

BOOK REVIEWS

National Index of American Imprints Through 1800. The Short-Title Evans.

Edited by CLIFFORD K. SHIPTON and JAMES E. MOONEY. (Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society and Barre Publishers, 1969.

Vol. 1, xxv, 548 p.; Vol. 2, xxi, 549-1028 p. \$45.00.)

The American Antiquarian Society and C. K. Shipton, its former director, are to be congratulated on the publication of this *National Index*, or *Short-Title Evans* (*STE*); it is a monumental work and along with the microprint edition of extant Evans items, of which the *STE* is the long-promised letterpress index, constitutes the most significant reference aid for seventeenth- and eighteenth-century American studies so far devised.

Even before Charles Evans completed the publication of volume twelve of his *American Bibliography* in 1934 it became evident to scholars that he had omitted much and included a good deal that needed correction. The American Imprints Inventory, undertaken in the 1930's, located great numbers of hitherto unrecorded items; research libraries like the Huntington and the New York Public issued their own "Not-in-Evans" lists, and such well-known scholars as Douglas C. McMurtrie and Lawrence C. Wroth were bringing to completion their bibliographies of printing in the southern colonies. Conditions were therefore propitious for starting work on a revised Evans in 1954 when the AAS and the Readex Microprint Corporation joined forces to undertake the publication of a microprint edition of all known Evans items and of necessity a revised Evans as the eventual letterpress index. The honor for achieving success in this considerable venture seems clearly to rest with Mr. Shipton, a man of almost inexhaustible energy and extraordinary discipline, helped by knowledgeable assistants, backed by a great Americana collection, and enjoying both the co-operation of some 500 American library staffs and the benefit of the labors of Roger P. Bristol, whose *Supplement to Evans*, soon to be published, will set forth in full-titled, chronologically recorded entries the more than 10,000 American imprints omitted in the original Evans.

In essence, the *STE* is an alphabetically arranged short-title listing by author, title, or subject of the approximately 49,000 known American books, pamphlets, and broadsides printed between the years 1639 and 1801, including some 10,000 items listed for the first time. The editors have corrected many obvious inaccuracies in author attribution and often buttressed others with references to biographical sources. They have endeavored to list works anonymously published but of known authorship under both title and author and have added to entries of items thought

to have been printed though no longer extant a statement of the evidence that may have prompted Evans to include the entry in his original work. They close most entries with the designation by library symbol of a single extant copy of the item—not to be interpreted as a unique, perfect, or even the best copy preserved, but simply that copy reproduced in the microprint edition, for the *STE*, resembling the Library of Congress catalogues in format, is printed by offset in columns from the same cards generally that Mr. Shipton designed as the target entries for the Readex microcards.

Now for some questions. First, is the *STE* a nearly complete listing of early American printing? Clearly not. Mr. Shipton calls it “a tool which other generations can use to make the definitive bibliographies.” It omits, for example, several dozen B. Franklin items and many more late eighteenth-century imprints turned up during recent years in the collections of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania alone. It leaves unrecorded—and hence unphotographed on microcard—numerous extant copies of Evans entries unknown to the editors or discovered too late for inclusion. The *STE* is, in short, as good as the work of the generation of past scholars on which it was based. Had Mr. Shipton tried to recheck all their work, he would never have finished his task.

Next, is the text of the *STE* accurate? Remarkably so when one considers all the pitfalls. Errors were inevitable. A 1749 proclamation (6397) bears a 1747 imprint date. Peirce’s *Y Dull o Fedyddio* (3336) comes out *Y Dull & Fedyddio*. Two numbers occasionally refer to the same item (cf. 41539 and 9949) or because of an omitted word seem to (cf. 40436 and 6063), a title (6555) or an identifying heading (10137) is inaccurately transcribed, identical entries are sometimes repeated, and indications of pagination go awry, but on the whole the work has been carefully checked.

One final question. The *STE* will, because of the accurate numbering of its entries, serve as an excellent index to the microprint edition and especially to the 10,000 additions heretofore unlisted except on the microprint targets. The question is: Will it also work as a solid reference tool for the scholar who does not have the Readex cards and the full-title Evans at his elbow? On this point, at least for Pennsylvania imprints, the *STE* reveals certain shortcomings and will at times leave the occasional user more baffled than enlightened.

The *Cato Major*, for instance, is listed under Cicero with no reference to the translator James Logan, though entries for Logan’s earlier “English’d” *Cato’s Distichs* appear under title and under Logan’s name presumably as author. The editors split the colonial Pennsylvania proclamations into groups under the title of governor or that of lieutenant-governor in order apparently to preserve the integrity of the wording in the printed documents, though the Proprietor’s executive officer in the Province of Pennsylvania was designated officially as the “Lieutenant-Governor.” If this was the editors’ intent, then about half the entries under governor should fall under lieutenant-governor or president of council. References to the

University of Pennsylvania during the colonial period are scattered under Pa. (Colony), Univ., Pa. Univ., Phila. Academy, or Phila. Publick Academy, and the imprints concerning the Penn-Baltimore boundary dispute exist in single unrelated entries. The first edition of the Articles of Agreement is headed "Md. (Colony) Proprietor," the second under its docket title "True Copies . . .," and the 1750 chancery minute settling the case under "Baltimore, Frederick Calvert. . ."

A similar unrelatedness occurs in a number of Pennsylvania German-English entries. The *STE* lists six English editions of *Every Man his Own Doctor* attributed to John Tennent, repeats only two of them under title entries but lists the German translation without reference to the author. The pastoral letter *Mein lieber Mit-Pilger*—the *STE* refers to it by salutation rather than title—is accurately assigned to Zinzendorf, but its English version (4564) appears in a simple title entry. Other pamphlets entered under the author entries of Wohlfahrt and Welfare, presumably quite different writers, turn out to be in fact the work of the same man with German and English forms to his name. But these are the lesser known facts of the bibliography of a particular region, and the unawareness of them has been undoubtedly more than counterbalanced by the editors' work on the great mass of New England imprints where on surer ground they have contributed much to the refining of colonial American bibliography.

Temple University

C. WILLIAM MILLER

Demography in Early America: Beginnings of the Statistical Mind, 1600-1800. By JAMES H. CASSEDY. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969. xi, 357 p. Bibliographical notes, index. \$8.50.)

Mr. Cassedy has not entered the debate over the increasing application of computers and quantification to American society or to the writing of history. He has sought instead to discover the roots of modern America's emphasis on statistics, to define the beginnings of the "statistical mind" in America. Accordingly, he has focused on early statisticians, "those earliest Americans who looked at demographic and related matters from a statistical or quantitative viewpoint . . ." (p. viii). He touches upon the political, social and economic aspects of demography but concentrates on the medical, public health, and scientific ramifications of the problem. Organized roughly in chronological order, the book contains six chapters treating such features of early demography as parish registers, population theories, census returns, bills of mortality, life probabilities and quantifiable medical data. An additional four chapters dwell on religious, economic, political and social forces leading to demographic legislation and institutions. One chapter (chapter VIII) purports to explain the numerical basis

of the American Revolution. The result is a cautiously argued and impressive work, the first serious study of American statistical ideas and institutions prior to Jefferson's presidency.

The two centuries covered in this volume were a time of "planting basic statistical institutions and habits, not of their flowering" (p. ix). The author correctly asserts that demography was an inexact science in that period: the numbers were small and largely guesswork, the techniques unreliable, and the theories primitive. Lack of materials, untrained personnel, frontier conditions, and the recurring fear of "the sin of David," combined with the constant mobility of the people to limit the collection and recording of vital data. Three figures, Ezra Stiles, Benjamin Franklin, and Thomas Jefferson, stand out among those early demographers who diligently sought to overcome these conditions. They kept abreast of European statistical literature, attempted to make European ideas more popular among their American colleagues, and collected invaluable data of their own, data which might otherwise have been irretrievably lost. Cassedy's treatment of these men adds an important dimension to the biography of each.

Potentially one of the most promising sections of the book is the chapter devoted to the "numerical basis" of the Revolution. Unfortunately, it is one of the author's least successful. Nowhere is the paucity of statistical thinking in early America more evident. Indeed, the author is forced to rely almost exclusively on the activities and conclusions of Englishmen for the immediate pre-war years, and to concentrate on developments which seem only peripheral to the numerical basis of revolt during the war years. One learns of the difficulty in measuring the exodus of the Loyalists and Revolutionary casualties, and of Alexander Hamilton's embryonic interest in statistical studies and demographic theories, but the chapter does not meet the promise implied in the title.

Although there are a few typographical errors in the bibliography and the book is poorly indexed, on the balance this work's virtues far outweigh its shortcomings. Cassedy has produced a concise, well-documented and well-written addition to the studies of the early American mind. A second volume promises to carry the story beyond the year 1800.

The University of Northern Colorado

G. S. ROWE

Pocahontas and Her World: A Chronicle of America's First Settlement in Which is Related the Story of the Indians and the Englishmen—Particularly Captain John Smith, Captain Samuel Argall, and Master John Rolfe. By PHILIP L. BARBOUR. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1970. xxii, 320 p. Illustrations, appendix, bibliography, index. \$6.95.)

Philip L. Barbour, in the Preface to *Pocahontas and Her World*, characterizes his study as "an attempt to present the Pocahontas of history. . . .

It is an essay at history, not a capitulation to fancy" (p. ix). Barbour is much more ambitious than this prefatory statement would indicate, however. He attempts not only to separate the facts from the myths surrounding Pocahontas' dealings with the English in seventeenth-century Virginia, but also to reconstruct on a wider scale all of the important activity among Indians and Englishmen in Virginia from 1607 up to the Virginia Massacre of 1622. Since there are so few literary records relating either to Pocahontas or to the more general problem of Indian cultural adjustment to English settlement, many of the details of Mr. Barbour's story have had to be filled in by "informed guessing" (p. x). There is perhaps no one writing history today who is more capable of reconstructing the story of the Jamestown settlement than Mr. Barbour and his "guesses" seem to me to be more "informed" than those of anyone else who has written on the subject. In particular, Mr. Barbour's familiarity with the narratives of adventurers like John Smith, William Strachey, Ralph Hamor and George Percy has allowed him to weigh and select material from those invaluable, but often biased, eye-witness accounts in constructing his own, more balanced narrative.

