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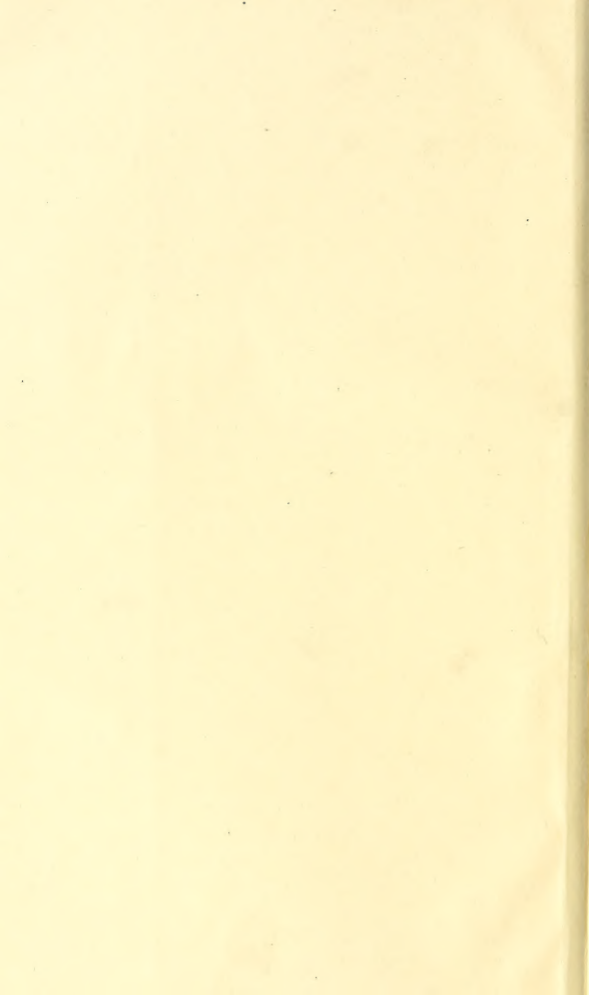
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THE  
AMERICAN HISTORICAL  
REVIEW

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ALEXANDER VI. AND THE DEMARCATION OF THE  
MARITIME AND COLONIAL DOMAINS OF SPAIN  
AND PORTUGAL. 1493-1494<sup>1</sup>

PERHAPS there are, in the whole history of diplomacy, no documents which have aroused more passionate discussions and given occasion to more divergent commentaries, than the bulls of Alexander VI. relating to the colonial expansion of Spain. Promulgated at a critical moment in the evolution of Europe, a moment marked by the rise of the modern states and the decline of the papacy, they belong to a period of political and religious transition. If they have obtained so extraordinary a prominence, it is because of the mass of various and important events with which they were associated: the rapid enlargement of the geographical horizon, colonial expansion, religious propaganda, the foundation of international law, the transformation of the relations between Church and State. They have been published in the great diplomatic collections, and the chief of them (*Inter caetera*, May 4) is found in the *Corpus* of the Catholic canon law. It is nowise surprising that they have been considered from very different points of view: they have been of interest alike to geographers and to historians, to theologians, statesmen, and jurists, and the opinions expressed regarding them have varied with the different epochs, quite as much as with the different minds of those expressing them. To relate the history of the discussions occasioned by these documents would be to set forth comprehensively all the transformations of modern and contemporary historiography.

Even to-day, despite the searching investigations to which these

<sup>1</sup> This article constitutes a part of a study concerning the significance of the bull of demarcation in the history of colonial expansion. The author is professor of geography, diplomatic, and palaeography in the University of Liège, but is now resident in Oxford, England. Ed.

bulls have been subjected, despite the publication of a number of sources already considerable,<sup>2</sup> opinions are much divided, and several problems, enigmas even, are still to be solved, with respect to their scope and meaning.

In the first place what was the rôle of Alexander VI. himself? Did he undertake a veritable partition of the world? And did he do this in the capacity of an arbiter, of a supreme judge, of a guardian of the peace, or otherwise? Was he protecting the interests of the two leading colonial powers, or only those of one of them? What was, at the beginning, the importance of the line of demarcation, and who was its author? What force did the Spanish sovereigns and the princes of the period ascribe to the bulls in question? The opinion which has long prevailed is that which regards Alexander VI. as an arbiter. This opinion was sustained especially by Hugo Grotius,<sup>3</sup> and one of its principal upholders at the present time is L. Pastor.<sup>4</sup> According to this author, the pope, at the time of the conflict which arose between Spain and Portugal with respect to the lands discovered by Columbus, was invited to act as mediator; he decided in a peaceful manner a series of very thorny boundary questions, and these decisions are to be regarded as one of the glories of the papacy.<sup>5</sup> Another view, held by E. G. Bourne,

<sup>2</sup> The study of the bulls of May 3 and 4 has been made easier since photographs of the transcripts of them in the papal registers have been published by Heywood, *Documenta Selecta e Tabulario Secreto Vaticano quae Romanorum Pontificum erga Americae Populos curam . . . testantur* (Typis Vaticanis, 1893), and by J. B. Thacher, *Christopher Columbus*, vol. II. *The American Historical Review* has published (XIV. 764-776, 1909) a photograph of the bull *Inter caetera* of May 3, and the *Boletín del Centro de Estudios Americanistas* (no. 7, April, 1915) reproduced another photograph of the same bull, and a photograph of that of May 4. The bull of September 26, *Dudum siquidem*, has not been found in the papal registers, but there are two copies of it in the Archives of the Indies at Seville (see V. Lloréns Asensio, *La Primera Vuelta al Mundo*, 1903, appendix). The text was published by Solorzano, *De Indiarum Jure*, I. 613 (1629). On this bull, see the article by Miss Frances G. Davenport on "The Privileges of Columbus", *American Historical Review*, XIV. 767 (1909). Titles of bulls have throughout the present article been cited in normalized Latin spelling, in deference to custom, though in quotations from bulls, as in other quotations, the spelling of the originals has been preserved.

<sup>3</sup> Grotius, *De Mare Libero*, cap. III.: [Alexander VI.] "lectus inter illos [Lusitanos et Castellanos] arbiter".

<sup>4</sup> L. Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, VI. 159-162 (second ed., London, 1901). The same theory is set forth by J. Hergenröther, *Catholic Church and Christian State* (London, 1876), II. 149-154, and by M. Gosselin, *The Power of the Pope during the Middle Ages* (London, 1853), II. 240-243.

<sup>5</sup> L. Pastor, *op. cit.*, VI. 162, interprets the bull of May 4, 1493, relative to the colonial dominions of Spain, in accordance with that of 1497 relative to Portuguese Africa, and adds this singular remark: "If this formula [free consent of

S. E. Dawson, and H. HARRISSE,<sup>6</sup> is that Alexander VI. intervened in the conflict between Spain and Portugal, not as an arbiter, but as supreme judge of Christendom, or guardian of its peace. It is asserted that, at least in respect of certain dispositions appearing in the bulls, he took the initiative in order to prevent strife. Finally, an opinion completely differing from all the preceding has been expressed by E. NYS. He believes it possible to prove that the rôle of Alexander VI. was absolutely a nullity, his bulls containing neither an arbitral decision nor even an ascription of sovereignty.<sup>7</sup>

Among the problems which have most exercised the acuteness of scholars is that of the dates of the first three bulls and of the order in which they were issued. The first bull *Inter caetera*, granting to the Spanish monarchs the sovereignty over the lands discovered and to be discovered toward the westward, is dated May 3, as is also the bull *Eximiae devotionis*, which repeats that portion of the first bull stipulating that that sovereignty shall be exercised in the same manner as that of the King of Portugal in his possessions. The second bull *Inter caetera* reproduces its predecessor almost completely, except for this stipulation relative to Portuguese sovereignty, in the place of which appears a provision establishing a line of demarcation in the Atlantic. This bull of demarcation is dated May 4.

An examination of the subscriptions and of the habitual chancery indications will permit us to solve this problem, which has hitherto appeared insoluble. Thanks to the originals of the two bulls *Inter caetera* and to the papal registers containing transcripts of the three bulls, we can determine whether the documents were drawn up or issued on the dates indicated, and at the same time can determine exactly the nature of these documents. In the first place, it

the inhabitants] is wanting in the document of 1493, it is merely because it was understood as included in the title itself". The same position is maintained by J. Hergenröther, *op. cit.*, II. 152. These scholars have omitted to read the essential part of the "disposition" of the bull of 1497: "illa [regna infidelium] conquirendi plenam et liberam facultatem elargimur".

<sup>6</sup> E. G. Bourne, "The Demarcation Line of Alexander VI." (*Yale Review*, May, 1892, pp. 35-55). The author republished this article with some additions and modifications in his *Essays in Historical Criticism* (New York, 1901); see especially pp. 198-201, 203, where he shows the efforts of Alexander VI. to "satisfy both sides". S. E. Dawson, "The Line of Demarcation of Pope Alexander VI., 1493, and the Treaty of Tordesillas, 1494" (*Proceedings of the Royal Society of Canada*, 1899, sect. II., p. 467; see pp. 490, 495). H. HARRISSE, *The Diplomatic History of America* (London, 1897), pp. 32, 35, 39.

<sup>7</sup> E. NYS, *Études de Droit International et de Droit Politique* (Brussels and Paris, 1896), p. 193.

can be stated that they issued from the *camera apostolica* and not from the offices of the chancery properly so called. The originals in fact bear, at the right, under the lower fold, the signature of the personal secretary of Alexander VI., Ludovicus Podocatharus. This person, a Cypriote by birth, had already played an important part in the chancery under Innocent VIII.; "abbreviator" of the *parcus minor* (1478), bishop of Capaccio (1483), he had, as a physician, become one of the familiars of that pope and had won the confidence of the vice-chancellor Rodrigo Borgia.<sup>8</sup>

It was Podocatharus who ordered the issue of the three bulls: he charged the abbreviator, G.-B. de Ferrariis, to draw up the bull *Inter caetera* of May 3. This abbreviator of the *parcus major* had been one of the most devoted agents of Alexander VI. during the latter's cardinalate. Born about 1445, he was a clerk at Modena in 1462; he became a familiar of Innocent VIII., a scribe and abbreviator assisting the vice-chancellor Rodrigo Borgia in the issue of letters apostolic (before 1491), and notary apostolic (July 17, 1492). He took pains to increase the revenue of the chancery and of the *camera apostolica* by raising the cost of issue of documents. Alexander VI. considered him a "marvellous instrument for drawing money" from new recipients of benefices or of ecclesiastical offices, and rewarded him by making him bishop of Modena (1495) and then giving him the lucrative post of *datarius* (1496), of secretary (1496) and of regent of the chancery (1499), and finally by raising him to the cardinalate (1500) and to the archbishopric of Capua (1501). He ran, it will be perceived,<sup>9</sup> a brilliant career, and

<sup>8</sup> J. Ciampini, *De Abbreviatorum de Parco Majori . . . Antiquo Statu* (Rome, 1691), p. 39; *Ancedota Litteraria ex Manuscriptis Codicibus eruta* [c. 1773], I, 273-314; *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, XVIII, 473, 521, 576 (1901); Burckhard, *Diarium* (ed. Thuasne), II, 611, 670, appendix, L. Cardella, *Memorie Storiche de' Cardinali* (Rome, 1793), III, 287, describes Podocatharus as secretary of briefs. On November 10, 1492, Pierre d'Aubusson, grand master of the Order of Rhodes, addressed to Podocatharus his congratulations upon the accession of Alexander VI.; in this letter he commends highly the qualities which the secretary had already exhibited, "virtus, prudentia, et litteratura" (V. Lamansky, *Secrets d'État de Venise*, St. Petersburg, 1884, p. 289). In the conclave of 1503 Podocatharus had the suffrages of all the Spanish cardinals. Pastor, *History of the Popes*, VI, 189.

<sup>9</sup> L. Celier, *Les Dataires du XV<sup>e</sup> Siècle et les Origines de la Daterie Apostolique* (fasc. 103 of the *Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, 1910, pp. 59-65). J.-B. de Ferrariis appears among the abbreviators of the *parcus major* on June 5, 1493 (Burckard, ed. Celani, I, 438), and also in 1497, 1498, and 1499 (*ibid.*, II, 38, 113, 149). His name is found in the list of the scribes in 1497, 1498, and 1499 (*ibid.*, II, 37, 110, 151). In 1498 he was also solicitor apostolic (*ibid.*, II, 103). In 1500 he obtained the position of *datarius*, for which, according to the contemporary chronicler Giustiniani (quoted by Celani in his

by 1493 he was an important and influential personage. He was one of the witnesses of the taking of the oath by Cardinal Ascanio Sforza when the latter was installed as vice-chancellor. Thus it is the signature of one of the most important officers of the chancery which we find in the middle of the lower fold of the bull in question, in the place reserved for the abbreviator, that is to say, between the two holes made in the parchment to admit the cords of the seal.

The minute of the bull of May 4 was drawn up by another abbreviator, J. Bufolinus. His name, written in an abbreviated form, has been incorrectly deciphered up to the present time. The scribe of the Bishop of Barcelona, P. Garcia, who provided the *vidimus* of this bull, dated July 19, 1493, wrote *Jo. Lur.*, and this reading has been taken over into the printed cartularies. The abbreviator in question was already in office under Innocent VIII. in 1492;<sup>10</sup> he appears upon the list of June 5, 1493, as well as upon that of 1496.<sup>11</sup> He belonged no doubt to the same family as J. P. de Bufalinis de Castello, who was also an abbreviator of the *parcus major* and scribe apostolic, and who died in 1470.<sup>12</sup> He did not himself sign the bull, but allowed his place to be taken by his colleague A. Santoseverino, whose *paraphe* follows the words "*Pro Jo. Buf.*" on the lower fold of the document. The name of this other abbreviator is found on the various lists of the offices of the *parcus major* from 1493 on.<sup>13</sup>

The minutes, passing to the bureau of the apostolic scribes, were examined first by the chiefs of the latter, the *rescribendarius* and sometimes the accountant (*computator*), in order to fix the tax due to this bureau (this tax was obligatory, as was also that of the abbreviators, even in the case of those bulls which were said to be expedited *gratis*). They wrote upon it their names and the first syllable of the month in which the expediting had begun. Thanks to edition of Burckard, II. 332, note 1), Alexander VI. "could not easily find his equal". He was poisoned July 20 or 27, 1502, perhaps by his secretary Sebastian Pinzon.

<sup>10</sup> J. Ciampini, *De Abbreviatorum de Parco Majori . . . Antiquo Statu*, p. xiii: Jo. Buffolinus seu Buffolinus.

<sup>11</sup> Burckard (ed. Celani), I. 438, 607: Jo. Bufolinus.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, I. 608, note 2.

<sup>13</sup> The "*paraphe*" of A. Santoseverino has also been read incorrectly. The cartularies copy it as *Consenino*, whereas the text gives *Scō seūino*. Antonio Santoseverino or de Sancto Severino is mentioned among the abbreviators of the *parcus major* in 1493, 1496, 1497, and 1499 (Burckard, ed. Celani, I. 438, 607; II. 38, 113, 149). In 1498 he is also found among the *sollicitatores* (*ibid.*, II. 103). He was doubtless the son of Giambattista Caccialupi de Sancto Severino, jurisconsult of Siena, who exercised the functions of consistorial advocate from 1486 to his death in 1496 (*ibid.*, I. 177, note 1, 380, 447, note 1).

the papal registers, we know the indications which were placed upon the drafts of the three bulls. They were as follows:

<i>Inter caetera</i> , May 3.	<i>Eximiae</i> , May 3.	<i>Inter caetera</i> , May 4.
Gratis de mandato..... ap[ri]l]i B. Capotius D. Serrano <sup>14</sup>	Gratis de mandato s. d. n. pape jul[i]o J. Nillis	Gratis de mandato s. d. n. pape jun[i]o pro R[escribenda]rio <sup>15</sup> A. de Mucciarellis <sup>1</sup>

The *rescribendarius* being appointed for a period of three months, it can be seen that the one who had been designated for the second quarter of the year 1493 was B. Capotius. He is mentioned as still among the apostolic scribes on June 5 of this year. But the diary of Burckard informs us that he was ill at this time and for this reason could not furnish the chamberlain with the list of pontifical scribes, nor take part, the next day, in a procession in which it would have been his duty to represent their corporation.<sup>16</sup> It will be perceived that he was absent when the draft of the bull of May 4 reached the bureau of the scribes and that his place was taken by A. de Mucciarellis, one of the eldest of their number. The latter had already exercised the functions of *rescribendarius* under similar circumstances in September, 1489.<sup>17</sup> As he on that occasion performed these duties until the end of the month, it is probable that the same was done in 1493 and that consequently he signed the other bulls of the month of June. At any rate he signed that of June 25, appointing Friar Buil as missionary.<sup>18</sup> For the third quarter of the year a new *rescribendarius* was elected and, in fact, we see on the bull *Eximiae* (May 3), the expediting of which began in the month

<sup>14</sup> Didacus Serrano is the accountant. He appears as scribe and solicitor apostolic in 1493, 1497, 1498, and 1499 (Burckard, ed. Celani, I. 430, 436, 610; II. 36, 104, 111, 115, 145, 150).

<sup>15</sup> Hitherto the reading has been, erroneously, *Registerio* or *Reverendissimo*.

<sup>16</sup> Baptistas Capotius or de Capotiis came from Viterbo, as is shown by a document of 1475, cited by Celani in his edition of Burckard (I. 439, note 2). He is not mentioned in the list of papal scribes subsequent to June 5, 1493 (*ibid.*, p. 436). He has been confounded with Bernardinus Capocius, or Capacius, clerk of Siena (*ibid.*, II. 380), who became auditor and then *datarius* under Pius III. (Sigm. Titii "Historiarum Senensium", in *Archivio Storico Italiano*, XXXII. 119).

<sup>17</sup> "Antonius de Mucciarellis fecit pro eo [Frane. de Suno] officium rescribendariatus taxando et signando bullas more solito, qui et post obitum ejusdem abque alia deputatione officium hujusmodi usque ad finem hujus mensis septembris continuavit" (Burckard, ed. Celani, I. 276). A. de Mucciarellis, a native of Bologna, is mentioned as apostolic scribe in 1487 (*ibid.*, p. 203). In June, 1493, he himself, in lieu of the *rescribendarius*, drew up the list of his colleagues (*ibid.*, p. 436). He appears also in the lists of 1497, 1498, and 1499, in which last year he is listed as *decanus et senior* (*ibid.*, II. 35, 110, 150).

<sup>18</sup> This bull of June 25, 1493, copied into the papal registers, is reproduced by Heywood, *Documenta Selecta*, pp. 27-32.

of July, the name of another scribe, J. Nilis. This appears also on the bull of September 26.<sup>19</sup>

It has been made plain that the bulls were taxed and issued at considerable intervals; the first bull *Inter caetera* (May 3) belongs to the month of April, the second *Inter caetera* (May 4) to June, and the bull *Eximiae* (May 3) to July. If then, instead of arranging the bulls in accordance with their formal dates, we arrange them in the order of their expediting, the bull *Eximiae* should be placed last.

Before being sent to their destination, the bulls had to be registered and collated, additional causes of delay. In the registers they appear in the order of their expediting.<sup>20</sup> From calculations which have been made, it appears that the expediting of a bull took at least twelve days. In urgent cases a whole month elapsed between the sending of instructions from Spain and the arrival in that country of the bull requested.<sup>21</sup> These new chronological data will permit us to place more exactly the other diplomatic and narrative sources which relate to the pretensions of the Spanish sovereign and to the attitude of the Holy See toward Spain and Portugal. We have henceforth a solid basis for studying the contents of the

<sup>19</sup> Copy of the bull of September 26, in the cartulary of Columbus at Washington; I owe this detail to the obliging kindness of Miss Frances G. Davenport. Giovanni Nilis was both scribe and abbreviator apostolic during the years 1493, 1497, and 1498 (Burckard, ed. Celani, I. 435, 437, 608; II. 34, 36, 109, 111, 149, 151). The same cartulary gives the name P. Gormaz after that of J. Nilis. He was no doubt accountant of the office of the scribes for the month of September. He appears in the list of the scribes in 1493 (*ibid.*, I. 438). He was a canon of Saragossa, and in 1498 became bishop of Narni.

<sup>20</sup> The bull *Inter caetera* of May 3 is found in register 775, fol. 42 vo.; the bull *Inter caetera* of May 4, in register 777, fol. 192 vo.; and the bull *Eximiae* (May 3), in register 879, fol. 234. The first bull *Inter caetera* was registered by Nicolas de Casanova, scribe apostolic (Burckard, ed. Celani, I. 437), and collated by Aloisius de Campania, who appears as notary of the apostolic chamber in 1490 (A. Gottlob, *Aus der Camera Apostolica des 15. Jahrhunderts*, 1889, p. 175), and in 1500 (Burckard, ed. Celani, II. 235). He was also collector of the *plumbaria* from 1486 on (P. M. Baumgarten, *Aus Kanzlei und Kammer*, Freiburg i. B., 1907, p. 351), and Burckard mentions him as such in 1493 and 1497 (*ibid.*, I. 429; II. 26). The other two bulls were registered by Dominicus Gallettus, scribe, solicitor, and secretary apostolic (*ibid.*, I. 430, 437, 610; II. 36, 111, 150, 304, 305). The second bull *Inter caetera* was collated by the notary L. Amerinus, whose service was prolonged into the pontificate of Leo X. (see the registers of that pope, ed. Hergenröther, nos. 118, 124, 150). Finally, the bull *Eximiae* was collated by Giovanni Ebu of Viterbo, bishop of Cotrone and papal secretary (Sigismundo de' Conti, *Le Storie de' suoi Tempi*, I. IX., t. II., p. 40; Burckard, ed. Celani, I. 649; A. Gottlob, *Aus der Camera Apostolica des 15. Jahrhunderts*, 1889, p. 187, note 2).

<sup>21</sup> Thus the bull of June 25 designating Friar Buil as missionary, requested on June 7, reached Spain before July 25 (*Bol. Acad. de la Historia*, Madrid, XIX, 185; Navarrete, *Colección de los Viajes*, II, 77).

bulls themselves, and for comparing their different forms in the light of other contemporary documents.

In the first place, we may now follow with security the route pursued by the first bull *Inter caetera* after its expediting. It is this bull and not—as has hitherto been supposed—the second bull beginning with the same preamble, which was sent by Podocatharus on May 17, 1493, to the nuncio at the court of Spain.<sup>22</sup> Therefore it could not have been delivered to those for whom it was intended till in the last third of that month. Consequently, it could not have been till the end of May or till June that the Spanish sovereigns addressed to their ambassadors in Rome the instructions necessary for obtaining a new bull intended to replace the first. That second document was expedited, we have perceived, in the month of June and reached Spain before July 19, for on that date a notary, secretary to the Bishop of Seville, delivered a *vidimus* of it, dated at Barcelona.<sup>23</sup>

The different bulls are addressed solely to Ferdinand and Isabella, kings of Castile, Leon, Aragon, and Granada; the intitulation of the bull of May 4 also reads, after Aragon, “of Sicily”.

If the two bulls *Inter caetera* are compared, it appears that their preambles are identical; they treat, as does one of the analogous bulls granted to the kings of Portugal, the theme of the extension of the faith in barbarous lands. The bull *Eximiae* has a shorter preamble, but it relates to the same subject. In the bull of September 26 (*Dudum siquidem*) the intitulation is followed immediately by the narration.

The “narrations” of the two bulls *Inter caetera* present remarkable differences. While the first recites the discovery of “lands and islands remote and unknown in the western regions, said to be toward the Indies, in the Ocean Sea”, a discovery due to Christopher Columbus, the second insists upon the fact that there is question of “continental lands” discovered beyond the ocean and adds flattering terms to the name of Columbus—a man absolutely worthy, and highly to be recommended, and capable of executing an enterprise of such magnitude. We shall see that this addition was probably made at the request of Columbus himself. As to the narrations

<sup>22</sup> The letter of Podocatharus to the nuncio in Spain, François de Sprats (May 17, 1493), is given in [H. Harrisse], *Bibliotheca Americana Vetusissima, Additions* (Paris, 1872), p. 2, note 2.

