetts judges of the Superior Court, 1740-1756, judges of the Common Pleas, 1740-1756, and members of the Massachusetts Council, 1738-1759.

Massachusetts Historical Society

Stephen T. Riley


Dr. Wallace has done a great service by combining in one most readable work the story of the Indians in Pennsylvania. He tells of their character, dress, social and political organization, religion, amusements, travel, and many other aspects of their life. Issued as a paper back, the handsome format of the book deserves a hard cover, for it will serve as a reference work for the student and historian. These accounts are enlivened by William Rohrbeck's many spirited pen drawings which portray the dress, homes, implements and activities of the Indians.
The tragic struggle against the inexorable incursion of the white man is told with a degree of understanding for the native red man’s dilemma that is too often glossed over. Beginning with the unexampled humanitarian attitude of William Penn and ending in a series of bitter reprisals and massacres, the account is interwoven with the struggle for empire between France and England and the penetration of the irrepressible white settler, the Indian’s true enemy and final usurper of his lands.

Dr. Wallace takes us through the complicated story of the Indians’ resettlements in Pennsylvania, their movements in and out of the state, and the dominant role of the Iroquois of New York in all of this restless epoch. The student of history especially needs this clear statement of the origin and character of the several types of Indians who moved into the area west of the mountains at the time of the French and English struggle.

The warfare extending from 1754 to 1794 is retold in sufficient detail to account for the declining fortunes of the hapless Indian and to present his increasingly vain and desperate effort to stave off total annihilation. Though the Indian was a vengeful foe when given provocation, his deeds of frightfulness were often as not matched by his white antagonist. Unprovoked, the native Indian was a generous and loyal friend, devoted to his family and capable of high thoughts. The white man’s gun, rum, and trade goods fundamentally affected his life and character. These facts of Indian history are dealt with by Dr. Wallace in a warm, eminently human style.

The book is further enhanced by maps showing the dispersal of Indians in Pennsylvania in the four critical periods, as well as the Indian paths and lands purchased from them. There is an appendix of some thirty-six biographical sketches of the most important Indians, and an ample index.

No book review should lack at least one valid criticism. Thus, it should be mentioned that Captain Simeon Ecuyer, in the Indian attacks on Fort Pitt during Pontiac’s War, was protected by much more than a “good stockade”; he was entrenched behind the masonry ramparts of the most substantial fort structure built by the British army in America.

This is an extension of the excellent library of books published by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, a very real service to the citizens of the Commonwealth and to others interested in the historical background of Pennsylvania.

Pittsburgh

Charles M. Stotz


Capping more than forty years of productive scholarship, Professor Thomas Abernethy now gives us a rich volume in the monumental series, A History of the South. Only Professor Ver Steeg’s account of the eighteenth-
century colonies and Professor Tindall’s treatment of the recent South remain to fill out the ten-volume work that was projected twenty-five years ago.

To ask Professor Abernethy, who has recently retired from the University of Virginia, to write *The South in the New Nation, 1789–1819*, was both natural and proper, for he is the acknowledged master of the southern frontier in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. To watch him bring order to and make sense of the incredibly entangled succession of wild-eyed plots, speculative ventures, wild dreams of empire, and dismal intrigues that marked expansion into the Southwest instills unalloyed envy. Here in this volume the reader finds luminous and exciting pen pictures of the Yazoo companies, the “Blount” Conspiracy, the checkered path of General James Wilkinson, the West Florida rebellion, and, of course, the Burr Conspiracy, which is the subject of Professor Abernethy’s last book.

Those who have read and profited from Professor Abernethy’s many writings will recognize the familiar guideposts in this new work: an undisguised dislike for the great land speculators, an abiding contempt for General Wilkinson, and a nostalgic admiration for the men who worked the farms and plantations of the old South. A few sentences from the last paragraph in the present book pointedly mark this last point: “. . . the farmer-turned-planter loved the soil and the life that it afforded, as did his more aristocratic predecessors of the Atlantic Tidewater. While he did not inherit their taste for reading and contemplation, he did in some measure perpetuate their sense of responsibility for the conduct of public affairs. In any case, he and his heirs, with all their faults, furnished a better type of leadership than the market place has yet been able to provide.”

So thoroughly at home in the new territories and states of the South, Professor Abernethy is understandably less sure of himself when he moves east and north. One index of this is the fact that something less than six of the sixteen chapters concern matters in the original seaboard states from Delaware to Georgia. When he moves to this area, the narrative tends to lose vitality and texture, being in some cases rather routine and thin summaries of the major political events of the period. He expresses little interest in social and intellectual currents, institutional structure and evolution, or patterns of general economic growth and development. The almost uniformly poor quality of monographic work on these matters would be a hindrance to anyone trying to write a general history of the South in this period, but even on political questions Professor Abernethy would perhaps have profited from recent works by Stephen Kurtz, Noble Cunningham, and James Morton Smith.

His explanations for political behavior in the seaboard states tend for the most part to rest on quite traditional economic grounds, although when these do not seem to do the trick he argues that men’s reactions “depended more upon their political persuasion than on their economic interest” (p. 321). Professor Abernethy is able to lay only the wobbliest of bridges
across the political responses of such states as North Carolina and Georgia from ratification of the Constitution to the national issues that arose immediately after the War of 1812. Because his raw materials are largely limited to such distinctions as tobacco versus wheat culture, need for interstate trade versus alleged economic self-sufficiency (or, in places, dependence upon the West Indies trade), and handicraft manufactures versus reliance upon European manufactures, he fails to give us new and firm footing upon which to trace political evolution in the South during these years. At one or two points even minor factual errors crop up. Robert Goodloe Harper, for example, is made to be Alexander Hamilton's brother-in-law (p. 152).

To admit of shortcomings, however, should in no way detract from the solid merits of this book. The inquiring student will be turning to it for decades to come.