The duality of purpose of this book is occasionally troubling, however. Mr. Barbour, because he has not been content to focus his study *merely* on the life of Pocahontas and has instead attempted to reconstruct a wide range of activity in the larger world around her, has not been completely successful in explaining the story of *either* Pocahontas or her "world." In his attempt to tell the story of English and Indian contact at Jamestown, Mr. Barbour often (and properly) lets Pocahontas slip into the background, but on those occasions when Pocahontas quite legitimately belongs in the spotlight—as in her successful plea to Powhatan requesting that he give the English supplies, or in her marriage to John Rolfe—Mr. Barbour seems to deal with her in an unnecessarily cursory fashion. These are areas where, despite the paucity of source material, he might have used his own knowledge of the *context* of events at the time to give the reader the benefit of some of his "informed guesses" regarding the motives behind Pocahontas' behavior.

Just as the attempt to tell the entire story of English-Indian contact at Jamestown tends to obscure the personality of Pocahontas, so too does the focus on Pocahontas and those people in her life tend to distort the story of the early Jamestown enterprise. Mr. Barbour's history revolves almost exclusively around personalities in America—Powhatan, Pocahontas, Opechancanough, John Smith, Samuel Argall and John Rolfe—and thus obscures the important role that other men and other circumstances in England played in shaping the lives of both Indians and Englishmen in Virginia. Perhaps it is unfair to carp at Mr. Barbour on this point, as he has succeeded in explaining events in America, and in particular the reaction among the Indians to those events, in a more intelligible fashion than anyone before him. But nevertheless, many of the questions that arise as

one reads Mr. Barbour's account—questions relating to the failure of the English in Virginia to supply themselves adequately or to the purposes of Sir Thomas Dale's seemingly harsh program for the Jamestown settlement—could have been answered more easily if the author had attempted to give the reader a slightly better idea of what was going on in the minds of the Virginia Company's directors in England.

All of these comments point to the fact that Mr. Barbour has tried to write a book for two audiences—a book aimed at a general public interested in the romance and drama of Pocahontas' role in the Virginia enterprise and at a much smaller group of specialists interested in an accurate description of those early years of contact between the English and Indians in Virginia. He has succeeded in my judgment in providing both of those audiences with the best book yet written on *either* subject. I think, however, that the definitive account of this important chapter in the history of European and Indian cultural contact in the New World—an account which should be written with the aid of ethnographical and archaeological materials as well as with traditional historical sources—has yet to be written. Mr. Barbour, with his impressive background in the sources of early seventeenth-century England and Virginia, strikes me as the ideal man to write it.

University of Pennsylvania

RICHARD R. BEEMAN

Peltries or Plantations: The Economic Policies of the Dutch West India Company in New Netherland, 1623-1639. By VAN CLEAF BACHMAN. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1969. ix, 183 p. Appendixes, bibliography, index. \$7.50.)

The significance of the non-English Middle Colonists is often underestimated because few historians have studied them and still fewer are familiar with the languages of the regions from which they emigrated. Scholars have recently called attention to the Hudson Valley Dutch tradition, which survived the English conquest, continued among descendants of Dutch settlers until after the American Revolution, and was still identifiable in the early twentieth century. Bachman illuminates this tradition's mercantile origins by depicting relationships between Dutch trade with New Netherland and with Baltic regions, describing Dutch and Russian competition in furs and comparing the freight costs of Baltic and American timber and grain. He also associates the West India Company's fluctuating interest in colonizing New Netherland with the fortunes of its simultaneous effort to conquer Brazil, and its vacillations between short-term exploitation of its fur-trading monopoly and long-term encouragement of agricultural settlement with shifting balances among the directors and the principal stockholders, until in 1639 the Company abandoned both

the monopoly and agricultural investment in New Netherland to concentrate upon its disastrous Brazilian enterprise.

Reflecting an imbalance in previous scholarship, Bachman places far more emphasis upon peltries than upon plantations. Most studies of the Dutch stress their mercantile tradition; very few point out that this tradition included financing of long-term projects to reclaim farm land from the sea which made Dutch agriculture, like Dutch commerce, the most sophisticated of the seventeenth century. It is not surprising, therefore, that the West India Company's was by far the most effective of Atlantic seaboard plantations, distressed by losses soon after arrival of carefully shipped cattle and discouraged by unprofitable experiments with diversified farming, but never even threatened by the "Starving Times" which decimated colonists at both Jamestown and Plymouth. Since farmers required the experience of many seasons to adapt European crops and methods of cultivation to American soils and climate, so that none but growers of native tobacco produced appreciable surpluses for export until late in the century, the Company finally concluded correctly that significant returns on this sort of investment could not be expected within the limited term of its charter. In this way, Bachman's very omissions make clear that study of Hudson Valley Dutch agriculture by a historian familiar with the problems and practices of farming is long overdue—an investigation which would be even more significant if extended to the Pennsylvania Germans and other colonial ethnic groups.

Bachman also has surprisingly little to say about effects of the devastating Thirty Years War upon German demand for Dutch furs, or about interruptions of the Baltic trade by wars among the Dutch, the Danes, and the Swedes. The West India Company's most vigorous activity in New Netherland took place in the very years in which Denmark and Sweden seized strategic positions in North Germany from which they could choke off the flow of grain and timber indispensable for the survival of Dutch cities, a threat which subsided after the death in 1632 of the aggressive Swedish King Gustavus Adolphus. The conventions of scholarly specialization which presumably prompted Bachman to omit such "general knowledge" are far less appropriate for the Dutch tradition, whose language and literature Americans rarely study, than for the widely familiar English tradition. A few Americans have the background to appreciate Bachman's contribution, but many others may misinterpret it because they conceive of colonial economics from an exclusively English point of view. For this reason, authors, sponsors, editors and publishers should recognize the importance of placing the results of original research in a sufficient context of general knowledge to make them interesting to general readers and significant to scholars who unavoidably approach subjects outside of their immediate specialties from a general level.

William Penn's Own Account of the Lenne Lenape or Delaware Indians.

Edited by ALBERT COOK MYERS. Revised edition, with a Foreword by JOHN E. POMFRET. (Somerset, N. J.: Middle Atlantic Press, 1970. 96 p. Illustrations, appendixes, index. \$6.50.)

Even though this revised edition of pertinent Indian documents is not an exact reprint of the original, first published in 1937 in a limited, heavily illustrated, 107-page edition of 500 numbered copies, students of the formative years of William Penn's early Indian policy should welcome this new edition.

While the basic text remains more or less unchanged, it is not clear why certain revisions have been made. Mr. Myers's one-page dedication to his aged parents has been eliminated, and a new five-page Foreword by John E. Pomfret, Director Emeritus of the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery in San Marino, California, has been added. In the text proper, the concluding three pages of Myers's Introduction (excerpted by him from Philip Ford's *Vindication of William Penn*) have been omitted; otherwise, the text of *Penn's Own Account*, extracted from his Letter to the Free Society of Traders, has been reproduced exactly. As in the original, the *Account* is followed by transcripts of Indian deeds and related documents of the years 1681 through 1684, and includes the Indian letter to the King of 1701, each document placed in a separate Appendix. But for some unexplained reason, the seventeen chronologically arranged Appendixes in the original version have been reduced to fifteen, and their order altered. Inasmuch as the two Appendixes omitted—#3 and #4 in the original—have to do with Salem, New Jersey, Indians, they may have been considered out of place by the revisionist. But the altered order of the remaining transcripts has no obvious explanation. Their individual texts, however, are faithfully reproduced.

The greatest alteration found in this new edition is in the number of illustrations, an alteration which possibly is related to present day costs of reproduction. Yet the reason for some of the changes is not wholly evident. As frontispiece, in place of Paul Domville's painting of Penn's 1683 land treaty with the Delaware Indians, there is a stylized black and white cut of a scratch-board drawing by Fritz Eichenberg. This shows Penn and an Indian standing in amity on either side of a (treaty?) tree which supports the Penn arms. The Francis Place pastel portrait of the Proprietor, acquired by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania since the original edition appeared, has been substituted for the familiar so-called "armour" portrait. Benjamin West's 1771 painting of Penn's treaty with the Indians at Shackamaxon has been substituted for the Arnold Anderson etching showing the *Welcome* at anchor at Upland.

Of the twenty-seven additional illustrations in the original edition, ten were photographs of various Indian sites or historical markers erected by the Pennsylvania Historical Commission as the result of Mr. Myers's

investigations. All of these have been eliminated. In the original work, there were thirteen excellent photographs of Indian deeds, receipts, memoranda and Penn letters and documents relating to Indians, transcripts of all of which were included in the Appendixes. These photographs have been reduced to two: a portion of the first page of Penn's holograph account of the Indians, and the July 15, 1682, Indian deed for southern Bucks County. Since nine of the eliminated photographed deeds had never been reproduced before, and were useful for comparison with the Myers transcripts, their omission is to be regretted. Certainly, they have a greater scholarly value than the Eichenberg cut or the Benjamin West painting.

Yet in spite of the above alterations, the present volume, retaining as it does the basic text of the original, remains a useful reference work. Few of the Indian deeds have ever been transcribed for the period of this work. Only two of them were published in the First Series of the *Pennsylvania Archives*, for instance, and then only in part. Thus, the inclusion of the present list of documents is most helpful, enhanced as they are by Mr. Myers's annotations.

The William Penn Papers

HANNAH BENNER ROACH

The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census. By PHILIP D. CURTIN. (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969. xix, 338 p. Illustrations, tables, bibliography, appendix, index. \$7.50.)

The horrors and the profound consequences of the African slave trade have stimulated many historical studies. While these have often included estimates of the size of the trade, research on this aspect is incomplete and full of contradictions. In *The Atlantic Slave Trade*, Professor Philip Curtin undertakes the important task of synthesizing this literature into a unified demographic history of the trade.

Curtin's most striking conclusion is that conventional estimates of the trade's size are twice as large as they should be. Approximately ten million Africans, rather than twenty million, were carried to the Western Hemisphere between 1500 and 1865. His opening chapter, "The Slave Trade and the Numbers Game," brilliantly traces the origins of the higher estimates. It should be on the reading list of every student who contemplates the use of statistical assertions made by previous researchers.

The Atlantic Slave Trade examines in detail the size of the trade to each European colony in the Western Hemisphere, to Brazil and the United States after they gained independence, and to Europe itself. The principal findings are effectively presented in a series of demographic charts, but the mass of detail in the text may tempt readers to concentrate upon particular chapters. United States historians may be inclined to emphasize the third and fifth chapters, which discuss the slave trade to the British

colonies in America. (Many readers may be surprised by the relative magnitude of the trade to Jamaica and other West Indian islands.) But each chapter deserves a careful reading, even if one has no interest in the territory under discussion, for *The Atlantic Slave Trade* gives many insights into the techniques—and the problems—associated with the reconstruction of comprehensive statistics from scattered sources of erratic reliability.

