BOOK REVIEWS


In 1878, Henry Stevens of Vermont published a little book entitled Photo-Bibliography. Stevens was the well-known London bookseller who found the manuscripts of Benjamin Franklin being used for patterns in a tailor's shop and who dealt with many books from Franklin's press. He sold to famous collectors and great libraries some of the very copies of the most scarce books recorded in this bibliography. Stevens dedicated his essay to the future librarian whose bibliographical work would be as "Exact and Uniform as his Spelling." Although Stevens' proposal called for a union catalogue of all books printed in the English language, he also recommended a uniform bibliographical system to record those books. He suggested the use of photographic facsimiles in reduced size of title pages, the facsimiles to be accompanied by precise collations of gatherings and foliation, as well as the establishment of correct identification of authors. Mr. Miller's bibliography of Benjamin Franklin's printed work would have gladdened the heart of Henry Stevens.

So too, will it gladden the hearts of the innumerable students of Franklin's career, of American printing, and historians of American culture. Not in vain have they waited these many years while Mr. Miller, a professor of English at Temple University, patiently sought out in every conceivable manner and place examples of the product of Benjamin Franklin's press. Mr. Miller has not disappointed us!

The book begins with a concise narration of the well-known story of Franklin's printing career. Appended to it are three essays which identify printing types used early in Franklin's career, and their resources, the origins of his supplies of paper, and his dealings with bookbinders. One wishes that Mr. Miller had provided a similar essay on Franklin's dealings with the booksellers. Even so, these investigations into Franklin's actual practices are extremely useful because so little accurate information has been published on these matters, problems which are crucial to a full understanding of the American printing trade in the eighteenth century. The displays of types, typographic ornaments, and binders' decorations which are appended to the volume are very helpful documents for the study of American printing of the period.
This reader regrets that the scope of Mr. Miller's work did not include a discussion of Franklin as innovator of printing and publishing practices by which he established interlocking partnerships which covered much of English-speaking America dealing in printing, papermaking, and book-selling. The introduction of such a system surely played a large part of Franklin's financial success and set a pattern for future publishers, such as Isaiah Thomas. An analysis of Franklin's extant financial records would also have been of interest in establishing the extent of Franklin's business interests and sources of income as well as his costs, about which little enough is known of any American printer. But, these matters as well as others, such as classification of the output of Franklin's press and Franklin's relations with his colleagues and competitors can await another scholar whose way has been made plain by Mr. Miller's definitive work.

Ample explanation of the compiler's bibliographical methods and annotation introduce the bibliography, which is a marvel of precision, data, and detail in identifying 455 imprints issued by Franklin before he entered into partnership with David Hall on January 20, 1748. Beyond that number, 401 other printed items are displayed, representing the output of the printing office of Franklin and Hall from 1748 until January 21, 1766. The title page (or another appropriate page) of each located imprint of these 856 imprints is illustrated in reduced facsimile. Notes on contents, types, paper, size, bibliographical references, locations, and other pertinent data are included in each entry. Following the primary bibliography is a listing of job work, identified through entries in the account books of Franklin or of Franklin and Hall. There are 545 such entries in this portion of the work. Finally, Mr. Miller lists 86 imprints formerly attributed to Franklin's press in other bibliographies but which Mr. Miller has rejected in compiling his own. Miller's reasons, stated for each, are compelling. There are other useful attributes "too numerous to mention" of this great work, such as a concordance to Evans, Bristol, and to Shipton and Mooney's "Short Title Evans," as well as a full index.

In fine, this is the ultimate bibliography. It represents the logical, final bibliographical treatment which should be rendered in establishing the canon belonging to an individual printer, especially one of the stature of Mr. Miller's subject. It has been this reviewer's contention that there are of necessity several levels of bibliographical inquiry into the matter of imprints. Assuming that any work will be done as completely as humanly possible, the first level is national in scope. One can hardly expect the compiler, who must deal with thousands of entries, to get very far beyond secondary sources. (Charles Evans' chief glory was that he did get beyond secondary sources.) The next level is at that of state, or region (or large city) which, although it may encompass a thousand or more entries, must be much more detailed and precise in citation entailing more original investigation into primary research materials. Finally, one comes to the individual printer or locale with which the bibliographer is compelled to
investigate each piece with scientific thoroughness. This Mr. Miller has
done with the work of Benjamin Franklin.

One cannot close this review without favorably commenting upon the
handsome typography in which this book is clothed. The distinguished and
useful Society which published it, as well as the capable printers of the
Stinehour Press and Meriden Gravure Company who designed and printed
it, have successfully and pleasingly solved difficult, technical problems and
have produced a volume worthy of its subject. Typographical errors appear
to be nonexistent, although one may suspect Mr. Miller is "ribbing" the
reader with one location symbol in item 99.

Finally, William Miller is to be congratulated and thanked by scholars
of American culture for presenting to us a brilliantly executed bibliography
which definitively identifies a most important corpus of American printed
matter. New clues to the interplay of persons and politics, as well as
indications of cultural history lie here awaiting the historian possessed of
curiosity and imagination. A model for bibliographical inquiry is set before
those of us who now must be Mr. Miller's imitators and debtors.

American Antiquarian Society

M. A. McCORISON

Sugar and Slavery: An Economic History of the British West Indies, 1623-
1775. By Richard B. Sheridan. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins
$22.50.)

Professor Sheridan's book nicely counterbalances two other recent
studies of the British sugar colonies—Carl and Roberta Bridenbaugh's
No Peace Beyond the Line: the English in the Caribbean, 1624–1690, and
my own Sugar and Slaves: the Rise of the Planter Class in the English West
Indies, 1624–1713. There is a great deal of overlapping among these three
books, composed as they were almost simultaneously, but happily each
volume adds to the others, and Sheridan's perspective is distinctly different
from the other two. Whereas the Bridenbaughs and I focus on the seven-
teenth-century beginnings of the sugar plantation system, Sheridan spends
most of his time on the eighteenth century, when the planters reached
their greatest wealth and power. While the Bridenbaughs and I write
social history, drawing heavily upon economic data, Sheridan writes
economic history, drawing heavily upon social data. And while the Briden-
baughs and I argue for social tragedy—the planters' brutal exploitation
of white servants and black slaves, their inability to cope with a strange
tropical environment, their spoliation of natural resources, their stunted
family life, and the failure of English cultural institutions in the Caribbean
—Sheridan stresses the positive business achievements of the sugar
planters. "It is the contention of this study," he writes, "that, however
inhumane, the sugar industry made a notable contribution to the wealth and maritime supremacy of Great Britain” (p. xii).