Princeton University

SHAW LIVERMORE, JR.


To write a book in the New American Nation Series must be as difficult as it is honorific. The author must provide maximum coverage in limited space; he must present the accepted conclusions of current scholarship along with his own interpretation; and he must write for both layman and scholar.

Professor Eaton rates highly on all these criteria. He deals with the whole South (with, however, more attention to its northern than its western frontier). His topics range from the details of raising hemp and marketing cotton to the vagaries of southern religion, from foreign trade statistics to the reasons why southerners are so free with honorary titles. The subjects of literature, education, and the fine arts are barred by space limitations, but Mr. Eaton presents a wide sweep of southern life that leaves nothing else of importance unconsidered. Further, he plunges bravely into such controversial topics as the profitableness of slavery (no conclusion), the extent of the Underground Railroad's activities (overrated), the physical treatment of slaves (not bad, as a rule), and the natural limits of slavery expansion (pro-Ramsdell). He even has some kind words to say about some of the conclusions of Ulrich B. Phillips—a courageous thing nowadays. His bibliography and research are impressive, and he skillfully mixes travelers' testimony with statistical material, secondary studies, and, on the whole, judicious generalities. Determined to follow Olmstead in "writing concretely," and "recording observations instead of excessive generalizing," Mr. Eaton is yet aware that travelers were "looking for the picturesque and unusual, not the representative aspects of southern life." Accordingly, he seldom makes the mistake of generalizing from such observations.
The author finds the greatest evils of slavery to be the suppression of slaves' capabilities and the equal suppression of liberalism in white society. He provides needed re-emphasis on a number of often neglected points: the importance of the smaller southern cities and their business classes; the immense variety of southern life and types; the southern distinction between manual and menial labor; the mythology of the crueler treatment of slaves in the lower South; the economic recovery of the upper South after 1845; the real value of the much maligned cotton factor; and, finally, the important and puzzling fact that as the Civil War approached and the South closed its mind to criticism and dissent, it nevertheless grew steadily more democratic politically and socially.

Despite limitations of space, this book's consideration of the plantation system is as good as we have in print. Its chapter on the Creole civilization is excellent, if unsympathetic, and the concluding chapter, on the southern mind, is as thoughtful as any known to this reviewer.

These various excellencies are tinged with shadows. Mr. Eaton has proved in the past that he can write with verve and color, but here his style is reduced (probably by space limitations) to astonishing monotony. At times only the subject—the enormous color of southern life—leads the reader on through the strait-jacketed sentences. Again, the author is a fine historian, but still a twentieth-century liberal with a strong social conscience. Thus, while he understands the individualistic, Calvinistic, nineteenth-century southerner's attitude, still the absence of a social concern in the form of "proper" jails, insane asylums, and treatment of drunkards annoys him visibly. Thus, too, he deplores Senator Jefferson Davis' argument for states' rights against the 1859 Morrill Land Grant Bill when "such federal aid would have been an immense boon to education in the South"—a classic non sequitur to the nineteenth-century South. At the same time, while he notes the growing fury of the abolitionist attack, he rebukes the South for reacting by a growing conservatism and for its emphasis on national politics, "on the slavery and territorial issues, on the victory of a national political party—to the detriment of state issues and social reforms." Surely these are contradictory counsels of perfection—or of hindsight.

The same predilections occasionally lure Mr. Eaton into qualitative judgments, and terms such as "higher civilization," "conservatism," and "orthodoxy" are generally pretty loaded in these pages, where social values of the past are occasionally referred to as "ridiculous" and "bound to pass."

In general, then, this is a well-conceived and well-executed history of the ante-bellum South that at times gently and unconsciously proves again how easy and yet how hard it is to understand a people, even one's own people, across the gulf of the last century. An honest book and a thoughtful one, it upholds the standards of the series, from which it detracts nothing and to which it adds much.

*Rice University* Wm. H. Masterson
With the publication of this final volume of his monumental life of James Madison, Irving Brant brings a fitting conclusion to a long and significant work. In this six-volume biography he has achieved a complete re-evaluation of the role of Madison in American history and his impact on it. Already this work has made an important impression on the writing and teaching of American history. No one interested in this period can afford to ignore Mr. Brant's interpretation of Madison and his times. This has been a "life and times" biography in the very best connotation of the words. It is true that Madison's name sometimes disappears for pages on end, but the work is the better for it. It is just this which makes Brant's *Madison* stand so much above the ordinary biography.

As this final volume opens, Madison is already President; his second administration is still in the future. With war just over the horizon, "a commander in chief trained in the arts of peace was called on to lead a nation in the arts of war" (p. 13). How successful he was in training himself for this new role is no small part of the burden of this book. The initial chapter is a reappraisal of the causes of the War of 1812, in which, without denying the significance of western aspirations, the author re-emphasizes maritime and neutral rights as the deciding factor in bringing about the declaration of war. The largest part of this volume is devoted to the war, hence justifying the subtitle of this installment, "Commander in Chief." Naval and military battles, bungling and heroic action, political altruism and opportunism alternate in rapid succession. Occasional glimpses of Madison's personal life shine out in relief against the picture of the public man struggling against tremendous odds to ultimate success. Every incident which has been used to show Madison as a weak, vacillating president has been dissected to show that Madison was right and his critics wrong. Even those charitably inclined toward Madison may feel that the author is trying too hard.

Once peace had been restored, there were innumerable domestic issues to be solved before the President could at last turn over the executive branch to Monroe and retire. Though certainly not more important, the remaining chapters are in many ways more interesting. They show in detail the breadth and the depth of Monroe's learning and his interests. The pace of participation in public life slackened, but his interest did not and a wide variety of activities continued. In addition to the political affairs of the state and nation, he is concerned with learning and especially with Jefferson's University of Virginia, all of which he continued to serve for the remainder of his life. He is apparently both plagued and pleased by the constant succession of visitors who come to pay homage or seek his knowledge. Advice and hospitality are given freely. Financial problems rob him.
of peace, and not the least of these is his stepson John Payne Todd. At last, advanced in age and infirm in body, Madison dies, able in mind and memory to the last.