Dr. Curtin provides careful analyses of the techniques employed by previous scholars, and his own statistical methods are thorough. Occasionally (and with warning to the reader) his techniques necessarily become speculative. In some statistical time series, the interpolations heavily outnumber the known values. In one case (pp. 152–153), the statistics for eight separate years provide sole support for a time series extending from 1690 to 1807. In another case (pp. 96–101) two nonrandom samples, totalling less than 300 slaves, provide the basis for computations about a trade of more than 50,000 Africans. Dr. Curtin was forced to make many assumptions which cannot be verified from available data—e.g., that the demographic histories of Jamaica and Martinique were similar (p. 81); that illegal overloadings of British slave vessels were statistically counterbalanced by the failure of some slave ships to obtain full legal cargoes (p. 135); and that the *asiento* contracts roughly approximated the actual slave trade to Spanish America (p. 23). Dr. Curtin states these and other assumptions clearly, and they should provide starting points for future research into the primary source documents.

The Atlantic Slave Trade devotes much effort to identification of the African geographical regions and cultures which provided slaves for the trade. Although the source data is grossly unsatisfactory, Dr. Curtin develops much interesting information. He concludes, however, that the available statistics tell little about the trade's effects upon the civilizations of West Africa. Until we know more concerning the processes which tore victims from those societies, no reliable analysis can be made of the slave trade's effects upon Africa.

Information Systems Division

Los Angeles Department of Water and Power WARREN S. HOWARD

The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca. By ANTHONY F. C. WALLACE. With the assistance of SHEILA C. STERN. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1970. xiii, 384, xi p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$8.95.)

The Seneca Indians, Keepers of the Western Door of the Six Nations Confederacy, were the most aggressive, most populous, and most influential of the Iroquois. Their chiefs were leaders in war and peace, and one of them, Handsome Lake, produced a religion which was principally responsible for

their survival as a nation and their revitalization as a people. This volume describes their culture and narrates their history in the most thorough and satisfactory treatment to date. It is roughly divided into three parts.

In Part I, "The Heyday of the Iroquois," the author, who is professor of anthropology at the University of Pennsylvania, describes the Indian culture—its political and social organization, its folkways, rituals, superstitions and beliefs. This is the approach of the anthropologist and is based in great part upon the author's intensive study of the Senecas of Western New York.

Part II, "The Decline of the Iroquois," is historical, covering briefly the Indian Wars, their involvement with the English and the French, Pontiac's Conspiracy, and the disastrous effects of the American Revolution. This era ends with the dispersal of many of the Iroquois westward and into Canada, and their occupation of what the author calls "slums in the wilderness."

The third period traces the dismal record of the early republic in dealing with Indian problems, wars, treaties, and the eventual resettlement of the remaining tribes. The Iroquois were hard hit by the destruction of war, decimation by disease, and the demoralization of white domination. They faced the possibility of extermination or complete absorption by the white race. Their leaders divided between a policy of accommodation, or acculturation, with white society, or dogged adherence to their older ways and more primitive culture. Their salvation in this dilemma was provided by the prophet Handsome Lake, whose religion is still followed by some 5,000 of the 20,000 on Iroquois reservations today.

Handsome Lake, brother of Cornplanter, and himself one of the leading Seneca chiefs of the post-Revolutionary period, was a kind of Mohammed (or Joseph Smith), who emerged from a period of debauch as a dreamer with a series of visions, which evolved into a religion. Apocalyptic in part, and dwelling at times on creation and the future life, while clinging to much of the ancient tribal beliefs and ritual, the new cult also became an ethical code, a rule of conduct, and a personal religion with a strong appeal. It urged sobriety, a moral life, maintenance of family ties, and observance of strict rules. It accepted, or borrowed from, Christianity and found no fault with missionaries, such as the Quakers who worked among the reservation tribes. Thus, it curbed the worst abuses of Indian society and sanctioned the political and economic ties with white culture which made survival possible. Through it the Seneca and other Iroquois have been able to keep the essence of their primitive beliefs, their ritualistic observances, and their pride in their indigenous culture.

In relating this development the author has maintained scientific objectivity, while at the same time he reveals his sympathy and high regard for the virtues of Indian culture. There is a romantic side to all of this and its telling is enhanced by an easy style and some poetic license. On the other hand, one senses the unresolved dilemma of the cultural or racial minority in a struggle for its own identity. That Indians today are still

troubled by the same problems is apparent as they cry for observance of their old treaties, the return of their land, or of their wampum belts.

From the viewpoint of the historian, the central section is less successful. The brief and almost casual treatment of the French and Indian War and the Revolution is in part based upon older treatises which are now superseded. The systematic attack upon the Iroquois by the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign of 1779 (somewhat denigrated by the term "Sullivan's Raid") does not benefit from later research. In fact, the author relies unduly on the elder W. L. Stone's *Joseph Brant* (1838) for details. It is quite incorrect to say that the Tory-Indian raid on the Schoharie Valley in 1780 "was comparable in size and destructiveness to Sullivan's of the year before" (pp. 145-146). The participation of Indian chiefs in these battles is often related from hearsay of years later. An example of such dubious evidence is the assertion that "the Black Chief, husband of one of Sir William Johnson's daughters, who was one of the leading women, [was] by her the father of ten children" (p. 189). As far as is known, none of Sir William's daughters married Indians. It is also rather far-fetched to call Joseph Brant a "college-trained man" (p. 137). But these are minor slips.

Historians and anthropologists alike will be grateful for a very well-organized, well-written and satisfying work.

Glenmont, N. Y.

MILTON W. HAMILTON

Peaceable Kingdoms: New England Towns in the Eighteenth Century. By MICHAEL ZUCKERMAN. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1970. ix, 326, vi p. Appendixes, bibliographical notes, index. \$7.95.)

The New England towns are a unique social phenomenon in that they operate today precisely as they, or their parent towns, did three centuries ago. Such a successful system deserves much more careful study than it has ever received. This volume is the most thorough treatment of a large group of these corporations. The author has dug out most of the relevant secondary material and has studied the printed records of fifteen Massachusetts towns, which would seem to have been an adequate sample of this particular kind of source material. His conclusion is that these towns were devoted to the achievement of peace by the attainment of an unanimous consensus of their members.

Unfortunately, this book is based primarily on one type of source material—corporation records—which are notoriously designed to conceal all but the dry skeleton. A university president told me that he did not believe that any action of real importance was reflected in the corporation minutes of his administration. Anyone who has lived a large part of his life in one of these "Peaceable Kingdoms" and has tried to nurse a budget

through town meetings will see in these records things of which Dr. Zuckerman does not dream. The participant will see these records dripping verbal blood, for New Englanders were, and are, just as mean, cantankerous, and spiteful as any other human beings. The author would have recognized this had he read any of the many surviving diaries of the men about whom he wrote.

There are some kinds of official records which the author has not used. He has done a great deal of arithmetic to prove what we always suspected, that these towns were not oligarchies, but he twice calls attention to the weakness of some of his statistics because he did not know how many incorporated towns existed in any one year. He could have readily extracted this information from one of the State documents which he cites.

When Dr. Zuckerman says that the significance of the New England town was not to be found in its "democracy," and that its goal was "orthodoxy," he is using these words in a sense not employed by most other modern authors. One must allow that the author is entitled to his own definitions, but one must take exception to the large number of plain inaccuracies in this volume. It would take more space than a review would allow to muster the evidence to demonstrate the errors in the statements important to the author's thesis, but they are of the same type as these which are obvious because they are trivial. He says (p. 77) that "Children's books . . . were an innovation which awaited the nineteenth century in Massachusetts"; the bibliographies show otherwise. It is not true (p. 78) that the New England Primer states that John Roger's wife and nine children were burned at the stake with him. It is not true (p. 110) that by the time of the fall of Quebec the "mesey business of extermination" of the New England Indians was almost complete. Schoolmasters were not (p. 118) elected in town meetings. On the 19th of April the British and provincials did not (p. 220) fire at each other across Lexington Green.

Moving from these trivia to statements involving Dr. Zuckerman's general thesis, one could similarly demonstrate that he exaggerates the strength of the General Court of Massachusetts under the Old Charter, the importance of the residence clause for members of the General Court in the New Charter, and the control exercised by the towns over their Representatives in Provincial times. The correspondence of a number of the participants in this government has survived, but the author has not consulted any of it. He simply does not understand the political structure of Provincial Massachusetts. Thus he says (p. 19) that "the councillors [were] chosen by the governor from the nominees of the lower legislative house." Actually, the old Council and the new House sitting as one body after the spring election elected the new Council. The Governor had a power of veto, which he almost never exercised. Much more frequently it was a case of not re-electing the Councillors who had too faithfully supported the Governor in his disputes with the House during the preceding

session. Actually, the system as practiced would much better support the author's thesis than the one which he presents.

In the same way, Dr. Zuckerman is simply mistaken in his description of the operations of towns and churches. He concludes his book by a Procrustean effort to fit the facts to his thesis by interpreting the Stamp Act mobs as an expression of the yearning of the New England towns for what he calls orthodoxy. He ignores the Stamp Act mobs in nonorthodox colonies. "Revolutionary Massachusetts," he says, "a society at the center of the conflict which ushered in a measure of modern liberalism, never itself sanctioned the value of conflict in the community; and least of all did it bequeath to us a principled notion of legitimate differences among men." Neither the facts which the author presents, nor the facts as they were, add up to this conclusion.

Shirley Center, Mass.

CLIFFORD K. SHIPTON

Empire and Interest: The American Colonies and the Politics of Mercantilism.

By MICHAEL KAMMEN. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1970. x, 186 p. Bibliographical essay, supplementary readings, index. Cloth, \$4.95; paperbound, \$2.95.)

The purpose of this book is "to explore and explain the political economy" of the first British Empire "in terms of its complex and diverse social groups" (p. vi). Since much of the material is taken from the monographic literature on British trade and commerce many of the facts the author presents, in themselves, are unquestioned. There are some *caveats* to be raised, however, on the influence of economic issues and of the merchants. By no means did economic considerations play the dominant role in English politics and administration. And in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, with few exceptions, such as the Jeffreys, Gilbert Heathcote, and Micajah Perry (and their interests were diverse and varied), English merchants engaged in the North American trade were small operators. Moreover, it is often impossible to separate English from colonial economic ventures—witness the trade in naval stores, many trans-Atlantic mercantile firms, and the Maryland iron industry where the bulk of the capital invested was English. Consequently, Parliamentary legislation could adversely affect English as well as colonial interests. This was the case with the Iron Act of 1750 and the earlier Plantation Duty Act, which mainly affected English shippers who failed to take out bonds when leaving for the tobacco colonies. Finally, much legislation was the result of conflicting and competing interests in Britain.