Sheridan has been studying the British Caribbean sugar industry for many years, starting with his doctoral dissertation of 1951. Drawing upon extensive and variegated sources in the British and island archives, he has published a valuable series of articles on the sugar and slave trades, and case histories of eighteenth-century planters in Antigua and Jamaica. The present book thus summarizes and distills a quarter century of work. It is a long book, leisurely in pace, and intricate in composition. The author’s interest over time has shifted from the history of the sugar trade to the history of the sugar plantations, so he pursues both themes in this book, viewing the islands about half the time from the commercial perspective of the mother country, and the rest of the time focusing on their internal economic development. Throughout, he fruitfully blends the previously published findings of scholars such as Frank Pitman, Richard Pares, K. G. Davies and J. Harry Bennett with his own evidence about the economic and social life of the sugar planters and their slaves. Among the particularly interesting passages are his analysis of the settlement pattern in early eighteenth-century St. Kitts after the French were driven out; the Montserrat census of 1729; the plantation records of Dr. Walter Tullideph and Samuel Martin in mid-eighteenth-century Antigua; the slave force on William Beckford’s Jamaica plantation; and the business records of Messrs. Lascelles and Maxwell, London sugar commission agents.

In essence, Sheridan is trying to rescue the sugar planters from historians (such as this reviewer) who have dwelt on the decadent, wasteful aspects of Caribbean planter life. Not that he undertakes to defend slavery, of course, but he does argue that the slave system was highly profitable to the planters and traders in a business sense. Sheridan makes a generally strong case for the profitability and economic value of the sugar colonies, though the data he has to work with in calculating the wealth of the islands is far from satisfactory. He properly stresses the dynamic expansion of English sugar production in the eighteenth century, particularly during the years 1750–1775, though it remains true that the English planters failed to keep pace with their French rivals, or with the commercial needs of North American merchants. Sheridan demonstrates that many of the planters were merchants, traders, or factors in origin, and he finds more Nonconformists, Scots, and Jews in the islands than spendthrift Cavaliers. He plays down the planters’ tendency to curtail production in order to rig sugar prices on a protected home market, and he is ambiguous about the effect of widespread absenteeism among the eighteenth-century planters. Probably he exaggerates the planters’ business efficiency and cost-saving innovations, for their experiments in reducing slave mortality only began after 1750 when the cost of purchasing new slaves became prohibitively high, and their business policies certainly had something to do with the spectacular economic, political, and social collapse in the
islands shortly after 1775, when this book ends. Thus there is room to argue with Sheridan's views, but we know a great deal more about sugar and slavery thanks to this impressive book.

*University of Pennsylvania*  
**Richard S. Dunn**

**This Sheba, Self: The Conceptualization of Economic Life in Eighteenth-Century America.** By J. E. Crowley. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974. xi, 161 p. Index. $8.50.)

Recent work on the intellectual milieu in which the colonists functioned seems to suggest that constitutional questions and Whig principles were the only important ideas in circulation. J. E. Crowley's book, which directs our attention to early American thought and writing on economic matters, provides a healthy corrective. Much of the book is devoted to an examination of beliefs about two related areas: work, and the relationship of economic men to one another. About the 1730s, Crowley argues, the justification of work changed from a religious one, the idea of a "calling," to a secular one. An emphasis on industry and frugality replaced the earlier appeal to a providential order. Crowley's treatment of the way in which men viewed the social fabric is equally enlightening. Throughout the colonial period a belief in social harmony and in the need to subordinate the individual to the collective characterized the outlook of Americans. From this vantage the colonists absorbed and modified the teachings of English mercantilists. Americans sought a favorable balance of trade and viewed foreign commerce as a blessing, but they also were concerned that man's acquisitive nature be carefully directed for the good of all. Only after the Revolution did a new strain emerge in the American view of society: an individual could justly pursue his self-interest without regard for the collective. Crowley illustrates these two topics with a wide-ranging discussion of colonial intellectual activity, and also with a focus on specific episodes: the founding of Georgia, the Great Awakening, the nonimportation agreements of the 1760s, and the struggle over the Bank of North America in 1785-1786.

This brief book tackles a large, almost awesome topic, and its shortcomings are perhaps a testimony to the difficulties inherent in the project. The book lacks a causal argument; we read about changes without understanding why they occurred. Ideas evolve, at differing paces, in a self-contained world. At times we are told that thinking on an issue—as the idea of a "calling"—changed within the span of a decade, in other cases the discussion is remarkably atemporal. An examination of the colonists' views of "charity," for example, mixes indiscriminately quotes drawn from a lengthy period, 1711 to 1762 (p. 107). The picture which Crowley sketches is distorted, to some extent, by the nature of his source material. He relies
chiefly on sermons (particularly of New England divines), pamphlets, and newspapers. Personal letters would have provided a different slant on several issues. For example, a reading of merchant letter books would suggest that traders undertook nonimportation not for reasons of social virtue, but for highly "selfish" motives: to raise the price of goods in their glutted inventories. Further, Crowley ignores sectional and cultural divisions; he overlooks the possibility of different attitudes toward work in the slaveholding and nonslaveholding colonies. The reader is subjected to bouts of jargon and anachronistic terminology. We are told, for example, that "the colonists themselves were intensely concerned with matters like job motivations and satisfaction, occupational rank and recruitment . . ."

Despite such problems, Crowley's essay makes a genuine contribution to our understanding of early America. It suggests, for one, that those dealing with the intellectual background of the Revolution will have to learn a new vocabulary several removes from the question of "liberties" and "rights." The colonists were active proponents and defenders of their own variant of mercantilism and responded to British measures from this perspective. Broadly viewed, this essay provides a means of better understanding the interaction between interest and ideas in the eighteenth century.

**York University**

**Marc Egnal**

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In the pre-Bicentennial years almost as much ink is being spilled on the American Revolution as blood was spilled during it. It is difficult, therefore, to write with originality and new facts of the critical years during which the Continental Congress moved toward independence. Mr. Neuenschwander takes the well-known history of that time and focuses on the Middle Colonies to maintain his thesis that they formed a cohesive conservative bloc in the same fashion that New England and Virginia worked together as a radical bloc.

There is no doubt, as the late Dr. Richard Shryock stated—the starting point of Mr. Neuenschwander's book—that New England and Virginia writers took over American historiography to the virtual elimination of the role of the Middle Colonies. Since the radical view—independence—prevailed, it is understandable that the opposers and delayers have gotten short shrift in the corpus of patriotic history. Yet, the thrust of the author's thesis that the opposers and delayers formed a recognizable Middle Colony
unity within the Congress or a network of influence without it is somewhat tenuous.