This biography of Madison must stand as one of the important historical-biographical works of our time. Certainly, many will feel that it is, at times, overly charitable to its subject, that it tries to make more of him than the facts warrant. Yet it remains true that Madison is today widely accepted as a much more important figure than he was twenty years ago when Brant's first volume appeared, and that it is this work which has been largely responsible for rescuing Madison from the shadow of Jefferson and enabling him to take a rightful place alongside that other giant.

*Colorado State University*  
*Carlos R. Allen, Jr.*


**The Pennsylvania Main Line Canal.** By Robert McCullough and Walter Leuba. (Martinsburg, Pa.: Morrisons Cove Herald, 1962. viii, 181 p. $2.00.)

During the past fifteen years, Carter Goodrich has been assessing the significance of internal improvements in nineteenth-century America; his *Government Promotion of American Canals and Railroads* (New York, 1960) ranks as the authoritative work in the field. Now, along with three of his many Columbia graduate students, he has produced a searching and incisive analysis of the role played by canals in pre-Civil War American economic development.

For New York, both as colony and state, the projection and construction of the Erie Canal represented a major accomplishment in opening the Atlantic to the Great Lakes and the Mississippi. No American internal improvement was discussed longer in point of time than the suggestion to build a system of inland navigation through the Appalachians by way of the Mohawk Valley. Nature had provided New York with the obvious route, and yet for almost a century (beginning in 1724) the project was discussed, promoted, and dropped, only to be revived and put through the cycle again. Cadwallader Colden, Elkanah Watson, Gouverneur Morris, Simeon De Witt, and James Geddes enthusiastically advanced plans and projects for routes, either by way of Lake Ontario or Lake Erie, but none developed sufficient support to justify construction.

With the turn of the century, however, the climate for a canal took a turn for the better. In the Mohawk region, the Indians had long before been
pushed back and the French menace eliminated; the area's fertility was recognized by the thousands of immigrants from New England that poured in, so that the population west of Seneca Lake increased from 17,016 in 1800 to about 211,000 in 1820. Such westward expansion made an improvement policy a necessity, especially in light of the continuing interest of Baltimore and Philadelphia in tapping western markets by turnpikes. Then when the Madison administration refused to finance internal improvements, even after the Gallatin Report had called for such action, New York decided to go it alone. Assuming that revenues would pay not only the interest on a $6 million construction expenditure, but would also repay the principal and leave a profit, De Witt Clinton made the canal project a means to personal political greatness. Drawing support from large merchants, western farmers, aristocratic landholders, and immigrants, Clinton held mass meetings, drew up memorials, and virtually insisted that the state should have complete control of construction and operation. His timing was perfect, and when the line was finished New York and her leading city had tapped "the most fertile continental area on earth" at a time when no competitor could possibly do so.

For Pennsylvania, the completion of the Erie Canal represented a challenge that could not be passed over, for now her excellent turnpikes had been superseded by a more modern transportation system. Without the benefit of long experience, either in discussions or construction, Pennsylvania plunged into a frantic evaluation of her economic future. Under the duress of New York's advantage and with haste (in surveys, estimates of costs, and best route) rather than deliberation, Pennsylvania chose to build a mainline from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, utilizing both railroad and canal, along with numerous politically expedient "feeder" canals. Yet, within four years after opening (1834), the "huge profits" earlier predicted did not materialize and expenditures regularly exceeded revenues. Even with its advantages in distance and climate, the Pennsylvania Mainline did not capture the West's trade, for the "broken character" of the line caused costly delays in transshipments. Only as it promoted the growth of Pennsylvania's industries—for instance, that of iron in Pittsburgh—did it fulfill its earlier promise. If Pennsylvania, like Massachusetts, had delayed action until the technical problems of the railroad had been thoroughly investigated, she might well have enjoyed an advantage of marked proportions over her northern neighbor.

In contrast, New Jersey, without a direct interest in tapping the West's wealth, sought to join the Delaware with the Hudson by building the Delaware and Raritan and the Morris canals. These were exclusively the products of private enterprise, for at no time did this state contribute financial aid to such kinds of projects. But this decision came not from considerations of dogma or ideology, but rather (in the case of the Morris) from the bank mania of 1824–1825 in which the canal party and the banking lobby joined hands, and (in the Delaware and Raritan) from the opposition
to state financing from powerful economic interest groups, such as the state's southern counties and its emerging railroad party.

At this point, the authors turn their attention to the economic impact of the pre-1861 canals. For the purpose of analysis, Dr. Segal believes that the canal network was built during three "long" cycles, each of whose duration was much greater than that of concurrent business cycles. The first (1815–1834) accounted for more than half the mileage and thirty-one per cent of the total investment outlay before 1861. Better than seventy per cent of these projects depended on governmental assistance, with most of this coming as loans from both small investors and large institutional investors, with the London money market assuming considerable significance. The second (1834–1844) reflected the cyclical instability of the times— inflation of commodity prices, expanded money supply (especially from Europe), and land speculation—and some $72 million were invested, with banks, insurance companies, and brokerage houses playing a leading role. Interestingly, it was not so much the Panic of 1837 that interrupted this phase as it was the collapse of the London money market in 1839; construction came to a standstill by mid-1842. Following the inevitable defaults, the third cycle (1844–1860) represented an "echo phenomenon" in which abandoned projects were refinanced (usually from taxes, surplus canal revenues, and the domestic money market) and most construction was concentrated in New York.