Kammen is correct in stating that there was a significant gap between mercantilist theory and practice at the end of the seventeenth century. But this divergency was never closed and it existed simply because legis-

lation reflected particular diverse state and economic needs and not the imperatives of economic doctrine, although the rhetoric of mercantilist theory was employed to promote or justify a particular measure. But it is doubtful if this legislation, mercantilist inspired or not, really shaped the colonial economy, for the basic Anglo-American trade patterns were resumed after independence had removed any legal compulsion to comply with the Navigation Acts. Given the underdeveloped economy of North America, the paucity of skilled labor, capital, or marketing and credit resources, the Americans were economically dependent. While the Dutch perhaps might have performed the same role as the English, without institutionalized marketing and credit facilities, it was natural to rely on personal ties in trans-Atlantic correspondence. In this connection, the work of James Soltow and Samuel Rosenblatt on the Virginia economy is most revealing.

The crux of Kammen's argument lies in his treatment of the fifty years preceding the American Revolution. By the second decade of the eighteenth century, he says, a "comprehensive view of the situation of the colonies in England's commercial system, increasingly well-defined, helped to shape a complete body of regulations" (p. 47). But to what body of regulations passed in the eighteenth century does he refer? Kammen merely falls back on the arguments previously presented in his *Rope of Sand*. In the dozen years after 1748 a widespread series of changes occurred which altered the structure and activities of the British economic interests and transformed the matrix of politics. These changes, he writes, "formed a prelude to the political chaos of the 1760's" (p. 93) and may have made impossible the cohesion and administrative equilibrium needed to deal with the later imperial crisis. This argument is ingenious, but strange, to say the least. Kammen does not even attempt to demonstrate how these changes affected either British politics or, even adversely, colonial economic interests. The political instability of the 1760's resulted from George III's impact on the loose Whig coalition and a large degree of stability had been reached by 1770.

Equally untenable, and Kammen offers no convincing evidence in support, is the statement that the "crisis in Anglo-American relations was deeply rooted in the fierce competition among interest groups that characterized the 1760's and 1770's" (p. 115); or that in the 1760's the incompatibility of British administrative intentions with colonial commercial habits and aims became clear. The administrative intentions, as well as the imperial dispute, were political and not commercial. Moreover, it is not accurate to conclude that after 1766 the American colonies were not able to compete effectively for influence in London. As witnessed by the repeal of the Townshend duties, the modification of the Mutiny Act and the Currency Act, their agents and spokesmen (including the merchant community trading to America and the West Indies) could lobby effectively, but only when they refrained from raising the highest political

challenge. Kammen is correct when he suggests that more and better agents were needed, but the fault lay in the inability of the colonial assemblies. In some cases they failed to appoint, in others they chose inept men, and almost always limited their effectiveness by elevating the dispute from the practical to the constitutional realm. And why they did so, indeed perhaps the answer to the Revolution, lies in the politics of the American colonies rather than in the politics of British mercantilism.

University of Nebraska

JACK SOSIN

The Papers of Benjamin Franklin, Vol. 13. *January 1 through December 13, 1766*. LEONARD W. LABAREE, Editor, HELEN C. BOATFIELD and JAMES H. HUTSON, Assistant Editors. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969. xxviii, 580 p. Illustrations, index. \$17.50.)

With this thirteenth volume of the *Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, which covers the year 1766, one finds the American Revolution drawing near. Franklin spent the entire year in England as representative of the Pennsylvania Assembly. He underwent a long and searching examination by the House of Commons; the account of their questions and his answers occupies thirty-three pages in this volume. The editor quotes a contemporary writer who said that the answers did "the greatest honour to Dr. Franklin, and justify the general opinion of his character and abilities" (pp. 126-127).

One might think it tiresome to have had to read nearly 7,000 pages of Franklin, nearly every one replete with footnotes. To this reader, however, the task has been a most enjoyable one, for Franklin is always interesting and the editors' notes are invariably helpful in understanding him. If one had thought he knew Franklin pretty well, there are moments when one is totally surprised by what one reads. I, for example, had always thought of him as a pretty consistent liberal. Most of what I have read in his *Papers* bears this opinion out, but suddenly I came upon a letter printed in the *London Chronicle* in November, 1766, and signed "Arator," in which, if "Arator" was really he, he sets forth a doctrine that we have come to regard as conservative: that if the government should help the farmer by allowing him to sell his products on the excellent foreign market, the farmer would become lazy. And yet this essay has been considered Franklin's since 1779. There are a few rather dull letters here, chiefly from James Parker, a colonial printer, who usually filled his letters to Franklin with useless complaints of troubles about which Franklin could do nothing.

Franklin quickly became well acquainted in England in 1766. Here, at least, are letters to or from such people as Joseph Priestley, Matthew Boulton, Peter Collinson, Dr. William Heberden, the Earl of Morton, and Richard Price, all scientists of note. In addition, he corresponded with two

distinguished European scientists, Rudolph Erich Raspe and Giambatista Beccaria. The letters which he wrote to and received from all of these were written in familiar terms.

Among the most notable documents included in this volume, besides the word-for-word account of Franklin's examination on the Stamp Act by the House of Commons, there are many interesting and important pieces. One of them is Professor Gottfried Achenwall's "Some Observations of North America from Oral Information by Dr. Franklin." Dr. Labaree admits in his prefatory note that, strictly speaking, this document does not belong here among the Franklin papers, being only a report of a long conversation with Franklin held in Germany. He does, however, give a satisfactory explanation of his reasons for including it, and this reader at least is satisfied. One of the Assistant Editors prepared this translation of Achenwall's text; the footnotes reveal several passages where she corrected errors made by the translator who published it in English in this magazine nearly seventy years ago. In this very informative piece Franklin said that North Americans did not live in the colonies "with the magnificence of the English Sugar Islands; however," he added, "in Pennsylvania living is more frugal than in most of the other North American plantations" (p. 366).

Swarthmore, Pa.

FREDERICK B. TOLLES

Road to Revolution, Benjamin Franklin in England, 1765-1775. By CECIL B. CURREY. (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1968. xviii, 422 p. Bibliography, index. Paperback, \$1.75.)

The primary thesis of Professor Cecil B. Currey's study of Benjamin Franklin as an agent in England from 1765 to 1775 is that Franklin became a radical as a result of frustration over the failure of his various speculation schemes. Currey maintains that Franklin's relationship with radicals, particularly with the Boston hegemony during the later days of the Townshend crisis, did much to promote the independence movement in the colonies. He takes issue with the generally accepted interpretations that Franklin was a moderator between English and American opinion during the decade before the outbreak of the Revolutionary War. Franklin, he maintains, believed that his mission was to supply "both the impetus and the ideological rationale for the separatist movement." When the land schemes in which he was involved failed because of the "obstinacy, greed, and shortsightedness of English policy makers," then Franklin's commitment to independence was confirmed (page 15). Currey is aware that his interpretation shows "a more shadowy phase of Franklin's life, than other biographers have seen fit to picture" (p. viii).

In his preface, Currey admits that he used both suppositions and speculations in order to close gaps in Franklin's career and activities. In his

first chapter, he discusses Franklin's role as the leader of the Quaker party after 1754, and his activities as agent in London from 1757 to 1762. He early lays the foundation for his revisionist interpretation of Franklin's later conduct. Franklin's interest in land speculation, his eagerness for wealth and privilege, and his bitterness against the principal Proprietor, Thomas Penn, are represented to show him as a scheming politician, interested only in power and pelf. Invariably, Currey uses descriptive adjectives to demean Franklin and to enhance the character of those with whom Franklin disagreed. In Currey's opinion, Franklin's decision to seek a royal government was a vindictive act to square accounts with Penn. The author's strained interpretation and lack of careful attention to scholarship is evident in his treatment of two background events.

Most Franklinists have agreed that in the summer of 1755 Franklin became the Assembly's acknowledged leader in its disputes with the Penns' governor, and they usually attribute Franklin's association with the Quaker party to his break with Penn over the Proprietor's refusal to accept taxation of his estates. Currey asserts that Franklin's enmity toward Penn resulted from Franklin's involvement in the Braddock expedition of 1755 (pp. 31-32), although why Franklin expected Penn to reimburse him for the lost wagons and horses is not clear. Two years later Franklin was sent to London by the Assembly to negotiate a list of grievances with Penn. In describing this episode Franklin is characterized as a "proud and angry man" who was furious with the Penns. The reader is led to believe that the grievances, rather than being the rightful demands from the legislature, were Franklin's. Penn, on the other hand, is characterized as rightfully upholding his prerogatives against the increasingly democratic demands of the Assembly. Regarding the negotiations, Currey's anti-Franklin bias is seen in his repetition of the old myth that Penn snubbed Franklin by sending his answer to the "Heads of Complaints" directly to the Assembly, "deliberately bypassing the uncouth agent representing it" (p. 37). If Currey had checked the *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, 1852), VIII, 277, he would have found a letter from the Proprietors to the Pennsylvania Assembly which stated that "We returned our Answer in Writing, signed by our Agent, to Mr. Franklin; and now send you hereto annexed a Copy of the said Heads of Complaints, and our Answer thereto." Moreover, Franklin wrote to the Penns that "I yesterday received a Paper from Mr. Paris, containing your answer to the Heads of Complaints" (p. 300).

Currey's decision to focus attention on Franklin's advanced political ideas merits commendation. But when he asserts that Franklin's radicalism was the result of his failure to secure land grants, with never a mention that he might have acted from moral or political principles, what could have become a real contribution to Franklin scholarship loses much of its credibility. He rejects as untenable the thesis that Franklin encouraged his fellow colonials to seek a larger share of self-government while he

worked for a remodeled imperial system which would allow Americans some type of dominion status. He also suggests that the Americans should have accepted without opposition the Grenville and Townshend revenue programs as well as the Intolerable Acts in order to avert the Revolution. The latter seems a flimsy expedient to support his interpretation. In summary, Franklin emerges as a politician devoid of principles, whose private life left much to be desired, and whose official position should have led him to support the British government instead of leading his fellow Americans on the road to independence.

Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia

JOHN J. ZIMMERMAN

Ten Days of Infamy, An Illustrated Memoir of the Arnold-André Conspiracy.

By MALCOLM DECKER. (New York: Arno Press, 1969. 138 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$12.50.)