<sup>23</sup> The cartularies of Columbus reproduced these *vidimus*; see, e. g., that of Paris (B. F. Stevens, *Christopher Columbus: his own Book of Privileges, 1502*, London, 1893, fols. 182–197).



of the bulls *Eximiac* and *Dudum siquidem*, they recall respectively the grants made by the two bulls *Inter caetera*.

Let us examine separately the "dispositions" of the two bulls *Inter caetera*. By that of May 3, the pope, in the plenitude of his apostolic authority, grants to the Spanish sovereigns the lands and islands discovered in the west, toward the Indies in the Ocean Sea, as well as those yet to be discovered in that direction, provided they do not already belong to any Christian prince, and forbids all persons to approach them for commerce or for other purposes without authorization from these sovereigns. It provides that, in these regions, those sovereigns shall exercise the same rights as those previously granted by the Holy See to the kings of Portugal in the lands discovered for these princes, in Africa, in Guinea, at Elmina, and elsewhere. The bull of May 4 grants the islands and continental lands (*terras firmas*) discovered or to be discovered, not solely in the west, but also in the south, and as well in the direction of India as in all other regions. It establishes a line of demarcation not to be passed by the subjects of other princes without authorization from the Spanish sovereigns. That line of demarcation is placed, in strange phraseology, at one hundred leagues "to the west and to the south" of the Azores and the Cape Verde Islands. It is designated in the same terms at the end of the disposition. This expression, "to the west and to the south", was without doubt substituted for the words "to the west and in the Ocean Sea", as anyone may convince himself by comparing those passages in the other bulls which indicate the direction of the discoveries and, especially, that in the bull of June 25, designating Friar Buil as missionary. This last, in fact, expedited at the same period as the bull *Inter caetera* of May 4, contains the words "versus partes occidentales et Mare oceanum". The same expression is also found in the bull *Eximiac*. At that period it was customary to locate the Ocean Sea toward the south of our hemisphere, around the equatorial zone. Beyond extended the "Southern Indies" (*Indiae Meridionales*), an expression subsequently applied to South America. At bottom then, the transformation of "Mare oceanum" into "meridiem" is not so violent as one might at first suppose; it indicates more precisely the direction which Columbus intended to follow in his second voyage, but it has introduced into the text of the bull the contradiction already often signalized. As to the position of the Azores, with reference to the Cape Verde Islands, it has already been rightly remarked that the easternmost of the Azores is traversed by the same meridian as the westernmost of the Cape Verde Islands.

The mention of rights analogous to those enjoyed by the King of

Portugal in his possessions is not repeated in the bull *Inter caetera* of May 4. It forms the main object of the bull *Eximiae* (May 3), expedited as we have seen in July. The text of the latter resembles those of the two bulls *Inter caetera*.<sup>24</sup>

As to the bull of September 26, it amplifies that of May 4 by extending the sphere of influence of Spain not only into the western and southern regions but also into those of the East and of the Indies and provides, as does its predecessor, that the discoveries shall be made to the westward and the southward (*versus occidentem et meridiem*). No mention is made of the line of demarcation, but it does not follow, as H. HARRISSE thought, that it was suppressed. On the contrary, this bull in fact confirms all the dispositions made in the preceding bulls and merely amplifies and extends them.<sup>25</sup> In any case, the fact that the line in question is not mentioned on this occasion proves that this line had not the original importance which has been subsequently attributed to it.

As in other documents of this sort, the different bulls contain derogative clauses. These are especially developed in the bull of September 26; they declare that all the grants previously made, "whether to kings, to princes, to infantes, to religious or to military orders", respecting the regions, seas, islands, or lands in question, are revoked, whatever may have been the motives of these donations (piety, extension of the faith, or redemption of captives) and despite the most rigorous clauses inserted in these grants, unless in cases when these grants have been put into effect and when, in consequence, actual and effective possession has been taken. It is expressly provided—a curious fact—that previous possession shall not in itself constitute a title.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup> The bull *Eximiae devotionis*, dated May 3, but expedited in July, reproduces especially the text of the bull *Inter caetera* bearing the same date, to which indeed it relates; yet on the other hand the expressions *terras firmas* and *versus partes occidentales et mare Oceanum* bring it into close relation with the bull of May 4.

<sup>25</sup> H. HARRISSE, *The Diplomatic History of America*, p. 68, is mistaken in saying that "by this Bull . . . the Line of Demarcation [was] virtually superseded". The bull confirms the previous bulls in these terms: "Donationem, concessionem, assignationem et litteras praedictas, cum omnibus et singulis in eisdem litteris contentis clausulis, ad omnes et singulas insulas et terras firmas inventas et inveniendas . . . quae navigando aut itinerando versus occidentem aut meridiem hujusmodi sint vel fuerint aut apparuerint sive in partibus occidentalibus vel meridionalibus et orientalibus et Indiae existant . . . perinde ac si in litteris praedictis de eis plena et expressa mentio facta fuisset, extendimus pariter et ampliamus." Solorzano, *De Indiarum Jure*, 1629, I, 613.

<sup>26</sup> "Quae suum per actualem et realem possessionem non essent sortitae effectum, licet forsan aliquando illi quibus donationes et concessionem hujusmodi factae fuissent, aut eorum nuntii, ibidem navigassent". Solorzano, I, 613.

Finally, in the first three bulls, the date is still preceded by the customary formulae relative to the mode of promulgation and to the penalties incurred by those committing infractions. In the bull of September 26, the formula of promulgation is lacking, but the penal clauses are to be found in the "disposition".

As has been seen, the four bulls belong to the same category of papal acts. They do not belong to the class of great and solemn bulls presented in consistory and therefore having the name of consistorial bulls. Drawn up in the form of letters, they have the name of briefs; it is thus that the pontifical secretary Podocatharus designates the bull *Inter caetera* of May 3.<sup>27</sup> But these briefs are provided with the *bullæ*; they are, then, *brevia bullata*.

To sum up, no one of these different bulls has the appearance of an arbitral decision. They are acts of papal sovereignty, in favor of a single power. They are essentially grants, as one sees by running through the series of designations given to these acts by the documents themselves. We may remark in passing that the bull *Inter caetera* of May 4 omitted the term *investitura* as well as in the "disposition" the word *investimus*—words which were found in the *Inter caetera* of May 3—in order not to give ground for supposing that a feudal investiture was contemplated.

It might be objected that, if these acts have not the form of an arbitral decision, they may yet have been the result of a more or less active intervention of the sovereign pontiff in the colonial politics of Portugal and Spain in order to harmonize their interests and maintain peace. To determine the matter, it is necessary to inquire under what conditions the bulls were issued and how their texts were put into shape.

At the moment when Columbus was undertaking the exploration of the Atlantic, the Spanish sovereigns had renounced for the benefit of Portugal all colonial expansion "beyond or on this side of the Canaries over against Guinea". Sixtus IV. (1481) had confirmed this treaty as well as the bulls granted to the Portuguese by Nicholas V. and Calixtus III. The same pope had assured to the Portuguese the discoveries which should be made in Guinea and beyond in the direction of these "southern regions", sanctioning thus the bulls of his predecessors, notably that which Nicholas V.

<sup>27</sup> "Breve super concessione domini et bonarum illarum insularum nuper ab hominibus Regiis inventarum . . .". Letter of May 17, 1493, to the Spanish sovereigns; [H. Harrisse], *Bibliotheca Americana Vetusissima. Additions* (Paris, 1872), p. 2, note 2.

(1454) issued in consequence of the Portuguese discoveries "in the Ocean Sea toward the regions lying southward and eastward".<sup>28</sup>

Out in the Atlantic the maps of the period place the mysterious island Antilia or Island of the Seven Cities. In 1475 and in 1486 the King of Portugal had granted it, together with neighboring islands and lands, to F. Telles and to Dulmo respectively.<sup>29</sup> He considered the "Ocean Sea" as his domain, imagining, as did all his contemporaries, that it lay chiefly in the equatorial zone.

On the return from his first voyage Columbus, as is well known, landed in Portugal. King John II., declaring that he had operated in "the seas and limits of his lordship of Guinea", had the discoverer brought before him (about March 6, 1493) and Columbus declared to him that he was returning from "Cypangu and Antilia", islands which formed the approaches to India.<sup>30</sup> Shortly after, Peter Martyr, the Italian humanist, chaplain of Isabella, spoke of the "western Antipodes" discovered by Christopher Columbus in contrast to the "southern Antipodes", toward which the Portuguese navigators sailed. But it was believed that the chief transoceanic lands lay in the southern hemisphere, balancing thus the Eurasian continent. Zurita, chronicler of Aragon under Charles V. and Philip II., alludes to the fact that the ancients represented this southern world in the form of islands, large and small, separated by great distances.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>28</sup> The bull of Nicholas V., January 8, 1454, confirms the Portuguese acquisitions "versus meridionales et orientales plagas . . . usque ad Indos qui Christi nomen colere dicuntur" (*Alguns Documentos do Archivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo*, etc., Lisbon, 1892, pp. 15-16). The bull of Sixtus IV., June 21, 1481, confirming the previous bulls and the treaty of Alcaçovas between Portugal and Spain, is found in the same collection, pp. 46-53.

<sup>29</sup> *Alguns Documentos do Archivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo*, pp. 40, 58. The act of 1486 in favor of Dulmo is particularly interesting in that it grants "a large island, islands, or continent, which is presumed to be the Island of the Seven Cities". This passage should be compared with that of Zurita, relating to the discoveries of Columbus (Zurita, *Historia del Rey Don Hernando*, 1610, fol. 17), where mention is made of a great island or of numerous smaller islands.

<sup>30</sup> H. Vignaud, *Histoire Critique de la Grande Entreprise de Christophe Colomb* (Paris, 1911), I. 371, lays stress upon the fact that Ruy de Pina indicates Cypangu and Antilia as being the islands from which Columbus was returning. Columbus, however, like all his contemporaries, placed the island of Cypangu at the east of the Indies, in the "sea of the Indies". Therefore I believe that I may repeat the assertion of my collaborator De Lannoy that Columbus believed that he had reached the eastern extremity of the Indies (De Lannoy and Vander Linden, *Histoire de l'Expansion Coloniale des Peuples Européens: Portugal et Espagne*, Brussels, 1907, pp. 51, 278), an assertion which Mr. Vignaud (I. 376, note 28) believes to be untenable.

<sup>31</sup> See note 29.

John II. went to Torres Vedras to pass Easter (April 7). Two days before, he sent to the court of Spain the *alcalde mayor* of that town, Ruy de Sande, to ascertain whether Columbus intended to pursue his discoveries to the south, or would confine his enterprises to the west. But this envoy did not arrive till after the departure from Barcelona (April 22) of the Spanish ambassador charged to announce to the King of Portugal the discovery, on behalf of the Spanish sovereigns, of the islands and continents situated in the direction of the Indies.<sup>32</sup>

Ferdinand and Isabella had not waited till this time to obtain from the sovereign pontiff a monopoly of the discoveries and the right of commercial exploitation in the Oceanic Sea and in the islands of the Indies. As early as March 30, they had addressed their congratulations to Columbus, "Admiral of the Ocean Sea and viceroy and governor of the islands discovered in the Indies".<sup>33</sup> They no doubt hastened to address to their agents or permanent ambassadors at the court of Rome the instructions necessary to enable the latter to assert title as soon as possible, over against the claims which would without question be asserted by the King of Portugal.

The reception which the Curia would give to this demand could not fail to be most favorable. The many bonds which attached Alexander VI. to Spain during the first years of his pontificate are well known, as also the care with which he strove then to maintain them in spite of all sorts of difficulties. Though he had not lived long in his native country he had remained a true Aragonese, and had constantly surrounded himself by compatriots and by other Spaniards in the course of his cardinalate. Legate *a latere* from 1471 to 1473 and in 1480, he had rendered notable services to his sovereign, and the latter had requited them by favors perhaps still greater. Ferdinand had permitted Rodrigo Borgia to add to the bishopric of Valencia those of Cartagena (1482) and Majorca (1489). He had invested his oldest son, Pedro Luis, with the duchy of Gandia, near Valencia, and had thus made the latter one of the most important members of the Aragonese nobility (1485). He had even promised him his own cousin-german, Doña Maria Enriquez, in marriage. When Ferdinand legitimized Caesar Borgia (1481) he declared that he owed to the latter's father the deepest gratitude. He could not do otherwise than favor the nomination of Caesar to the bishopric of Pampeluna (1491) and then to that of Valencia after the accession of Rodrigo Borgia to the throne of St.

<sup>32</sup> Zurita, fol. 30 ro. and vo.

<sup>33</sup> Navarrete, *Colección de los Viajes*, II. 21.

Peter.<sup>34</sup> Alexander VI. entrusted the custody of the castle of Sant' Angelo to a Spaniard, Juan de Castro, bishop of Girgenti, and took for his confessor another Spaniard, the Carmelite Baltasar Gracian de Villanova.<sup>35</sup>

An upholder of Spanish-Neapolitan policy during his cardinalate, Alexander VI. treated it with solicitude at the beginning of his pontificate, and was able to derive from his relations with the Spanish sovereigns valuable advantages for his family. As is well known, he sacrificed everything, both spiritual and temporal interests, to his children; in the first place to Juan, whose fortunes and influence depended entirely upon the prosperity and strength of Spain. The death of Pedro Luis, duke of Gandia, had caused that duchy in 1488 to pass to Juan, for whom the pope obtained the hand of Doña Maria Enriquez, fiancée of the deceased (August, 1493).

Meanwhile, however, Alexander VI. allowed himself to be drawn away by Cardinal Ascanio, to whom he owed the tiara, toward the Milano-Venetian alliance, hostile to the King of Naples and favorable to France. Ascanio Sforza, brother of Ludovico il Moro, after becoming vice-chancellor exercised for some time a considerable ascendancy over the pope, and so caused him to attach himself to that alliance, represented as intended to insure the peace of Italy (April 25).

It was just at this time that the Spanish sovereigns requested the bull of donation of the islands recently discovered. To secure their pardon, so to speak, for his equivocal course, Alexander VI. took pains to give them satisfaction and at the same time to address to them a formal document attested by a notary (*instrumentum publicum*), by which he declared that he "desired that even his allies should preserve entire and inviolable the bond which united him to these sovereigns, and this under all circumstances whatever". He also informed Ferdinand and Isabella of the conditions of the alliance which he had concluded with Milan and Venice, and made his excuses for not having offered his mediation between Spain and France by declaring that he had supposed peace to have been concluded by the restoration of Perpignan and Roussillon to the first of these powers. Finally he sent them, by the hand of the same nuncio, the correspondence exchanged between the Emperor and the

<sup>34</sup> On Alexander VI., one may consult with profit, besides L. Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vols. V. and VI., the works of W. H. Woodward, *Cesare Borgia* (London, 1913); M. de Maulde la Clavière, *Histoire de Louis XII.*, première partie (Paris, 1890), II. 302-320; and L. Thuasne, *Djem-Sultan* (Paris, 1892), pp. 304-319.

<sup>35</sup> *Lettres de Charles VIII.* (ed. Pélicier), IV. 28.

King of France relating to a plan of peace. The pope visibly exerts himself to please the monarchs to whom he was soon about to grant the title of "Catholic", and informs them of his whole policy. The conclusion of the letter which Podocatharus addresses in his name to the nuncio in Spain contains this interesting recommendation: "Moreover tell them distinctly with what care we lay ourselves out to satisfy them in all things and to furnish to all the world proofs of the paternal affection we have for them".<sup>36</sup>

Evidently then Alexander VI. could refuse nothing to Ferdinand and Isabella; eager to give them evidences of his good-will he did not hesitate to comply entirely with their request relative to the discoveries made by Columbus, without examining whether their claim menaced the rights of other sovereigns or not.<sup>37</sup> He was to continue in this attitude of favor until the time when he came under the influence of his son, Caesar, that is to say, after the death of Juan, duke of Gandia (1497).

The question has often been discussed, whether Ferdinand and Isabella needed a papal grant in order to acquire the sovereignty of lands discovered by one of their agents. This question directly depends upon that of the nature of the papal power, and opinions relating to the latter vary according to place and time. By the terms of the bull itself, the pope disposed, in favor of the Spanish monarchs, of the temporal sovereignty (*dominium*) of lands discovered or to be discovered in a certain region.

While the Catholic sovereigns clearly held at that time that they had in temporal matters no superior within their own dominions, including all lands of which they had made effective acquisition,<sup>38</sup> the bulls in question were titles to future discoveries, and were de-

<sup>36</sup> "Et insuper significabis quanto affectu omnibus in rebus eis satisfacere et in se paternam Charitatem nostram apud omnes testatam relinquere studeamus", May 17, 1493. [H. Harrisse], *Bibliotheca Americana Vetusissima, Additions*, p. 3, note 2. By the same letter the pope acknowledged the receipt of the letters patent of the Spanish sovereigns in favor of Bernard de Villamar (doubtless the famous corsair Villamarin), whose arrival in Italy he expected and whom the Duke of Gandia was impatient to meet.

<sup>37</sup> Some writers affirm that the relations between Alexander VI. and the Spanish sovereigns were far from cordial at this time, citing a passage of Burckard describing the consistory held at the time when the Spanish ambassador Diego Lopez de Haro made his obedience. But this passage is an interpolation, derived from the diary of Infessura, which must be treated with caution. E. Nys also cites, in support of his opinion, certain unamiable words of the pope regarding Isabella (M. Sanuto, *Diarii*, II., col. 385), but these words relate to the year 1499.

<sup>38</sup> Grant to Columbus of permission to found a *majorat*, April 23, 1497: "no reconocientes superior en lo temporal". Navarrete, *Colección de los Viajes*, II.

signed to repeal bulls which previous popes had promulgated in favor of the kings of Portugal. Proof that Ferdinand and Isabella attached a great value to them is seen in their anxiety that the things which they desired should be incorporated in them, and also in the revisions to which, as we shall see, they subsequently caused them to be subjected.

Before the end of May, negotiations had begun between John II, and the Spanish monarchs. They were conducted with peaceful intentions on both sides. In the course of them, Ferdinand and Isabella obtained a fuller knowledge of the extent of the claims made by the Portuguese king, and of his intention to reserve to himself discoveries made toward the south and the Ocean Sea. Thereupon the dispositions made by the bull of May 3 became inadequate, for Columbus counted with certainty, as we have seen, upon making new expeditions, and first of all toward the south. He was urgent that this bull should be replaced by another, containing a new stipulation with respect to the maritime and colonial dominion of Spain. The Spanish monarchs desired to include in that dominion the whole Atlantic, as is proved by the confirmation of privileges which was granted to Columbus on May 28: "This sea", they say, "belongs to us to the west of a line passing through the Azores and the Cape Verde Islands and extending from north to south, from pole to pole".<sup>39</sup> It is manifest with what insistence they claim the Ocean Sea in both hemispheres. Columbus however suggested that the line should be set further to the west, a hundred leagues from the Portuguese islands in question. That fact is explicitly shown in a letter which the sovereigns addressed to him later (September 5) and which reports a rumor that had been spread of the existence of very rich lands between that line and the southern part of Africa, lands of which they feared that they might be deprived in virtue of the terms of the bull already amended.<sup>40</sup> The text of the latter

<sup>39</sup> Navarrete, *Colección de los Viajes*, II, 60: ". . . mar Océano, que es nuestro, que comienza por una raya ó línea que Nos habemos fecho marcar, que pasa desde las islas de los Azores á las islas de Cabo Verde, de Septentrion en Austro, de polo á polo; por manera que todo lo que es allende de la dicha línea al Occidente, es nuestro é nos pertenece".

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 109: ". . . algunos quieren decir que lo que está en medio desde la punta que los Portugueses llaman de Buena Esperanza, que está en la rota que agora ellos llevan por la Mina del Oro é Guinea abajo fasta la raya que vos dijistes que debía venir en la Bula del Papa piensan que podrá haber Islas y aun Tierra firma, que segun en la parte del sol que está se cree que serán muy provechosas y mas ricas que todas las otras". Up to this time *debía* had been interpreted as "should be"; now evidently the line referred to is that which, according to Columbus, was to be in the bull. Then it was indicated therein. Furthermore, the sovereigns say to Columbus, at a later point, that if he finds it necessary the bull will be modified: "se enmiende la Bula".



must have been drawn up during the month of June and sent then to the Spanish agents at the court of Rome. The determination of Columbus to operate in the south of the Ocean Sea as well as in the west gave rise to the repetition of the words "toward the west and the south" which determined in so strange a fashion the position of the boundary in the ocean between the Spanish and the Portuguese dominions.<sup>41</sup>

It was, then, at the instance of Columbus that the line of demarcation was mentioned in the papal document. Was he himself the author of that line, and if so on what basis did he select it? It does not appear to have been suggested to him by his sovereigns. The instructions which they gave him at the beginning of September, 1493, and a little earlier, with a view to his second voyage, were merely that he should sail as far as possible from the Portuguese possessions. On the other hand, everything leads us to believe that both the papal chancery and the pope himself were entirely strangers to the establishment of this line. If they did not take the initiative in the case of any of the essential stipulations contained in the bulls in question, why should they have done so in precisely that one which concerns the delimitation of the two colonial domains, so advantageous to Spain?

The supposition of Alexander von Humboldt<sup>42</sup> attributing to Columbus the authorship of the line of demarcation appears accordingly very plausible, and in the present state of the sources, practically certain. Whether Columbus, in establishing the line, was guided by facts of physical geography observed in the course of his first voyage—changes in the stars, the aspect of the sea, the temperature, the variation of the compass and the like—drawing inferences from these as to the beginning of the Orient and the end of the Occident, may be doubted, but it is no longer possible to deny him an essential part in the planning of the famous line of demarcation.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Among other evidences this determination may be perceived in the tract of N. Syllacius, *De Insulis Meridiani atque Indici Maris nuper inventis* [1494-1495] (New York, 1859), p. 90: "Quorum opera hispanorum regna auguste aucta: terrae incognitae deprehensae: innumerabiles gentes receptae: quae ad austrum pertinebant extimae, ultra aequatoris metas et signiferi fervores. . .".

<sup>42</sup> Humboldt, *Examen Critique de l'Histoire de la Géographie du Nouveau Continent* (Paris, 1814-1834), p. 251 ff.; Navarrete, *Colección de los Viajes*, II, 226, 254; Oviedo, lib. II., c. XI.

<sup>43</sup> H. Harrisse, *The Diplomatic History of America*, p. 172, note 72, cites the mention in a letter of Duarte d'Almeida to the King of Portugal of the "livro do Almirante das Indias, que fizera de Don Chr. Colón, seu pay das demarcações dos mares e terras de Vossa Altezza cos de Castilla" (from *Raccolta Colombiana*, Desimoni, *Quistioni Colombiane*, p. 78). This book is perhaps that which Colum-

The present sources do not permit us to discover with certainty why the bull of May 4 and the bull *Eximiae* of May 3 were antedated. That of May 4 did not arrive in Spain until the middle of July. On the 19th of that month the first *vidimus* of this document was drawn up, and on August 4 the sovereigns sent this *vidimus* to Columbus with a letter in which they said,

You know that we have applied to Rome for a bull respecting the islands and land which you have discovered and which remain to be discovered. It has come to us today, and we send you an authentic copy of it to publish, so that all the world may know that no one can enter into these regions without authorization from us. Take it with you, that you may be able to show it in every land.<sup>44</sup>

We do not enter now into the history of those diplomatic negotiations between Spain and Portugal, which, beginning on August 18, 1493, resulted in the treaty of Tordesillas (June 7, 1494). Early in the course of those negotiations the Spanish sovereigns, in a letter of September 5, addressed to Columbus, asked his advice as to whether it was not necessary to modify the "bull"—evidently that of May 4. His reply was no doubt affirmative. Such a modification might be brought about through a simple additional and amplifying bull. Columbus intended to pursue his discoveries to the very Orient itself, where the Portuguese hoped to arrive soon. He wished to plant the standard of Castile in the eastern as well as in the southern Indies and it was no doubt for this reason that he requested the papal ratification of the Spanish monopoly of conquests beyond the sea, by way of the west, in all regions not occupied by Christians, especially in the Orient and in the Indies.<sup>45</sup> The bull, dated September 26, revoked, it will be recalled, all contrary dispositions in previous bulls granted to kings, princes, infantes, or rebus had left at Barcelona at the time of the visit which he made to the sovereigns there in the month of May, and of which he asked for a copy. Reference is made to it in a letter which the sovereigns addressed to him on June 1 (Navarrete, *Colección de los Viajes*, II, 72).