The authors believe that the primary consequence of these canals was a sharp reduction in the general level of transportation costs between the Atlantic seaboard and the interior. This reduction made it possible for the West to dispose of its agricultural surplus in the higher price markets of the East and even in foreign countries. In like manner, it enlarged the market for the East's goods, expanded production facilities, and increased the level of income. Construction not only opened the West to immigrants, but it improved the market value of land and structures, and provided employment and increased incomes for about 30,000 men. Even though perhaps two thirds of the $188 million invested in canals constituted a social waste, or a misallocation, of economic resources, the benefits conferred by the successful lines exceeded the costs for the entire system.

An excellent map showing the principal canals, 1800–1860, is included; extensive notes that also serve a bibliographic function are appended.

The McCullough and Leuba work is almost exclusively narrative rather than interpretive; it is a useful summary for the beginning student and casual reader. Perhaps the most interesting segment of this book is its descriptions of canal and railroad operations, but especially that of the locktender's job. However, its lack of an index, footnotes, and bibliography, the poor quality of its one map, and numerous errors in typesetting and spelling mar an otherwise sincere effort.

West Chester State College Robert E. Carlson
The Western Book Trade: Cincinnati as a Nineteenth-Century Publishing and Book-Trade Center. By WALTER SUTTON. (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press for the Ohio Historical Society, 1961. xvi, 360 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. $8.00.)

The history of the book industry in Cincinnati is a long and venerable one which began when William Maxwell established his press there in 1793. By 1820, the city had become the recognized center of the western book trade, a reputation that remained unchallenged until the Civil War. During those four decades, Cincinnati could boast many storied imprints, including those of the Applegates, Robert Clarke, Henry W. Derby, Henry Howe, J. A. and U. P. James, Truman & Smith, and the Western Methodist Book Concern. The Cincinnati publishing industry in 1856 manufactured products valued at $2,610,050, a figure which compares for the same year with $6,000,000 for New York, $3,400,000 for Philadelphia, and $2,500,000 for Boston. At that time, the Cincinnati trade was at its zenith.

Although in his book Professor Sutton describes in detail the important Cincinnati firms of the period and devotes much attention to the literary quality of the works which they issued, it is clear throughout that his main concern is with the economics of the trade. He identifies the three neat divisions of his book with the keelboat age, the steamboat age, and the railroad age, and he points out the very important role which transportation played in determining the destiny of the trade in the West. The propitious location of Cincinnati as a distribution center—up the canal into Ohio and down the river to St. Louis and New Orleans, over the water routes to Philadelphia and New York—contributed immeasurably to its attainment of supremacy in the western book trade during the boating ages. With the coming of railroads, however, Cincinnati began to surrender this supremacy to Chicago, which could be better served by this new means of transportation.

The western trade, according to Professor Sutton, was almost self-sufficient, a sufficiency that was forced upon it by another economic factor. The eastern publishing centers were fully capable of supplying the trans-Allegheny book markets, but the unstable and confused state of the country's currency system during much of the century made remittances to the East unprofitable to western booksellers. Drafts on banks in the western country were so heavily discounted by the eastern moneychangers that the western trade found it cheaper to make its own paper, ink, and presses, and to print its own books than it was to import them.

Transportation and currency are not the only economic aspects of the Cincinnati trade which Professor Sutton examines in this book. He discusses the rapidly burgeoning population of the West in the 1860's and its impact upon the book markets—especially upon the market for schoolbooks. He presents good essays on Noah Webster's schoolbooks and on the McGuffey readers, both of which were distributed from the Queen City. His chapter on the Book Trade Sales, of which fifty-four were held in
Cincinnati between 1838 and 1877, is a welcome contribution to our meager understanding of this "mystery of the trade" which was one of the major book distribution devices of the period. He also discusses "Yaller covers" and the rise of cheap publication depots. Not of least utility is an appendix comprising a directory of booksellers, publishers, and members of the allied trades who plied their skills in the city between 1796 and 1880.

This book deserves to have one minor criticism lodged against it. Several good monographs and articles on the American book trade have been published during the last decade, but Professor Sutton does not refer to them. There is only one reference to a work published after 1952, giving the book a curiously dated appearance. To this reviewer's knowledge, however, none of the more recent studies would necessitate revision of any of Professor Sutton's major theses, which are impeccably documented by references to earlier works.

This book is easily the best study that has been made of the western trade and is among the best that exist of any aspect of the entire American book industry. It is thoroughly researched, competently organized, and well written. It should stand for many years as a model for studies of the trade in other regions.

Joint University Libraries
Nashville, Tenn.

DAVID KASER


On the jacket of Toys in America, the publisher states that "no adequate history in this field has ever been written." It is disappointing to have to record that this book, too, can be considered only as an incomplete account. Although it is billed as "A Profusely Illustrated History" of toys in America, it is, instead, an economic and sociological study of the lives and times of American toy manufacturers from the late 1830's to the present. Dwelling lightly on fun and games in a variety of assorted cultures, Cro-Magnon to colonial American, the authors dispose of the history of American toys in something less than seventy pages.

Perhaps the key to the book's emphasis lies in the last paragraph of the foreword, in which ten modern toy makers are credited with support of the project. Their support is given recognition in the text, for Toys in America is a business history that amply supplements the modern journal to the trade, Playthings. The most helpful and rewarding part of the book for toy collectors will probably be the list of toy manufacturers before 1900 in the appendix.

A fat volume entitled Toys in America ought to contain a treasure of information and illustration that would be in fact "a definitive and authori-
tative book on American toys.” The materials for the history are available. Imported, homemade, and handmade toys from colonial times to the Gay Nineties are preserved and displayed at the Museum of the City of New York, the New-York Historical Society, the Essex Institute, the Philadelphia Museum of Art, the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, Old Sturbridge Village, Shelburne Museum, Henry Ford Museum, and Colonial Williamsburg. Although several of these museum collections were selectively surveyed by the authors, only a few of the inventive and charming imports and handicrafts of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are described or illustrated. Half the illustrations are of machine-made toys dating from 1890, most of them shown in cuts from trade catalogues or advertisements; little imagination has been used in their selection or arrangement.