That John Jay of New York and John Dickinson of Pennsylvania held similar views concerning the desirability of reconciliation is certainly true. That in essence they represented the official, as opposed to the latent popular, attitudes of their colonies cannot be denied. New Jersey, economically dominated by its two larger neighbors, played follow the leader. The Counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex on Delaware, not yet simply Delaware, vacillated as one or another of the delegates was absent. But the nexus of personal relationships away from the sessions of Congress and well-organized rump meetings during the sessions seem not to have existed.

With his emphasis on the role of the delegates and assemblies or provincial congresses of the Middle Colonies, Mr. Neuenschwander passes over the similar attitudes of some of the south-of-Virginia colonies. He fails, somehow, to make a convincing case for an organized caucus which sought a way out short of independence. There is substantial evidence to show that the New Englanders and Virginians were working as a political team. There is little evidence to indicate that a common front was planned by the New Yorkers and Pennsylvanians, much less that by proselytization Jerseyites and Delawareans were brought into such a front.

The sequence of events which the author chronicles leading to the gradual radicalization of the hesitant Middle Colonies is clearly delineated. So, too, is the losing fight of the moderates in Congress to delay what war made inevitable, but it was a bloc of moderate men rather than a geographical bloc which tried to slow down the radicals. On the other hand, there comes through clearly the actions of the New Englanders as a group and the very strong anti-Yankee feeling which existed to the south, particularly in New York. The Boston Port Bill cut off New England’s trade; British troops were quartered in Boston; the outbreak of open hostilities occurred in Massachusetts. The prosperous Middle Colonies could not feel the immediacy of the situation. One gets the feeling that the New Yorkers who did not assent to independence until after July 4, 1776, the Pennsylvanians who only assented by virtue of abstentions, the Jerseyites who followed the lead of the colony to the south of them and the Delawareans who once again were tied until the last minute, all were motivated by their own pressures and prejudices.

Mr. Neuenschwander’s account of the reactions of the official bodies and committees of the Middle Colonies to the actions of Congress emphasizes the control which they maintained over their delegates. He has ably presented the official step-by-step movement from the Association to independence on the local level. A minor error: Plain Truth and Additions to Common Sense, once attributed to Provost William Smith, have been shown by Thomas R. Adams to have been the work of James Chalmers.

The Library Company of Philadelphia

EDWIN WOLF 2ND

The year 1771 was a quiet one for Franklin. The quarrel between Britain and the colonies had been soothed by the repeal of most of the Townshend Duties and by Parliament's preoccupation with a controversy with the city of London over the publication of its proceedings. Franklin's relations with the American Secretary, Hillsborough, were, it is true, ruptured during a heated interview in January over the status of the colonial agents, but during the remainder of the year the British government did nothing to ruffle the Doctor's sensitivities. Franklin corresponded at length with the Massachusetts House of Representatives about its chronic difficulties with the imperial authorities, but the issues discussed were not of the magnitude of those of the preceding years.

The Doctor's interest in electricity never flagged and this volume shows that he continued to be consulted as an elder scientific statesman by hosts of Englishmen and Americans. The lull in the imperial quarrel gave him an opportunity to indulge his taste for travel in a manner which had been impossible since his first mission to Britain (1757-62). He toured Ireland, Scotland, the English Midlands, and spent almost a month with the Shipleys at Twyford, where he began his Autobiography.

Family affairs were prominent in 1771. Franklin met his son-in-law, Richard Bache, for the first time, supervised his Williams grandnephews as they visited London, and chided his wife for overspending her allowance. His adopted family, the Stevensons, was blessed with a son born to Polly Stevenson Hewson, an event which vastly pleased Franklin.

Taken as a whole, the year was one of the most uneventful since Franklin entered the Pennsylvania Assembly twenty years earlier. The correspondence makes such a slim, expensive volume that one presumes the editors were tempted to violate their custom of issuing one volume per year in order to combine it with part of the 1772 papers.

The editing is of a high quality. The editors have attempted to blunt recent criticism of their uneven treatment of scientific matters by obtaining the advice of I. Bernard Cohen on scientific annotations, a welcome step indeed. On political events the editors excel as usual. The treatment of Franklin's relations with Massachusetts is especially thorough and informative.

Library of Congress

James H. Hutson

Maryland and the Empire, 1773: The Antillon-First Citizen Letters. Edited by Peter S. Onuf. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974. xii, 236 p. Index. $10.00.)
The letters between Daniel Dulany and Charles Carroll of Carrollton published in the Maryland Gazette have been written about many times. The usual emphasis has been on provincial politics or the Dulany-Carroll family feud. Both are important aspects. Professor Onuf has given a new perspective, however, which makes previous commentaries on the newspaper debate appear cursory.

Dr. Onuf sees two "basic and misleading simplifications" concerning the Revolution. Stressing sovereignty has distorted the development of American constitutional theory. Viewing the Revolution as a national movement has slighted the significance of intracolonial events. Neither is a new criticism, but the consideration of the Dulany-Carroll letters highlights the validity of continuing such criticisms.

The stimulus for the debate between "First Citizen" (Dulany) and "Antilon" (Carroll) was Governor Robert Eden's proclamation on officers' fees. Fees were an irritant between the two legislative branches for most of the eighteenth century. The lower house believed the salaries of the proprietary officials excessive. Carroll thought the proclamation a threat to constitutional rights; Dulany thought it entirely legal.

The debate, according to Onuf, hinged around three issues: history; precedents; and the concept of the constitution. Their views reflected the country and court philosophies. For Carroll the constitution was still developing; for Dulany it was a constant. Carroll did not see the Glorious Revolution as a guaranty for English liberties. For Dulany, however, it made the right of resistance to established authority anachronistic. In the same manner Carroll distinguished usage and precedents. The constitution was old and new mixed; old fees could still be valid, but new fees, because of constitutional evolution, had to be considered as taxes. Dulany perceived no constitution separable from law and identified the legal system with the political system. Carroll contended that legality determined in the courts did not necessarily mean constitutionality. And so the differences continue. As Onuf expresses it, the debates reveal "two diametrically opposed and ultimately irreconcilable ideas of the constitution." The two politicians, in another light, ably described the problems of relating the concepts of parliamentary supremacy and local autonomy.

Examined thusly it is difficult to confine the debate within the borders of Maryland. Although no conclusion was reached in 1773, the Revolution decided in favor of Carroll. Yet the debate cannot be isolated from Maryland politics or even the family feud. If any criticism be made this is it; one must refer to other studies of Revolutionary Maryland for the full story. But Maryland and the Empire is a credit to Professor Onuf. The letters are nicely edited. More importantly historians will never look at this phase of Maryland history without noting its national significance.