<sup>44</sup> Navarrete, *Colección de los Viajes*, II, 90.

<sup>45</sup> See note 25. In the "narration" of this bull there is mention already of these "partes orientales" and of the islands and continents "quae inde fuissent vel essent", that is to say, of India. These words were translated exactly in Spanish by the secretary Gracian, August 30, 1554 (Navarrete, *Colección de los Viajes*, II, 404), but Dawson has been led into error by the fact that *inde* was printed without a capital letter (appendix to his article in the *Proceedings of the Royal Historical Society of Canada*, 1899, sec. II, p. 467). It was by reliance upon this bull of September 26 that Ferdinand Columbus in 1534 drew up a declaration asserting the rights of Spain over all the Orient from the Cape of Good Hope eastward. (Altolaguirre, *Cristóbal Colón y Pablo del Pozzo Toscanelli*, Madrid, 1903, pp. 280-281.)

ligious or military orders (this stipulation is evidently directed at Portugal), even when granted for motives of piety, the spread of the gospel, or the ransom of captives. It also gave expression to the principle that the possession of territories, to be valid, must be effective; but its chief object was to secure to Spain access to the Orient, where it was customary to locate India properly so called. The position of India is however not clearly defined in the papal document; it names it at first in connection with the "oriental regions", and then after a mention of these regions.

That the King of Portugal did not succeed in preventing so considerable an extension of the sphere of influence of Spain must probably be attributed to the fact that at this time he was making it the chief objective of his policy to procure that his natural son, Dom Jorge, should be recognized as his heir presumptive to the prejudice of his brother Manoel, and to obtain for him the hand of a Spanish infanta.

The decision of the Spanish and Portuguese ambassadors that the line of demarcation should be set at a point 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands differing considerably from that set forth in the bull of May 4, 1493, the contracting parties agreed to insert in the treaty of Tordesillas a clause stipulating that the papal confirmation should be sought; but that no papal *motu proprio* should dispense either one of the two parties from observing the convention. The maintenance of the treaties was thus guaranteed against the arbitrary action of the *plenitudo potestatis* of the sovereign pontiff. The confirmation of the treaty was not obtained under the pontificate of Alexander VI., nor until January 24, 1506.

The other European states bordering on the Atlantic, contrary to what has generally been believed, made no account of the bulls issued in favor of the first two colonial powers. Their phrases were considered as infringing upon royal sovereignty; the expressions *motu proprio* and *plenitudo potestatis*, as well as the derogative clauses, were refused allowance in France as threatening the liberties of the Gallican Church. The kings of France, like those of England,<sup>46</sup> whose line of conduct with respect to the pope they had imitated, did not recognize the supreme jurisdiction of the Holy See even in ecclesiastical matters; naturally they were still less disposed to recognize it in temporal affairs.

<sup>46</sup> The Church of England was independent in fact before the theologians of Paris had formulated the principles of freedom of the Gallican church. J. Haller, *Papsttum und Kirchenreform* (Berlin, 1903), I., who recalls the words of Froissart: "Engleterre est la terre le mieulz gardée dou monde". On the prohibition of the formula *motu proprio* in France, see Giry, *Manuel de Diplomatie*, p. 703.

To sum up, then, the bull of demarcation, like the other bulls delivered to Spain in 1493, constituted at first a grant exclusively Spanish; it was in large part, if not wholly, shaped by the chancery of Ferdinand and Isabella; the line of demarcation itself, which played so important a part in subsequent transactions, had been suggested and probably first devised by Christopher Columbus. Moreover, the different bulls of that year were but successive increments of the favors granted to the Spanish sovereigns, Alexander VI. being at that time but an instrument in their hands. Friction with Portugal was increased rather than diminished by the granting of these bulls. Far from recognizing the prior rights of that country in the Atlantic, the Holy See restricted them more and more, in the interest of Spain. The difficulties between the two powers were smoothed away by their own diplomatic means and Portugal distinctly repudiated the incidental arbitration of the pope or of any other authority. If later she relied upon the bull of demarcation, it was because new circumstances brought her into that attitude, for the force of a diplomatic document arises less from the conditions under which it has been shaped than from the events with which it is subsequently associated and which usually modify its range of application.

H. VANDER LINDEN.

## SWISS EMIGRATION TO THE AMERICAN COLONIES IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

THE many thousands of Swiss colonists who came to America in the eighteenth century directed their course mainly to Pennsylvania and Carolina, which they commonly believed to be parts of the West India Islands. Two colonies were founded under Swiss leadership, one in 1710 at New Bern, North Carolina, under Christoph von Graffenried, the other in 1732 at Purrysburgh, South Carolina, promoted by Jean Pierre Purry of Neuchâtel. These colonies encountered all the hardships of pioneer settlements, extremes of heat and cold, fevers incident to the breaking of new ground, hostility of the natives, deficiencies in material equipment. Emigrants of the eighteenth century, before their arrival in the land of hope, had to endure the perils of the sea for months with slight protection and provision, they faced at best a decimation of their numbers on the crowded ships that conveyed them across, they were too often the victims of fraudulent captains and agents, who robbed them and sold them into servitude. All these trials and difficulties were borne and overcome by the early Swiss in common with all other sturdy and heroic pioneers of the eighteenth century.

But there is something distinctive about the emigration from Switzerland and that greater area of eighteenth-century emigration, the Palatinate and the upper Rhine country, the story of which has not been told. This is a record of hardship and obstruction at home, of barriers placed in the way of the emigrant by governments, of social ostracism, and of deprivation of all his rights and privileges. The home governments feared the loss of their people by emigration as much as they might by war or pestilence, and employed all means in their power to prevent it. For a study of this subject the materials found in the Swiss archives seem to be richer than those that have survived in the archives of the Palatinate and southern Germany, where in the eighteenth century the same policy prevailed of restricting, and if possible prohibiting, emigration. Conditions in Switzerland, therefore, may be assumed to illustrate also the situation for the German emigrant of the eighteenth century.

The only occasion when a Swiss government of the eighteenth century encouraged emigration was at the very beginning, and by the Council of Bern. This happened in the following way: in the

years 1701-1704 the Bernese traveller Franz Ludwig Michel made two trips to the American colonies, visiting Pennsylvania and Virginia mainly, with the object incidentally of selecting a site for a colony. His manuscript report<sup>1</sup> on his journeys concludes with a draft of a petition to Queen Anne, proposing a Swiss settlement of from four to five hundred persons in Pennsylvania or Virginia under certain liberal conditions. The principal promoters of this plan were Georg Ritter and Rudolff Ochs,<sup>2</sup> who succeeded as early as 1705 in interesting the Council of Bern and the English envoy Aglionby in the scheme.<sup>3</sup>

It is of importance to note the motives that impelled the government of Bern to take up the matter. Emigration of the virile and well-to-do elements of the population was not what they intended, but they saw an opportunity of ridding themselves of what seemed to them two very undesirable classes of people. One of these was a pauper element, the homeless *Landsassen*, squatters not citizens. The other was the sectarian class, Baptists, Anabaptists, or Mennonites (*Wiedertäufer, Täufer*). The latter particularly were considered a source of danger to both Church and State: their refusal to bear arms or hold office, their simplicity of worship and communistic tendencies, seemed to undermine the foundations of civil governments, of the Protestant and Catholic churches alike. The most terrible and relentless persecution by courts specially appointed (*Täufer-Kammer*) and spies tracking the suspected to their homes (*Täufer-Jäger*), executions by fire and water (drowning, with intended irony), compulsory service in foreign armies or on the galleys of the Mediterranean, could not stop the spread of the sectarian doc-

<sup>1</sup> This interesting manuscript is preserved in the Stadtbibliothek of Bern. Much of the German text of the manuscript has been printed in an article by J. H. Graf, entitled "Franz Ludwig Michel von Bern und seine ersten Reisen nach Amerika 1701-1704: ein Beitrag zur Vorgeschichte der Gründung von New-Berne", in the *Neues Berner Taschenbuch*, 1898, pp. 59-144. A translation into English of the complete manuscript has appeared in the *Virginia Magazine of History*, beginning in January, 1916, done by Professor William J. Hinke. The unique illustrations of the manuscript, including maps, the first building of the College of William and Mary, etc., are there reproduced to accompany the text; explanatory notes are also given.

<sup>2</sup> Joh. Rudolff Ochs compiled a descriptive work on Carolina, entitled: *Amerikanischer Wegweiser oder Kurtze und Eigentliche Beschreibung der Englischen Provinzen in Nord-America, Sonderlich aber der Landschaft Carolina, mit Grosse Fleiss zusammen getragen und an den Tag gegeben durch Joh. Rudolff Ochs neben einer neuen u. correcten Land-Karten von Nord- und Süd-Carolina* (Bern, 1711). Fifty thalers were voted to the author by the Council of Bern for this printed work dedicated to them; see *Ratsmanuale* of Bern, March 21, 1711.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Faust, *Guide to the Materials for American History in Swiss and Austrian Archives* (Washington, 1916), p. 37.

trines. Deportation to the American colonies seemed to offer a hope of relief. Accordingly, the Council of Bern welcomed the opportunity offered by Ritter and Company, though they presented a double face, recommending America to the Mennonites as a place they could obtain an abundance of food, while at the same time warning others against Pennsylvania, a desert, in which food supplies were altogether lacking, and from which the government felt duty-bound to hold its people back until longer experience had been gained.<sup>4</sup>

The expedition of Ritter did not start until March, 1710. We find an entry in the Ratsmanuale of Bern, that forty-five thalers a head were to be paid to Ritter for every *Täufer* he succeeded in bringing to America, and five hundred thalers more for another group of about one hundred emigrants (pauper class), who desired to go to America.<sup>5</sup> The deportation of Ritter's group of Anabaptists proved a failure, though every possible precaution had been taken to prevent their escape. The Dutch Mennonites objected strenuously to the deportation of brothers of their faith, and refused to allow any to be carried through their country for the purpose of transportation to America, unless it were of their own free will. Of the forty-three men and eleven women composing the *Täufer* group, thirty-two were released at Mannheim owing to age and sickness, the remaining twenty-two gained their liberty at Nimwegen.<sup>6</sup>

Graffenried and Michel became members of the Ritter Company in 1710, the former's connections with influential men in England, and the latter's experience, being of value in rescuing the Bernese emigration scheme from complete failure. A total purchase of 17,500 acres was made and probably through the influence of the surveyor Lawson the land was located at the confluence of the Neuse and the Trent in North Carolina. At this time London was crowded with more than ten thousand Palatine emigrants desirous of being transported to the American colonies, and the problem of their sustenance and disposition was becoming very burdensome. Graffenried and Michel succeeded in getting about six hundred of them for their Carolina colony, and Graffenried had the privilege of choosing what seemed to him the most desirable persons. These and the remnant of Bernese emigrants made up several ship-loads of colonists for Graffenried's new settlement. The fortunes of New Bern in its beginnings have been told by the facile pen of the founder

<sup>4</sup> Bern, Mandatenbuch, 1709, 1710; Bern, Ratsmanuale (RM.), XL, 238, 392.

<sup>5</sup> Bern, RM., XLI, 229, 281, etc.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Ernst Müller, *Geschichte der Bernischen Täufer* (Frauenfeld, 1895), pp. 252, 278, etc.

himself.<sup>7</sup> He built better than he knew, under a luckier star than Peter Purry, whose town, so promising before the Revolutionary War, has left but a name in colonial history.

From the point of view of aiding the government in the deportation of undesirables, the Ritter agency was a total failure. Such a scheme was again discussed by the Berner Rat in 1710,<sup>8</sup> with a proposition to buy land in one of the American colonies for this purpose. But the plan was dropped, and never taken up again. There was a return to the original position on the subject of emigration, that contained in the prohibitory decrees of the seventeenth century,<sup>9</sup> punishing returning emigrants with loss of property and citizenship.

The old tradition forbade emigration. Leaving the country of one's birth seemed equivalent to desertion, and as desertion from the ranks was paid for with loss of life, so emigration was punishable with loss of all that the state deemed worth having, citizenship, property, land- and home-rights. Banishment, social ostracism, refusal of permission to return, imprisonment for life if caught returning, these were the conditions on which the emigrant gave up his country. Characteristic is the categorical command in the Lutheran translation of Psalm xxxvii. 3: "Bleibe im Lande und nähre dich redlich", which in the English version is an indefinite promise of reward for good deeds.<sup>10</sup> Remain in the land of thy forefathers and earn an honest living therein, is the admonition which Luther reads out of the Psalmist's text, and which is spoken out of his own heart. Emigration is sinful and its wages death, so judged the sixteenth, seventeenth, and most of the eighteenth century; the nineteenth introduced a more liberal view.

<sup>7</sup> The three manuscripts of Graffenried on the settlement of New Bern are described, and two of them printed, in *German American Annals*, n. s., XI, 205-302, and XII, 63-190. See also *Guide*, pp. 73-75. W. F. von Mülinen, librarian of the city of Bern, has written the authoritative account of the life and career of Graffenried, based throughout on the original manuscripts given him by the Grafenried family. Cf. *Christoph von Graffenried, Landgraf von Carolina, Gründer von Neu-Bern*, zumeist nach Familienpapieren und Copien seiner amtlichen Berichte, von Wolfgang Friedrich von Mülinen, *Neujahrsblatt hrg. v. Historischen Verein des Kantons Bern für 1897* (Bern, 1896). A trustworthy and very readable account in English of Graffenried's settlement of New Bern has appeared in the *Jahrbuch der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois*, Jahrgang 1912, by Vincent H. Todd: "Christoph von Graffenried and the Founding of New Bern, N. C." The reprint is entitled: "Baron Christoph von Graffenried's New Bern Adventures".

<sup>8</sup> Bern, RM., XLI, 408.

<sup>9</sup> Bern, Mandatenbuch, 1641, 1643, 1660; see *Guide*, p. 33.

<sup>10</sup> Psalm xxxvii. 3 in the Lutheran Bible reads: "Hoffe auf den Herrn und thue Gutes; bleibe im Lande und nähre dich redlich." The English Bible interprets: "Trust in the Lord, and do good; so shalt thou dwell in the land, and verily thou shalt be fed."



There were some good reasons for the policy of restricting, if not prohibiting, emigration in the eighteenth century. An able-bodied emigrant meant the loss of a defender of the land, and of an agricultural or industrial worker. Especially in the smaller countries of Central Europe a large loss of population might mean political or economic ruin. An increase of population seemed the result of good government, a decrease an indication of unsuccessful or incapable rulers. Many governments, particularly in Switzerland, assumed a paternal attitude toward their subjects, caring for their material and spiritual welfare, or at least pretending to do so. They felt this duty very keenly when it was to their advantage. Hearing that many emigrants were lost at sea, and that many others met insuperable difficulties after their arrival in the American colonies, they warned their subjects in fatherly fashion, and soon forbade their leaving, to save them against themselves. Similarly the Protestant governments were very much concerned for the spiritual welfare of such as might in 1720 take service in a Catholic province,<sup>11</sup> or either church might object to its people going into a colony of sectarians. In 1716 the Ratsherren of Bern passed a resolution to allow only those to emigrate who could prove that they were well taught in religion (and were poor).<sup>12</sup> Thus they endeavored to save the souls of their people, and at the same time to prevent the spread of heretical doctrines.

After the colonization scheme of 1710 had quickly come to an end at Bern, no further attempts were made for a decade. The initiative then twice came from the neighboring principality of Neuchâtel (Neuenburg). In 1720 a captain in the regiment Karrer by the name of Merveilleux (alias Wunderlich) attempted to secure recruits for service in (the island of) Mississippi. He seems to have succeeded in getting "several whole families of poor people",<sup>13</sup> but his scheme was vigorously opposed by Bern and other governments, partly owing to a distrust of overseas service, and partly on religious grounds, as described above. The other attempt was far more successful in course of time. It was the plan of Jean Pierre Purry of the firm Purry et Compagnie in Neuchâtel to found a colony in Carolina. He began to advertise as early as 1725 for three or four hundred workingmen of different professions, all Swiss Protestants of good reputation and manners, between the ages of twenty and

<sup>11</sup> Expedition of Merveilleux, service in Mississippi region; see *Guide*, p. 41, etc.

<sup>12</sup> Bern, RM., LXVIII. 36.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, LXXXIV. 378; Erlach-Buch D., p. 661.

forty. In spite of his advertisements,<sup>14</sup> spread broadcast and posted wherever possible, in which South Carolina was praised as one of the "finest countries in the universe", Purry did not make much headway until about five years later. He also published a book descriptive of Carolina, which was feared with good reason by paternal Swiss governments. In 1732 Purry established his colony of Purrysburgh with ninety-three colonists, to which there were soon added several hundred more.<sup>15</sup> The settlement had a prosperous beginning in comparison with many others, and is noted in colonial history for its experiment in silk growing and manufacture.

Social and economic conditions favored an increase in emigration during the thirties and forties of the eighteenth century. In Bern, Zürich, Basel, Luzern, Appenzell, Fribourg, Vaud, and elsewhere, the ruling classes, often composed of a few patrician families, bore down heavily upon the city and country folk, depriving them of all possibility of rising above their wretched economic condition, and enacting offensive laws, such as those forbidding artisans to carry wares under the arcades (*Lauben*) of Bern, so that the patricians might walk through them in comfort, or closing the vegetable market to all but the noble class until 11 a. m. Rebellion was the consequence, but unfortunately victory always remained with the aristocrats until the French Revolution awakened the Swiss people to a united stand for their liberties.

During this period Switzerland remained the recruiting ground for the powerful nations of Europe. Young Swiss noblemen found it a profitable business to equip and lead regiments in foreign armies, while their recruits, good soldiers who did not spare themselves, received none of the bounteous rewards. A large percentage of officers and men, however, never returned to their homes. Swiss fought against Swiss on the battlefields of Europe, in the War of the Austrian Succession, as often before. It was estimated that in 1740 about 69,000 Swiss mercenary soldiers served in foreign armies, about 22,000 in French, 2,400 in Austrian, 13,600 in Spanish, 10,600 in Sardinian, 20,400 in Dutch service.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> See Documents, F, on p. 131, below. The documents accompanying this article were found in the archives of Basel and Bern. They are representative specimens of a very much larger number, illustrating emigration problems of the eighteenth century.

<sup>15</sup> Lists of their names are given in the authoritative account of the colony by Judge Henry A. M. Smith, entitled "Purrysburgh", in the *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, X, 187-219 (1909). See also *Guide*, p. 169, etc.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *Eröffnungsrede*, gehalten in der Helvetischen Gesellschaft zu Langenthal, den 31. Mai 1843, von Regierungsrat Fetscherin in Bern, pp. 84-85. Cf. also: Johannes Dierauer, *Geschichte der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft* (Gotha, 1912), IV, 234.

Add to these conditions periodic failures of crops, due to hailstorms and floods, as in the Bernese Oberland, and no sentimental ties nor governmental restrictions could restrain the desire for emigration. It is not surprising that at times this desire rose to a passion, that threatened to depopulate large sections and gave the governments good cause for alarm. Such an emigration epoch existed in Switzerland between 1730 and 1750, the high tide coming between 1734 and 1744.

What started the movement it is difficult to say. Perhaps the continuous advertisements of J. P. Purry had the effect of touching the match to the powder-barrel. Perhaps favorable letters from colonists happy in the new country had been coming in for a long time, with the natural suggestion to follow after. At all events the emigration fever gave visible signs of becoming epidemic.

Zürich acted quickly, issuing a decree, November 3, 1734,<sup>17</sup> forbidding her people to travel to Carolina, preventing the sale of property by those wishing to emigrate, proclaiming punishment of agents enticing people to emigrate or distributing seductive literature. This was followed after a few months by the decree of January 29, 1735, which repeated the previous commands, and added sterner measures, deprivation of citizenship and land-rights forever, punishment also of the purchasers of property sold by emigrants, close watch over and severe punishment of persons enticing others to leave. The decrees were read from all the pulpits in town and country, they were posted in public places, yet Zürich, as the records show, found it necessary to let large numbers depart.

Bern did not act as promptly, nor with the same decision. She hesitated before sending an order, July 6, 1734, to all the districts, warning against emigration to Carolina, restricting emigration to the homeless class and to sectarians, who were even to be assisted with funds to get away. The policy of 1710 seems still to have held sway in the minds of many of the Ratsherren, that of using America as a colony for deportation of undesirables. A letter is written to Untersee, urging the *Amtmann* to explain to those desirous of leaving, that the "printed book on Carolina" contains falsehoods; those who can not be persuaded to remain, shall be taxed five per cent. of the value of their property (a tax raised to 10 per cent. shortly after). In the meantime the gun-maker Striker (Stryger) of Steffisburg is suspected of being an emigrant agent, he is commanded to surrender his list of names, and in December he is banished from the country. Anxiously Bern inquires of Zürich, what she is doing to cure the

<sup>17</sup> This decree and the one of 1735 are printed in full in the *Guide*, pp. 15-17.

"emigration fever". Zürich sends copies of her decrees forbidding emigration, whereupon Bern is roused to publish her first decree, January 12, 1735,<sup>18</sup> warning her people of the Oberland against the trip to Carolina. It is a document altogether different from the Zürich decrees, in that it attempts to use persuasion rather than force. The *Amtleute* are to explain to those desirous of seeking their fortunes in Carolina, that the printed accounts on the subject are misleading, that the sea-journey is a long one, the change of air, the strange food, the lack of fresh water, occasion sickness and death among Swiss people, pirates on the sea sell them into slavery, and arriving in Carolina as paupers, they are obliged to sell themselves into servitude. Those who in spite of these warnings were determined to go, should not be prohibited from doing so, nor would they sacrifice the government's good-will, except those who possessed means valued at over five hundred pounds, who should be compelled to give up their citizenship and land-right. Emigration was not to be prohibited, but made distasteful, and the country was to be guarded against loss, as when persons of the homeless class were put into the places of those citizens who had left the district.

The records of the year 1735 at Bern show continuous emigration. Investigations concerning Carolina are ordered and reports are received. On February 3 a vote is recorded that no more passports shall be given to emigrants, but on March 2, on their petition, 322 persons are allowed to leave for the American colonies, and on the next day another group of emigrants from Oberhasli are given permission, provided they have means to the extent of five hundred pounds, defraying their expenses, and provided children left behind be cared for. On March 13 three ships are designated to transport the greater part (*Hauptschwarm*) of the emigrants.<sup>19</sup> On March 17 a group are given back the ten per cent. tax which they had already paid. If any of them desire to return, they can still buy back their property. If children do not desire to go with their parents, they are to receive a part of the family property. March 23 a complaint is received from the financial agent May in London concerning the distressing condition of Swiss (especially from Bern, Zürich, Graubünden) emigrants arriving there. Money is voted to bring them back, with one exception, for whom a guinea is sent to continue her journey to America. April 25 some success is reported in keeping back a group of highlanders of Oberhasli and Interlaken, and advice is asked concerning methods of providing for them. But, a few months after, the *commissaire* in London reports that a number of

<sup>18</sup> The decree is printed in full in the *Guide*, pp. 34-35.

<sup>19</sup> Bern, RM., CNLVJ, 215, 266, 270, 337.