The McClintocks seem to share the view of the late nineteenth-century author of Toy Making for Amateurs from whom they quote: “Talk of the march of the intellect—the march of toydom beats it all hollow! I do not believe a modern baby would look at such rude creations as delighted the babies of fifty years ago.” In a quick sampling of one state’s eighteenth-century manuscript sources one finds mention of a number of ingenious toy creations that would probably delight any child. An order to a London apothecary in 1799 directs him to send cups and balls, a fox and geese board, a windmill, and a “Suple Jack” to a Virginia family. The authors could not have encountered—and so have not envisioned—the toys listed by George Washington in his published diary. The toys belonged to his stepson, John Parke Custis, and included a Prussian dragoon, a man smoking, a grocer’s shop, a stable with six horses, and a coach and six in a box!

Another source for a history of toys, untapped by the McClintocks, lies in the props illustrated in dozens of American portraits painted before 1800. Painted toys include wax-faced and jointed wooden dolls; pet birds, squirrels, and dogs; a bow and arrow; miniature fans and whips; a miniature blue coach; a toy drum; a set of dominoes; and a small gun. In hundreds of children’s portraits from 1800 to 1850 the authors would have found toys illustrated in quantity; a music box, a miniature tole pump, a toy hammer, and a small pincushion stuck with pins are among the unusual props.

Several references reveal unfamiliarity with traditional playthings. Coral and bells are frequently mentioned in eighteenth-century manuscripts and letters and are illustrated in at least four portraits in America. Many of these triple threat eighteenth-century teething sticks, rattles, and whistles survive today in private hands and in museums; one is included in a collection seen by the authors. Less common than coral and bells are the ivory and bells illustrated in the book which the authors speak of as being smoother than the “rough teething ring” of coral. Clearly they confuse branch coral with the melted icicle slickness of the corals illustrated and known.
All the obvious guides referring to toys in newspapers of the colonial and federal periods have been consulted for the toy-making states of New England, New York, and Pennsylvania. Guides to children's books have been consulted but not, one suspects, the books themselves. Thirty-two children's games are illustrated and described in *A Little Pretty Pocket-Book* . . . , first published in London in 1744 and sold in America soon after; although this book is mentioned in *Toys in America* the McClintocks refer to a similar book published thirty-two years later as the first of its kind. The first professional theatrical company to perform in the colonies was in Williamsburg in 1716, not in 1752, the date given by the authors.

The McClintocks have made an admirable survey of mass-produced toys and their makers; but this is a small part of the whole history of American playthings. Handmade and imported toys rivaled factory toys in quantity and quality until a hundred years after the Revolution and were the exclusive toy sources before it. The complete history of toys in America has yet to be written.

*Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Collection*  
*Williamsburg, Va.*  

MARY C. BLACK

*Steam Packets on the Chesapeake. A History of the Old Bay Line Since 1840.*  

Some people love cats; some, horses; some, steamboats. The lover sees in the objects of his affection characteristics beyond the obvious ones, such as color and size; they may be friendly, unpredictable, swift, slow, handsome, ugly. Steamboats, which are made and taken apart by man, can, in the eyes of those who know them intimately, take on some of the characteristics of the animate part of our world. Even when one of them is named after the president of the Line she remains "she," a kind of traditional form of endearment. After years of running on schedule, steamboats acquire a reputation for being faithful; if they carry us safely through storm and stress and refuse to sink when run into, we think of them in heroic terms.

As seen by Alexander Crosby Brown, the steam packets of the Old Bay Line are faithful friends and, some of them, beautiful specimens of naval architecture. He knows the Bay and the Line intimately. The sights and sounds of steamboats—whistles, engine-room signals, the swish of water under the counter, the thud of the heaving line as it lands on the pier—are all music to his ears. "Snub" in his steamboat lexicon is not a word of disapprobation, but refers to the cozy sideling up of steamboat to wharf.

This book had a first printing in 1940 when it played an important part in the celebration of the Old Bay Line's centennial. It is a faithful chronicle
of that century of progress in steamboat transportation on the Chesapeake and includes the history of the Old Bay Line's competitors. In this second printing, there are additional chapters recounting the Line's vicissitudes since its centennial year.

Since, after all, steamboats are inanimate objects, they require people to operate them. Many people, in fact, such as captains, engineers, oilers, pursers, stewards, presidents, directors, clerks, and stockholders. Information regarding these important persons, as well as vital statistics pertaining to all the boats of the Line, is included in the appendix. The author does not forget that it is passengers and shippers who feed the Line. He reminds us that it is the fact that they have been weaned away by more modern means of transportation that has brought an end to nearly all coastal and inland steamboat lines, including the well-known Fall River Line.

In Brown's company the armchair traveler can enjoy the exhilaration and avoid the discomfort of a night-long bout with hurricane winds and mountainous seas as experienced by the *State of Maryland* on August 22, 1933. These Bay steamboats did more than simply keep on schedule through fair weather and foul. Some were members of the wartime "Dishpan Fleet" that crossed the Atlantic in September, 1942; some of the Bay boats did not reach their destination. The *President Warfield*’s experiences were the most exciting of all. She not only saw war service but, renamed *Exodus*, had a most astounding end to her career.

From the vantage point of the Mariners' Museum and the Newport News *Daily Press*, Alexander Brown has viewed the Chesapeake and used the sources of information close at hand in constructing a comprehensive and readable history of steam packets in those waters. His book is a souvenir of a kind of public transportation that has almost come to an end—but not quite, for the Old Bay Line lives on and still offers travelers, suffering from nostalgia or from overdoses of parkway or airway travel, a leisurely, comfortable, and scenic traverse between Baltimore and Norfolk.