Maryland Historical Society

Richard J. Cox

As the first anniversary of the Declaration of Independence approached, the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania prepared to celebrate in a fine spirit of pugnacity and exuberance. At noon on July 4, 1777, thirteen row galleys, twelve warships, and a miscellany of transport vessels ranged themselves along the Philadelphia waterfront. At one o'clock, with sailors clinging to the rigging and all flags flying, the ships fired off a series of thirteen salutes, one for each of the thirteen rebellious colonies. Some one hundred and sixty-nine guns echoed across the city. It was the Pennsylvania Navy accompanied by a few ships under the direct control of Congress.

Eleven of the thirteen colonies organized a state navy, but it was the Pennsylvania Navy that distinguished itself in battle and deserves a book by John W. Jackson to herald its services.

Fearing for the safety of Philadelphia and the Continental Congress, Pennsylvania, in June of 1775, authorized a defense of the Delaware River by forts, underwater obstructions, and armed vessels. Accordingly, a fleet was built or purchased consisting of the flagship Montgomery, a frigate carrying fourteen eighteen-pounders, the schooner Delaware, the brig Convention, thirteen row galleys, two floating batteries, numerous fire ships and fire rafts, and twenty-one small craft known as guard boats. In support of the state navy were several ships under Continental command.

When, on September 26, 1777, the British occupied Philadelphia, General Sir William Howe faced the absolute necessity of clearing the Delaware River so that his army could be supplied by water. Promptly, General Howe seized the fort at Billingsport, New Jersey, while Admiral Lord Richard Howe began the operation of removing a line of underwater obstructions which crossed the river near the fort. In the days that followed, Fort Mercer at Red Bank, New Jersey, gallantly repulsed a determined Hessian attack, two British warships ran aground and were destroyed, and Fort Mifflin on Mud Island just below the mouth of the Schuylkill River was completely demolished by cannon fire in one of the most heroic defenses of the American Revolution.

Under the command of Commodore John Hazelwood the Pennsylvania Navy, hopelessly outclassed by the British fleet, did what it could and all but one of the thirteen row galleys were badly damaged. On November 20, the row galleys passed up the river to Bristol but, the wind failing, all sailing vessels were set on fire and abandoned. Thereafter, British ships from New York could supply the British army.

After the British evacuated Philadelphia in June of 1778, there was
little for the Pennsylvania Navy to do and by 1780 only twenty-one officers and men remained on duty. In 1781 this force was reduced to one captain and three invalided seamen. By the end of the year even these were discharged. The Pennsylvania Navy was then represented only by the unfortunate prisoners held in the foul British prison ships anchored in New York harbor.

Certainly, the Pennsylvania Navy had earned a place in history, but recognition has been long in coming. We now have it in this book by John Jackson. In meticulous detail Jackson describes this navy, its rise and fall and dissolution. What exhaustive research can do Mr. Jackson has done.

The few errors that appear do not detract from the value of the work. The name of Joseph Priestley is misspelled in both text and index. In 1779, Joseph Galloway, the Philadelphia Tory, condemned General Howe for invading Pennsylvania by way of the Chesapeake Bay and not forcing his way up the Delaware River against defenses which, said Galloway, were negligible in August. That Galloway did not inform Howe of the state of the Delaware defenses at the time, Jackson cites as an example of the poor communications between Tories and British commanders. But in 1777 Galloway knew no more than Howe of those defenses, for he had been living in New York and was now traveling with Howe on board a ship of the British fleet.

And Jackson repeats an ancient misquotation when he quotes John Adams as saying that Americans were divided into equal thirds of Patriots, Tories, and neutrals. This appears to be a misreading of a letter Adams wrote to James Lloyd in 1815 discussing the attitude of the American people in 1797 to the French Revolution. The error occurs as early as Sidney George Fisher's *True History of the American Revolution* of 1902 and has been copied frequently ever since.

None of this diminishes the value of a carefully documented history of Pennsylvania's gallant navy.

*Philadelphia*  
Edward S. Gifford, Jr.

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Whenever the celebration of the Bicentennial focuses attention on the Declaration of Independence, it is also certain to create interest in the movement for the Constitution and the actual writing of the document. James Madison, who is acclaimed the Father of the Constitutional Convention, is undoubtedly the least well known of the six Founding Fathers, the subject of this series. Madison's personality did not win him public
acclaim. Short, pale, and often in poor health, he was not one to become a popular hero. But Merrill D. Peterson, by his judicious selection from Madison's extensive letters and papers, has portrayed him as a "towering theorist, incisive writer, and dedicated public servant," who played a major role in seeing the Revolutionary philosophy and idealism brought to fruition and permanency.

Although Madison's youth and early career, unlike Franklin's or Washington's, is frequently ignored, Professor Peterson had closed this lacuna by devoting almost one-fourth of the volume to the period prior to the Constitutional Convention. Young Madison, born in 1751, spent his youth on his father's estate in Orange County, Virginia. He was enrolled in a private school, briefly tutored by a local minister, and then attended the College of New Jersey, where he was graduated in 1771 after only two years residence. He served briefly on the Orange County Committee of Safety, in the Virginia Convention of 1775, and in the Council of State in 1778. By the time he was elected to the Continental Congress late in 1779 at the age of twenty-nine, his political acumen, patriotic enthusiasm, and concern for his personal liberty invariably led him to support the nationalistic side of issues. After three years of service, Madison returned to Virginia late in 1784 and was soon elected to the House of Deputies, working tirelessly to reform the Virginia state constitution in such controversies as the one over religious "assessment." Meanwhile, he used the three-year interim, until his return to Congress in 1787, to read widely and to familiarize himself with the history and theory of ancient and modern governments. His purpose was to ascertain a solution for the American governmental weakness, and by the time the Convention assembled he had become a convert to a government of "national supremacy." Peterson characterizes Madison as a "man often portrayed as mild, timid, and the soul of prudence, [who] struck out for Independence Hall with boldness in his eyes and a prescription for radical reform in his pocket" (p. 110).

Madison's role in the Constitution Convention and his literary contributions to The Federalist are amply covered by the editor in one chapter, although this reviewer was surprised that Number 39 was selected for inclusion instead of the more widely-quoted Number 10. A single chapter describes each of the five significant periods in Madison's career after the Convention until his retirement from public life in 1817. The chapters describe Madison's role in the First Congress, his involvement in anti-Federalist activities during Adams' administration, as Jefferson's Secretary of State, his difficult first administration, and as a wartime president. The final chapter is composed of diverse documents from the remaining two decades of his life, ranging in interest from a personal letter to his nephew, to one on the abolition of slavery.