Bernese, desiring to go to Georgia, had arrived in England. On September 26 measures are taken against a certain person named Quinche of Neuchâtel, who is trying to entice people to go to Carolina (probably in the interests of Purrysburgh). This completes the record of the excitement at Bern for the year 1735. The pressure of emigration proved irresistible.<sup>20</sup>

A vacillating policy in regard to emigration continued at Bern for a number of years more. An optimistic view was recorded on May 5, 1738: The emigration tax (*Abzug*) should not be increased, first, because of the attention thereby directed to it and consequent dissatisfaction, secondly, because emigration was on the decline, "the RABIES CAROLINAE" had happily disappeared, and the people had allowed themselves to be persuaded by the sad fate of the best of the emigrants rather than by the paternal advice of the Ratsherren.<sup>21</sup> But emigration had by no means stopped, it was destined to flow again, triumphantly, especially after 1740. In 1741 Hans Riemensperger of Toggenburg is planning to induce people to go with him to Carolina and Georgia, and his arrest is ordered. Neuchâtel is warned against him. Peter Huber is under suspicion the following year, when the "emigration fever" seems to start anew. "Auswanderung wieder lebhaft im Gang", is an entry in the record book on March 1, 1742. The Bernese highlanders are emigrating again in large numbers. Some are diverted from their purpose by offers of work in the French parts of the canton. In view of the danger the policy of Bern changes. A decree is issued April 26, 1742, forbidding all emigration to Carolina or elsewhere in America, under heavy penalties. A period of three months is allowed in which emigrants may return, after which loss of citizenship, land-right, and property will be enforced. Property shall not be sent out of the country, but shall be forfeited to the community which the emigrant has left. Children under age (at the time of emigration) may return to their rights at any time, others shall be treated as agents attempting to entice people to emigrate. The decree yielded nothing in severity to those of Zürich published in 1734-1735 and re-enforced in 1739, 1741, and 1744.

In spite of all exertions on the part of the government, so it is recorded February 17, 1744, people from the Oberland go to Carolina in hordes (*haufenweise*). They are allowed to go, but such as return are to be put into prison. Peter Inäbnit, returning from Carolina, is under suspicion and is thrown into prison. On the same day, March 17, 1744, eighty emigrants, who have already paid

<sup>20</sup> See *Guide*, pp. 43-45.

<sup>21</sup> Säckelschreiber Protokolle, Y., Bern, May 5, 1738.

their tax (*Abzug*), pass by the city of Bern in a boat. Other agents (*Amerika-Werber*) appear, Jakob Walder of the canton of Zürich, Jacob Joner of Basel, and others. Reports having appeared in newspapers that many thousands of emigrants had arrived in Basel ready to go to America and Nova Scotia, Bern requests Basel, Zürich, and other cantons, on June 26, to suppress such newspaper reports (whether true or false). Similarly a French paper of Bern is rebuked in 1750 (February 26), for publishing an article on Carolina and Pennsylvania, "where people make their fortunes". In the same year, after a group from the Oberland has succeeded in getting a ship at Yverdun to take them over the lake, emigrants are thenceforth forbidden to take ship at this point. Letters are constantly searched for and confiscated; in 1753 the bearers of letters, Hans Zurflüh and Hans Wyss, are imprisoned for twenty-four hours, and then compelled to leave the country within a week.

Preachers who came to Switzerland soliciting funds for churches or Bibles, or seeking ministers for churches in America, were thought to be especially dangerous, since they could not be punished by the laws, yet their presence had the effect of enticing people to emigration. Therefore they were given the *consilium abeundi* and to facilitate their speedy departure, their hotel and travelling expenses (to the border) were given them. This happened to Michael Schlatter (prominent organizer of Reformed churches in America) in 1751, and to Pastor Gasser (minister of the Reformed church at Santee Forks, South Carolina) in 1755, who shortly after was ordered to be arrested on the charge of influencing people at Interlaken. Thus the Ratsherren of Bern had troubles unceasing in the attempt to keep their people at home, and even in 1766 and later complained of losing their population.<sup>22</sup>

Basel felt the pressure of emigration immediately because of her location at the gateway of travel. She had cause to complain of emigrants arriving in a pauperized condition, waiting to be transported.<sup>23</sup> A large number of emigrants were examined as to the causes of their leaving,<sup>24</sup> the most common reasons given being poverty, lack of employment, and failure of crops, while the hope of bettering their condition, or making their fortunes appears very seldom. The government of Basel commonly allowed emigrants to pass on, though vigorous efforts were made to discourage wholesale emigration. As early as 1735 difficulties were created for emigrants

<sup>22</sup> The subject may be followed in detail by consulting the *Ratsmanuale*, in *Guide*, pp. 40-53.

<sup>23</sup> *Cf. Guide*, p. 101, etc.

<sup>24</sup> See Documents, D, 1 and 2.

who wished to sell their property (*Vergantung*, or *Ganten*); the ten per cent. tax<sup>25</sup> also, and an additional sum for manumission in the case of those in bondage, were exacted, except that those whose possessions amounted to less than one hundred pounds<sup>26</sup> were released from all payments. Many there were who had not a penny, which circumstance is also faithfully recorded in the official lists,<sup>27</sup> sometimes with a spark of unconscious humor, as: Hans Jacob Märcklin from Dürnen has 1 wife, 4 children, and otherwise nothing (*sonst nichts*). Martin Gass from Rothenflue has 1 wife, 8 children, and nothing more (*weiter nichts*). The same list reports that: Hans Rudi Erb from Rotenflue is unmarried, has a bad face, and 130 pounds worth of property. To avoid the tax or for other reasons many emigrants left their homes in secret, leaving behind letters to their friends, or sending them regretful notice of their departure after having crossed the border. These are referred to as *Heinliche Emigranten* in the records of Basel.<sup>28</sup>

The decrees of Basel, finally forbidding emigration to America, resemble those of Zürich and Bern. The one of 1749, printed in full among the Documents<sup>29</sup> accompanying this article, prohibits the securing of an inheritance by anyone who has left the country; the emigrant is to be considered as "dead", and bereft of rights. This mandate was renewed in 1771, and an additional decree was published in 1773, aimed particularly at crafty emigrant agents, attempting to collect inheritances for friends in America. The word *Neuländer* is here<sup>30</sup> used for *Werber*, agent. The petitions and records at Basel show that the high tide of emigration at that city occurred between 1734 and 1752; another wave started about 1767 and lasted until 1773, when it was interrupted by the Revolutionary War. Emigration started again, though feebly, in 1786.<sup>31</sup>

The archives of Schaffhâusen give evidence of emigration from that quarter in large numbers between 1734 and 1748. The Chronicle of the city (*Harder Chronik*) refers to this emigration several times, *e. g.*, September 8, 1738:

In June many poor people from neighboring districts, notably Merishausen and Reiat, emigrated to North America. When then also some

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Kaspar Hauser, "Ueber den Abzug in der Schweiz", in *Jahrbuch für Schweizerische Geschichte*, hrg. auf Veranstaltung der Allgemeinen Geschichtsforschenden Gesellschaft der Schweiz, Bd. XXXIV. (Zürich, 1909).

<sup>26</sup> The value of the pound, Basel currency, was about two francs.

<sup>27</sup> See Documents, D, 1.

<sup>28</sup> For a specimen of such a letter, see Documents under B, no. 4.

<sup>29</sup> See under Documents, E, 1.

<sup>30</sup> See under Documents, E, 2.

<sup>31</sup> See *Guide*, pp. 101-107.

[of our] subjects at Rüdlingen and Buchberg made the unseasonable resolve to leave their fatherland and travel to far distant lands, and thus in thoughtless manner expose themselves to great discomfort and extreme wretchedness with repentance coming too late, the government "stepped in" and forbade emigration on penalty of the loss of land-right.

The cantons of Aargau, Solothurn, and especially Graubünden also furnished a quota of emigrants in the eighteenth century, though the records have been lost. There was emigration also from Luzern and the forest cantons, though the emigration from Catholic was smaller than from Protestant cantons. Interesting plans were proposed from time to time, to employ those desiring to emigrate in some remunerative industry, or to use the undivided land (*Allmend*) or the forests (*Hochwald*) for the benefit of the hopelessly poor. Almost without exception, however, these plans were never put into execution, and in the very few cases when they were carried out, they lived only a very short time.<sup>32</sup>

The archives of Switzerland throw new light on the character and methods of the emigrant agent. Owing to the severe penalties placed upon the trade, he appears as a far more subtle individual than the traditional *Neuländer*. The latter (so he is generally depicted), having failed as a colonist and finding "emigrant-hunting" a far more profitable means of livelihood, affected the appearance of wealth, with his conspicuous attire and heavy gold watch and chain, and loudly proclaimed tales of easily acquired wealth, bearing forged letters in witness of his claims. Such a figure may have existed and flourished at the seaports of Europe and America, but he could not have survived longer than a day in the upper Rhine country or in Switzerland. Watchful eyes would have been upon him, and the reward would have been collected for his capture twice before he could have earned a single fee for bringing an emigrant to port. The successful emigrant agent was a person of an entirely different description, shrewd, tactful, inconspicuous, denying any purpose of his visit, except to collect a debt or inheritance for a friend in America. He was careful not to arouse suspicion, and gave information only when asked for it. A good view of his methods can be derived from the records at Bern and Basel of trials (*Verhöre*) of persons suspected of enticing emigrants. Two of these are of particular interest, the examination of Peter Huber at Basel and Bern in 1742, and of Peter Inäbnit at Bern, in 1744. The ver-

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Dr. E. Lerch, *Die Bernische Auswanderung nach Amerika im 18. Jahrhundert*, separate print from the *Blätter für Bernische Geschichte, Kunst, und Altertumskunde*, Jahrgang V., Heft 4, December, 1009, pp. 19-31. Cf. also Bern, *Responsa Prudentum, Guide*, p. 55.



batim reports of these trials, found in the archives of Bern and Basel, are published here for the first time, accompanying this article.<sup>33</sup>

Peter Huber was taken captive at Basel on the request of Bern. The examination at Basel reveals that he was a native of Oberhasli in the Bernese Oberland, about thirty years of age, and by trade a shoemaker. He was on his way back to Carolina, accompanied by his wife and two children, whom he had come to fetch the foregoing summer. One daughter had gone with him to Carolina on his first trip, about eight years before (1734), and she had remained in Carolina. To the question, whether he had any other travelling companions, he answered that his sister was bringing his baggage for him, and another woman, Barbara Horger, expected to go with him to Carolina. He denied knowing aught of the group of emigrants who had arrived at Basel, and affirmed positively that he had not urged anyone to make the journey with him. A number of emigrants at Basel were examined,<sup>34</sup> one of whom declared that he had been enticed by Huber, but that now, yielding to the advice of the authorities, he would prefer to remain. All ten others denied that Huber had put the idea into their heads, and all but two insisted on being allowed to go. So far no damaging evidence was brought against Huber. He was then taken to Bern in custody, and subjected to a more searching trial. The questions show that a body of facts had been collected against him that might indeed arouse suspicion, but such was Huber's skill in answering them, that he could not be convicted on the first examination. Some of the questions and answers were as follows:

Q.: Could he [Huber] deny, that he had desired to take some people away with him?

A.: He had desired to take no one away, except his sister, and the foreigner Jacob Lanu, who had worked in the mines for seven years. The latter had frequently approached him asking to be taken along, but he [Huber] had refused, saying that such a thing was prohibited. The inspector of the mines had, however, told Lanu that, being a free man, he could go wherever he wished. [Lanu was not a Bernese subject.]

When Lanu was confronted with Huber, contrary to his previous statement, he declared that Huber had not enticed him, but that he wanted to go on his own free will.

Q.: Did not Peter Scherz of Aeschi come to him [Huber] at Unterseen, and ask, whether a weaver could with wife and children make a living in Carolina?

<sup>33</sup> See Documents, A, 1, 3, 4.

<sup>34</sup> See under Documents, A, 2.

A.: Scherz had come to him at Zollbrück, crossed the lake and spent the night with him, but that he [Huber] had told him there were enough weavers in Carolina, moreover that Scherz had not enough money for so long a journey. Subsequently he had received two letters from Scherz, which he had not answered.

Q.: Whether he did not urge Hans Aebiger to go to Carolina?

A.: Aebiger had come to him and asked how the hunting was in Carolina? Upon this he had described the country. Aebiger also asked him about a gun, which Aebiger offered him.

Aebiger affirmed, when examined, that Huber had awakened in him the desire to emigrate, and especially in his wife, who left him no peace about it, but that he was willing to remain, rather than incur the ill-will of the government. Several others also were examined.<sup>35</sup> Those who decided to remain, perhaps in order to better their chances with the authorities, threw the blame on Huber, while those who were firm in their resolution to go, exonerated Huber from any attempt to entice them.

After a number of other questions on individual cases, the court declared that it was very plain that Huber had enticed the poor people by praising Carolina; he should therefore confess in order to secure more gracious treatment. Thereupon Huber boldly affirmed, that he had spoken nothing but the truth; he had given up his citizenship and land-right, and had enticed no one; no person would dare to confront him with such a charge. Huber was remanded to prison.

A few days later a slip of paper was discovered, which Huber had thrown out of the prison window, and on which he told those who were still minded to travel with him to Carolina, to go and tarry for a while in the neighboring Neuchâtel; as soon as he was set free he would come to them and take them along with him to Carolina. Upon this new evidence Huber was tried again. The examiners skillfully concealed their discovery at first, in the hope of extracting more information, and cautioned him to adhere strictly to the truth.

Q.: What route had he [Huber] taken on his previous journey to Carolina?

A.: By way of Burgundy [*i. e.*, Neuchâtel-Besançon], and France to Calais.

Q.: Why then did he take a different route this time, and go by way of the Brünig Pass, Unterwalden, Basel?

The question was a critical one, for there was suspicion, that he was taking people from the Oberland by the mountain route to Lucerne, and thence to Basel, keeping them out of the jurisdiction

<sup>35</sup> See under Documents, A, 3 (at the close).

of Bern. Otherwise they would have to come by way of Thun and pass Bern, on the way to Neuchâtel.

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A.: He had intended to take his former route, but in order to avoid suspicion, and being followed by emigrants, he preferred the other route.

Q.: Whether he did not know that people had gone ahead to Basel to await him there?

A.: No, he had heard that one or another had gone down from the Oberland, but where they intended to go he did not know, except in the case of Barbara Horger, who accompanied him.

Q.: He should tell truthfully, whether this was not a plan, to meet at Basel, and then go together to Carolina?

A.: No! He had nothing to do with those people, for he expected to take his usual route from Basel by land to Calais, while those people were going to take the Rhine route, and a ship had already been engaged for them.

New evidence was now brought against him; his baggage had been examined and a most interesting device for concealing letters was found therein.

Q.: Was he [Huber] not in possession of a wooden vessel [*hölzernes Geschirr*], the top of which would hold drink, and the bottom of which could be used for concealing letters?

A.: Yes, such a one was made for him by Hans Roth in Carolina, and could be found in his baggage.

Q.: Had he not given Landsvenner Sterchi<sup>36</sup> at Zollbrück a ring and seal, by which he could recognize letters coming from him?

A.: No! He had, however, brought with him a letter of Peter Zaugg in Carolina to Sterchi; he knew not if anything of the sort were contained therein.

Q.: Since he [Huber] had thus far been very obstinate in denying answers to questions, at the same time had assured the court, that he would gladly confess all that was true, they wished now to see how earnestly he loved the truth: Did he not, the day before yesterday, throw [from his prison window] toward a woman of his part of the country [Oberland], a piece of paper, on which was written, that those that still had a desire to travel with him, should go to Neuchâtel and tarry there a while, that he hoped his case was not so bad that he might not soon be free, and when at liberty he would come and in passing take them with him, they would then directly be in Burgundy, and could pass on unhindered?

A.: At this question he seemed altogether terrified, looked about him to one side and another, and for some time did not know what to say, and the tears came to his eyes. Finally he answered: Yes! He could not deny this; he had thought, that when once free and finding these people outside of the jurisdiction of Bern, he could take them along without doing any wrong, but he confessed being grievously at fault in this, and humbly besought God's and Their Graces' pardon. [Act. March 21, 1742.]

<sup>36</sup> Landsvenner (Bannerträger) Sterchi was a friend of emigrants; see his name mentioned in a letter, Documents, C, 2.

Huber was taken back to prison, but was evidently set free soon after, and banished forever, perhaps under threat of the death penalty if he were caught attempting to return. We learn from the testimony of Peter Inäbñit, two years later, that Huber arrived in Carolina with a small number of emigrants, perhaps with more than the examinee was willing to state.

Peter Inäbñit (Imäbñit, In Äbñit, or Im Äbñit), brought to trial in 1744, was not so fortunate. He lost his life in the venture, though equally clever and perhaps better instructed, for Inäbñit left Carolina after Huber had returned, and probably received directions from him. Peter Inäbñit had left Switzerland in 1734 with his parents and their children, when he was still under age. He was therefore privileged to return to his home in Grindelwald, and could lawfully remain there if he wished, for the law debarring an emigrant from all rights did not apply to his children leaving under age. It was very clever on the part of Inäbñit to declare that he wished to live in Switzerland, and not return to Carolina. He was about twenty-five years of age in 1743, when he reappeared in the Oberland, to collect some money from a relative in his native town of Grindelwald. He was observed moving from place to place, notably in the districts of Hasli and Interlaken, whence most of the emigrants had always come. He also visited Reichenbach (located near Bern on the peninsula of the river Aare), then the seat of the English envoy. He had been seen surrounded by large crowds of people, especially on Sundays, and he was asked all sorts of questions by them, but was moderate in his speech. He was also reported to have brought letters from Carolina. For all of these circumstances he was under suspicion, and was soon brought before a court for examination.<sup>87</sup>

Many a prisoner fell a victim to his inquisitors on the initial question, why have you been taken captive? Not so, Peter Inäbñit. He expressed ignorance and surprise.

Q.: Why was he still remaining in the country, though his business must have been settled long ago?

A.: He expected to remain in Switzerland. In Carolina he had lived nine years, and suffered from illness all but the first two, for that reason he did not like the country, and did not expect to return.

Q.: There were reasons to doubt this, for it was known, that he had come with a very different purpose; he should tell squarely, whether he had not come to entice some of his countrymen, and engage them to go with him to Carolina?

A.: God forbid! He had not come to take anybody with him.

Q.: How could he explain, that wherever he appeared in the Oberland, crowds of people gathered about him, and since then it was found that a great many desired to emigrate?

<sup>87</sup> See Documents, A, 4.

A.: Of that he knew nothing, but he could tell no other reason, than that they wanted to hear something about how their relatives in Carolina were getting along.

Q.: Had he not praised the country, or talked about it to anyone?

A.: To many who asked out of curiosity, he had spoken about the nature of the country, but no one could prove, that he had advised anyone to go there.

Q.: Whether he did not write a letter to the English envoy with this intention?

A.: At this he was somewhat taken aback. Finally he confessed having written the letter,<sup>38</sup> saying he never intended delivering it to the envoy, but merely wished to satisfy those who urged him to do so. No sensible person, said he, would ever think, that anything could be accomplished in this way.

Q.: Would he deny having been at Reichenbach, in order to speak with the envoy?

A.: To be sure, he had been there, but had had no audience with the envoy.<sup>39</sup>

Q.: Whether he did not, at Grindelwald, station himself in the churchyard on Sundays, and commend Carolina to the people?

A.: He never staid long in the churchyard, but many people came to him in the inn, but he told them nothing more than what they asked about Carolina.

Q.: Whether he had not brought letters from Carolina, that undoubtedly gave a favorable enough account of the country?

A.: Yes. Eight letters, one to Grindelwald, and seven to Oberhasli.

Questioned about the letters in another examination, he said he knew not the contents, except that Christen Brauen wrote to his father, that he had arrived safely, but not having had sufficient means, he had been obliged to serve for four years. People in Carolina, Inäbnit declared, had tried to overload him with letters, but he had refused except in behalf of his nearest friends, because only trouble came of it.

Q.: Who had told him to write to the English envoy?

A.: He could not tell, but he had been urged from many quarters.

Q.: Why did he wish to speak to the English envoy personally?

A.: He wanted to offer his services, since he had heard that the English resident desired a servant who could speak English. But he did not succeed in seeing him.

<sup>38</sup> The letter in question has survived; it is printed in full under Documents, A, 4. It reported to the English resident at Reichenbach, that there were about 200 persons ready to go to Carolina, if the Hon. Ambassador would open his generous hand, but that most of the people were poor, and some that were not did not know how to get their property away. Some had small children and did not know how to go about the matter of the journey. They wanted also to know something about the period of service.

<sup>39</sup> It would have been very unwise for the envoy to receive a person offering to violate the laws of the country to which he was accredited.

Q.: What had he told the people about Carolina, making so many of them anxious to go there?

A.: He had not said anything specially about it, except in answer to questions; moreover, he had neither praised nor blamed the country, but of course told them what the conditions were, and that over there as here, whoever brought nothing was in a bad way, and although as a carpenter he had earned 15 batzen a day, he did not wish to go back, because he could not pull through very well.

Q.: Had not in the preceding year Peter Huber taken people to Carolina? [An attempt to connect him with the convicted agent.]

A.: There were nine or ten persons who arrived with him, but he [Huber] could not have derived any benefit therefrom, especially since some, for their travelling expenses, had to serve those who had released them from the ship.

Q.: He should once for all tell the truth, and say, whether he had not been sent expressly to bring people into the country?

A.: No, he had merely wished to see his fatherland again, and remain here, or in Germany.

The document goes on to say, that after the prisoner, in spite of expostulations, threats of torture, and confrontation with the executioner, had refused further statement or confession, he was taken up to the torture-chamber and once more vehemently urged, and threatened with the application of torture—nevertheless he adhered firmly to his previous statements, *viz.*, that he had not come to entice anyone to go to Carolina, that he did not know what was contained in the letters he brought with him, that he himself did not intend to return to Carolina, and no one could charge that he had lured anyone to go, on the contrary he had rather advised against than in favor of emigrating. For the rest he realized that he was in the power of the high authorities, they could do with him whatever they wished, however he begged that they graciously give him his liberty. Upon that he was condemned to stand in the stocks, and then banished forever. This was in February, 1744.

In spite of his cleverness, courage, and firmness, Peter Inäbnit failed, for he lacked the quality of caution. He made the mistake of writing too many letters, dangerous instruments, for they could easily get into the wrong hands. Instead of leaving Switzerland at once, he was discovered at Basel during the following month, and brought once more to Bern. There he was forced to confess that he had written letters to Hans Nägeli, Christen Brunner, and Hans Müller, instructing them how to go about preparing for the journey to Carolina. He claimed that he was greatly urged to do so, was under the influence of drink, and believed he was doing no wrong, since he was banished anyway (not a convincing argument). He confessed having written also to Grindelwald for the money which

was coming to him, and to his cousin Christen Feller, near Thun, inviting him to go with him to England to visit a relative. Concerning the letter from Philip Wild of Rotterdam,<sup>40</sup> he explained that the blacksmith Jacob Ritschard<sup>41</sup> had for several years back planned to go to Carolina, and had requested him to write for information to Rotterdam, which he did, asking Wild to reply to Ritschard. For himself he had done nothing, and was not minded to go back to Carolina, and no one could bear witness against him, saying that he had enticed anyone. Therefore he prayed for his release. This was on March 27, 1744.

The court sent Peter Inäbnit back into confinement. His prison was one of those picturesque old towers still standing in the city of Bern, the one still known as the *Käfigturm* (the cage-tower, *i. e.*, prison-tower). The prisoner had many friends, and they were willing to aid him. They brought him food and wine; a tool for boring was smuggled in to him and a rope, by which he planned to let himself down and make his escape. Unfortunately an accident prevented the successful issue of his daring venture. The rope seems to have been securely fastened, but either the rope broke or the prisoner lost his hold. He was discovered lying bleeding and unconscious at the base of the tower. The abettor of emigration was carried to a neighboring inn, but never recovered speech or consciousness from after nine in the evening, when he was found, until seven in the morning, when he died. No sympathy was wasted on him by the rulers of Bern. "Owing to clearly proven and partly confessed crimes of the deceased, the body was ordered to be buried under the place of public execution", thus abruptly ends the chronicle of the career of Peter Inäbnit.<sup>42</sup>

Both men, Peter Huber and Peter Inäbnit, will be pardoned for their crimes by the American historian. Though dangerous to the interests of their home governments, they were indispensable helpers in the building up of the new colonies, of a new people. They were

<sup>40</sup> This letter to Peter Inäbnit was captured, according to a record in the *Rats-manuale* of Bern, February 20, 1744. It seemed to prove that Inäbnit had instigated about 70 families to emigrate. On this evidence he was ordered to be arrested again. See *Guide*, p. 47.