*Wagner Lutheran College*

DAVID B. TYLER


The plethora of books on the Civil War has cloyed the market. Biographies of major and minor civil and military leaders, studies of battles and skirmishes, and general and specific accounts of the various aspects of American culture appertaining to the war period have given the reader a superabundance of historical literature. In this outpouring of books and monographs the reader has often found himself in a maze. This volume will
lead the general reader through the labyrinth and ring up sales on cash registers.

Extensive research and a pleasing literary style are combined in *The Coming Fury*. This first volume in the *New York Times—Doubleday Centennial History of the Civil War* presents the research of E. B. and Barbara Long synthesized and stylized by Bruce Catton. Because so much is known about the Civil War, the professional historian will find little that is new in this account which begins with the Democratic Convention of 1860 and follows political and military actions through the first Battle of Bull Run. Many historians will disagree with interpretations of the author and charge him with oversimplification. The lay reader, however, should respond to the pen pictures of men and the moving narrative of events.

On the stage provided by proud Charleston in 1860, William L. Yancey, Stephen A. Douglas, and other headliners, with a supporting cast from the Democratic Party, take their places in a drama which could have been appropriately titled “No Compromise.” By effective use of the flash-back technique the author has his characters develop the plot. As the play proceeds on many stages, the spirit of compromise in American politics ages, falters, and dies. Crystallization splits the Democratic Party, and the passing of the formerly effective spirit of give-and-take in intraparty strife developed rigidity in interparty battles. By 1861, the Democratic Party was hopelessly divided, and its uncompromising Southern faction was marshalled against an equally uncompromising Republican Party. The result was inevitable. Secession and the formation of the Confederacy tested the determination of the United States, and the war came. Northern and Southern optimists predicted a short war, but on the battlefield at Bull Run the old nation was torn asunder; amid shot and shell and the suffering and dying of men, the war became national. In time, both Northerner and Southerner would “learn the same lesson together, sharing, despite their angry separation, in the experience of a tragedy that knew no sectional limits. Denied all other unity, they would come at least to the desperate enforced unity of men and women caught up by suffering and hope, by courage and despair; this much would belong to everyone” (p. 473).

No villains walk the stage in *The Coming Fury*. Fire-eater and rabid Republican, Southern moderate and restrained Northerner wear heroic faces. Villainous slavery lurks in the background, but that bygone institution cannot hurt the sales of a Civil War epic. Bringing General Robert E. Lee into the drama in an early scene and flooding the stage with a gentle, soothing light will please most descendants of the heroes of yesteryear. The well-chosen words and brisk sentences, the skillfully written descriptions of men and events, and the interesting incidents of a dramatic era contained in this volume will command the respect and arouse the envy of historians.

*University of Florida*  
*Rembert W. Patrick*

People interested in publications concerned with the naval side of the Civil War have looked forward to the appearance of this, the second book of the projected three in the sequence, ever since such an enthusiastic reception was accorded to Volume I, The Blockaders. They will not be disappointed. It had been expected that a floodtide of works would be published in this field during the 1960's because the naval side of the war had been comparatively neglected. That expectation did not materialize, and one consequence will certainly be a greater appreciation of the fine contributions made by Mr. Jones in this centennial era.

The book begins with the spring of 1862 and the uproar in Northern press and governmental circles caused by the threat of the Confederate ironclad Merrimack. In dealing with the conflict which War Secretary Stanton and Navy Secretary Welles waged both within and outside the Cabinet, the author accepts the view that President Lincoln allowed Stanton to usurp prerogatives normally those of the Navy Secretary. Mr. Jones does document the other side of the case with a footnote calling attention to a claim by Welles that Lincoln had actually upheld his position. Lincoln admirers do not relish this picture of a panic-stricken Old Abe. Other writers have presented the same view, and it is probably at best a historical doubt as to whether or not he shared the emotional reaction to the Merrimack which undoubtedly seized upon his Secretary of War.

There can be little argument about the persistent superiority of Stanton in this running interservice struggle. Mr. Jones is looking at the issue through the eyes of one giving attention to the Navy side, and, quite naturally, naval attitudes often emerge in his treatment of such things.

If there is anything even approaching a criticism to be made of this book it might lie here. The over-all objectivity of a piece of historical writing has to be constantly safeguarded. Another part of this volume also illustrates the point. The truculence of the people of New Orleans toward the Union forces after the fall of that city is quite well detailed with regard to United States Navy figures in the story. But there is only an allusion to its influence upon the thinking of General Benjamin F. Butler. The historian with the whole story of this city’s travail in mind would probably take the space to examine the molding of the Army general into the figure whose later tenure of the occupation command was to earn him the unenviable appellation, “Beast of New Orleans.”

The Civil War was primarily an Army operation and a diplomatic maneuver. The Navy’s role was really a supporting one—of course, vitally important as such. A recommendation for Volume III might take the form of a hope that Mr. Jones will broaden this perspective. Presumably, he will devote much of the third tome to the commerce raiders and the effort to
obtain additional Confederate naval strength abroad. A start is made in Volume II on the saga of the *Alabama*, and the rest of this great story and that of her sister raiders will be anticipated by many readers. His work will be notably enriched if Mr. Jones will give fairly full coverage to the diplomatic intrigues in England and France when he deals with Confederate commerce raiders, and also such other subjects as the Laird rams and the recruitment of seamen.