For those readers who have read previously published volumes in the series, the present editor has followed the original format exactly. There
is an introduction by Robert A. Rutland, editor of *The Papers of James Madison*, as well as a chronology of Madison and his times. Almost every page has an illustration of some type—period woodcuts and engravings, contemporary cartoons, portraits, sketches, and pages from historic documents and old books. There are some 390 reproductions in all. Each of Madison's writings is succinctly introduced. The 416-page book is beautifully illustrated with two sixteen-page picture portfolios in full color—"Man from Montpelier" and "Mr. Madison's War." *James Madison* continues the high scholastic merits and fine artistic attributes of the earlier volumes.

*Emporia Kansas State College*  
*John J. Zimmerman*

*Pitt the Younger.* By Derek Jarrett. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1974. 224 p. Illustrations, bibliography, genealogical tree, index. $10.00.)

This volume, one of a series on British prime ministers edited by A. J. P. Taylor, sketches candidly and judiciously the life and work, 1759-1806, of the Earl of Chatham's son William. Admirably illustrated with over one hundred reproductions of portraits, landscapes, battle scenes, prints of houses and streets, satirical cartoons and caricatures, the book would be worth the price if only for the brilliant visual guide afforded to the period covered. The age of such men as Joshua Reynolds, J. M. W. Turner, and Thomas Rowlandson was unusually rich in artistic talent of all kinds. Anda Nelki deserves a special tribute for the research involved in discovering the varied and appropriate treasures utilized. The pictorial material adds a welcome dimension to the text, and is important enough surely to merit separate listing with some more details about artists and sources than that brief indication of provenance given in the "Acknowledgments."

Pitt the Younger was the fourth child and second son born to Chatham and Lady Hester Grenville. From his mother he inherited not only the tip-tilted nose, made so familiar in print and portrait, but considerable acumen in matters of public business. From his father he derived an unfortunate inability to manage his personal finances, an early and abiding passion for politics, sedulously cultivated by the aging statesman, and an aura of power surrounding his name which served him throughout his career. The boy, a favorite child, was noticeably precocious and delicate. Private tutoring and family directions spared him the rigors of public schooling. In 1773 William went up to Cambridge and Pembroke College, remaining there, save for absences made necessary by his father's death in 1778, and recurrent ill-health, until 1780, when he entered Lincoln's Inn to study law. Not surprisingly, he ran for Parliament at the end of that year, was rejected by his University, but was returned through the in-
fluence of powerful friends for Appleby in Westmoreland, and took his seat in January, 1781. A phenomenal rise from private member to cabinet officer in less than a year, and to the post of First Lord of the Treasury twelve months later, was also signaled by election for Cambridge University in the contests of 1784, the connection then established continuing until Pitt's death.

As First Lord, Pitt dominated his cabinet as few before him, amply justifying the popular, but unofficial, title of prime minister. His achievements were many. Early in his term he brought about a settlement of East Indian affairs that was to last seventy years. Government finance was overhauled and put on a more businesslike basis. Revenue was increased, tariffs reduced and with them the profits of smugglers. In 1787 freer trade with the lost colonies, advocated by Pitt as early as 1783, was brought about by the establishment of West-Indian free ports. Some ephemeral taxes were introduced but an income tax, largely of Pitt's invention, is still with us. Administration was improved by greater use of stipendiary magistrates and by payment of salaries to civil servants rather than fees; patronage was diminished as sinecures lapsed. A Whig professedly all his life, Pitt nevertheless has often been regarded as the founder of a second and better Tory Party, and may justly be praised for carrying on a tradition of independence.

There were failures. Union with Ireland solved no problems and created others. Catholics were disappointed of legitimate hopes. Also disappointed were would-be reformers of Parliament, opponents of penal laws against dissent, and of the trade in African slaves. Libertarians were outraged at stern measures against supposed sedition during the years of war with Revolutionary France, until many of these, too, came over to the position that France must be defeated. The Libertarians also decried Pitt's wide-ranging attacks on French colonies, trade, maritime power, and European expansion. Part of the legend that eventually grew around the younger Pitt's name depended upon the beliefs that he was indomitable in the leadership of his country and in resisting a foreign menace. Later judgment inclines to modification of such claims, regretting the long struggle as catastrophic for all concerned.

Jarrett combines with some skill a topical approach with moderate deference to chronology. Possibly a page of dates might have helped the nonspecialist reader of a book about an extraordinarily complex age. He devotes two chapters to youth and entry into political life. Three more deal with Pitt's reconstruction, once in the saddle, of the world "turned upside down" by Yorktown; to the business of government; and to "the Game of Politics"—that is, for example, the maneuvers about the India Bill, about Warren Hastings' trial, and about the Regency arrangements during the King's illness, involving the ticklish question of the role and containment of monarchy. The two concluding chapters analyze policies and problems of the war years, and the growth of the legend.
In accord with the aim of the series designed to serve a general as well as a scholarly public, *Pitt the Younger* has no footnotes. The index is perfunctory. Jarrett is learned, but occasionally his command of the subject leads him to make statements which without expansion are overcryptic. He describes the abrupt termination of what was probably Pitt's only romance—his attentions to Eleanor Eden; in other and separate remarks, he records Pitt's lamentable financial situation, and the hints by political foes of the minister's impotence, but nowhere offers his own explanation. In referring to the arrangements made after the Revolution of 1688 as unsatisfactory, and almost an admission that the country "could not be governed," Jarrett opens a vein of commentary which might well have been continued either in reference to the ministry of Sir Robert Walpole, or to contemporary tributes to England's strong executive government. He is reserved in relating the story of Pitt's resignation when George III ruled out Catholic Emancipation, and of the minister's astonishing promise to the King never to recur to the subject while he lived. Implications and comparisons are suggested, but seldom explored. Many readers of this excellent book will wish that it had been longer.

Rosemont, Pa.  

Caroline Robbins


Generations of historians have been puzzled about William Harris Crawford. The leading candidate to succeed Monroe after running second to him in the Republican congressional caucus of 1816 (as Monroe had been second to Madison in 1808), Crawford was himself the nominee of the caucus in 1824. There has been no mystery as to why he lost the 1824 election—his recent serious illness, the breakdown of party unity, and the emergence of formidable rivals are sufficient explanation. The mystery is how Crawford came so close to being president as he did, how he won the favor of Jefferson, Madison, Gallatin, Van Buren, Benton, Randolph and Macon for the succession, how he ranked with Adams, Jackson, Clay and Calhoun, whose merits, like their defects, are well known.

In this posthumously published biography the late Chase Mooney has made a valiant effort to demonstrate the qualities Crawford displayed as Senator, minister to France, Secretary of War, and Secretary of the Treasury, qualities that earned him his high contemporary reputation. Mooney denies that Crawford was a consummate political manipulator who used his long tenure in the Treasury Department to create a bloc of followers dedicated to advancing him to the presidency. The denial is not altogether convincing, because Mooney, like most biographers, has become at least a mild partisan of his subject. But it is clear that Crawford had to
be much more than just a clever politician to gain the favor of many of the men who supported him.