<sup>41</sup> Ritschard was examined with others of the Huber group. As, stated by Peter Inäbnit, Ritschard had for several years been anxious to go to Carolina. He denied that Huber had influenced him, but that a book on Carolina had started his interest. Ritschard claimed to have relatives in Holland (Leiden), whom he wished to see and from whom he expected assistance. See *Documents*, A, 3 (end).

<sup>42</sup> In *Documents*, A, 4, at the end, will be found statements of fellow-prisoners concerning Inäbnit, who is given a good character by them. Their accounts add a touch of intense realism to the tragic close.

unselfish in the main, aiding the poor to a condition of self-support, and their friends to social and economic betterment. There were many agents who were not of as high character, *e. g.*, Jacob Joner, whose selfishness and greed led him to attempt to acquire the inheritance of a fellow-countryman, as his trial at Basel in 1750 proved.<sup>43</sup> There were agents good and bad, and their activities were far more hidden, their methods far more subtle than has generally been supposed.

Next to emigrant agents, letters from colonists with favorable comments on the new country were considered the greatest danger. Letters of this kind as early as 1711 have survived,<sup>44</sup> and these were probably not the first.<sup>45</sup> These letters are typical for most that follow, telling of the agricultural wealth, the opportunities for cattle-raising, the liberty of body and soul, the high wages, also the hard work but sure returns. They do not conceal the perils of the sea, the loss of life, the scarcity of spiritual guidance, comforts, and pleasures, but all these drawbacks fade away in the presence of the heroic pioneer spirit, the colonial optimism, that pervade the letters. The example of one successful pioneer has greater force than the discouragement of half-a-dozen that fall by the wayside. The effect of such letters was not fully realized until the great waves of emigration set in during the early thirties of the eighteenth century. Then all possible causes of the "emigration-fever" were searched into, and letters were discovered to be a disease-breeding germ, if not the responsible bacillus. Measures were at once taken for their capture and extermination, letters were hunted and kidnapped, the bearers and recipients were punished if they refused to give them up. A few illustrations of governmental action will suffice. In 1737 Hans Georg Striker wrote a report on Carolina for Lieutenant Rubi in Thun; this letter was ordered to be seized and laid before the government of Bern.<sup>46</sup> In 1742 Peter Stoker's letters from Carolina were demanded of him. In the same year a letter from Carolina addressed to Daniel Kissling of Wattenwyl was ordered to be surrendered by the Ratsherren of Bern. On March 4, 1744,

<sup>43</sup> See *Guide*, p. 112 ff., etc.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. "Copia Unterschiedlicher Brieffen auss Nord Carolina" (1711), included in the article: "The Graffenried Manuscripts", *German American Annals*, n. s., vol. XI., nos. 5, 6, September-December, 1913. The letters are here printed in full.

<sup>45</sup> The earliest Swiss settlers in America were probably some who had left their homes in the seventeenth century for the Palatinate, and subsequently joined groups of Palatines emigrating to America. From such, letters may have been received in Switzerland before 1711.

<sup>46</sup> Bern, RM., CLIII. 40-443.



the police of Bern were instructed to prevent the luring of emigrants by means of letters; it was the same day on which Bern asked Basel to take Peter Inäbnit prisoner. A fine of thirty pounds was to be inflicted on anyone who would not surrender such a letter without delay. On April 29, 1752, letters from Pennsylvania were ordered to be opened and copied. Anything unfavorable to the colonies should be published in the next issue of the annual calendar (*Der Hinkende Bote*).<sup>47</sup> The policy was widespread of suppressing the favorable passages of letters and publishing whatever was damaging. Thus one of the most critical, in parts vituperative, epistles,<sup>48</sup> one written by a disappointed woman, Esther Werndtlin, the widow of Pastor Göttschi (who died shortly after arriving in Philadelphia), was printed and widely circulated by Zürich and Basel.<sup>49</sup> Basel ordered (April 2, 1738) that copies be sent to all the country districts, to the preachers in every parish, and be made known to every subject desirous of emigrating to Pennsylvania. The number of letters with tidings of fortunate experiences in America was undoubtedly very much greater, judging by the mass of letters contained in the state-archive of Basel. Most of these unquestionably were confiscated letters,<sup>50</sup> held in the archives to prevent their circulation. It is not surprising, therefore, that Peter Huber (the country-folk of the Bernese Oberland were noted for their cleverness) carried letters in the false bottom of a drinking-vessel, specially constructed for the purpose of concealing written messages.

The policy of suppressing favorable news was also forced upon the newspapers. On October 8, 1736, the Council of Bern gave the following order: "Since the *Avis-Blättlin* [*Intelligencer*] has recently brought an article on Carolina, the editor is directed in the future not to publish any more reports on Carolina and the condition of the emigrants there. In any case nothing favorable about them shall be printed."<sup>51</sup> On February 6, 1738, the *Avisblätter* of Bern and Lausanne are commanded not to publish any of the reports coming from the neighboring Neuchâtel, in view of the propaganda coming from there.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>47</sup> See *Guide*, pp. 46-49, etc.

<sup>48</sup> This letter dated Philadelphia, November 24, 1736, is reprinted among the documents accompanying this article, see Documents, C, 1. Some of the letters published in the *Hinkende Bote* of Bern, have also been included, see Documents, C, 2.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. *Guide*, pp. 30, 103, etc.

<sup>50</sup> A number of these appear in print for the first time among the accompanying Documents, see B, 1-6.

<sup>51</sup> Bern, RM., CLII. 224.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, CLVII. 122.

A further danger existed in the numerous books and pamphlets descriptive of the American colonies. The earliest actually received encouragement from Swiss governments, because information was desired. Thus Kocherthal's report, and Ochs's *Amerikanischer Wegweiser* (1711) were welcomed, and the latter rewarded. But though at that time emigration was not feared, even these did not fail to arouse a protest, as in the booklet: *Das verlangte und nicht erlangte Canaan bei den Lust-Gräbern . . . absonderlich dem . . . Kocherthalerischen Bericht wohlbedächtigt entgegen gesetzt* (1711). Later it became the general practice to reply to every book that gave a favorable account and gained a circulation. Thus the eulogistic account of Carolina published in 1734: *Der nunmehr in der Neuen Welt vergnügt und ohne Heim-Wehe lebende Schweitzer*, provoked the equally curious book: *Neue Nachricht alter und neuer Merkwürdigkeiten, enthaltend ein vertrautes Gespräch und sichere Briefe von der Landschaft Carolina und übrigen Englischen Pflanz-Städten in Amerika* (1734). The latter was in effect a denial of the one that went before, and was widely circulated by the governments to counteract the influence of its predecessor. Another booklet adopting the catching dialogue form of the *Neue Nachricht* and equally impressive in its warnings against the American colonies, was *Der Hinckende Bott von Carolina, oder Ludwig Webers von Wallissellen Beschreibung seiner Reise von Zürich gen Rotterdam* (1735), suggested by the unfortunate experiences of Pastor Götschi's group of emigrants from Zürich. The *Neu-Gefundenes Eden* (1737) was followed in the same year by *Christholds Gedanken, bey Anlazz der Bewegung, welche die bekannte Beschreibung von Carolina, in Amerika, in unserm Land verursacht*. In this a Kingdom is named superior to the New Eden, toward which there is a beautiful voyage without sea-sickness, where there is eternal peace instead of wars, and where there is a great and just king, better than any ruler on this earth—and the reader is cautioned not to lose this Kingdom, which he might do by yielding to the seductions of the New Eden.<sup>53</sup>

The large amount of attention given to emigration, and the severe restrictive measures adopted by the Swiss governments of the eighteenth century, indicate that they were not contending for a mere abstract principle, but were dominated by the fear of an ever-present danger. It was not to them a question of losing a few hundred people annually, but of depopulation of whole country districts, as was threatening in the case of Eglisau in the canton of

<sup>53</sup> For a list of books and pamphlets belonging to this eighteenth-century emigration period, with full titles, see *Guide*, pp. 20-31, etc.

Zürich, or Oberhasli in the highlands of Bern. Had this panic fear sufficient foundation in fact? This question is difficult to answer, owing to the lack of accurate statistics. In the decade from 1753 to 1763, which was a period of only moderate emigration, about 10,000 persons left the canton of Bern, 4000 of whom were men entering foreign military service, and 6000 men and women emigrating to other countries.<sup>54</sup> The loss of 1000 persons annually was at least appreciable. The fact also, that recruiting in foreign regiments was constantly draining the country of men, undoubtedly made the governments more eager to stop the leakage caused by emigration.

The only accurate statistics which the writer was able to find in the Swiss archives, bearing on the question of the number of Swiss who came to the American colonies in the eighteenth century, was a carefully compiled list of emigrants from the canton of Zürich during the years 1734-1744.<sup>55</sup> The list furnishes names, with dates, home districts and destinations, and claims to be complete. The total number it records is 2300. This one reliable source furnishes a reasonable basis for an estimate of the total emigration to America in the eighteenth century. If there were 2300 names of recorded emigrants from the canton of Zürich, we must add about two hundred more for secret migration (those leaving without permission); this would give Zürich 2500. Since the canton of Bern was more populous, and emigration very prevalent, we may assign to Bern the number 3000. Basel in proportion to her population might be given 1500. Other cantons whose archives contain most evidences of emigration in the eighteenth century are: Aargau, Schaffhausen, Graubünden, and Solothurn. Together they probably equalled Zürich in population, therefore the number 2500 would fairly represent their emigration. The remaining cantons, mostly Catholic, did not have as large an emigration in the eighteenth century, if we can trust the fact that very few records of emigration from those quarters appear. The number 2500 would perhaps more than do them justice, though the population represented is more than three times that of Zürich. This would give a total of 12,000 emigrants for all of the Swiss cantons during the period 1734-1744. Now, these eleven years represent the high tide of Swiss emigration to the American colonies. It is not likely that the total emigration for the eighteenth century was more than twice this figure, judging by the records in the archives. It is the writer's opinion, therefore,

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Dr. E. Lerch, *Die Bernische Auswanderung nach Amerika im 18. Jahrhundert*, p. 31.

<sup>55</sup> Staatsarchiv, Zürich, A. 174. "Verzeichnisse der Ausgewanderten nach Carolina und Pennsylvanien 1734-1744". See *Guide*, p. 14.

that the emigration from Switzerland to the American colonies in the eighteenth century amounted to something like 25,000 persons, though the discovery of additional data might change this estimate to a figure above or below the one assumed.

Numerical estimates of eighteenth-century emigration appear strangely diminutive when compared with the statistics of the nineteenth century. The United States reports, running back to 1820, show a total Swiss immigration up to 1910 of over 250,000. A strong current set in about 1816, during a period of economic depression (*das Hungerjahr*). The emigration from Switzerland fluctuated in the nineteenth century. From hundreds annually it rose to over 1500 in 1828, dropped, and rose again to about 1400 in 1834; starting again strongly in 1852 with nearly 3000, it rose to 8000 in 1854, dropped to 4500 in 1855, and much lower in succeeding years, until the high-water mark came in the eighties, beginning with over 6000 in 1880, and reaching the crest in 1883 with 12,751. From 1880 to 1886, over 61,000 Swiss arrived in the United States. Recently the average has been about 3000 annually. The embargo upon emigration was removed by the Swiss cantons in the nineteenth century. Periodic conditions of overpopulation, failure of crops, and hard times, recurring in certain districts, showed plainly that, far from being a cause of fear, emigration might prove an advantage to a vigorous people increasing rapidly, yet confined within narrow borders. Complaints from seaport towns in France, Holland, and Germany, calling attention to the congregating of masses of poor people waiting to embark, and subsequently the objections of the United States to the deportation of undesirable classes, brought about a regulation of emigration from Switzerland. The policy was adopted, neither to encourage nor to discourage emigration, but to let it take its course, and to protect the emigrant against the selfishness of speculators, and the consequences of his own ignorance. The business of transporting the emigrant was left in the hands of agencies, who were required to secure a license and to obey the laws. In 1880 the Federal Emigration Bureau (*Eidgenössisches Auswanderungsamt*) was established at Bern to control the licensed agencies, to enforce justice and provide helpful information. This represents the modern solution of a problem so exasperating to the cantonal governments of the eighteenth century.

ALBERT B. FAUST.

## THE GROWTH OF NATIONALISM IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE<sup>1</sup>

A CANADIAN who speaks to a company of Americans on problems of the British Empire usually feels under certain obligations to explain himself. It is not easy for Americans to understand why Canada remains linked with Great Britain. Canada is the only considerable state in America to retain a political tie with Europe. Since there was a time when all America was an appendage of Europe, it looks as if Canada is only a little belated and as if she has not yet found her political destiny. Every Canadian is aware of a certain condescension on the part of his American friends, the counterpart of what Mr. Lowell felt that foreigners showed to Americans. Occasionally one hears a suggestion that Great Britain should sell Canada to the United States. In a legal case in New York the other day Canada was described as "a colony or dependency of Great Britain".

A friend of mine, who held high office in the United States, used to offer me well-meant consolation as to the outlook for Canada. "The Constitution of the United States", he would say, "is almost a perfect instrument. You will be happy under it. Your obvious destiny is to join us. We do not wish to hasten the process. But our arms are open and we shall embrace you warmly when you come." What could be more alluring? I was so cruel as to say to him that Canada was reasonably happy in her existing relations, that the federal constitution of Canada has merits, even when put side by side with that of the United States, that the Canadians are a perfectly free people, with their destiny entirely in their own hands, and that they are helping to work out a political experiment as momentous for mankind as is the notable experiment in liberty which is being made by the United States. It is true that there are anomalies and apparent contradictions in the position of Canada. Her business at Washington is done, not through her own ambassador, but through the ambassador of Great Britain. Canada has no power to declare war and is technically at war whenever Great Britain is at war. But theories and their applications represent very different things. Canada takes just as much share in the wars of the British Empire as she chooses to take. In truth, too, the British ambas-

<sup>1</sup> This paper was read by the author at the meeting of the American Historical Association in Washington, December 31, 1915.

sador at Washington represents the views of Ottawa as really as he represents the views of London. May I ask my American friends to learn to think of Canada as a nation, not a colony, and not to waste any pity upon her, for she is a free partner in a gigantic political movement of which I now speak.

My topic is the Growth of Nationalism in the British Empire and I am confronted at the outset with the fact that, as far as the self-governing states of the British Commonwealth are concerned, there is really no such thing as a British Empire. An empire, one would suppose, is a state which has a central controlling government. But although the British Parliament is, in a strictly legal sense, supreme over all British dominions, there is no central government for the whole British Empire. No one body can tax the British Empire. Canada and Australia and New Zealand and South Africa are not governed from London, nor have they any common government. Each of these states governs itself exactly as it likes. As long ago as in 1858 when Canada imposed a high tariff on British goods and the government at London protested, there was no uncertain sound about the reply of Canada. It asserted "the right of the Canadian Legislature to adjust the taxation of the people in the way they deem best, even if it should unfortunately happen to meet the disapproval of the Imperial Ministry". It is not easy to describe as an "Empire" the state in which the different parts are so completely self-governing. "The British Commonwealths" would be a more descriptive name and I will ask my hearers to remember that I use the words "British Empire" with practically this signification. The part of the Empire of which I am speaking is in truth a group of free commonwealths.

The most interesting growth in the British Empire during the nineteenth century was that in the self-government and individuality of the various British peoples. Whatever we may mean by nationalism, there was certainly very little of it in the British Empire a hundred years ago. The American Revolution removed from the Empire the only element over-seas that could make any claim to self-government. After that tragic cleavage between the English-speaking races, almost no people of British origin were left outside the home land. In Canada, even including the Loyalist refugees from the revolted colonies, there were less than one hundred thousand. The same is true of the West Indies, relatively more important then than now. In India there were not half this number. And this was the whole tale of British people over-seas. Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, as we know them, did not then exist. There is little

wonder that the successful revolutionists of the United States should feel a fine scorn of the Britons in Canada who would not join them. These seemed to be misguided supporters of a lost cause. A tyrannous mother-land had forfeited all right to the allegiance of her sons over-seas, and successful revolution called the Canadians craven, since they did not join in the fight for liberty.

It was, indeed, in the half-century after the Revolution that there was a real and united British Empire, for every part of it was governed from London. It is true that never after her loss in America did Britain attempt to tax her colonies. They were to her a costly burden. What we now know as the Dominion of Canada consisted of four or five detached provinces, each insignificant, each really ruled by a governor sent out from England, each backward and almost stagnant. Little thought as yet had any of the colonies that they were new nations, with the same rights of self-government which Britons at home possessed. Yet was there a something working in these communities which had promise for the future. Each of them had its own legislature; each had the storm and tumult of elections, in which there were free speech and free voting. The elected members, however, did not control the executive government; that was the affair of the governor and of the Colonial Office in London, which appointed him.

With the growth of population came changes. By 1830 there was a clamorous demand in Upper and Lower Canada for complete control by the people of their own local affairs. The controversy was violent. In 1837 and 1838 it led to armed rebellion by the radical element which asked for full political rights. Though the rebellion was put down, the cause apparently lost was really won. A dozen years later, that is by the middle of the century, every British community in North America had secured control of its own affairs. The movement spread to other continents. Australia followed quickly. Canada was the older British dominion and naturally led the way, but the British colonial system as a whole was changed, and by the mid-century its self-governing states in all parts of the world were really freer than had been the former English colonies in America.

This very change, however, brought a danger to the British system. Why should the mother-land take any trouble to preserve a tie with communities which brought her little advantage? They erected hostile tariffs against her goods, they were a charge upon her revenues, they were perennially relying upon her army and fleet for defense. Canada was frequently involved in disputes with the

United States. In 1837-1838 there were frontier incidents which might well have caused war. A few years later there was the question of the boundary line in Maine. Then came that of the western boundary with the insistent demand of American pioneers in the West of "Fifty-four forty or fight", which meant that all south of this degree of latitude should go to the United States on penalty of war. There is perhaps not much wonder that British statesmen should have thought a self-governing over-seas empire not worth having. Gladstone told Goldwin Smith that the cession of Canada to the United States would not be an impossible compensation to the North if the South should break away. Beaconsfield, Gladstone's great rival, hoped at one time that the troublesome colonies would become independent. When this was done Britain would be left with no European peoples over-seas but only with races of alien blood and faith whom she could really rule.

Then, just when these depressing views were most current, a strange thing happened. The half-torpid colonies in North America suddenly revealed a new life and a new wisdom. They shook off their narrow isolation and formed a great federation. Fear had much to do with it. The United States, recently torn by civil war, was likely to become a great military nation, a menace to the British communities on its northern border. Because of this and of impotence and deadlock in their own political affairs the British colonies united to form one great state. By 1871, the union of once scattered colonies extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific. In this movement, if men could have read it aright, was the birth of a new conception of the British commonwealths. But this meaning was not seen at once. The old idea of the subordination of the colonies to the mother-land still survived for a long time. The movement for separation was, however, quickly checked. It was one thing for British statesmen to look on blandly while a few scattered colonies broke away; but quite another thing to let a country like Canada go with four million people. After all, trade tended to follow the flag and thus, even on lower commercial grounds, it would be a bad thing to end the colonial relation. There were other reasons, too, and one of them, most potent of all, was that, even though Great Britain might be willing to let go of Canada, Canada had no wish to let go of Britain.

Here we come upon one of the unexpected things in this strange British Empire. The old assumption was that when the new states were strong enough to stand alone they would wish to do so and would break away from the mother-country. But this represented



only the coldly intellectual view of politics. In fact, political loyalties have as much to do with the heart as with the head. It never occurred to the average Canadian, even when his country reached national stature, that he could not remain both a Canadian and a Briton. The British flag had always been his. Why should he change? True, he was a Canadian first, for Canada was the country he knew. Britain he had probably never seen, and he understood but little of a state of society in which there was an aristocracy, a House of Lords, and an established church. Still he saw no reason why he should break with the old home of his race and no movement for separation would come from him.

There was, too, a strong political drift against change. Union was in the air at the time the federation of Canada was created. This event followed immediately upon the reunion of the United States after the Civil War. The North-German Confederation was formed in the very year in which the British North America Act, creating the Dominion of Canada, passed the British Parliament. Four years later Italy was finally united. In the next year, 1871, came the creation of the German Empire. This was followed quickly by an eager ambition among European states to secure colonies. Trade rivalries were keen, markets were needed, and markets under the same flag seemed to be more secure than markets under an alien flag. It thus happened that the ungracious permission offered to the colonies about 1860 that they might go when they liked, and the sooner the better, had become by 1890, thirty years later, the rather nervous fear that they might take themselves off and leave Great Britain to a lonely sovereignty over a dependent empire ten times more populous than herself.

During all this time the movement was growing for union within the Empire on the lines of the Canadian union. In 1900 the six Australian states united to form a great commonwealth. Most wonderful of all, less than ten years later, the four colonies of war-worn South Africa formed a great Union more centralized and consolidated than any of the other unions in the British Empire. In no case, however, was union effected with the view of breaking away from the Empire. Rather was the design to draw closer together. Yet each union represented a distinct type and was brought about in conformity with local conditions. Here then is the paradox which is characteristic of the British commonwealths. The more they become separate in type the more they hold together.

I have not forgotten that my topic is the growth of nationalism in the British Empire and I ask myself whether nationalism both

makes the self-governing states of the Empire different from each other and also holds them together. For the moment I shall not try to define nationalism. There is no doubt that one environment tends to differentiate a whole people from those in another environment. The Canadian is different from the Australian and both are different from the Englishman. The differences are physical and they are also mental. The man who has seen the society about him created in his own generation will have a view of social relations different from that of a man born into a highly organized society, with ancient buildings, traditions, and gradations of rank. It is easier for an Englishman than it is for a Canadian to show deference and respect. The Canadian, in turn, is a citizen of a lesser state and is humbled commercially by contact with a great neighbor much more highly organized than himself. The Australian, supreme in his lonely continent in the Southern Sea, has no old local traditions and no neighbors. He creates his own standards and believes in himself. When shown Westminster Abbey he may murmur, "Ah, but you ought to see the Presbyterian Church at Ballarat!" He is subtly different from the other types. The difference is not racial, for the race is the same. It is the difference caused by conditions and it will increase with time. You will not flatter the Australian by calling him an Englishman. He wishes to be known as what he is, an Australian. In this respect his nationalism is complete.

This, however, is not the whole story. This man, so thoroughly himself in his southern home, is passionately a Briton and one in feeling with all other Britons. This has always become apparent in any crisis, and especially in that of war. If anyone still had doubts, the amazing unity shown in the present war furnishes the answer. The thoughtful Australian or the Canadian will deny that he owes any loyalty to the British Isles. He feels this no more than the Englishman feels loyalty to Canada. Each of them is satisfied to be loyal to himself and they hold together because, on great national issues, they have the same outlook. I am a little puzzled when I try to explain why this unity exists. No doubt it is largely the result of education, of habitually surveying questions from a certain point of view. Probably its deepest cause lies in unbroken tradition. Each of us is set in the midst of a system in which many forces are uniting to shape our conception of life. British political liberty has had a slow growth. The religious outlook, the education, the social relations, the tastes and habits of to-day come to us from a long past. In some such way as this is the note struck that

we call British. All the scattered British commonwealths share it, and though there are different types, widely scattered, they have the unity of a family.

This unity is not racial. Racial unity is necessarily limited to those whom birth has made members of the race. Thus it cannot become comprehensive and cosmopolitan. A racial nationalism involves either isolation, or the supremacy of a dominant race in a mixed state. It tends to run to pride and arrogance, to thoughts like those of the Hebrew that his race is the chosen of God. When the British Empire was younger we used to hear a good deal about the triumphant destiny of the Anglo-Saxon race. But, of late years, this note has rarely been heard and instead we hear something at once more tangible and more vital. At one time we seemed to seek uniformity partly, perhaps, because we assumed unity of race. It was held that political wisdom required in Canada and in Australia an exact copy of Britain. Canada was to have a House of Lords and an established church. Experience, the truest of all teachers, dispelled this dream, and, in time, not likeness but diversity of institutions was emphasized and little thought was given to race. We know now and we are proud that no one part of the British Empire can be quite like any other part. When we ask why, the answer is that this is the fruit of Liberty. Nature herself is infinitely varied and, when men are free, when they adjust themselves to the varieties of Nature, they evolve differences. To-day no wise statesman has any thought of trying to anglicize the British Empire.