The forms of politeness in letters were never meant to be taken literally. The contrast between word and fact was not more startling than when Benedict Arnold, his treason discovered, signed himself to Washington "Your Excellency's most obedient and humble servant." While exposure of the plot to sacrifice West Point to the British, and retribution for André, receive chief emphasis, this little volume traces vividly the course of treacherous negotiations during eighteen months. The reader has the benefit of Mr. Decker's long experience as collector of historical materials, for almost every page has a picture of a house or Hudson River location or person connected with the episode. Many of the photographs taken by Edwin S. Bennett in 1897 have not been reproduced before. A large fold-out map, of the same vintage, shows André's routes before and after capture.

This is as nearly a "you are there" exhibit of the treason as can be contrived a hundred and ninety years later. Two buildings that figured most prominently have been destroyed. But one views the dining room of the Robinson house, where Arnold learned of André's capture, and the balcony window of the Smith house from which André discovered that the *Vulture* had dropped down the river out of his reach. The place "in the firs" of the midnight conference between commander of West Point and British adjutant, and the hilltop of the latter's hanging are realistically presented.

For the hour-by-hour narrative, Mr. Decker relies on original testimony and on excellent secondary treatments, chiefly those of Flexner and Van Doren. He judges, with Washington, that Joshua Hett Smith, as go-between, had "a considerable share in the business." Peggy Shippen Arnold was privy to the plot, and took care not to go into her mad scene until her husband had had time to escape. The militiamen who arrested André were as much highwaymen as patriots. The depth of Arnold's

rascality appeared in his neglect of André's safety. Though an inept spy, André was at every point a brave captive. The author finds no need of elaborate analysis of Arnold's character; it is enough to recite the evidence that "the truth was not in him."

Washington's aide, Alexander Hamilton, comes in for notice because in letters to Elizabeth Schuyler and John Laurens he described the treason attempt, and because he reputedly tried to save André in an exchange for Arnold. With Mr. Decker's special skill as judge of manuscripts one wishes he had discussed the authenticity of Hamilton's "secret letter to Clinton."

If this beautiful book can be offered in less expensive form, a single typographical error (p. 82) may be corrected. Printer and proofreader reversed the meaning of the sentence by mistaking "not" for "now." This tiny slip emphasizes the loving care with which the volume is conceived and executed.

New York City

BROADUS MITCHELL

Cornwallis: The American Adventure. By FRANKLIN and MARY WICKWIRE. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1970. xvi, 486 p. Illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. \$10.00.)

Cornwallis has long deserved a biography. In a war that destroyed British reputations he alone, among the principal commanders, redeemed himself later in new fields. How and why did the man who blundered into the trap at Yorktown become the victorious proconsul in India? The question is challenging, and it is good to have a pair of young historians tackle it with enthusiasm. The subject is more lively and ambitious than that of Mr. Wickwire's earlier work on the undersecretaries of state, and he and his wife do it justice in a narrative sense: their book is lucid and well constructed, a model of what collaborative style should be and rarely is. Their handling of the problems inherent in the narrative is less satisfying; here their reach somewhat exceeds their grasp. But the historian's grasp has a way of stretching, and theirs well may as they advance in their projected biography, of which this is only the first volume.

One problem, which lies in their material, is how to bring the Earl to life. Their painstaking search through the sources, some of which are far from obvious, has unearthed little that is new about his personality. He did not put himself into his letters, or at least those that have survived, and neither his friends nor his enemies left revealing comments about him. He was far from unfeeling; the death of his wife, for instance, left him temporarily shattered. He loved and was loved by the army, and the book demonstrates his "honesty, justice, endurance, tolerance, humanity, and eagerness to better the life of those under him." But these are qualities to

admire, not to engage our emotions. We remain incapable, as he presumably would have wanted us to be, of feeling with him or seeing through his eyes.

The other problems have to do with his generalship. The Wickwires are at their best in describing his role. They bring out his talents, and the difficulties that tried them to the full; they manage to make a coherent story, even though marred by digressions, out of his involved campaign in the Carolinas and Virginia. Their weakness is in evaluating his performance. Here the crucial period is that which began with his invasion of North Carolina in January, 1781, and ended at Yorktown nine months later, when his conduct at times raised questions that need careful analysis. Why, for instance, did he choose to advance through the Carolina back country, where he was out of touch with his natural supply route by sea and navigable rivers? The Wickwires describe vividly his difficulties in getting supplies from the coast, but do not consider why he was so far from it. Why did he fight at Guilford Court House? Winning the battle, the authors point out, was so costly that it ended his offensive; "yet perhaps no other senior commander the British sent to North America could have won it." This begs a big question—would any other senior commander have fought it? The most important decision of all came after Guilford, when Cornwallis moved from North Carolina to the Chesapeake, thereby changing the whole focus of the war and setting the stage for Yorktown. The Wickwires make little effort to evaluate his reasons. They imply, furthermore, as his conduct implied, that he was free to do as he pleased, whereas, in fact, he had orders from the Commander in Chief that he disobeyed by going to Virginia. This fact throws some light on the man.

The authors, in short, are more concerned with telling how things happened, which they do extremely well, than with considering why they happened as they did. If their curiosity and powers of analysis develop by the time they come to Cornwallis' career in India, they will be able to penetrate more deeply into the character of a complicated man.

Yale University

WILLIAM B. WILLCOX

The Campaign That Won America: The Story of Yorktown. By BURKE DAVIS. (New York: The Dial Press, 1970. 310 p. Maps, illustrations, bibliography, index. \$8.95.)

With an engaging style Burke Davis makes the history of the Yorktown campaign absorbing reading for anyone with a fondness for military history. Davis begins with the expeditionary force under Rochambeau marching from Newport to join Washington's army on the Hudson in July, 1781. Six weeks before, Washington and Rochambeau had decided

to launch an attack on the British bastion on Manhattan Island. Already Rochambeau had received a letter from Admiral De Grasse announcing that he would be in American waters during the summer and would co-operate with the land forces against the enemy. Rochambeau, who had misgivings about a New York campaign, answered by leaving it up to De Grasse whether to sail for New York or to Virginia, where Cornwallis had been battling Lafayette's small army.

On August 14, Rochambeau received word from De Grasse that he was sailing for Virginia, a decision dictated by his admirals who sensed the danger of attempting a siege of New York. Davis pictures the "blind fury" of Washington (who preferred a New York campaign), when he heard that the French admiral had taken the liberty of deciding where the action would be.

Now that it was decided that Virginia would be the battle ground, Washington rose to his reputation as a sly fox by succeeding in making Sir Henry Clinton in New York believe that the Allies were about to launch an attack on the city. Consequently, Washington and Rochambeau were nearly to the Delaware, and beyond the reach of their enemy, before Clinton became aware that Virginia was their destination.

Directly after De Grasse reached the Chesapeake he fought and won a short engagement with a British fleet off the Capes. This was decisive for Clinton now found it impossible to relieve Cornwallis by sea. The blame probably lies primarily with the Earl of Sandwich, Secretary of the Navy, for his failure to maintain British naval supremacy in American waters at all times.

On September 27, the Allies 16,000 strong left Williamsburg to lay siege to Yorktown with its 7,000 defenders. In succession, two parallels were thrown up behind which large siege guns were placed. Bombardment began on October 9 from more than fifty cannon with devastating effect. On October 14, two strong redoubts anchoring the British lines were stormed during an attack which cost the lives of most of those who died during the siege. Two days later Cornwallis tried to escape by crossing to Gloucester, but a violent storm arose to dash his hopes. The next day he surrendered and the war was won.

By portraying the drama of Yorktown in rich detail, Burke Davis offers an opportunity for studying many aspects of eighteenth-century warfare. The mania for military glory that beset men in all ranks will seem strange to youths of today, who generally abhor war in any form. Such acts, for example, as the glory-seeking Alexander Hamilton parading his men atop a rampart within gunshot of the enemy may seem incomprehensible.

Like many writers, Mr. Davis tends to portray British generalship as inept and that of the Americans as quite the reverse. It is true that Washington, Rochambeau, and De Grasse made a splendid team seldom found among allies. However, the British were more the victims of circumstance than of failure in generalship. Clinton had too few men to be effec-

tive, Cornwallis waited too long for want of information, and the British fleet was outnumbered and helpless. The fortunes of war for once all favored the Allies and the fall of Cornwallis was in effect almost inevitable.

Rutgers University

THEODORE THAYER

Thomas Jefferson and the New Nation, A Biography. By MERRILL F. PETERSON. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970. xv, 1072 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$15.00.)

Within the present generation three of the ablest of our scholar-historians have devoted a major part of their time and publication on Thomas Jefferson. Julian P. Boyd's comprehensive edition of the *Papers* has set a standard for accuracy, perceptive headnote discussions which are major essays in themselves, and clear and distinguished format. Dumas Malone, who has just published the fourth part of his masterly multi-volumed biography, is creating one of the most significant and revealing detailed studies of a major American. And now Merrill D. Peterson, whose earlier *The Jefferson Image in the American Mind* was rightly regarded as the major intellectual analysis of the third President's posthumous reputation and the implications of that reputation, has produced our best one-volume biography.

Thomas Jefferson and the New Nation is a large book which might have been printed in two volumes, but the unity the author sees in the life he portrays might have been somewhat marred had he divided it, though only artificially, in separate bound volumes. Peterson states that his new book is the substance of which *The Jefferson Image* was but the shadow, but he confesses that Thomas Jefferson was "an impenetrable man," one that he could not hope to reveal in his entirety, especially in his inner being. Naturally, the latter part of his title is significant, and it is Jefferson's part in the founding of the new nation to which the biographer devotes his major attention.

Peterson sees the dominant motifs of Jefferson's life as democracy, nationality, and enlightenment, the last a term which is interpreted in more senses than one. The biographer is at his best, and that best is brilliant, as he discusses Jefferson's reaction to and action in the major crises of his long political career, from the Continental Congress to the Embargo. Relatively terse, always sensitive, broad in his comprehension of the politics and economics behind a particular situation, and always considering his subject's individual cast of mind, this biographer has explained Jefferson the statesman, including development and change and opportunism, in about as compact and lucid a form as anyone ever will. Not everyone will agree with his delineations of the Jeffersonian mind and

character, yet no logical reader would deny him the right to the conclusions he draws.

On Jefferson's writings—the Declaration, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, the two Inaugural Addresses, for example—the critical analyses are very good indeed. Again one does not have to agree with his argument as to the “real” reason for removing the antislavery clause from the Declaration, nor does one have to agree that in the *Notes* the indication of *possible* inferiority of the Negro is puzzling. In characterizing individual persons in the Jeffersonian drama, especially Edmund and John Randolph, William Branch Giles, and John Adams, the biographer is necessarily brief but usually convincing.