Mooney has accomplished a heroic job of research in preparing this first scholarly biography of Crawford. (Its 1909 predecessor, J. E. D. Shipp's *Giant Days*, is frankly eulogistic.) Accidental destruction of the main corpus of Crawford manuscripts long discouraged historians from undertaking this task, but Mooney has vigorously and intelligently worked through the collections of dozens of depositories in a successful search for Crawford materials. The most serious deficiency in this respect is the lack of domestic correspondence that might provide an intimate view of Crawford. It may be as a result of this deficiency of sources that no clear accounting is given of Crawford's family or even of the identity of his children.

The major and central chapters of this book are devoted to Crawford's eight years as Secretary of the Treasury. These chapters are of two sorts: first there are a series of topical chapters dealing with departmental organization and administration, the Bank and the currency, the budget, and his relations with President Monroe; then come two chapters narrating Crawford's campaign for the presidency from 1816 to 1825. This arrangement leads to some repetition, but relatively little. Occasionally details are explained less clearly than might be had Mooney lived to see his volume through the press.

The last chapter of Crawford's public career is far different from the first. He was an imposing youth—six feet three in height and thirty-five years old—when he appeared in the Senate, where he rose rapidly to become administration spokesman and president pro tempore by the time he was forty. At fifty-three, broken in health, crippled in spirit, he retired to Georgia. There he made at least a partial recovery and was active in the educational, political, and judicial affairs of his state until his sudden death in 1834, but his national standing was irretrievably lost.

Other scholars may offer different interpretations of Crawford's character and career; Mooney's research is so thorough that it is unlikely they will have much new data to work with.

*University of Delaware*  
*John A. Munroe*


As its title states, this book is a chronicle of the whiskey industry. It is by no means a comprehensive history. With the exception of some attention to European backgrounds, early American beginnings, and the pre-
Civil War years, it is, moreover, devoted almost completely to the illegal aspects of the business. Approximately two-thirds of the book deals with the years following the enactment of an excise tax during the Civil War, the prohibition era, moonshining centers of the Appalachians, the “moonshine trippers,” clashes between illegal distillers and federal revenue officers, tales and folklore of the moonshine country, and the relatively recent rise of what Dabney calls the “moonshine mafia.”

In many respects the last two-thirds of the book is the best. Here the author, a journalist by profession, made use of the oral interview technique. Many of those with whom he talked were former moonshiners and bootleggers, but he gathered a substantial fund of information from former revenue men and others opposed to the illegal operations. Several chapters record details of these interviews and offer enlightenment concerning a colorful period in the history of the southern mountains. The accounts of Homer Powell, Duff Floyd, and John Henry Hardin, among others, make interesting and entertaining reading. Perhaps the greatest criticism of the interviews is that a disproportionate number were with Georgians, but undoubtedly conditions there were generally representative of those in other parts of the South. Yet, in devoting so much space to reproducing the interviews, Dabney has given us only the raw materials of history. He does very little to set the interviews, or, for that matter, any of his material, in any broad cultural context.

The book is weakest in those areas in which the author attempts any serious historical treatment of his findings. The chapters on the Revolutionary War period and the Whiskey Rebellion, two of the few relying upon traditional historical sources, teem with error and misinformation. A few examples will suffice. The Watauga Articles of Association of 1772, a typical frontier response to a not uncommon set of problems, are construed as “the first [Declaration of Independence] ever adopted by a community of American-born freemen” (p. 53). Transylvania, Richard Henderson’s attempted trans-Appalachian colony, is called “a new and independent nation” (p. 53). The treatment of the battle of King’s Mountain is simplistic in the extreme. Settlement of the Pittsburgh area began on a substantial scale following the signing of the Treaty of Fort Stanwix and did not await the victory of Andrew Lewis over the Indians at Point Pleasant (p. 59). The settlement of the Virginia-Pennsylvania boundary dispute did not come about “when the new American Government ruled that the frontier Pittsburgh territory, originally part of Virginia, actually belonged to Pennsylvania” (p. 59).

There are other weaknesses in the book. Research is shallow and footnotes for documentary purposes are lacking. Important and relevant secondary works are missing from the bibliography. For instance, acquaintance with Lynwood Montell’s *Saga of Coe Ridge* would have revealed interesting and pertinent information concerning the role of the Negroes in the illegal liquor business. Careless handling of bibliographical materials
results in misspelling of the names of Wayland F. Dunaway and Samuel Eliot Morison and in transforming Robert L. Kincaid into Charles Kincaid.

Despite its lack of genuine depth, Dabney's book is not without interest. For the student or the general reader who wishes to reconstruct something of life in the moonshining and bootlegging years since the 1920s, it can provide a couple of hours of pleasant and entertaining reading.

West Virginia Institute of Technology

Otis K. Rice


This book describes the Diagnostic and Rehabilitation Center which has served Skid Row men in Philadelphia since 1963. It also treats Skid Row and its men, presents findings about the effectiveness of certain rehabilitation procedures, and makes recommendations about how Skid Row areas and their residents should be treated.

The development of Philadelphia's Skid Row project is traced from 1952, when the city's Health and Welfare Council published recommendations for a comprehensive casework program, through the extensive surveys of Skid Row residents in 1961, to the official opening and subsequent operations of the innovative Diagnostic and Rehabilitation Center. In addition to outreach casework, sympathetic counseling and referral services, the Center provided medical examinations, psychiatric and psychological evaluations, and free lunch and coffee.

Five biographical statements illustrate "the Skid Row condition." The most useful of these is an account of "muzzling" (distributing handbills) and its place in the life of Skid Row men. As a whole, the biographies emphasize the misery, exploitation, hopelessness and loneliness of Skid Row life.

A section entitled "The Intersection of Alcohol and the Slum" has chapters on drinking, police and courts, housing, employment, health, dying, and community spirit and social relations on Skid Row. Most of this material, like the biographies, parallels published accounts from other cities. The reader is soon satisfied that Skid Row men in Philadelphia are much like their counterparts elsewhere.

The third, and most disappointing, part of the book is a series of four chapters on "Alternatives to Skid Row." The main alternatives are: group therapy in the House of Correction; a general counseling program, including use of an "anchor counselor"; "intensive counseling"; and a residential "halfway house" program. The authors attempt to evaluate these alternatives as aids to rehabilitation, but low success rates for follow-up inter-
views and the absence of a matched control group for the evaluation complicate matters. As a result, their experiments in rehabilitation procedures are inconclusive.