The wonder-worker is thus not race but Liberty. Let us dismiss forever the superstition that there is any magic in race to hold people together and effect political unity. In the present war the most determined and irreconcilable opponents are two great states of the same Teutonic race. It is partnership in common liberties which unites people. Ireland oppressed was the obstinate foe of England; Ireland free stands by her side in a great struggle. Here then is the reconciler and the unifier in the life of nations. We dismiss the phantom of race and put in its place, as the basis of political organization, the solid reality of education as that on which the best life of the nations must be established—education in judgment, responsibility, and self-control. The growth of the new nationalism in the British Empire is just the growth of liberty.

At the present time the British Empire represents almost exactly one-fourth both of the population and of the area of the world. The population of the world is about 1,720,000,000, of which Britain has about 433,000,000; the area is 51,230,000 square miles, of which

Britain has about 13,000,000. The British Empire is nearly evenly divided between the northern and the southern hemispheres. Two-thirds of it are in the East and only one-third is in the West. The chief seat of power is in the West but nearly six-sevenths of the people of the British Empire are not Europeans. The proportion of people of European origin is likely to grow since they hold for occupation nearly two-thirds of the whole area of the British Empire, with vast unoccupied spaces still to be peopled. It is a vital characteristic of the Empire that it constitutes a link between the East and the West. It is less a creation than a growth, a growth out of conditions and necessities into a system unprecedented in the history of the world. It has become a microcosm of the world itself. It includes people of every race and of every creed. No other state has ever held such vast areas in every continent—almost half of North America, nearly the half of Africa, nearly the whole of Australasia, and a great part of Asia. In Europe alone is the territory of the Empire comparatively small in magnitude. There are in it more than three times as many Hindus and nearly twice as many Moslems as there are Christians.

Shall this Empire break up or shall it hold together? Is it a sacred duty to preserve it? In this connection let me ask my American hearers a question. If the republic, in the slow growth of years, had founded kindred republics in every continent, had fostered and protected them, had dreamed dreams about what this union of free peoples would do for mankind, would you willingly let this union end in disruption? To-day British citizenship is the most wonderful in all the world for it makes the Briton at home in every continent. Suppose that an American, sailing eastward, found himself in another United States in Europe under the Stars and Stripes. Suppose that he went on by sea and found himself in South Africa and still in the United States under his own flag. Suppose that he sailed on and found himself in India with more than three hundred millions of people still under the Stars and Stripes. Suppose that he went on to the great continent of Australia and found still his flag, on to New Zealand, on still across the Pacific to America, where he has his home, a half continent still under the Stars and Stripes. In every one of these states he has been a citizen, needing no change of allegiance in order to vote. Is there not something in such a picture to stir the blood? Is it thinkable that such a union should perish? And this is the British Empire.

The growth of nationalism does not mean the break-up but the strengthening of this Empire, for Liberty unites and Nationalism is

just the expression of Liberty. It is true that an occasional traveller will tell you that he has been in the Canadian West or in Australia or in South Africa and that he has found the people there not English at all, critical indeed of the English, and resolved to go their own way. No doubt this is all exactly true and the truth causes not dismay but rejoicing to the discerning Briton. For, let it be said again with emphasis, the Empire is not an English Empire and the English are only one of many peoples in it. The union of the British Empire is best assured by building up various centres of strength, one, if you will, in each continent, rejoicing in its independence and perfect freedom. No state, really free, is going to cut itself off from the supporting brotherhood of other free states. Modern politics have taught no lesson more clearly than this, that the safety and dignity of nations is to be found, not in standing alone, but in standing together; and the nations within the British Empire are not blind. Each of them does as it likes. Even for this great war the finances of the Empire have not been pooled. Great Britain may be spending \$200 a year for each head of its population while Canada may be spending only \$40. Of every eight of its people Great Britain is enlisting one while in Canada the proportion may remain only one in twenty-five. Australia has a different ratio. South Africa follows another plan and India still another. No Parliament controls them all. In the impossible event of a dispute as to authority between the Canadian and the British Parliament the Canadians would flout the British Parliament and obey their own. If Canada was told that she *must* remain within the British Empire she would probably assert her liberty and go out. It is a free union and if compulsion began union would end.

The union will not end. The long growth of liberty has brought forth something stable. Deep in the souls of the British peoples there are common aspirations and resolves. Though the South African War might have taught us otherwise, two years ago many only hoped that this was true. Two years ago it was common to hear a discussion of the extent to which Canada would take part in wars in which Britain might become involved. When the real shock came it was found that no one cared for a nicely balanced measure of more or less. It became clear that unconsciously the British peoples had pledged their all to each other and that the family of nations was resolved to stand or fall together. Since then many a blood-stained battlefield has been witness to the stern gravity of this pledge. War has blown away mists of disunion. It has shown a reality in the spiritual unity of the British peoples which makes it a great force of nature. \*

My discussion has had to do only with the self-governing commonwealths of the Empire. Of the dependent Empire, the peoples who have not yet grown to the stature of self-government, I say only this, that the expansion of their liberties will help, not hurt, the union of British commonwealths. The practical British spirit distrusts the enthusiasm of the doctrinaire. The exercise of liberty requires education and not all peoples are yet fit to be self-governing. In political development, Asia is more backward than Europe. Already, however, India has the beginnings of representative institutions. The best aim of man upon the earth must surely be to live a free, varied, and fruitful existence. Nothing is farther from the minds of those who are pondering the future than that the present dependent Empire shall be always dependent. They do not believe that the East must remain subordinate to the West. The British Empire links East and West and the West hopes to pass on to the East its own education in freedom and thus to bridge the chasm between the two sections of mankind. The Empire is a great school of political life and even in the lowest classes of the school there should be some training in self-government. No uniformity is aimed at but rather the free expression of individualism. However slow the movement may be, it is yet true that India has learned richer liberties during the last hundred years of its existence than it acquired during all the long centuries before the time of British rule.

I should not wish my note of optimism to give the impression that all difficulties have been solved, all liberties won. Defects still mark the British system and the chief of them is that, in respect to matters in which the British commonwealths must stand together, there is no organ to express their will. In domestic affairs the commonwealths may have the widest differences. Canada is for protection, Great Britain is for free trade. Canada puts restrictions upon immigration from certain countries, Great Britain keeps her doors wide open. Thoughtful students of the life of the commonwealths agree that differences in tariffs, differences in the franchise, differences in social outlook, may grow even more marked without any breach of unity. But to other nations on the question of war or peace the Empire must speak with one voice and its complexity of interests, each to be considered, must always ensure many voices urging peace. It is precisely on these affairs that the people of all the states of the Empire have in the past had least to say, so that all alike have left their fate in the hands of a few leaders. But this cannot continue. In the future the people of Great Britain will insist on a more popular control of foreign affairs. It will also soon

be as impossible for the United Kingdom to conduct the foreign affairs of Canada as it would be to conduct those of the United States. The question will have a practical solution at the close of the present war. Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa have all made conquests during the war and will have an important voice in the final decisions respecting these conquests. It is still true, however, that on the eventful fourth of August, 1914, the issues of war and peace were decided not by any pronouncement of the British commonwealths but by the Parliament of the United Kingdom alone. It is equally true, of course, that if the other parliaments had not approved of the declaration of war they need have taken no decisive action to support it. But it is desirable that all the self-governing peoples of the Empire should have a voice on so grave an issue and a change of method is therefore necessary.

During recent years these questions have been under consideration by the very able group of men who conduct the quarterly known as the *Round Table*. It has never happened that a political question has had given to it more patient and serious thought than is now brought to bear on the relations of the British commonwealths. They stand together for security and not for trade advantages. A common tariff is not thought possible. Canada and Great Britain, for instance, are in different stages of commercial development and must be left free to impose what duties they like against both each other and the outside world. The prevailing opinion in the younger commonwealths supports giving to Great Britain a preference (in Canada it amounts to one-third of the duty) for her manufactures. It is held by some that a high tariff in Canada even against British goods will aid British trade if a higher tariff is charged against the outside world. Experience shows that protected countries are heavy importers and that a preference would ensure great markets within the Empire to British trade. But trade is secondary to the need of unity for security. Security, however, is not the whole story. There is an even deeper and a finer motive, a motive based on the duty of peoples more advanced to give support to those, as yet, less favored, and in doing so to purify themselves.

No final policy can yet be proclaimed but I can best show the growth of nationalism in the British Empire by stating what is seriously proposed. Two things must be counted vital:

1. The self-government and the equality of the separate commonwealths are alike necessary. If any obstacles exist which keep Canada and Australia from being as completely self-governing as the United Kingdom, such obstacles must be removed and equality

of status must be made unquestionable. It is to be noted that opinion in the United Kingdom is as insistent upon this point as opinion in Canada and Australia.

2. This equality must carry with it a complete sharing of responsibilities. At present the Parliament of the United Kingdom is different from the Parliament of Canada in that it has jurisdiction not only over the British Isles but also over the whole Empire. It is proposed that the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall become such strictly, with authority confined to the United Kingdom, and that a real Imperial Parliament shall be created to be composed of the representatives of the whole self-governing Empire. This Parliament would be limited to three functions.

(a) It would conduct the foreign affairs of the whole Empire and decide the issues of war and peace.

(b) It would, as a corollary of this function, control and direct the armed forces of the Empire.

(c) It would govern the dependent Empire, now governed solely by the United Kingdom.

To discharge its functions this Parliament would have the power to levy taxes for national defense. The rate need not necessarily be uniform for all parts of the Empire but would be the subject of negotiation and agreement. The existing parliaments might collect the taxes agreed upon. The Empire would be a unit in respect to its defense.

I am stating what is proposed and do not necessarily endorse it all. My own mind, indeed, is still open on the main issues. There are grave difficulties in regard both to taxation and to the parts of the Empire not yet self-governing. This, however, is the point to which the growth of nationalism has come—that the commonwealths of the Empire are to be precisely equal nations, sharing responsibility for the Empire as a whole. Canada is to have world responsibilities as broad as those of Great Britain. One-quarter of the people and of the land of this planet is to constitute a great state of many nations, secure and strong. East and West, North and South, the old peoples and the new peoples, are to hold together and each part is to be encouraged to mature its own liberty on its own lines.

The British Empire has learned something from its misfortunes. While the building process was going on, not much thought was given to the deeper meaning of the whole. Such an interpretation needs profound study and an almost inspired insight. It is not safe to take the writings of even a generation ago as in any way adequate



to the thought of to-day. The Empire was not, as it has been foolishly expressed, created in a fit of absent-mindedness, but rather was created by a people too intent upon action to realize the full meaning of what they were doing. To-day it stands a complex fabric. It is American as well as European, of the East as well as of the West. There is to be an eternal rejuvenescence of the old by contact and co-operation with the young, a steadying of the young by the maturer wisdom and culture of the old. This Empire, itself the product of no far-seeing design but only a natural growth, has no aim further to enlarge its borders. It is already vast beyond precedent and to develop its own resources, cure its own defects, and enlarge the happiness of its members will furnish to it tasks for all the centuries to come. Its best spirits aim at no racial supremacy. They believe in the stability which comes through liberty. Cynics will say that only dreamers can hope in such a plan. But this promise for the future is, in truth, less wonderful than what has already been achieved in bringing so many lands under a single sovereignty. At any rate the British Empire has some vital import for mankind as a whole. It is not to be spoken of in any note of exultation in its power or greatness but rather in terms of its responsibilities and duties.

GEORGE M. WRONG.

THE INFLUENCE OF MANUFACTURES UPON POLITICAL SENTIMENT IN THE UNITED STATES FROM  
\*1820 TO 1860<sup>1</sup>

How far strictly economic influences have directed the course of our political history will always be variously judged by different students, but increasing research will probably add to our present estimate of their effect. Many literary historians, and most readers of history, are so attracted by the personality of leaders and statesmen, by broad expressions of national policy, and by the dramatic episodes of the country's tragedies and triumphs, that they neglect the dry commonplaces of business annals. But leaders and statesmen attain power and prominence, and national policies acquire meaning, through consulting that material welfare which is recorded in market quotations and ledger balances, and even the moral enthusiasm and heroic sacrifices of national crises are inspired remotely or immediately by economic causes. This paper will sketch briefly some effects of one such influence, the expansion of manufactures, upon American political sentiment for a few decades prior to the Civil War.

Until the second peace with England our manufacturing industries were so slightly differentiated from other forms of production that they hardly constituted an independent interest. Each rural household was a centre of handicrafts and each village community had its corps of manufacturing artisans. But the activity or cessation of these family and neighborhood occupations did not determine the prosperity of any class of people or of any section of the country. Some sentiment in favor of tariff protection had existed among groups of city workmen from the time when non-importation taught them the personal benefits of restricted European competition. Likewise the lessons of two wars with the mother-country had convinced many thinking men that industrial independence was a necessary adjunct of political independence; and even Thomas Jefferson, disinclined as he was to extend the functions of government, had come to believe that public aid of home manufactures might be required for national security. Three of the confederated states, and later the federal Congress, had passed customs laws that incidentally

<sup>1</sup> This paper, in substantially its present form, was read at the last annual meeting of the American Historical Association, in Washington, December 28, 1915.

to providing public revenue were intended to encourage domestic industry. But in 1815, when unimpeded avenues were reopened to our foreign commerce, popular opinion in the United States was still apathetic to national measures for promoting manufactures.

Within a very few years, however, a widespread sentiment was awakened in favor of home industry. This sentiment formed a new political influence and for a time controlled the policy of the government. When a democracy suddenly makes a new idea, or an old idea long neglected, the mainspring of its political action, the causes producing this effect must touch the interest of many people. Disregarding minor motives, two such general influences combined to sway public opinion in this new direction. These were a protracted business depression and an organized body of manufacturers.

A flood of foreign merchandise had swamped our markets as soon as peace with England was declared. Similar waves of imports swept over the Atlantic after the colonial wars and the Revolution; but in these earlier periods such goods competed mainly with homespun products and did not cause a manufacturing crisis. However, they occasioned business depressions by forcing Americans to export coin in payment for their excessive purchases abroad and thus creating a scarcity of money. In 1815 both these conditions had changed. The industries depressed by foreign competition had been partly transferred from households to factories, and the economic distress that ensued was characterized by unemployment, loss of capital in manufacturing investments, and the other features, then novel but now familiar, common to all industrial panics. But the depressing effect of the crisis upon agriculture and commerce was delayed by large shipments of American produce abroad, and by an inflation of bank paper; so that for a time money continued plentiful. Nevertheless the shrinkage of currency, though postponed, just as inevitably occurred, and the ultimate embarrassment of trade and the fall of prices were fully as great as if the stimulant of excessive note issues had never been applied to business.

When in our earlier post-bellum crises excessive importations and bad fiscal policies embarrassed the people, the popular remedy was to foster homespun industries. Spinning crazes occurred; families in town as well as country plied the wheel and loom with added application; and private societies and public authorities established premiums and bounties to encourage domestic manufactures. It was natural therefore that during the hard times after the second war with England people should resort to analogous measures to restore prosperity.

This reversion to an old policy, modified though it was by the changed organization of manufactures, was rendered easier by the fact that our mills and factories continued in almost as intimate touch with rural life as were the homespun industries that preceded them, and that still persisted in many parts of the country. No local displacement of operative labor had yet occurred, because nearly every village water-power had its mill, or forge, or incipient factory, that drew its workers from the neighboring farms. Many a farmer himself was a part owner in these enterprises, and they afforded him a market for his produce. Therefore in the North and East a manufacturing interest had arisen distinct enough to demand special treatment by the government, but so identified with rural welfare as to work in political harmony with the agricultural population.

For a time the public influence of this new interest was retarded by its very dispersion and consequent lack of organization. But during the recent war with England manufacturing had enrolled new recruits from the old and respected commercial aristocracy. Merchants like Francis Lowell were the first successful representatives of domestic industry at Washington. Such men, with the diplomatic temper bred by commerce and familiar with the broader problems of trade and finance, were needed to combine persuasive arguments of public policy with the personal demands of particular clients. These spokesmen soon became powerful propagandists of the group of political theories that centred around protection.

It is not our purpose to trace the early rise of high-tariff sentiment further. Our object is rather to call attention to the theory of national government that this new manufacturing interest adopted. The old Federalists were not generally protectionists. Their nationalism, so far as it was shaped by economic considerations, was determined by commercial motives—and foreign trade and domestic manufactures were recognized as antagonistic interests. Indeed some New England Federalists had boycotted the products of our infant industries, because these helped people to withstand the hardships inflicted by such Republican measures as the embargo and non-intercourse. The reaction against Federalism that followed the war with England possibly assisted in winning the temporary support of the planting states for our first protective tariffs. On the other hand Whig nationalism was based in no small part upon an economic policy dictated by manufacturing interests; it strove to strengthen central authority because the federal power alone could protect domestic industries; and the existence of these industries as a distinct, organized, and effective political force assisted materially

to establish in the popular mind the Whig conception of our national government as an inseparable union of states, each of which had complementary but subordinate legislative and administrative functions.

Three presidential terms saw the culmination and decline of the early protective movement. High-tariff policies encountered opposition based ostensibly upon constitutional theories, but in fact upon the discordant economic interests of different parts of the country. Where staple agriculture reigned supreme, or where the prosperity of many people depended on seagoing pursuits, hostility to laws favoring domestic manufactures was strong. Ship-building Maine and cotton-growing South Carolina joined hands in this antagonism. Cotton already had made the South a commercial appanage of Great Britain, and the old suspicion that England might develop cotton-growing areas under the British flag had ceased to trouble the dreams of Southern planters. But the wool-producing states had a different interest. Tariffs practically prohibitive kept their grain and provisions out of British markets and there was no other reciprocity between the Northern farmer and the English manufacturer. American wool was sold exclusively to American mills, and thousands of sheep-raisers in the North and West believed they must protect these establishments to preserve their own prosperity, and extended this theory by implication to other industries.

Already, however, the tie between the farmer and the manufacturer was being loosened. The latter had begun to go abroad for raw materials, and industrial companies were evolving a new form of organization. American corporation law had been rapidly modified in response to manufacturing needs, and big companies and what were then considered giant factories were attracting the attention and the hostility of the common people. Attacks upon the United States Bank and its supposed plutocratic control of the government about this time engendered popular suspicion of all large business enterprises. Theories, arguments, and epithets that we regard as novel in their recent application to industrial trusts are only parodies of those employed against the first million-dollar corporations that about 1830 began to enter the field of manufacturing. But though popular distrust of this new form of capitalism weakened somewhat the early sympathy between Northern farmers and mill-owners, their common interests continued strong enough in most industrial districts to maintain their political solidarity.

Meantime large factories, furnaces, and workshops attracted population as well as capital, and became the principal integrating force in our national life, while plantation agriculture dispersed

population, scattered settlement into new territories, continued frontier conditions, and was a centrifugal or disintegrating social influence. Consequently during the twenty years following the second war with England the fact that manufacturing was a sectional interest became increasingly apparent. Particular industries were identified with particular localities, and geographical antipathies were caused or emphasized by conscious diversity of economic pursuits. It goes beyond our subject to venture a judgment whether slavery did or did not prevent manufacturing in the plantation states; but the differentiation of industry between the North and the South would have been a sufficient reason, without the presence of that institution, to explain the different attitudes of their people toward public policies, and consequently their different theories of government.

One result of the diversity of economic interest that grew up between the two parts of the country during these years, was that the South assumed an attitude toward the North somewhat similar to that earlier taken by the American colonies toward England. During the tariff controversies that culminated with nullification the Southern people tried to adopt a non-importation policy with regard to Northern manufactures; states passed laws discriminating against the products of Northern workshops; and a popular propaganda of home industries actually caused some new spinning mills to be established in the Carolina uplands.

Meantime, however, opposition to protective tariffs gained political ascendancy. This legislation had been adopted in part as a remedy for hard times, and its declining popularity coincided with the era of exceptional prosperity that blessed the country for a few years before the crisis of 1837. But though the manufacturing interest lost control of Congress, it retained enough political power to keep its antagonists on an alert and prepared defensive. In 1842, aided by the popular discontent caused by a protracted business depression, a high-tariff party was again able to embody its theories in customs laws. But this return to the policies of the twenties lasted only four years. The centralization of manufacturing in large plants and contracted areas had increased. Many small mills survived, but their owners looked with distrust upon these big competitors, and in some respects harmony of interest existed less among manufacturers and between manufacturers and farmers, than at an earlier period. It resulted that from 1846 to 1860 our tariff laws made protection of manufactures incidental to revenue considerations.

Nevertheless the share of the nation's productive energy devoted to industrial pursuits continued to increase. The early political dominance of manufacturers was due to the absence of organized opposition. Their policies were not yet seen to conflict seriously with other interests. Therefore they temporarily wielded an influence beyond their natural strength. But after the middle of the century evidences multiplied that a necessary process of economic evolution would ultimately give manufacturing interests permanent political preponderance. This fact was clouded by the great immediate importance of slavery and secession, but it was perhaps more fundamental than either of these questions. Nature had set a narrower limit to the extension of agriculture than to the growth of factories, and this limit was narrowest of all where agriculture was geographically dissociated from manufacturing. Without seeing clearly this broad fact, that the centre of gravity of production was in all civilized nations shifting from the field to the factory, the statesmen of the South perceived that their section of the country had lost stride with the North in the march of economic progress. At an earlier day they had decried manufactures as physically and morally injurious to a free citizenry, and even as threatening the integrity of our political institutions. They now advocated them as a means of sustaining the South's relative importance in wealth, population, and political power. The Whig party in the South was naturally attracted to this movement, because it coincided with its traditional policy; but advocates like Calhoun were inspired by considerations of sectional security. In the same way that early Republicans, like Jefferson, laid aside a theoretical dislike of manufacturing in favor of its encouragement, when they saw that this might be necessary to prevent Great Britain from controlling the economic welfare, and possibly the political destiny, of the nation; so Southern leaders who foresaw possible secession from the Union sought to strengthen their section against the North by promoting manufacturing industries. Nor is it improbable that secession was advocated by some Southern mill-owners because they thought that an autonomous South would protect them from Northern competitors.

Meantime Union sentiment was fortified in the North by the fear that an independent Southern government would deprive our manufacturers of their protected market in the planting states. A similar solicitude for western markets for its factory products had already mitigated the early jealousy felt by New England of the growing states beyond the Alleghenies, and in those two sections of the country separatist sentiment had disappeared with the recognition of their common economic interests.

Only a few features of the influence of manufactures upon American political sentiment have been suggested. The main question before our people for more than half a century after the national government was established was whether that government should endure. Voluntary political co-operation upon so large a scale had never before been attempted. For a time manufacturing with its strictly local affiliations increased the economic diversity of the country and added to its sectional discord. But manufacturing is the most highly co-operative form of production, the form most dependent upon an efficient government for its growth and prosperity. Our evolution from a predominantly agricultural to an agricultural and industrial state was also a process of development toward closer and firmer political relations within that state. The multiplication of government functions that has accompanied the growth of factories and the appearance of new forms of industrial organization in America, and even more remarkably in Europe, had hardly begun before the Civil War. But the economic purpose of the state, minimized in political theory during the reaction against its control that accompanied the American and French revolutions, was again attaining recognition. The unity and strength of the government were seen to affect directly the welfare of industrial workers and employers. Our producers no longer enjoyed the happy self-sufficiency of the frontiersmen and the subsistence farmers who were the representative citizens of an earlier and to many a more idyllic era. The growing interdependence of society was exhibited throughout its economic life. Though that interdependence was made possible primarily by the improved mechanism of transportation, it was first manifested in production through the new organization and the expansion of manufactures. Political institutions, which in one aspect are reflections or expressions of economic forms, responded to this change by extending their authority and functions. This general tendency first realized itself in America through the growth of nationalism. Thus the rise of manufactures in the United States specifically fostered a political sentiment in favor of a strong and efficient central government, and in favor of increasing public intervention in the economic activities of the individual.