Thomas Jefferson, child of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, is here in discussions of his scientific interests, his educational theories, his architecture and libraries, and his writing. Proportionately, these things—even the fine section on Monticello—receive little space. But this is a matter of considered emphasis, and the biographer's decision to weigh heavily the political is certainly in keeping with the long-term historical estimate of the significant in Jefferson's career.

Occasionally the reader finds Peterson harsh and sometimes inaccurate. The title of George Tucker's best-known novel is incorrect (and the matter of a definite article is important), that Madison drew up the first list of books for a library for Congress entirely from Jefferson's personal library list is highly doubtful (see volume VI of *The Madison Papers*), and the implications of the statement that Virginia gave “up her unfortunates to people the West” is gravely misleading and inaccurate. For the last, the Old Dominion too frequently gave up her most fortunate—in capacities of mind and character—to populate new territories.

As Peterson shows it, Jefferson's was a great public life influencing his country from his time to ours, and a personal life culminating in economic ruin concomitant with his state's fall into an abyss of poverty and mediocrity. The concluding scenes are for Jefferson and his beloved native commonwealth (and the two are to some extent equated) utter gloom. Here is the weakest point of this generally most competent biography. For the biographer too often equates *economic* ruin (which he exaggerates in Virginia) with intellectual and moral degradation. Virginia was by no means dead, by no means last in the line of states, when it held in 1829–1830 the Constitutional Convention usually considered the landmark ending the Jeffersonian era.

The University of Tennessee

RICHARD BEALE DAVIS

History in the United States 1800–1860: Its Practice and Purpose. By GEORGE H. CALLCOTT. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1970. viii, 239 p. Index. \$8.95.)

In this book Professor Callcott describes and annotates with a wealth of references and examples the practice and purpose of written history and the interest shown by large numbers of literate Americans in matters historical during the decades from 1800 to 1860. He traces the historical allusions in art and in literature; he surveys historical societies, journals, textbooks, and curricula; he refers to authors and their methods, assumptions, and values; he discusses the uses men made of history, their standards of judgment and their concerns for and expectations from history. Professor Callcott is a patient and persevering scholar. His methodical progress through his material and his impressive array of footnotes attest to that. His book will remain a standard reference source on its subject.

Through this fact-studded narrative runs a constant undercurrent of a generation's concern with their identity as a nation. Statistics of books published allow the author to locate the high point of this history-centered concern in the 1820's and 1830's. Following upon the Enlightenment and closely linked to the Romantic movement, this search for a national identity is seen by Professor Callcott in much the same terms as R. W. B. Lewis portrayed it in *The American Adam*. Suspended between memory and hope, Americans and their historians search for self-orientation in a new world. Professor Callcott, unlike Professor Lewis, does not conceptualize his interpretation of American historiography. He mentions Lewis' categories, relates them to his persistent theme of the historians' preoccupation with America, and then proceeds to lead us from example to example.

The American historians did not write for profit or professional reputation. Instead they pursued their historical ventures as avocation. They liked to write, they were fond of the past, they loved and were proud of their country, and they wanted to serve it. They felt they could render such service best by providing their countrymen, and especially their country's young, with glowing and ennobling lessons and examples. Their histories were meant to teach morality, worship of God, and love of country. Seeing themselves as artists, they strove for dramatic effect while they scrupulously selected and presented truth. Passionate conviction and mastery of the skill of writing would assure the former; assiduous collection of documents and careful documentation the latter. Thus the works of literary artists and antiquarian collectors, of genealogists and biographers served in their various ways the same ends. It was this common search for a national identity that held these men together in mutual esteem, and led Professor Callcott to observe that their "era of historical writing was marked by general consensus about essence, morality, progress, and national character" (p. 173). As gentlemen-scholars they understood each other, wrote for their own enjoyment, and for the edification and indoctrination of those who looked up to them. They were the nation's self-appointed schoolmasters. To them, writes Professor Callcott, "writing history was an act of worship" and "instilling patriotism was their most important social function" (p. 186).

A word should be said about the author's claim to have explained, defined, and analyzed the practice of history (p. vii). Professor Callcott does no such thing. When, for example, he attributes the rise of historical societies to an "intense need" (p. 40) for the collection of historical materials, he begs the question. History, he says later, "was a great deal of fun. Beyond that, however, Americans of the early nineteenth century were also persuaded that history was enormously important for the well-being of society" (p. 53). From there the author leads us into a discussion of school curricula. What has he explained? When toward the end of the book Professor Callcott deals with the "Decline of Romantic History," he notes that it was accompanied by "the change from Hegelian Romanticism to Ranke's empirical idealism," behind which he sees "boiling" the ideas and forces of "industrialization, democracy, professionalism, sectionalism" as well as "materialism, the vogue of science, and the concomitant rise of critical realism in the arts . . ." (p. 216). Is that what passes as explanation, definition, or analysis?

To sum up, then: The book is informative, reliable, but also pedestrian. Its conceptual framework is slight and borrowed, by and large, from other authors. Its usefulness lies, I should think, in its value as a convenient reference source on the subject it covers.

University of Wisconsin

JURGEN HERBST

Daniel Webster and the Politics of Availability. By NORMAN D. BROWN. (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1969. vii, 184 p. Bibliography, index. \$6.50.)

The author of this useful study of Daniel Webster's effort to be elected President of the United States in 1836, unfortunately, through his title and preface, has tried to make it more consequential than it actually is. He states that the presidential candidates before Andrew Jackson were "statesmen . . . superbly qualified for highest office," and that they were nominated for that reason. He calls this "the older politics of deference," which was replaced by "the politics of availability . . . a willingness to accept a man for public office, without much regard to fitness, but solely on the grounds of his supposed popularity with the mass of ordinary voters." And he further argues that when Webster, representing the older practice, was overwhelmed by William Henry Harrison in their rival efforts to gain the support of the Pennsylvania anti-Jacksonians in 1835, the new tradition was permanently established in the United States.

The study itself does not sustain these conclusions. The author assumes, without stating proof, that earlier candidates were chosen for fitness, not availability, and, in regard to Webster, he clearly and effectively demonstrates that it was not until the Massachusetts Senator attracted popular

attention as the leading spokesman for Union and Liberty against the South Carolina nullifiers that he was ever thought of as a candidate for the presidency. His second reply to Senator Robert Y. Hayne made Webster available as a rival to Henry Clay for the National Republican nomination, particularly after Clay's overwhelming defeat in 1832, and Webster's support of the administration's program of tariff reform against Calhoun's and Clay's compromise proposals the following year caused some Jacksonians and even Webster himself to believe that it might be possible to substitute him for Martin Van Buren as the administration candidate in 1836.

His supporters made much of his fitness for the post, but so did the supporters of the other candidates, and all of them, like Webster, though in varied and different ways, had become available as one of that small group of men whom the politicians and the people at large believe might be elected President of the United States. To so concentrate on the preface and title is unfair because Mr. Brown in the main body of his work has begun to explore a mysterious area of politics, the way in which men become eligible to be considered for the American presidency. By concentrating on an unsuccessful candidate in a single campaign, he has been able to tell the story in sufficient detail to make clear how the strange system works. It is to be hoped that many similar studies will begin to appear, for, before one can begin to understand the American presidency, it is necessary to know why and how the Presidents are nominated and elected.

University of Oregon

THOMAS P. GOVAN

Change in Agriculture: The Northern United States, 1820-1870. By CLARENCE H. DANHOF. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969. x, 322 p. Selected bibliography, tables, index. \$10.00.)

This book is evidence in support of the adage that appearances can be deceiving. The preface indicates that the book is an attempt "to offer some explanation of the process of agricultural development." Certainly a serious effort in this direction is worthy of publication by the Harvard University Press and of applause by historians of agriculture. The conclusion of the book contains the term "system of values" and other social science concepts which are related to the study of the process of agricultural development. The conclusions include suggestive generalizations about the characteristics of innovators which go well beyond the more cautious statements of other students of agricultural change. A reasonable reader might assume that the promise of the preface and the evidence to support the conclusions is located within the body of the text. Such is not the case. The three sections

of the book are integrated only by the title. In view of this situation, I will treat each section independently.

The preface assumes the existence of agricultural systems in America. "The modern system," we are told, in the second sentence, "evolved slowly by an intricate process in which men rather than organizations were the key instruments." Later in the first paragraph the author states that as a consequence of the adoption of innovations "by 1870 a system of agricultural production had been firmly established that was vastly different from the system prevailing in 1820." Since change from one system to another is the subject of the book, the characteristics of the systems at the terminal points would seem to be important. However, the author notes that the period of 1820-1870 is "lifted out of a continuum." The selection of 1820 is justified by the fact that Percy W. Bidwell covered the previous period effectively in his well-known history of agriculture in the northern United States. 1870 was selected because of "change in the nature of source materials" for the more recent period plus whatever logic underlies the unsupported assertion that "succeeding decades were characterized principally by an extension and continuing absorption of the changes launched earlier."

The body of the book contains information about northern agriculture during the period from 1820 through 1870 which may be of considerable interest to students who do not have access to Paul W. Gates' *The Farmers' Age: Agriculture, 1815-1860*, published in 1962, and Allan G. Bogue's *From Prairie to Corn Belt*, published in 1963. It is divided into ten chapters, each of which records changes which occurred in the period within aspects of agriculture such as marketing institutions, production technology, sources of information, and land acquisition. While the writing is generally good and the documentation adequate there are some errors of omission and commission. Among the former is any mention in the chapter entitled "Sharing and Expanding the Fund of Knowledge" of the role of the machinery salesman. Among the latter is the statement that the readily available supply of animal manure was put to careful use within the period of study. Another form of error is the undocumented general statement which appears to contain more information than it does; for example, "once a new implement had been sufficiently perfected to offer a reasonably certain prospect of increasing the effectiveness of labor, experimental adoption by small numbers of widely scattered farmers occurred." An even more fundamental error is the artificial articulation of the ten chapters with the preface. The system of 1820 and 1870 is described only by the observation that self-sufficiency characterized the system in 1820 and market orientation the system in 1870. Otherwise there are only assertions that a system existed.

The chapter containing conclusions is distressingly weak. Some conclusions are actually definitions of the operating term. For example, "the land area of the progressive farmer had been adjusted so that it was adequate"

to permit effective use of the horse-powered tools, or "perhaps the chief characteristics of these innovators were their dissatisfaction with some aspects of routine procedure, their willingness to look upon their operations as involving unsatisfactorily solved problems, and their persistent search for and experimentation with solutions." Then there are statements of considerable significance to the study of innovation and diffusion that are totally unsupported. For example, "the available information on these men [*the innovators*] suggests that they were good managers." There is a statement concerning "the new system in all its aspects" without even a clue about how these aspects were integrated into a system. There is a generalization about "the institutional structure" without any reference to what institutional structure is meant.