One of the experiments compared the efficacy of two nonresidential and a residential program of treatment. The nonresidential programs involved the anchor counselors, who tended to be desk-bound and had to be sought out by the Skid Row men, and the intensive counselors, who attempted to develop close personal bonds with their clients. In fact, intensive counselors sometimes pursued a man into Skid Row in order to guarantee that he meet clinic appointments, attend employment interviews, or get to work on time. The residential program was a halfway house, in which as many as twelve men and a resident manager lived together and tried to support each other's attempts to acquire lifestyles other than alcoholism and homelessness.

Despite the fact that their findings are made suspect by small sample size, high attrition rates in obtaining follow-up interviews, and the demonstrated selectivity of that follow-up, the authors conclude that the halfway house program was a failure, the anchor counselor style of casework was "modestly successful," and that the intensive counseling procedure was the most effective of the programs tested. Additional evaluation, however, did not reveal any positive effects of intensive counseling upon men who were not long-term residents of Philadelphia. In view of the apparent failure of the program for the transients and non-Philadelphians, the authors quite appropriately hesitate to say that intensive counseling works. Instead, they note correlates of better social functioning (living with family or friends helps, as does regular participation in Alcoholics Anonymous). Thus, the "Alternatives to Skid Row" section suggests—but cannot demonstrate—that none of the "alternatives" seem to work very well. The work founders on statistical and technical research problems. The promise in the Foreword—that this is "the first and, to date, the only statistically controlled study of the complex problems of Skid Row and alcoholism"—remains unfulfilled.

Among the major conclusions of the book is that definitions of success for rehabilitation programs for Skid Row men need to be scaled down. The authors seem to be saying, "If at first you don't succeed, change your definitions of success." None of the approaches discussed rehabilitate Skid Row men in the accepted definition of the term "rehabilitate."

The final chapter is better, because here there is no attempt to present data in support of "policies, programs, and principles." Instead, the authors summarize their experience and intuition in twenty-one programmatic suggestions and six propositions. These twenty-seven statements are written in value-laden terms, but that is all right; at this stage, the reader knows that he is getting professional advice, and not necessarily research findings.

The book does not succeed as an experimental evaluation of alternatives
to Skid Row, but as a collection of sometimes insightful essays about life on Philadelphia's Skid Row, coupled with a well-written summary of the kinds of programs and definitions of the situation these experts think necessary if serious rehabilitation programs are to be attempted, it stands as a contribution to the literature. It is not the book about Skid Row which many of us had hoped would come from the Philadelphia projects. Nor will it find much of a market among undergraduates or the general public. But many Philadelphians will find portions of it relevant reading, and so will the researchers, administrators, and rehabilitation agents who must deal with the problems of alcoholism and homelessness.

Brigham Young University

Howard M. Bahr


The Ordeal of Thomas Hutchinson is an outstanding account of what it meant to be a Loyalist. Professor Bailyn has focused his attention on the last sixteen years of the life of the figure who, more than any other single man, epitomized the essential tragedy of native-born Americans who deplored the American Revolution. The description and documentation of the forces which separated Hutchinson from the people of Massachusetts is an analysis of the tensions facing a man whose loyalties were divided between his heritage as a sixth-generation American and his position of power, achieved by modeling himself after British politicians of the eighteenth century. While Bailyn does not have the same sympathy for Hutchinson as a man as was displayed by Clifford K. Shipton in his sketch in Sibley's Harvard Graduates (vol. 8, 1951), he shows an acute understanding of how, given the character of the man and the state of Massachusetts politics, the outcome could not have been other than tragic.

Opening with a chapter tellingly entitled "Success of the Acquisitive Man: Portrait of the Provincial Bourgeois," Bailyn combines contemporary views of Hutchinson's conduct, a sketch of the first fifty years of his life, an analysis of his personality and a summary of the changes in Anglo-American relations which occurred with the accession of George III to provide a backdrop for the events which began with the destruction of Hutchinson's house on the night of August 26, 1765.

Tracing the origins of the violence to the maneuvering which resulted in Thomas Pownall becoming Governor in 1757, Bailyn portrays Hutchinson's years as Lieutenant Governor, 1758 to 1769, as a constant struggle to achieve what was best for the colony within a framework of what was best for the British Empire. Deploiring the actions of radicals in Boston and the measures of the Ministry in London, he developed a carefully
thought out and sophisticated concept upon which colonial administration should be grounded. Although meticulously but privately set down on paper, Hutchinson was never able to use those principles to counter the growing distrust in Massachusetts or to combat indifference in London.

Despite a sincere belief in the purity of his motives, Hutchinson’s personal reserve and lack of sensitivity to the developing crisis doomed his Governorship from the start. His inability to play any effective part in stemming the forces which every day grew more powerful in Massachusetts are summed up by the titles to the three chapters devoted to the years from 1769 to 1774: “The Captive,” “The Failure of Reason,” and “The Scape-Goat.” The contrast during these years between the apparent disappearance of the colonial controversy from public conscience (except in Massachusetts) and the deterioration of Hutchinson’s position emphasize the unique role he played in the American controversy.

Hutchinson’s six years of exile in England began with a cordial welcome by George III, who granted him an audience two days after he had landed. His arrival coincided with an unprecedented public awareness of American affairs, and his advice and counsel were sought on all sides. He offered what he believed to be a reasoned moderate view of what needed to be done, but he did not make himself clear, and his position was misunderstood. That, together with the rapidly developing events in Boston and Philadelphia left him, by 1775, a minor figure on the fringes of public life, as Britain’s concern moved on the question first of how the colonies could be subdued and then to whether it was possible to do so.

Professor Bailyn states that his writing is “part of a general effort . . . to develop a fuller picture of the origins of the American Revolution” by depicting “the fortunes of a conservative in a time of radical upheaval.” Candidly admitting that the events of the 1960s, which occurred during the early stages of his writing, played a role in his understanding of the perimeters he set for himself, he has succeeded in his attempt to use “an approach to history that emphasized balance over argument, context over consequences, and the meaning of the past over the uses of the present.” The historical problem which was presented by that approach is stimulatingly outlined in the Appendix, “The Loser: Notes on the Historiography of Loyalism.” It is a concise survey of the writing on the subject, beginning with Hutchinson’s own History, and ending with the conclusion that we are still in the early stages of our understanding the Loyalists of the American Revolution.

The Ordeal of Thomas Hutchinson, concentrating almost exclusively on events in Massachusetts, immediately raises a number of questions. For instance, what would John Dickinson, whose ties with England were stronger than Hutchinson’s and who survived the Revolution without losing his property, have done had he been in Hutchinson’s shoes? Was Hutchinson’s tragedy of his own making or the result of the peculiar forces at work in Boston? Is it not possible that the term “Loyalist”
its origins in Massachusetts simply because it was there more than any other place that the dichotomy of loyalty or disloyalty to Great Britain was presented in such a way that there was no middle ground?