As its title indicates, this book deals largely with the war on the rivers. The reader moves from the ultimate failures of both *Monitor* and *Merrimack* in eastern estuaries to the gunboats on the Mississippi and its tributaries. The capture of Vicksburg is the final episode related. Mr. Jones gives more details of acrimonious interservice jockeying in these campaigns, and one clearly understands from his presentation the umbrage of contemporary and later naval figures for not getting the credit certainly due them for their service and the role that it played.

There is very little fault to find with this excellent volume. Even the usual minor errors are conspicuous by their absence. The author has some particularly useful footnotes which serve to clarify long cherished fallacies perpetuated by earlier writers, such as the spelling of *Merrimack*. There is a very comprehensive bibliography which testifies to the meticulous scholarship with which Mr. Jones has handled all kinds of source materials.

*Rider College*  
**Lawrence Ealy**


This study is of special interest for two reasons particularly: the circumstances under which it came to be part of a series, and its content. There now have appeared all except the first two volumes (treating the colonial and national periods up to 1815) in the nine-volume Economic History of the United States issued under the editorship of Henry David, Harold U. Faulkner, Louis M. Hacker, Curtis P. Nettels and Fred A. Shannon. The editors decided, long ago, that it was high time for "the world's foremost economic power" to have an authoritative and integrated treatment of its own economic history. They observed that such a project would profit by the rising amount of materials and an awakening interest nurturing scholarly understanding in a favorable climate. University curricula have indeed inched in the direction of a few chairs of economic history and graduate courses in the subject. In fact, the University of Pennsylvania has
advanced so boldly as to establish a remarkable interdepartmental program flowering in a Ph.D. in economic history as such. It should be noted that the editors looked upon the mounting flood of specialized studies, documents, and government reports as calculated to help economists and historians to develop greater understanding of American economic forces.

But the notable economic historian essaying analysis of developments for 1860–1897 has not found recent scholarship too helpful, perceiving serious obstacles. An excursion in this period must be through “the badlands of statistics,” preventing fruitful use of statistical methodology. Also, the “economic determinism” affecting the thinking of previous analysts had moved them to portray the period as dominated by “robber barons” and conflict, whereas Professor Kirkland could find no accounting for the actual economic advance without admitting a large degree of social consensus. Therefore, he went searching for evidence of co-operative thinking and action among government, labor, and business, offsetting the criticism and conflict sufficiently to account for an optimistic faith in growth and achievement. For this purpose, he studied how the period looked to its contemporaries, and this volume is an interesting, challenging, and very human report on his findings, not lacking in telling phrase and sharp comment.

In citing the thoughts and words of the participants, Kirkland concludes that the businessmen’s efforts were more constructive than those of the reformers and critics. His method sometimes tends to omit discrepancies between the tycoons’ professions of faith and their actual policies on such issues as the tariff and labor. The strength of the volume lies in many elements: in its demonstration that businessmen did not put up a united front on crucial issues, that defenders of the trusts could be no less moral, farsighted, and able than their critics, and that many leaders of business and labor shared basic beliefs and alike exercised good sense. The emphasis on the functioning in economic growth of banking, urbanization, natural resources, retailing and industrial progress is welcome.

Anyone who has spent long hours studying the correspondence of prominent senators and representatives of this period must be impressed by their basic optimism coupled with their frequent blindness to existing faults in the economy, left unregistered in their own letters. Nor were they usually aware of noneconomic factors affecting the economy. It may be doubted whether one can get a well-balanced understanding of an epoch if one relies primarily on the perceptive powers of its participants and discounts historians’ judgments. Yet this volume remains a vigorous, thoughtful challenge to wide misconceptions. A number of historians originally taught by professors nurtured in the progressive tradition have in time revolted against that tradition. A new generation may keep the pendulum swinging, which would be fortunate.

University of Pennsylvania

Jeannette P. Nichols

Gifford Pinchot, between 1910 and 1917, served the Progressive Party as a founder, financial angel, orator, losing candidate, and radical gadfly. Professor Fausold, after a brief biographical introduction and a summary of the controversy with Secretary Ballinger, devotes his pages to an admiring account of these seven years in Pinchot’s life.

Pinchot’s public acclaim, after his ousting as Chief Forester, made him a leading spokesman, on platform and in print, for Republican insurgency. For Theodore Roosevelt, his political idol, Pinchot drafted the Osawatomie speech (August, 1910), in which the former President accepted national responsibility for a number of extreme reform proposals. While TR retreated into caution after eastern Progressive defeats in 1910, Pinchot helped form the National Progressive Republican League and gave strong backing to LaFollette’s presidential boom, though never ceasing to urge Roosevelt back into leadership. Early in 1912, Pinchot dropped LaFollette and threw his ardent support to the newly hopeful Roosevelt. Pinchot’s efforts “to let Bob down easy” looked to LaFollette like duplicity (and so impress the reader).

During the Republican and Bull Moose conventions, Pinchot was close to Roosevelt and worked hard to secure a radical platform. Here began a contest between Pinchot and George W. Perkins, the wealthy industrialist, for influence over the Bull Moose candidate. While stumping the country for TR, Pinchot fought Perkins’ conservative leadership in the new party and especially his views on government’s relation to trusts. This battle Pinchot lost, and Roosevelt’s friendship cooled markedly in post-election days. But Gifford did not leave the Bull Moose Party, as did his brother Amos, to join the Wilson Democrats. In 1914, Gifford ran and lost in Pennsylvania for the Senate under the Progressive (Washington Party) banner. In 1916, when TR rejected the Progressive convention nomination and rejoined the Republicans, Pinchot, sadly and with reluctance, joined him. Wilson, he thought, had been less reformist than Hughes might be. And Wilson’s neutrality in the European war offended Pinchot’s nationalism and strong pro-Ally sentiments, which owed much to the fact that his sister had married a British subject.