Finally, there is nothing in the book about the process of agricultural development. This is understandable since secondary sources have little to say about the workings of this process in American history and the primary sources used by the author—primarily the agricultural press, transactions of state agricultural societies, and travelers' accounts—are not particularly useful in this connection. A comparative analysis of the records of individual farms—diaries, farm accounts, and correspondence—is needed. So, regardless of the claims of this book, the historical study of comparative agricultural systems and the process of agricultural development in the United States remains to be explored.

Cornell University

GOULD P. COLMAN

The South Reports the Civil War. By J. CUTLER ANDREWS. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970. xiii, 551 p. Illustrations, appendixes, bibliography, index. \$15.00.)

The American Civil War has been called the most thoroughly reported war in history. This judgment is defended on the basis that, in the quarter century preceding, the development of free public education had created a public with an insatiable demand for the latest intelligence; the invention of the telegraph and expansion of railways had facilitated the gathering and dissemination of the news; and, during the Civil War, government censorship, generally whimsical and unsophisticated, permitted much to be published which in a later day would fall under the interdict of dangerous to military security.

While historians of the conflict have made wide use of newspaper files as sources, relatively little comprehensive study has been made of either editors or reporters as a group, or of the end product of their labors. We have had, it is true, any number of biographies of important editors and journalists. It has remained, however, for Professor J. Cutler Andrews to furnish a thorough and scholarly treatment of Civil War journalism. His

first effort at this was his *The North Reports the Civil War*, which appeared in 1955. Now he has completed his exhaustive study of the Civil War "Fourth Estate" in a companion volume. Perhaps some measure of the rise in publishing costs can be gathered from the fact that his 1955 work of 759 pages was available for \$6.00 while his *The South Reports the Civil War* is priced at \$15.00!

The author notes that, quantitatively speaking, Confederate reporters came off second best with their northern counterparts, while in quality of performance they matched the level of the better correspondents in the North. Like much of that in the loyal states, "Confederate war correspondence at its worst was meretricious and prolix, making use of an inflated style . . . and indulging in empty bombast." In number there were more than a hundred reporters in the field at various times, the most talented of whom included Peter W. Alexander, Durant Da Ponte, James B. Sener, John R. Thompson, Felix G. de Fontaine, and George W. Bagby. Some, like Alexander, who signed his dispatches "P.A.W.," contributed to more than one journal. Others provided letters over such noms de plume as "Bohemia," "Toute-le-Monde," and "Dixie." Two of them reflected the influence of Walter Scott and appended "Waverly" and "Ivanhoe" to their contributions. The lady reporter whose dispatches to the *Charleston Courier* were signed "Joan" was but one of a number of her sex who wrote letters.

Someone once observed that "in war the first casualty is truth." Professor Andrews concludes that "objective reporting and truthfulness . . . were not common practice, although the editors . . . endorsed the principle of truthful reporting." Most viewed the passing scene through partisan eyes, enlarging upon "glorious victories" and enemy casualties while minimizing battlefield setbacks. The results were hardly salutary, for when editors and the public learned the truth they often "evinced hot resentment of the deceptive news reports that had been accepted at face value up to that time." Those who habitually downgraded the ability or morale of Yankee troops earned the scorn of the soldiers in the field. As the author elsewhere dryly observes, "Unfortunately the newspaper accounts of what happened do not square very well with official reports."

Notwithstanding E. Merton Culter's contention that freedom of the press existed in the Confederacy, Andrews cites the suppression of Parson Brownlow's *Knoxville Whig*. Others which escaped government ban changed their editorial policy or simply ceased publication. Editors might criticize political and military leaders, but none dared offend by doubting the sanctity of slavery or the southern cause. Certain generals engaged in running feuds with gentlemen of the press. At one time or another Joseph E. Johnston, Braxton Bragg, and Stonewall Jackson excluded correspondents from camp. Even Robert E. Lee privately voiced irritation with arm-chair strategists in editorial offices and at those reporters who persisted in revealing the strength and location of various army units.

Despite many wartime problems—rising costs of newsprint, breakdown of equipment, lack of able personnel, and deteriorating telegraph and postal facilities—many journals continued to appear until the end of the war. In their columns the historian can find valuable information as to the state of the South's homefront morale. This makes the book useful, despite a few factual errors. Andrews is not always clear as to his distinction between "reporters" and "special correspondents." He refers to "Haskell Cleaves" instead of Freeman Cleaves, and to "Henry Vizetelly" rather than Frank Vizetelly, the English reporter for the *Illustrated London News*.

Within its covers, this book furnishes materials needed for any complete story of the various campaigns. Along with its author's earlier work, it will probably remain the definitive study of Civil War newspaper reporting.

Gettysburg College

ROBERT L. BLOOM

Radicalism, Racism, and Party Realignment: The Border States during Reconstruction. Edited by RICHARD O. CURRY. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1969. xxvi, 331 p. Biographical essay, index. \$10.00.)

Unsuccessful in trying to mediate the political crisis of the 1850's, the border states in 1861 became a principal battleground of war. In addition to social and economic dislocation, they experienced profound political upheaval. This collection of essays analyzes political developments in the border states in an attempt to illuminate the process of national Reconstruction. The volume comprises studies by William E. Parrish on Missouri, Thomas B. Alexander on Tennessee, Richard O. Curry on West Virginia, Ross A. Webb on Kentucky, Charles L. Wagandt on Maryland, and Harold B. Hancock on Delaware. Included also are topical essays by Jacqueline Balk and Ari Hoogenboom on Liberal Republicanism, W. A. Low on the Freedmen's Bureau, and William Gillette on federal enforcement of suffrage rights, all of which focus on the border region generally.

In their painstaking accounts of state politics the essays certainly fulfill editor Richard O. Curry's modestly stated purpose of broadening the context of Reconstruction historiography. Although some of the chapters draw on previously published work, most of the material breaks new ground. In a general sense, contrary to what the editor seems to suggest in his introduction, the book illuminates not so much Radicalism and its triumph in 1865-1867, but the waning of Republican zeal in the 1870's in the face of growing conservative strength.

A prominent theme in these essays is Negro suffrage—the reasons it was introduced and its political impact. There is general agreement that in the border states Negro voting was supported more for political than for democratic ideological reasons. Negro suffrage, moreover, was politically significant, leading, for example, to the establishment of a two-party system in

Maryland. Happily, principle and expediency converged in this matter, but expediency was the more compelling force. Another theme is the emergence of issues other than loyalty and race in border state politics. Economic development, transportation, and educational reform became important concerns in Missouri and Kentucky, though not elsewhere. Thus, in West Virginia loyalty versus disloyalty was the central political question, a circumstance that Richard Curry relates to the "negative liberalism" that continued from Jacksonian days. Others beside Curry advert to the persistence of Whig and Jacksonian identifications and policy preferences, but it remains more a suggestion than an informing principle of the book.

The essay of broadest significance—and the most satisfying for its effective interweaving of national and local developments—is Gillette's on the suffrage. He shows that the implementation of the enforcement acts of 1870–1872 from the outset was much less effective in protecting Negro voting than has been thought. Federal enforcement of the right to vote, he observes critically, was so weak and decentralized as to amount almost to an abdication of responsibility. Yet, with some inconsistency I think, he shifts his ground and concludes finally that the enforcement acts were constitutionally and politically ill-conceived. They ignored the reality of the immediate past, he writes, referring to the distinctly moderate constitutional character of the fifteenth amendment as well as the profound popular resistance to racial equality. Gillette's thesis is that as the undoing of Reconstruction proceeded, Radicals tried with ever greater intensity to maintain political control. It is well to remember, however, that while the enforcement acts were relatively more radical in the political atmosphere of the 1870's, they embodied a fundamental principle widely shared among Republicans in the 1860's, namely, that the Federal Government had the power and responsibility to protect civil rights, including suffrage, against invasions by states or private persons. Gillette holds that where power ends, responsibility ends (p. 300), as though power determined responsibility. To analyze this proposition further would be to engage in political philosophy, not historical criticism. It is enough to add that many Republicans during the Reconstruction era rejected what Gillette accepts as axiomatic.

University of Maryland

HERMAN BELZ

Currier & Ives Prints: An Illustrated Check List. By FREDERIC A. CONNINGHAM. Updated by COLIN SIMKIN. (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1970. xx, 300 p. Illustrations. \$12.50.)

The new and revised edition of *Currier & Ives Prints: An Illustrated Check List*, originally published by Frederic A. Conningham, and updated

by Colin Simkin, is the most complete catalog of Currier & Ives prints ever published. There are over two hundred additions to the previous known list. In addition, prices have been updated to reflect the current market and auction values. There are a fair number of illustrations, as well as complete descriptions, titles, sizes, dates of publication, and the present-day value of each print. This book is certainly a valuable guide, not only to collectors, but to dealers, museums, and anyone else having an interest in Currier & Ives prints.

The span of Currier & Ives publications runs roughly from 1840 to 1890, and parallels closely the great expansion of this country toward the West. These prints not only reflect this westward movement with wonderful delineations of railroads and clipper ships, but they also record the rural home life of America at that time. Furthermore, anything of public interest, such as disasters, political campaigns, or other noteworthy events, were depicted by Currier & Ives prints. As a continuous historical record they are unsurpassed.

In some of their advertising posters Currier & Ives describe themselves as print makers to the American people. Surely no better term could have been used to describe their publications.

The total output of the Currier & Ives prints numbered some 7,000 individual prints. Originally the small folio prints sold for 25c each, and the larger ones sold for \$2.00 and \$3.00 each. The prints were published in black and white and were then hand-colored by various artists and by employees. Currier & Ives certainly had the first assembly line set up for the mass coloring of the small folio prints.

I would recommend this fine revised book as a must to every collector or person interested in this period of American history or print making.

Kennedy Galleries, Inc., N. Y.

RUDOLF G. WUNDERLICH

A Short History of the Mail Service. By CARL H. SCHEELE. (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1970. 250 p. Illustrations, index. \$6.95.)

Mr. Scheele is Associate Curator in Charge, Division of Philately and Postal History, Smithsonian Institution. He has written an excellent summary of man's efforts to make available a means of written communication that eventually has embraced the entire world. The book is in three parts.