The John Carter Brown Library

THOMAS R. ADAMS


In *The Toll of Independence* Howard Peckham has tried to establish the "dimensions" of the Revolutionary War—to list as precisely as possible the engagements in which Americans fought and the casualties they suffered. With the help of graduate students working in fourteen states and at the Office of Naval History, the National Archives, and the William L. Clements Library, he has gathered data on 1,546 engagements beginning with the Battle of Lexington in April, 1775, and ending with the siege of Fort Carlos III in Arkansas in April, 1783. For each of these engagements—1,331 ashore and 215 at sea—he has furnished a brief description of the action as well as the numbers of Americans killed, wounded, captured, missing and deserted. He has not included losses that were undocumented, casualties suffered by civilians, and engagements between American privateers or merchantmen and British warships. Even so, he estimates that, including those who died in camp or in prison, 25,324 Americans lost their lives in the war. This total represents .9 per cent of the population in 1780 and places the Revolution "second only to the Civil War" as the most costly war in American history.

Peckham has not undertaken to interpret the evidence he has gathered. But he has made it possible for others to test and extend their own interpretations. *The Toll of Independence* confirms that most engagements occurred where the British were in force (in Massachusetts in 1775, in the middle colonies in 1776-1779, and in the Carolinas in 1780-1781); that American casualties were heaviest in 1776-1777 and 1780-1781 when the British mounted their principal offensives; and that the nature of the war changed significantly after France declared openly for the rebels. During the campaigns of 1775-1777, when the British army and navy were acting together at Boston, New York, Rhode Island, and Philadelphia, nearly 80 per cent of all engagements were between rebels and regular British forces. Thereafter, when the British relied increasingly on Loyalists and Indians, the number of encounters between Patriots and regulars declined steadily while those between rebels, on the one side, and Loyalists or Indians, on the other, rose sharply. In the closing years of the war, American forces suffered casualties in a higher proportion of engagements than they had during the opening campaigns.
The Toll of Independence also makes clear how extensive and continuous the fighting was. Engagements took place in what are now twenty-seven states and four Canadian provinces; in each year from 1776 to 1781 there was fighting in at least seventeen of these states or provinces; and between April, 1775, and January, 1783, there were battles in every month of every year (indeed, battles were evenly spaced throughout each year). Although there were no American casualties in 614 of the 1,331 engagements recorded by Peckham, and although both sides tried to spare civilians, the war could never have been far from the thoughts of any American.

Peckham's data will enable historians to speak with much more confidence and precision about the Revolutionary War. His data probably will not satisfy those interested in statistical analysis. They will certainly be disappointed that he did not assemble a more complete list of engagements at sea—that he did not send to the Public Record Office for reports of actions involving ships of the Continental and state navies and that he chose to exclude encounters between American privateers or merchantmen and British warships. They may also wish that he had adopted a more uniform and precise way of describing actions ashore. It is not possible to know why each battle occurred, what forces were involved, and how many casualties were suffered. But if we are to use the evidence as Peckham suggests we should—if, for example, we are to know what role the Loyalists played or how cavalry was employed—we must be told explicitly each time Loyalists and cavalry were involved.

Notwithstanding its limitations, The Toll of Independence is a reliable and comprehensive record of American efforts ashore in the War for Independence. It not only sharpens our understanding of battles fought and casualties sustained but also helps us appreciate how extensive and continuous the war was.

Rice University

IRA D. GRUBER


When, on the morning of October 4, 1777, American plans were frustrated by fog and disorganization at the Battle of Germantown, the defeated Continental Army withdrew to Pennypacker's Mill, the present site of Schwenksville. British and Hessians followed as far as the junction of the Bethlehem and Skippack roads. "The rebels have carried with them a great number of their wounded, which was evident from the great amount of blood we could see along the entire road on which we pursued them," wrote Hessian Captain Levin Friedrich Ernest von Muenchhausen.
Twenty-three-year-old Captain von Muenchhausen had been appointed aide-de-camp to Sir William Howe on November 18, 1776, to facilitate communication between Howe, who spoke only English, and General Leopold von Heister, the Hessian commander at the time, who spoke only German and French. Until Howe relinquished his command and sailed for England on May 23, 1778, the captain kept a daily record of his military activities, often noting the dramatic or significant detail.

Thus we have the view from British headquarters of the Battles of Trenton, Princeton, Brandywine and Germantown. Then Captain von Muenchhausen entered occupied Philadelphia and observed the fight to reduce the Delaware River forts. "Should anyone who honors me by reading my diaries, find a difference between what I say and what is printed in the newspapers or written in other diaries," he wrote, "I must not be censured. Be assured that, to the best of my knowledge, I do not write anything that is not the truth, and, since I am at English headquarters, I think one can certainly put as much faith in my diary as in anyone else's."

The captain, as did most British and Hessian officers, found General Howe charming. He refers to "the good, honorable General Howe, who is never concerned about himself, but always about others." After the Battle of Brandywine, von Muenchhausen wrote that he was "convinced that everyone in Europe would admire General Howe if they were as familiar with all the obstacles he faces, as we are." And while the British and Hessians were wintering in Philadelphia, he prayed for peace "because this war is attended by much cruelty, which our good General Howe cannot prevent, much as he would like to."

The journal is here translated into English in its entirety for the first time, although in 1892 the account of the Battle of Germantown was translated from a manuscript supplied by George Bancroft and published in The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography. von Muenchhausen supplements and corroborates the similar daily recordings of Captain John Montresor, Captain John André, Major Carl Baurmeister and Captain Archibald Robertson. There is interest in the material, but no striking additions to our knowledge of the events described. Captain von Muenchhausen, no doubt a brave and worthy young man, will not be remembered as a military historian.

Philadelphia Edward S. Gifford, Jr.
1. **TITLE OF PUBLICATION**
The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography

2. **DATE OF FILING**
Sept. 26, 1974

3. **FREQUENCY OF ISSUE**
Quarterly

4. **LOCATION OF KNOWN OFFICE OF PUBLICATION** (Street, city, county, state, ZIP code) (Not printers)
1300 Locust St., Phila, County, Penna, 19107

5. **LOCATION OF THE HEADQUARTERS OR GENERAL BUSINESS OFFICES OF THE PUBLISHERS** (Not printers)
1300 Locust St., Phila, County, Penna, 19107

6. **NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PUBLISHER, EDITOR, AND MANAGING EDITOR**

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*PS Form 3526 July 1971*