VICTOR S. CLARK.



## THE COW COUNTRY

THE great American desert had been used by the Indians as a home and hunting ground for centuries before Pike, and Lewis and Clark, and Long reached the conclusion that it was relatively uninhabitable. It was consecrated to the eternal use of the Indians by James Monroe and his successors who, between 1825 and 1841, built up a solid barrier of Indian reservations extending in unbroken front from Green Bay to the southern boundary of the United States at Red River. Pious Americans thanked God, in the days of Andrew Jackson, that He in His wisdom had placed this unusable barrier along the western boundary of Missouri to prevent the United States from straggling, loose-knitted, across the continent; and many of them believed that He had by direct word promised to make the boundary permanent. In pursuance of revelation Joseph Smith started to build for his Mormon followers "the city of Zion" in "the land of promise", of which "the place which is now called Independence [Missouri], is the center place . . . wherefore it is wisdom that the land should be purchased by the saints; and also every tract lying westward, even unto the line running directly between Jew and Gentile".<sup>1</sup> And for the next generation American population generally avoided residence in the desert or the Indian Country, moved around it or across it, and left it in the possession of nature, its own wild beasts, and its Indian occupants. George Catlin, whose book on the country ran through ten editions to 1866, could still write and believe in the tenth edition that "this strip of country, which extends from the province of Mexico to Lake Winnipeg on the North, is almost one entire plain of grass, which is, and ever must be, useless to cultivating man".<sup>2</sup>

That the Indian Country had a value of its own, that it was more than a desert if less than a white man's home, was an idea that entered into few heads between 1825 and the completion of the Union Pacific Railroad in 1869. With population east of the Mississippi increasing in density and elaborating its social order and with communities on the Pacific slope springing into existence, with

<sup>1</sup> Revelation to Joseph Smith, July, 1831, Joseph and Heman C. Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints* (sixth ed., Lamoni, Ia., 1902), I, 203.

<sup>2</sup> George Catlin, *Illustrations of the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians* (tenth ed., London, 1866), I, 261.

Chicago and St. Louis passing the quarter-million and with railroads making obsolete most of the earlier routes of travel, the Indian Country continued to impede free communication within the limits of the nation, yet offered slight incentive to occupation for its own sake. The overland caravan, the overland stage, the pony express, and the bullock train rose and fell, but population held back from absorbing the tract between Missouri and the mountains, Canada and the heart of Texas.

In the autumn of 1866 two of the bullock trains engaged in freighting goods from the Missouri to mountain points are said to have been stalled by snow on the plains of western Nebraska. The drivers, in the employ of Wells, Fargo, and Company and Alexander Majors, of the famous freighting firm of Russell, Majors, and Waddell, gave up all hope of getting their cargo through before winter.<sup>3</sup> They cached their wagons as well as they could, turned the oxen loose to perish on the plains, and rode their horses back to the border. In the following spring they returned to their abandoned train to take it on, and found to their surprise not the whitened bones of their oxen but the oxen themselves, sleek, fat, and ready for the block. The experience thus gained by accident became the basis of a new industry, and before many more seasons revolved the northern plains were crowded with wintering cattle and their tenders, and the cow country had come into existence. For two decades the country flourished, and then it vanished into space.

The cow country stretched unbroken from the Texas rivers to Manitoba. Its stock, their tenders, their owners, and their yearly habits caught the American imagination as the Santa Fé trade had done a half-century earlier. It was capitalized by Colonel Cody, who opened with his Wild West Show at Omaha in May, 1883, after gathering his Indians and cowboys together on his North Platte ranch; by Colonel Roosevelt, whose ranches on the Little Missouri attracted his attention and the public's for many years; by John Lomax, who has collected the songs of the cowboys; by Owen Wister, who has preserved the spirit of the country in his *Virginian*; and by Frederic Remington, whose pencil sketched its figures. The cow country endured while the open range lasted, and gave way before the attacks of physical enclosure and legal obstruction.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> A. T. Babbitt, Cheyenne, Wyo., March 30, 1884, to editor, *Chicago Tribune*, April 5, 1884; Joseph Nimmo, jr., to editor of *New York Tribune*, enclosed by him to editor of *Topeka Daily Commonwealth*, in *Topeka Daily Commonwealth*, July 31, 1885. The date is elsewhere given as 1864.

<sup>4</sup> Helen Cody Wetmore, *Last of the Great Scouts: the Life Story of Col. William F. Cody, "Buffalo Bill"* (1889), p. 242; *New Orleans Times-Democrat*, March 22, 1883; John A. Lomax, *Cowboy Songs and other Frontier Ballads* (1910).

Cattle have always bred freely on the Texas plains. Here the buffalo ranged and multiplied with unlimited pasture and sufficient water. The cattle originated in droves turned loose by early Spanish ranchers and, by survivals, developed a hardy, rangy, enterprising stock that could stand exposure and meet the other wild animals on equal terms. But they had possessed slight commercial importance before the Civil War, as there had been no market for them. Every agricultural community in the Mississippi Valley provided enough fresh beef from the increase of its own herds, and there were few urban centres that could not get enough beef locally, even if there had been a cheap means for the delivery to a market of cattle from the Texas range. The few early drovers who took herds from Texas or Arkansas to St. Louis or Indianapolis<sup>5</sup> only emphasized the occasional character of the trade. So the Texas cattle ran wild. Some were slaughtered for their hides<sup>6</sup> as the buffalo were for their robes. But their market value was not suspected before it was discovered that they could live and fatten without shelter on even the northern plains, before the city groups had outgrown the capacity of their agricultural environs to supply fresh beef, and before the continental railroads had thrust their heads out into the range, inviting freight.

About 1866 it was learned that cattle could winter in western Nebraska, and in the same year the Union Pacific was shortening the old overland trail as it built toward Cheyenne and Laramie. At Ogallala, a "little, worn-out, old, and withered town",<sup>7</sup> about twenty miles east of Julesburg and the Colorado corner, it reached the heart of the buffalo range that was now to be a cow country, and here shippers and buyers could dicker over stock for the Omaha and Chicago markets.

Born and bred on the Texas plains, the cattle entered upon the cycle of their career at the spring round-up. Early in May their owners arranged for co-operative action, region by region. They and their cowboys searched the meadows and the hills for grazing stock, and drove slowly to a fixed rendezvous the bulls and steers, the cows, and the new calves, still trotting at their mother's sides. At the round-up the cattle were sorted out by brands and reliance

<sup>5</sup> John T. Alexander, who died in August, 1876, was known among his friends as the "great cattle king of the Mississippi Valley", and had driven Texas cattle to Logansport, Ind., about 1848. *Chicago Inter Ocean*, August 25, 1876.

<sup>6</sup> Joseph Nimmo, jr., *Report in Regard to the Range and Ranch Cattle Business of the United States* (Treasury Department, Bureau of Statistics, *Doc. No. 690*, pp. 200 and maps), p. 4. This document was reprinted without the maps as *House Ex. Doc. 267*, 48 Cong., 2 sess., serial 2304.

<sup>7</sup> *Chicago Times*, March 5, 1880.

was placed on mother affection as a means of proving ownership of unbranded calves. Those overlooked at the last spring or fall round-up, or born since then, and in either case too large to heel with the mother, formed a class of unidentifiable "mavericks", to be divided according to some arbitrary rule. The unmarked animals at the round-up were there marked with the brand of the owner, and no man might either legally or safely own a branding iron other than his own. The yearling steers were then cut out in herds by themselves and started up the long trail to Nebraska, Wyoming, and Dakota. The rest of the herds were turned loose again to mingle and mate and multiply on the plains of Texas or of the Indian Territory.

As the market for this stock strengthened there was a tendency to improve its quality. Bulls were selected with care. Shorthorn and Hereford, Polled Angus and Galloway bulls were imported in large numbers while cattlemen debated the merits of the different strains to be crossed with the native stock.<sup>8</sup> Blooded breed cows were added to herds. Sometimes by individual action, more often by some form of co-operation, the cattle-owners raised the standard of plains cattle and protected their industry. Innumerable cattle-growers' and stock owners' associations were formed to check thefts, to register and protect brands, and to procure defensive legislation. And every year throughout the seventies more steers were cut out of the Texas herds and driven north.

Every year, too, brought more railroads to stake out the eastern limits of the range and to affect its traffic. Along the old Santa Fé trail the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé was creeping, as was the Union Pacific along the Oregon trail; and at Dodge City, near old Fort Dodge and the still older Mexican boundary at the intersection of the Arkansas River with the hundredth meridian, there grew up a supply station that regarded itself as the cow town *par excellence*. Here, in the spring during the round-ups, the buyers of southern cattle came. The town amused them as best it could while they waited for their herds. Dance halls and saloons, horse-racing and gambling, and the tuneful ministrations of Dodge City's famous cowboy band created in Kansas, even under prohibition, what resembled closely the mining camp or the railroad construction camp.

The southern owners often disposed of their droves at Dodge City rather than drive them to Nebraska. Some were bought out-

<sup>8</sup> Nimmo, *Range and Ranch Cattle Business*, p. 22; *Idaho Avalanche* (Silver City), March 24, 1883; Clara M. Love has discussed the breeding problem in her "History of the Cattle Industry in the Southwest" in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XX, 1-3 (July, 1916), and gives an abundant bibliography of the industry in Texas.

right for immediate slaughter and were shipped in cattle-cars to the Kansas City stock-yards.<sup>9</sup> More were delivered to northern buyers, who turned the herds over to their cowboys to be conducted to the northern ranches. There are some instances of companies and individuals that owned both southern herds and northern ranches, and that integrated breeding, the long drive, and northern feeding and fattening under one control. But one way or another, after the May round-ups, the southern cattle "drifted" up the trails,<sup>10</sup> grazing as they went, pasturing on the public lands and tended by a handful of cowboys, the "most interesting feature" of stock raising,<sup>11</sup> who became a national type on sight.

The cowboy<sup>12</sup> was created by his trade. He was more restless than the emigrant farmer and less a frontiersman than the fur-trader or the soldier. His occupation was transitional for him and his industry lasted for too few years to become standardized. He was, of course, rough and ready, living in the open and on his horse. He alternated the tedium of cattle-tending with sprees and shooting up the border towns. Sometimes he stopped a continental train to amuse himself with its passengers and crew. He loved to shock the tenderfoot, yet he was often of eastern stock, with a background of cultivated life. The British scion, shipped to the cow country and turned cowboy, revealing himself only to maidens in distress, was a frequent figure in newspaper notices and was not entirely non-existent. In the long watches of the nights the cowboy rode around his sleeping drove and sang to it and himself ballads that were improvised on the border and that are a genuine contribution to American folk literature. From Dodge City, or some other convenient point near the Panhandle or the Cherokee Strip, the upper part of the cowboys' journey and the herds' march began.

Late in the autumn the herds, hardened by continuous exercise since spring, arrived at their northern home. Ogallala, Nebraska, was the first great centre, and for a radius of a hundred miles around this town ranches multiplied in the late seventies.<sup>13</sup> About this time

<sup>9</sup> In 1883 72,892 head of cattle were said to have been shipped directly from Dodge City. *Dodge City Globe*, quoted in *Topeka Daily Commonwealth*, December 14, 1883.

<sup>10</sup> G. Pomeroy Keese, "Beef", in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, LXIX, 294 (July, 1884).

<sup>11</sup> *Idaho Avalanche*, July 27, 1883.

<sup>12</sup> E. Hough, *The Story of the Cowboy* (1897), gives a picturesque view of personal life in the cow country, with the rich and full detail of the contemporary.

<sup>13</sup> As early as 1877 the Union Pacific was unable to supply enough cattle-cars for these shipments and was forced to borrow cars from lines joining it at Omaha. *Report of the Government Directors of the Union Pacific*, June 30, 1877, *Sen. Ex. Doc. 2*, p. 2, 45 Cong., 1 sess., serial 1780.

the Northern Pacific reached the Yellowstone River at Glendive, Montana, and passed by Fort Keogh on its way to Tacoma. Between Glendive and Fort Keogh was another centre for ranches, some four hundred miles northwest of the Ogallala group, where in the winter of 1884 General Brisbin could list forty herds comprising over 300,000 head of cattle.<sup>14</sup> The Montana Stockmen's Association met here in 1883 with Theodore Roosevelt as a delegate from the Little Missouri ranches.<sup>15</sup> And here in 1885 was Miles City, seven years old, sprouted out of the Fort Keogh military reserve, and destined in the mind of its historian for "a brilliant future" as business capital of eastern Montana.<sup>16</sup> In this region and throughout the neighboring parts of Nebraska, Colorado, Wyoming, and Dakota the normal development of the beef traffic created conditions that ultimately helped to destroy it.

The condition of the cattle on a northern ranch was different from that of those breeding in the south or en route up the trail. They had to be watched and fattened with a minimum of waste, exercise, and oversight. The ideal northern ranch had its site determined by some running stream, available at all seasons for watering stock. Around this must lie a huge tract of grazing country, and it was some advantage if the country was rugged enough to afford bald knobs from which the snow would drift away leaving the dry grass exposed, and sheltered valleys in which cattle might find partial shelter in winter, and southern slopes upon which the tender spring grass might appear earlier than on the open plains. It was a permanent establishment on which a home ranch house with a group of out-buildings was certain to appear as soon as finances warranted its construction.<sup>17</sup>

From the ranch house as headquarters the cowboys went out on their tours of duty, and at one or another of the ranches the local round-up was likely to be held,<sup>18</sup> since the northern ranches soon came to breed as well as drive their stock. As the railroads improved it was found that the returning empty cattle-cars could be had at easy rates for the carriage of eastern calves, to grow up in the West, or eastern thin cattle to be fattened upon western free grass. "Emigrant" or "pilgrim" cattle,<sup>19</sup> as these were called, were

<sup>14</sup> James S. Brisbin, Ft. Keogh, Mont., February 12, 1884, to editor, *Chicago Tribune*, February 18, 1884.

<sup>15</sup> Roosevelt, *Autobiography* (1914), p. 111.

<sup>16</sup> *History of Montana, 1739-1885* (Chicago, 1885), p. 523.

<sup>17</sup> Roosevelt, *Hunting Trips of a Ranchman* (1891), p. 5.

<sup>18</sup> An excellent account of the Weld County, Col., round-up, at Brush, is in *Chicago Tribune*, July 4, 1884.

<sup>19</sup> *Idaho Avalanche*, January 31, 1885.

a menace in the range because of their tendency to import and distribute disease. But the northern rancher maintained his establishment for the purpose of fattening cattle, and took the risk of infection until his local association or the law intervened. The agents of the Wyoming Stock-Growers' Association inspected over 200,000 cattle in the season of 1882.<sup>20</sup>

Step by step with the development of the cattle business on the open range went the process of enclosure. American wire-drawing machinery had made long progress since Ichabod Washburn began to draw wire for cards and screws in the early thirties.<sup>21</sup> Piano wire and telegraph wire and flat wires for hoop-skirts had followed from his factory, and in the early seventies he and his son-in-law, Philip L. Moen, were still at the business owning the basic patents on barbed wire fencing.<sup>22</sup> In 1874 John W. Gates began to sell barbed wire at twenty cents a pound,<sup>23</sup> and thousands of miles of cheap and stock-proof fences were soon netted over the treeless plains. In 1883 and again in 1888 Congressional committees were harassed by the demands of the wire-makers that they should have free rods from which to draw their wires, with high duties on the finished product, and the counter demands of the steel men that at least six-tenths of a cent a pound on rods was necessary to their existence. The litigation, the infringement of patent rights, the manufacture of "moonshine" wire<sup>24</sup> to compete with the wire output of licensed plants is a story that leads up to the consolidation of the American Steel and Wire Company in 1899.<sup>25</sup> To the range man the new wire fence offered the means for a cheap enclosure that would enable him to cut down costs of cowboy hire on his ranch.

It happened rarely that the cattleman owned all the land he used or fenced. "The great unfenced ranches, in the days of 'free grass', necessarily represented a temporary stage in our history", says Colonel Roosevelt.<sup>26</sup> The land laws made it nearly impossible for one owner to acquire legally the thousands of acres that were

<sup>20</sup> *Topeka Daily Commonwealth*, April 4, 1883. The association had its inspectors at the points of shipment, Deadwood, Custer, Buffalo, and Miles City. *Idaho Avalanche*, October 20, 1883.

<sup>21</sup> Franklin P. Rice, *The Worcester of 1898* (1899), p. 457.

<sup>22</sup> *History of Worcester County, Massachusetts* (1879), II, 661; "The Making of Wire", in *Worcester Magazine*, IV, 169.

<sup>23</sup> Statement of John W. Gates, May 27, 1911, in *United States Steel Corporation, Hearings*, I, 25.

<sup>24</sup> Statement of George W. Oliver, June 13, 1888, *Sen. Report 2332*, pt. 2, p. 120, 50 Cong., 1 sess.

<sup>25</sup> *Report of the United States Industrial Commission*, I, 199.

<sup>26</sup> Roosevelt, *Autobiography* (1914), p. 95.

needed to support a large herd. In many cases even the small acreage along the indispensable water right was acquired only by trickery or collusive action with homesteaders and pre-emptioners. But without absolute control of water there could be no cattle ranch: and control of the water rendered the unwatered hinterland of the region useless so far as other cattlemen were concerned.<sup>27</sup> Hence came the custom of fencing not only the land owned outright but thousands of acres lying adjacent and still a part of the public domain.<sup>28</sup> And since a tight fence was the only guarantee of safe stock there grew up easily the practice of threatening and maltreating fence cutters. "The . . . who opens the fence had better look out for his scalp", was posted at intervals along the wires of a Nebraska enclosure,<sup>29</sup> while the famous Brighton ranch in that state became the scene of a petty civil war.<sup>30</sup>

These illegal enclosures, comprising more than three million acres that could be listed in 1885,<sup>31</sup> and over six million acres that had been opened up in 1888,<sup>32</sup> seem to have been more numerous in the northern cow country than in the southern; though in Texas and New Mexico and southern Colorado many are known to have existed. They raised big and difficult problems of public policy that Grover Cleveland and Land Commissioner Sparks tried to solve in 1885. But for the cattle country they created conditions that contributed to its destruction.

The long drive from Texas was made every summer in the seventies and early eighties, through a range country that was becoming each year more closely restricted. Dodge City, Ogallala, and

<sup>27</sup> William T. Holt wrote from Denver, June 30, 1883, to Secretary of the Interior Teller, asking if, since he owned in fee simple the eight hundred acres which alone were watered, he might legally enclose 2300 adjacent dry acres of the public domain; "I have long occupied the land which I purpose fencing, and my fence will interfere with no vested private rights." *Sen. Ex. Doc. 127*, p. 35, 48 Cong., 1 sess., serial 2167.

<sup>28</sup> Secretary of the Interior Lamar showed, in his annual report for 1887, how a rancher who bought a group of alternate sections from a land-grant railroad could build a fence exclusively upon his own land and yet enclose many sections belonging to the United States. *House Ex. Doc. 1*, pt. 5, p. 14, 50 Cong., 1 sess., serial 2541.

<sup>29</sup> George W. Fairfield, deputy surveyor, to D. V. Stephenson, surveyor general for Nebraska, November 26, 1883. *House Ex. Doc. 119*, pt. 2, p. 2, 48 Cong., 1 sess., serial 2006.

<sup>30</sup> *Topeka Daily Commonwealth*, April 30, 1885.

<sup>31</sup> Secretary of the Interior Teller transmitted to the Senate, March 14, 1884, forty-five pages of complaints and reports on illegal fencing. *Sen. Ex. Doc. 127*, 48 Cong., 1 sess., serial 2167.

<sup>32</sup> Annual report of Secretary of the Interior Vilas, 1888. *House Ex. Doc. 1*, p. xvi, 50 Cong., 2 sess., serial 2636.



Miles City were only leading specimens among scores of towns along all of the continental railroads. Relentlessly such towns pushed further into the range. Each spring emigrants as well as cattlemen sought them out. Homesteads came to be grouped around them and the wire fences of the homesteaders restricted travel and traffic to the public roads along the section and township lines. Free grass was gone, so far as the expanding homestead region was concerned. And in the vicinity of the great enclosed cattle ranches free grass was monopolized by the fencer and free transit was impeded by the fence. Mail carriers complained that illegal fences closed the public mail roads by gates arbitrarily placed by the fencers, and often forced them to long detours from the direct course of their star routes.<sup>33</sup>

This zone of free grass on the public domain was nearly free and unobstructed in 1880, but by 1885 it was broken into so badly that its future was at stake. "This Spring is the beginning of a new life for Dodge City", wrote one of its residents in May, 1885.<sup>34</sup> It had ceased to be a cow town since no herd could be driven or pastured within many miles of it. The old congregations of owners, buyers, and cowboys could no longer occur for their trade had gone away. But its prosperity lasted because a farming country had sprung up around it on homesteads or railroad lands, and it was confidently believed that all of Kansas south of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé would soon be divided into farms.<sup>35</sup>

Between the illegal enclosures and the farms the long drive was likely to be strangled out of existence. To these destructive forces was now added quarantine as a restrictive measure, for it was coming to be seen that free interchange of live cattle might easily spread disease.

The existence of the range cattle business was brought to the public consciousness first by conditions of health and disease. About 1875 the shippers of cattle tried the experiment of exporting both live stock and fresh meat to Liverpool and other British ports.<sup>36</sup> It paid so well that the business was quickly established on a systematic basis, and cattle on the hoof, or sides slaughtered at Chicago found their way in swelling numbers to adorn the British dinner table. "The merry roast beef of England in old England itself is

<sup>33</sup> W. Q. Gresham to H. M. Teller, April 23, 1883. *Sen. Ex. Doc. 127*, p. 3, 48 Cong., 1 sess.

<sup>34</sup> "D.", writing from Dodge City, May 20, in *Topeka Daily Commonwealth*, May 22, 1885.

<sup>35</sup> *Dodge City Cowboy*, quoted in *Topeka Daily Commonwealth*, April 15, 1885.

<sup>36</sup> *Harper's Weekly*, April 7, 1877, p. 277; *Leslie's Weekly*, March 17, 1877, p. 18; *Chicago Tribune*, March 1, 1877.

giving way to American beef, which is now actually ruling the roast there",<sup>37</sup> rejoiced the *Chicago Times* in 1880, while the British stockman discovered that his profits were endangered. Some fought competition at its source and engaged directly in American ranching, until by 1884 it was estimated that "one-sixth of all our herds are now owned by Englishmen".<sup>38</sup> One of these, Moreton Frewen, gained prominence by his attempt to divert northwestern cattle from Chicago to Canadian ports, over the Northern Pacific. Others fought for protective tariffs, and others raised the cry that American cattle were unhealthy and American beef was unwholesome. In March, 1879, there became effective an order in council regulating and restricting the importation of American cattle,<sup>39</sup> and directing thereby the attention of the United States to the fact that in the past years steers worth \$3,896,818 and beef worth \$5,009,856 had found their way to European markets.<sup>40</sup> "This business of the export of live cattle to England has developed immense proportions in the last year", the superintendent of the Chicago Stock-Yards telegraphed to the Commissioner of Agriculture, "it is worth millions to the country and affects directly every farmer in the Northwest".<sup>41</sup>

For twelve years after 1879 the United States was engaged in a trade war to get its meat products received by European countries, and was fighting quarantines so severe that even Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show was excluded from Germany because its buffalo might convey disease.<sup>42</sup> Pork caused the most trouble, and in Germany where it was customary for many to eat it uncooked it was easy to lay the blame for trichinosis to American importation. "Everybody knows that 65,000,000 Americans eat American pork, and that there has not been a case of illness or death reported as occurring from its use", urged the American minister to Freiherr Marschall von Bieberstein. "Everybody knows that 35,000,000 Englishmen eat it, and that it is the staple and chief nourishment of the British laborer, whose health and strength are models for emulation."<sup>43</sup> Yet

<sup>37</sup> *Chicago Times*, March 11, 1880.