Part One, the first thirty-five pages, is a fact-laden thumbnail outline of the 4,500 years from the Sumerian civilization of Mesopotamia to the British Postal Reform Act of 1840 that was fathered by the inventor of the postage stamp, Rowland Hill. It was during the last thirty years of this long stretch of history that man had a faster means of travel than sails or

horses provided. During much of the time dependence was placed on fast runners to carry inscribed clay tablets, papyrus, waxed surfaces or parchment bearing official messages of rulers to subjects in outlying districts. Few ordinary citizens were permitted the use of early postal systems. They had to depend on friendly travelers to carry their messages. The first section is followed by a bibliography that will well satisfy readers with additional curiosity about the subject.

Part Two deals with British North American postal services until the Revolution. It is ten pages of fascinating detail covering the efforts of government from 1639 to 1770 to improve the carrying of the mail. The earliest colonists had little need or desire to facilitate communication between the several colonies. Almost all business and transport was with the motherland. Ship captains at sea and coffee houses ashore combined to make a hit-or-miss service mostly used by merchants. The appointment of Andrew Hamilton of New Jersey as Deputy Postmaster of America in 1692 was the beginning of expanded service. Rates were high, letters few, roads were mere trails and weeks were required for transport. There are four pages of bibliography following this section.

Part Three takes up in greater detail the services of the posts during the Revolution, and under the Federal Government from 1775 to 1970. It is an interesting fact that in 1790, the first full year of Post Office operation under the Constitution, total revenues were \$37,935 and expenses \$32,140.

The period of private express services that extended from 1839 to 1863 is outlined. During part of that time there were companies in several cities that carried and delivered more mail than did the government.

The postal reforms of England were imitated in the United States within a few years of Rowland Hill's accomplishments, and from 1845 to 1863 rates were unified and lowered. Simultaneously, service was vastly expanded, particularly in cities, including delivery of mail to businesses and homes instead of the previously accepted practice of calling at the post office.

Registry of valuable mail commenced in 1855. Various express mail services were tried, beginning with military dispatches during the War of 1812. Stagecoaches and horseback riders were phased out as steamboats and railroads increased. The short-lived Pony Express riders of the western territories succumbed to the telegraph and the transcontinental railroad. Such services as domestic money orders started in 1864, followed by postal cards in 1873, special delivery in 1885, rural free delivery in 1896, village delivery in 1912, parcel post in 1913 and air mail in 1918.

There is considerable space given to the technical developments in collecting, cancelling, sorting, transporting and delivery. The use of ever more complicated equipment is necessary to handle the more than 200 million pieces of mail that each day are deposited with our post office facilities.

Part Three, 125 pages in length, will provide for all but the advanced student a well-rounded history of our Post Office. For those who seek additional information the notes and references on pages 189-229 are most complete. The index, pages 230-250, is well arranged and facilitates finding any desired special information.

Mr. Scheele has condensed into a small book the vast and important story of man's efforts to communicate by the written word. The details are accurate, with only a minimum of proofreader's errors.

Philadelphia

EARL P. L. APFELBAUM

The New York Police, Colonial Times to 1901. By JAMES F. RICHARDSON. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970. xii, 332 p. Note on sources, index. \$8.50.)

This is a significant addition to the slender but growing historical literature on the police. The New York City Police Department, after all, if not "The Finest" is certainly the most important in the United States. And James Richardson, following patterns set by earlier studies, has written an institutional history which is also a contribution to the social and political history of the metropolis.

The story is necessarily as complicated as the functions of the cops themselves. The most flexible of public servants in the fast-growing metropolis, the men were charged with duties which involved them in a wide range of municipal functions. The force was at the same time both a means to power and a political prize.

It is difficult to make a smooth narrative of so many strands, and this account has its flaws; it is sometimes awkward and occasionally contradictory. One critical issue in police history, for example, involves the state of public order in the decades just proceeding the reorganizations of the 1830's and 1840's. And Richardson here gives us both possibilities; we are assured, within the space of thirteen pages, both that personal violence was extremely rare and that one notorious establishment "was supposed to have averaged a murder a night for fifteen years" (pp. 14, 27).

On the whole, however, Professor Richardson develops his major themes carefully and certainly straightforwardly. He has not, in any direct fashion, used much of the burgeoning social science literature on the police which has appeared over the past few years. As his brief bibliographical note suggests, this is an account drawn largely from local and contemporary sources. If the concerns are traditional, the research is detailed, and the results convincing.

On any basis, Professor Richardson's basic conclusion is unanswerable: "New York was not a well-policed city in the nineteenth century." The

well-disciplined, unarmed London force, controlled by a paternal parliament, far above the petty politics of the metropolis, was for reformers the very model of a modern police department. But the heterogeneity of the New York population, with its ethnic tensions, its clash of standards and moralities, made such an ideal unrealizable. And no other was really developed. The role of police, product of a series of unstable political and administrative compromises, was never clearly defined and often left to the department itself. The result fully satisfied no one. And the problem was continued.

Haverford College

ROGER LANE

Four Generations: Population, Land, and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts. By PHILIP J. GREVEN, JR. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970. xvi, 329 p. Appendix, bibliography, index. \$12.50.)

Philip J. Greven, Jr.'s, *Four Generations: Population, Land, and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts* is an exciting and impressive book. It is indeed, as the blurb on the jacket insists, a "groundbreaking" study of the colonial American family. It sent this reviewer back to rereading Keats's "On First Looking into Chapman's Homer," with the business about "some watcher of the skies when a new planet swims into his ken" and "stout Cortez" staring at the Pacific "with a wild surmise—silent, upon a peak in Darien." The Keats analogy is undoubtedly too flowery and too intense to convey the impression that this book has on a reader, though the same sense of discovery is present. A scientific metaphor would be more appropriate. It is as if Mr. Greven had developed a new sociological microscope that enabled the user to examine common, everyday material and to gain fresh insights and new dimensions from familiar objects.

As Mr. Greven points out, there is almost no literary evidence available for the study of American families in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. What exists in the way of diaries, correspondence, and business documents seldom reveals much about family relationships or attitudes. The author has been obliged, therefore, to turn his attention to the material that does exist—vital statistics on births, marriages, and deaths; deeds recording the transfer of land; wills and probate court records; and similar documents, all hitherto unused for the purposes of a study like this. With painstaking care, Mr. Greven collected and organized these disparate data until finally he was in a position to make some very significant generalizations about colonial families in Andover.

The book's main thesis is that, primarily because of the relatively large land holdings of the original settlers, it was possible for the first inhabitants of Andover to develop "patriarchal" family units in the town. The evidence for this statement comes from the relatively late marriages of the second-

generation children (60% of the males did not marry until they were twenty-five or over); the tenacity with which the first-generation fathers kept title to their lands, long after their sons were adult; and the eventual division of original holdings among sons in such a way as to preserve the "patriarchal" family unit. This type of family organization was characteristic of Andover in the seventeenth century and continued on into the eighteenth; it reflected an attempt on the part of the first settlers in Andover to recreate in the New World the social patterns of rural England, though Mr. Greven points out that previous assumptions about the stability and cohesiveness of English family life must be significantly qualified in the light of recent research. The population explosion of the late seventeenth century and other developments began to put pressure on the "patriarchal" organization, however, and though it continued in some Andover families through the town's first four generations, in others third- and fourth-generation sons were obliged to take up trades or to emigrate. As a result, by the end of the colonial period, the patterns of family life in Andover had undergone important changes: some families were now "nuclear," consisting only of parents and children; in others, only one or two sons could be settled on the "patriarchal" holdings; and diversity of family structure had replaced the previous relative uniformity.

Mr. Greven is careful to emphasize that he is presenting the case history of only one Massachusetts town and that much more work needs to be done on other towns before his thesis can be firmly established. He points out that historians of colonial Massachusetts have tended to concentrate on atypical Boston and to ignore the rural communities. Yet the author's work is so carefully documented that it is hard to believe that further studies in this area will not simply reinforce his conclusions. In a final chapter he throws out two very challenging suggestions about the important relationship that family structure may well have had to religious and political attitudes. In the case of religion, he suggests that the decline of the "patriarchal" family unit, with an accompanying decline in respect for traditional authority generally, may well have made some Massachusetts citizens more ready to accept such movements as the Great Awakening. In like manner, he suggests that the same decline in respect for "patriarchal" authority may have helped to prepare the minds of many Massachusetts citizens for the idea of independence from England. Mr. Greven does no more than hint at these two possible areas for future study, but, to this reviewer at least, the suggestions were fascinating ones.

It is hard to find anything much wrong with this book. One whose last contact with "cohorts" came while he was sweating through Caesar in secondary school might welcome an explanation of the use of the word in Chapter 7—"birth cohorts," "cohort members," and the like. But this is certainly a very minor failing. What concerns this reviewer much more is the future of studies of this kind. To one who has never worked in this field it looks as if a large amount of what appears to be drudgery must be gone

through before any significant conclusions can be drawn. To put it another way, a great deal of gravel has to be panned to obtain a few nuggets of ore. To be sure, the nuggets are fine and pure. Mr. Greven, at the close of his book, quite rightfully calls attention to the vast amount of work to be done in this field if we are to understand not only American families of the past but present-day American families as well. One hopes that there will be enough scholars willing to accept the rigorous demands of studies of this nature so that a whole new area of American life, past and present, can be illuminated.

*Phillips Academy
Andover, Mass.*

FREDERICK S. ALLIS, JR.

Announcement

"The Middle Colonies" will be the theme of a conference to be held at the Hotel Robert Treat, Newark, N.J., Friday and Saturday, October 30-31, 1970. The New Jersey Historical Society and the Institute of Early American History and Culture are co-sponsoring the meeting commemorating the 125th anniversary of the Society.

Professor Stanley N. Katz of the University of Wisconsin will read a paper on "Controversies Over Chancery Courts and Equity Law in the Middle Colonies." Professor Jack P. Greene of The Johns Hopkins University will comment. The second panel will feature a paper by Professor Van Beck Hall of the University of Pittsburgh dealing with "The Sources, Relevance and Usage of Quantitative Data for the Middle Colonies." Professor Jackson T. Main of the State University of New York at Stony Brook will comment. Extended discussion will follow both panels. Professor Richard P. McCormick of Rutgers University, a past president of the New Jersey Historical Society, will deliver the keynote address, speaking on "The Historian's New Jersey."

Participation in the conference will be limited. Those interested in obtaining information about accommodations, travel facilities and registration may write to Carl E. Prince, conference chairman, c/o the New Jersey Historical Society, 230 Broadway, Newark, N.J. 07104.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA

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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, \$15.00; associate, \$25.00; patron, \$100.00; life, \$300.00; 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 normally closed from the first Monday in August until the second Monday in September.