Fausold devotes three times the space to Pinchot’s seven years as a Bull Moose Progressive that Nelson McGeary provides in his full-length biography, Gifford Pinchot, Forester-Politician, published a year earlier. Especially extensive by comparison are Fausold’s accounts of Pinchot’s campaign for the Senate and of the decline of the Progressive Party. Fausold’s contribution in these respects is useful. McGeary is more ample on a crucial episode: Pinchot’s maneuvers in shifting from LaFollette to Roosevelt in late 1911 and early 1912.
McGeary seems superior to Fausold in interpretation, turning from narration to evaluation more frequently, possessing greater critical detachment, and achieving a better perspective on Pinchot’s role in the Progressive movement. Fausold tends to exaggerate Pinchot’s significance, more by implication than by assertion, although he states—in my opinion, overstates: “... Pinchot’s leadership among Republican insurgents in 1912 largely set the measure of the era’s progressivism and paved the way for that election year’s great debate of liberals. . . .”

Using no manuscript collections except the Gifford and Amos Pinchot papers, Fausold sees events unduly through Pinchot eyes. Perhaps this is a reason for the author’s overemphasis on Pinchot’s role. His use of studies by Mowry, Link, Garraty, and the McGeary biography helps but does not overcome this limitation in perspective. The Roosevelt and Perkins side of their relationship with Pinchot, for example, is not adequately presented.

Whatever his significance in the conservation crusade and in the Pennsylvania governorship, events occurring before and after the major emphasis of this book, Pinchot comes through from Fausold’s pages, perhaps unwittingly, as more a sad than a heroic figure: too much of an idealist to be a comfortable politician; too ambitious for political success—for his idol TR or for himself—to retain the loftiest stature as an idealist.

*Emory University*  
**James Harvey Young**

---

**Grants-in-Aid**

The Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation announces the establishment of Eleutherian Mills Historical Library Grants-in-Aid, a program for mature scholars holding the degree of Doctor of Philosophy or having equivalent status. The purpose of these grants is to provide opportunities for a limited number of scholars each year to use the Eleutherian Mills Historical Library’s rich manuscript and imprint collections relating to French history, 1760-1820, and to American history, 1800-1914, with special emphasis on business, industrial, and technological developments in the lower Delaware River Valley area. There is no restriction on the applicant’s field of study.

Application forms, and inquiries for information on the criteria for selection and the stipend, should be addressed to the Director of the Eleutherian Mills Historical Library, Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation, Greenville, Wilmington 7, Del.
Addendum

The following information should have appeared as an extension of footnote 52 on page 23 of Lawrence Henry Gipson's article, "The Great Debate in the Committee of the Whole House of Commons on the Stamp Act, 1766, as Reported by Nathaniel Ryder," which appeared in the January, 1962, issue of this Magazine:

For a comparison between Ryder's notes and other versions of Mercer's testimony, as originally found in the Newcastle Papers housed in the British Museum (Add. Mss. 33030) and in the City Library at Sheffield, England, respectively, see Douglas Southall Freeman, George Washington. A Biography (New York, 1948-1957), III, 147-151, and J. E. Tyler, "Colonel George Mercer's Papers," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, LX (1952), 405-420.

Eleutherian Mills Historical Library
Manuscript Holdings

The Eleutherian Mills Historical Library, which came into existence in July, 1961, upon the consolidation of the Longwood Library and the library of the Hagley Museum, has recently issued a four-page folder listing its manuscript holdings. This summary report is an expansion of the description of holdings included in Philip M. Hamer, ed., Guide to Archives and Manuscripts in the United States (New Haven, Conn., 1961), 78, 516. Important additions make the new listing desirable; aside from additional papers of the Du Pont family, there have been some notable accessions which relate to American industrial and economic history during the nineteenth century. Copies of the listing are available, without charge, from the Eleutherian Mills Historical Library, Greenville, Wilmington 7, Del.
Founded in 1824, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has long been a center of research in Pennsylvania and American history. It has accumulated an important historical collection, chiefly through contributions of family, political, and business manuscripts, as well as letters, diaries, newspapers, magazines, maps, prints, paintings, photographs, and rare books. Additional contributions of such a nature are urgently solicited for preservation in the Society's fireproof building where they may be consulted by scholars.

Membership. There are various classes of membership: general, $10.00; associate, $25.00; patron, $100.00; life, $250.00; benefactor, $1,000. Members receive certain privileges in the use of books, are invited to the Society's historical addresses and receptions, and receive The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography. Those interested in joining the Society are invited to submit their names.

Hours. The Society is open to the public Monday, 1 P.M. to 9 P.M.; Tuesday through Friday, 9 A.M. to 5 P.M. The Society is usually closed during August.
# Newspapers on Microfilm

available at

**The Historical Society of Pennsylvania**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper/Title</th>
<th>Reels</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pennsylvania Gazette, 1728-1789</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>$155.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1790-1815 (broken run)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>34.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoch-Deutsch Pensylvanische Geschicht-Schreiber, 1739-1745;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pensylvanische Berichte, 1745-1762 (Christopher Saur)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pennsylvania Journal, 1742-1793</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>200.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philadelphische Zeitung, 1755-1757</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wochentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote, 1763-1779</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New-York Journal, 1766-1776</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>42.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pennsylvania Chronicle, 1767-1774</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>34.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pennsylvania Packet, 1771-1790</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>168.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gemeinnützige Philadelphische Correspondenz, 1781-1790;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neue Philadelphische Correspondenz, 1790-1800</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federal Gazette, 1788-1802</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>224.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chesnuthiller Wochenschrift, 1790-1793</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pennsylvania Evening Post, 1775-1779</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pennsylvania Ledger, 1775-1778</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freeman's Journal, 1781-1792</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>96.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent Gazetteer, 1782-1797</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pennsylvania Mercury, 1784-1792</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pennsylvania Evening Herald, 1785-1788</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Mechanics' Free Press, 1828-1831</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8.50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>