<sup>38</sup> James S. Brisbin, March 16, 1884, to editor, *New York Sun*, April 6, 1884.

<sup>39</sup> Lord George Hamilton explained the reasons for this order in the House of Commons. Hansard, February 14, 1879, p. 1191.

<sup>40</sup> William M. Evarts to John Welsh, no. 264, April 2, 1879. *Foreign Relations*, 1879, p. 424.

<sup>41</sup> J. B. Sherman, supt. Union Stock-Yards, February 4, 1879, to William G. Le Duc, commissioner of agriculture. *Sen. Misc. Doc. 71*, p. 6, 45 Cong., 3 sess., serial 1833.

<sup>42</sup> Hugh M. Herrick, *William Walter Phelps: his Life and Public Services* (1904), pp. 238-239.

<sup>43</sup> W. W. Phelps to von Bieberstein, February 6, 1891. *Foreign Relations*, 1891, p. 506.

it was absolutely excluded from much of Europe for the period. Live cattle were impeded more than dressed or tinned beef, though sometimes the last was classified as imported manufactured metal in order to bring it under a prohibitive rate. The restrictions were so numerous and so plausibly based upon sanitary grounds that the United States was impelled thereby to enlarge its Department of Agriculture and to begin the scrutiny and inspection of foods as well for the health of its own citizens as for that of foreign buyers. The first result of this policy was "the order made by the German Government on September 3, 1891, removing the prohibition which it had maintained since 1881 against the importation of American pork products".<sup>44</sup> Another of the new agencies of the new nation was being brought into action.

But the foreign trade that produced restriction because of alleged disease called attention to real disease and the danger that migration might spread it. Huge epidemics were thought to be traceable to the importation of infected stock for breeding or to the exchange of emigrant cattle. Pleuro-pneumonia, hoof and mouth disease, and Texas fever became every-day terms in the vocabulary of the western newspapers, and stock associations turned propagandist in self-defense.

A bureau of animal industry was erected in the Department of Agriculture in May, 1884,<sup>45</sup> after long agitation for it by the range men and the Commissioner of Agriculture.<sup>46</sup> Its powers were inadequate and its machinery was rudimentary, yet it forbade the driving of infected herds, gave certain powers of stock quarantine, and is the first striking step in the breaking up of the cow country by law. In the summer of 1884 there was much talk of Texas fever and related ailments in Kansas<sup>47</sup> and Colorado, and drovers demanded quarantine against the dreaded Texas cattle. How far the demand was genuinely therapeutic and how far it only screened a lust for protection against Texas competition cannot be proved: certainly both elements were there and the results were visible in the spring of 1885 when Kansas and Colorado passed cattle quarantine laws under which their governors found it practicable to exclude the driving of Texas stock across either state.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>44</sup> *Annual Report of the United States Bureau of Animal Industry*, 1891, p. 112.

<sup>45</sup> *U. S. Statutes at Large*, 48 Cong., 1 sess., p. 31.

<sup>46</sup> Various petitions on the subject are discussed in *New York Tribune*, December 14, 1880; *Chicago Tribune*, February 23, 1884.

<sup>47</sup> Gov. Glick called the Kansas legislature in special session, March 18, 1884, to pass a "dead line" bill. *Chicago Tribune*, March 14, 1884.

<sup>48</sup> *Topeka Daily Commonwealth*, April 16, May 3, 1884; Nimmo, *Range and Ranch Cattle Business*, pp. 36, 134.

A growing consciousness that the range was almost gone protrudes through the sources for 1884 and 1885. There had been a "fat stock show" at Chicago in November, 1883, at which the need for quarantine and federal law had been urged, and at which it had been determined to convene a national stock-growers' convention in 1884. During 1884 the stockmen of the "rowdy West" discussed alternately the election of their hero, Blaine, and the prospective convention. The plans for both miscarried, and in November two conventions instead of one met, one at St. Louis and the other at Chicago.<sup>49</sup> The latter represented chiefly the dairy and stock interests of Wisconsin, Iowa, and Illinois, while the gathering at St. Louis brought the range men and the shippers into earnest conclave. Both bodies demanded federal control and inspection, and both debated free grass, enclosures, and methods of leasing public lands. The St. Louis gathering expressed in the form of a memorial to Congress<sup>50</sup> a demand for a national public quarantined cattle trail, running from the Texas Panhandle to the Canada line. Varying in width from a few feet to six miles this trail was to guarantee to stockmen forever the privilege that was being so narrowly restricted by homesteads and illegal enclosures and quarantines.

The long drive of 1885 was broken up almost beyond recognition by these obstructions. At various times the stockmen of Texas and Indian Territory tried to force their way across the Kansas line, only to be beaten back by law or by threat. The Cherokee Strip afforded a first-rate barrier even before the Kansas line was reached. Here a great cattle company had rented the grazing rights from the Cherokee nation<sup>51</sup> and had sublet areas to nearly a hundred separate owners. They denied the right of cattle from points further south to follow the trail through the lands of their lease. The Texas men in reply raised the cry that trails were public property and that monopolies were oppressing small owners. The roots of populism lie not far from the scene of this controversy, but for the present the Texas men carried their fight to court where federal writ as well as executive order from the Interior Department forbade interference. And in the end the cattle leases had to go from Indian Territory as well as enclosures from the other plains.

Congress had been prodded to action against illegal enclosures

<sup>49</sup> The address of George B. Loring, United States commissioner of agriculture, at this National Convention of Cattle-Breeders, November 13, 1884, is printed in Department of Agriculture, Miscellaneous, *Special Report No. 6* (Washington, 1884).

<sup>50</sup> *Chicago Tribune*, November 13, 19, 30, 1884.

<sup>51</sup> *Topeka Daily Commonwealth*, January 9, May 28, November 25, 1883.

on the public domain during President Arthur's administration, and passed on February 25, 1885, an act authorizing the summary cutting of illegal fences. It had formerly been hard to defend the cutting of a fence by a third party, without a direct interest, in the absence of the action by the United States government as owner; and in some states illegally held enclosures were sufficient to bar entries for homestead or pre-emption purposes and were taxed for state purposes while their holders were protected in their possession against all but the federal authority.<sup>52</sup> Under the law of 1885 President Cleveland, "determined", as the Republican editor of the *Idaho Avalanche* declared, "that the rich shall obey the laws as well as the poor",<sup>53</sup> issued a proclamation on August 7<sup>54</sup> ordering illegal enclosers to obey the law. He had already, by cancelling the grazing leases in Indian Territory, taken a step towards the assertion of a public interest in Oklahoma. As rapidly as the fences came down the homesteaders came in wherever the country permitted it.

It was the fence of the lessor of Indian grazing rights that blocked the trails south of the Kansas line, just as it was the fence of the homesteader to the north. The emigrant boom of the eighties was on. Western Kansas and eastern Colorado were filling up, and the American desert that had once lain just beyond Independence was now reported as retreating to the Wyoming line. Indian Territory escaped this boom because of Indian occupancy, but the internal tract of the territory known as Oklahoma, the title to which had been partly quieted, aroused the desires of farmers and speculators. Repeatedly Payne and Couch organized their Oklahoma settlement companies at Caldwell or Arkansas City and pushed across the line, and as often the regular army followed them in and threw them out. Gen. Phil Sheridan had much of this petty police duty to perform. When arrested, the ambitious squatters maintained that they had violated no law and must be treated with kindness, and the federal courts regularly released them because the laws respecting the Indian Country were so loosely knit that offenders could easily slip through the meshes, especially in a district where juries were sympathetic with the culprits. The boomers attacked the lessors of grazing rights from another side. Why, they asked, can great corporations reside freely in the Indian Territory and establish homes there under cover of herding when honest citizens are barred out? Why should the strained interpretation of

<sup>52</sup> The United States Supreme Court upheld certain cases of this sort. *House Rept. 1809*, 47 Cong., 1 sess., serial 2070.

<sup>53</sup> *Idaho Avalanche*, August 15, 1885.

<sup>54</sup> Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, VIII. 309.

the law oppress the poor? On March 13, 1885, Cleveland ordered the boomers to keep out of the territory, as both Arthur and Hayes had done before him, and his later exclusion of the grazers, too, was an act of compensatory justice.<sup>55</sup> The negotiations that culminated in the Dawes Bill of 1887 made it possible to break up the tribal lands, to allot farms to the Indians in severalty, and to open the remainders of unallotted lands to settlers. Oklahoma became an organized territory in 1880, earlier than would have been the case had not the business of the cow country forced the issue.

The conventions of 1884 and 1885 developed the fact that three sets of great interests had become involved in the struggle for the profits of the cow country. First came the cattlemen themselves, organized in their local, state, and national associations; then came the railroads that hauled the output, living or dead; and lastly were the packers, whose new industry was based upon concentration and invention. "The modern tendency to combination and the use of the corporation for the management of vast affairs are more evident in the production of meat than in any other interest directly connected with the soil", declared the *Chicago Tribune*, pointing out that these conventions

are evidences of this. The rapid transfer of the ranches of the West to the hands of great companies is another proof of this movement. The formation of cattle-breeders' and cattle-growers' associations in every Western State and Territory is another. The producers of meat are uniting themselves for the exchange of views and protection against thieves and plagues not only, but for bringing the railroads to terms and securing the attention of the Government to their demands.<sup>56</sup>

Chicago had just organized its stock industry on a supposedly permanent basis when the range business began. On December 25, 1865, the old scattered stock-yards became "a thing of the past".<sup>57</sup> They were simultaneously abandoned and the interests involved moved to the new Union Stock-Yards on Halsted Street where an *imperium in imperio* speedily developed, and where in the next fifty years 541,032,929 head of stock were received and accounted for.<sup>58</sup> To these yards all of the railroads delivered inbound stock, collected generally in the farming regions of Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin, and destined for the local table. The slaughter houses gathered

<sup>55</sup> *Annual Report of Secretary of War Endicott*, 1885, pp. 4, 5.

<sup>56</sup> *Chicago Tribune*, November 18, 1884.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, December 25, 1865; A. T. Andreas, *History of Chicago* (1886), III, 334; J. S. Currey, *Chicago: its History and its Builders* (1912), III, 171; W. J. Grand, *Illustrated History of the Union Stock-Yards* (1896), p. 9.

<sup>58</sup> *Chicago Tribune*, January 2, 1916.

around the Union Stock-Yards in convenient locations, but "packingtown" was not yet a well-known term. Some beef was corned or dried, as pork had been in great amounts for many years, but the stock-yards were a local distributive agency and in no sense a centre of independent manufacture.

Cheap cattle from the range began to come in soon after the opening of the Union Stock-Yards. They filled the local market and overflowed to the East and Europe. With them came the invention of a practical ice machine and a cheap process for making and soldering tin cans, upon which inventions turned a revolution in the meat-trade. Certain of the shippers and butchers tried experiments with tinned fresh beef (of which Libby, McNeal, and Libby shipped thirty-one million tins by 1884),<sup>59</sup> and with the shipment of beef in refrigerator cars. The European shipments of October, 1875, and later, showed how practicable it was to handle beef in sides instead of on the hoof, and the discovery of profitable by-products provided reasons for the growth of a packing industry not only in Chicago, but in Omaha, Kansas City, and St. Louis. Other cities struggled for many years to share in the profits of slaughter and packing. Their newspapers discussed the reasons why, ultimately, the slaughtering was to be done at the place of original shipment. But the logic of convenience, labor supply, and by-products worked to make the traffic quasi-monopolistic and to develop out of the competitors of the seventies the "big four" of the eighties—Armour, Hammond, Morris, and Swift.

The cattlemen and the packers were soon in keen competition for the profits of beef; with the latter having the same advantage in ownership of plant and conveyance that the Standard Oil Company had over the producers of crude petroleum during the same years. It was in vain that the cowmen tried to combine. Great cattle companies succeeded individual owners, with gigantic enclosed herds replacing the small droves on the open range, yet the packers retained their strategic position in the trade. They drove the stock-owners to seek allies where they could, and to find them in the railroads that consumed much of the profits of the industry in the form of freight.

Early in the history of the trade, as soon as the Union Stock-Yards began to ship large numbers of live stock to New York and other eastern points, the railways began to scramble for the freights. The five trunk lines, New York Central, Erie, Pennsylvania, Baltimore and Ohio, and Grand Trunk, competed for the business with

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, February 10, 1884.

cut-throat and disastrous rate wars, and worked out a more peaceful *modus vivendi* only after the panic of 1873. They then agreed to divide the traffic on a given percentage, and induced a few of the greater shippers to adjust their shipments, over one road or another, so as to even up the totals with the agreed ratio. These firms were known locally and enviously as "eveners", and found the reward for their co-operation in a rebate from the published rate per car that allowed them to fatten at the expense of their unfavored smaller rivals.<sup>60</sup> "This railroad competition has helped to concentrate the live-stock and dressed-beef business into the hands of a few men",<sup>61</sup> testified the best-informed spectator, Albert Fink, in 1883.

For several years the "everer" group of firms enjoyed the advantages gained by their agreement, but by 1877 the scheme had broken down because conspirators to stifle trade lacked the firmness, when bought, to stay bought, and the trunk lines tried a new experiment for the division of freight receipts according to a fixed pool. Albert Fink,<sup>62</sup> who had harmonized the rivalries of various southern roads, was put in charge of this new regulative association, and until the interstate commerce law was passed in 1887 he was almost the sole force in America working to maintain uniformity and equality of rates against the bargaining tendencies of shippers and the competitive lust of carriers.

As the trade developed and cattle shipments east of Chicago assumed the form of fresh beef, with thirty animals to the refrigerator car instead of eighteen to the stock car,<sup>63</sup> competition was again aroused. The surviving shippers of live stock demanded that the rate on beef be raised far above the rate on cattle on the hoof, so as to maintain equality between the two forms of meat on the New York market. They found allies in the railroads, who wanted to keep their stock-cars in use and to get the higher cattle-car rates; in the stock-yards owners along the lines who could see that their plants would become obsolete and unproductive if no more live cattle came to use them; and in the butchers of the eastern cities who resented the changes that were converting them from butchers and manufacturers into mere agents and dealers in meat. By 1888

<sup>60</sup> Charles S. Langstroth and Wilson Stitz, *Railway Co-operation* (1899), p. 46; *New York Times*, May 19, 1879.

<sup>61</sup> Albert Fink, *Testimony before the United States Senate Committee on Labor and Education*, New York, September 17, 1883 (pamphlet), p. 56.

<sup>62</sup> E. R. Johnson and G. C. Huebner, *Railroad Traffic and Rates* (1911), I, 297; *United States Industrial Commission Report*, XIX, 333.

<sup>63</sup> Statement of George W. Simpson, president of the Refrigerator Car Line, before the Cullom Committee, May 27, 1885. *Sen. Rept.* 46, pt. 2, p. 404, 49 Cong., 1 sess., serial 2357.



a New York wholesale butcher could say, under oath, that with a few exceptions "the slaughtering of cattle by butchers is a thing of the past".<sup>64</sup> The eastern butchers, fearful of extinction, raised the cry in the middle eighties that Chicago and Kansas City meats were unwholesome and were preserved with poisons—the charge ten years later in the Spanish War that they were "embalmed" was perhaps reminiscent of the butchers' complaint. In 1884 there was a New York Wholesale Butchers' Protective Union,<sup>65</sup> and in 1866 a Butchers' National Protective Association of the United States,<sup>66</sup> both formed to boycott Chicago beef.

The stock shippers got the relief they wanted in the form of an increase in beef rates from once-and-a-half the cattle rate, which the packers admitted to be fair, to once-and-three-quarters, and through secret rebates from the cattle rate. The rate wars that prepared the way for public regulation of railways and the division of great corporations among themselves so that some stood on the public's side for fair and non-discriminating rates, were founded in the beef and cattle trade. Henry Demarest Lloyd had raised the shout against the trusts in his memorable *Atlantic Monthly* article, "The Story of a Great Monopoly", as early as March, 1881. Edward Bellamy's hero in *Looking Backward* started upon his communistic dream on Decoration Day, 1887. And before Cleveland gave way to Harrison in 1889 there had been exhaustive investigations of meat and oil and transportation. The interstate commerce act of 1887 was itself one of the direct outgrowths of conditions starting in the cow country.

Between 1885 and 1887 all these forces came to a focus, and the cow country that had bred them ceased to be. The open range was blocked by occupation so that the long drive was no longer possible. Cattle quarantines completed the obstructions begun by the farmers. The greed of stockmen that had led to their illegal enclosures had forced effective intervention by the government to break them up and to end the period of unregulated free grass, while the beef industry, with its impetus derived from the cow country, had started new forces that continue to touch American life on many sides. The packing and dressed beef consolidations had come to stay; barbed wire was on the road to monopolistic consolidation in a huge

<sup>64</sup> Testimony of Levi Samuels, November 22, 1888, before the Senate Committee on the Transportation and Sale of Meat Products. *Sen. Rept. 829*, p. 118, 51 Cong., 1 sess., serial 2705.

<sup>65</sup> *Chicago Tribune*, March 22, 1884.

<sup>66</sup> Their constitution is in *Sen. Rept. 829*. Testimony, p. 150, 51 Cong., 1 sess., serial 2705.

trust; railroad regulation had become more acceptable because of the abuses that had been revealed; government activity, always strengthened by exercise, had been stimulated by the work of the Land Office, the inauguration of railroad control, and the inception of food inspection; and the Wild West had received clear recognition as one of the most valuable assets of American life and literature.

FREDERIC L. PANSON.

## THE AMERICAN CONGRESS OF BIBLIOGRAPHY AND HISTORY AT BUENOS AIRES

ON July 9, 1816, a formal declaration of independence of the Spanish colonies of the Rio de la Plata was made, by a congress in session at Tucumán. In consequence, a series of celebrations was organized in Argentina for the month of July, 1916, in honor of the one hundredth anniversary of the declaration of Tucumán, and as part of the programme a number of congresses, embracing a variety of subjects, such as the congress "of the child", that of social science, and many others, were held. One of these congresses was the one with which it is proposed to deal in this article.

It is open to question whether any other congress of the centenary accomplished more of real value than did the American Congress of Bibliography and History. Its success was due in large measure to the untiring efforts through two years of the organizer of the congress, Dr. Nicanor Sarmiento, member of the distinguished family of the former president of that name, and to the extremely efficient direction of the congress by its presiding officer, Dr. David Peña, founder of the Ateneo Nacional of the Argentine Republic, and one of the leading intellectual luminaries of South America. Of no small importance, too, was the fact that the congress held its meetings at the Ateneo Nacional in Buenos Aires, instead of going to Tucumán, thus being free to devote its time to business, rather than to the round of ceremonies which formed a delightful, but somewhat too diverting, feature of the exercises at Tucumán. The congress began its sessions on July 5, and, except for July 9, met every day, often morning, afternoon, and night, until July 14, a supplementary meeting taking place the night of July 18. One day was given over to an excursion to the city of La Plata, but all the other meetings were confined to business. Historical and bibliographical papers were not read in open session, but were referred respectively to two committees, and summaries only were submitted to the congress. Thus a vast amount of time was saved, which was utilized to the full, for the business proper of the congress.

The congress was attended by 225 delegates representing institutions in almost every country of the Americas. As was to be expected, however, the greater number came from Argentina. The delegates represented a wide variety of interests, not only historians proper but also bibliographers, librarians, teachers, and men who

were none of these, but who were interested in the subject-matter, being among those in attendance. National delegates were present from Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Guatemala, Paraguay, Peru, San Salvador, Spain, and Uruguay. The writer of this article was formal representative of the University of California, but was accorded the privileges and recognition of a national delegate. During the greater part of the meetings he was the only North American present, but in the closing days of the congress, Dr. William S. Robertson, whose boat was late, arrived as representative of the University of Illinois. It was unfortunate that more North Americans could not have been present, although the writer feels justified in saying that the mere presence of one, and at length two, was not without its effect in the deliberations of the sessions. Other North American universities which signified their adhesion to the congress were the following: Cornell, Chicago, Harvard, Louisiana, Minnesota, Tulane, and Yale. The following institutions did likewise: Academy of Political Science of Philadelphia, American Association for International Peace, American Historical Association, Library of Congress, Pan-American Union, and Smithsonian Institution.

The most important business concerned the organization of the congress as a permanent body, and the founding of a bibliographical institute, both measures being prepared by a special committee of which the writer was a member. A permanent council of the congress was established, and provision was made for a meeting of the congress at least once every three years, although the intention is that it shall take place every year. The next meeting is to be held at Montevideo on August 16, 1917, that date being the national holiday of the Republic of Uruguay. The founding of the Institute calls for more extended comment.

The American Institute of Bibliography was founded, and the Ateneo Nacional of Buenos Aires was named the central and directing body, that society having already accumulated a considerable fund for this very purpose. It aims to get together the most ample data concerning books and articles about the Americas or by citizens of any of the American republics, and to supply such information, at moderate prices, to any who may desire it. The central institution plans to publish a monthly bibliographical review, charging from 12 to 15 pesos (\$5 or \$6) for an annual subscription. It also proposes to edit works, publish documents, make translations of notable works, prepare catalogues and guides of archives, and acquire and exchange books. It was decided to recommend to the

governments and important intellectual societies of the Americas that local bibliographical institutes be founded, subordinate in a measure to the Ateneo Nacional of the Argentine Republic, with a view to uniformity of objects and methods, the subordinate institutes maintaining correspondence with the central institute. Dr. David Peña was named president of the Institute of the Ateneo Nacional.

Although the programme of the Institute is exceedingly broad, the writer is confident that a practical result of value to North American students may be obtained. This opinion he bases on the exceptional executive ability and scholarship of Dr. Peña, and on the beginning that has already been made by the Ateneo Nacional on its own account.

Of the other business of the congress the following resolutions embodied what is perhaps of most interest to North American scholars:

That the bibliographical reviews now in existence and those which may be founded be urged to publish descriptions of archives of the Americas, indicating the principal divisions of documents, their state of preservation, the means facilitated for their use, and any further information of service to the investigator.

That the national and local governments of the Americas be urged to publish documents concerning the history of the two continents, and the catalogues of their archives, sending a copy of such publications to the bibliographical institute of the Ateneo Nacional of the Argentine Republic.

That steps be taken to urge the publication of national bibliographies on a similar plan, with a view to an eventual bibliography of the Americas. (The scholarly proposer of this resolution, Señor Diaz Pérez, chief of the Biblioteca Nacional of Asunción, has already prepared a select bibliography for Paraguay which will shortly be published.)

That, with a view to a broader mutual understanding between the various countries of the Americas, the congress declares itself in favor of an exchange of professors between North America (the United States) and the Latin American countries, and of the latter among themselves; and of a formal exchange of students between the said countries.

That institutions be urged to send copies of their publications to the Ateneo Nacional of Buenos Aires, and to exchange publications among themselves.

That, in the same manner, the exchange of bibliographical catalogues, whether in book form or in pamphlet, be encouraged.

That a special prize be awarded for the best bibliographical work presented at each succeeding meeting of the congress.

That the proceedings of the present congress be compiled and published in book form. It is planned to include in this volume some of the shorter bibliographical and historical articles of outstanding merit among the many presented to the congress.

In connection with the congress, throughout the sessions, there was an exposition "of the book". Many institutions, including some from North America, sent works for this exposition. Three were specially noteworthy for their amplitude and value, those of the University of Córdoba (Argentina), the Biblioteca Nacional of Asunción, and the private collection of Señor Corbacho of Lima. The last-named consisted of manuscripts from the period of the *conquistadores* to the end of Spanish rule, a truly extraordinary and voluminous collection; and if there are many more of the same type in Lima, that city ought to become an attractive centre for the investigator who goes to the sources.

CHARLES E. CHAPMAN.

## NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

### THE ALLEGED OXFORD COUNCIL OF 1213

AN interesting discussion in this and another review took place in the years 1905 and 1911<sup>1</sup> respectively, on the writ of July 21, 1213, alleged by Roger of Wendover to have been issued with a view to summoning a representative assembly to St. Alban's, with the primary object of assessing the losses sustained by the bishops in the recent quarrel with King John. There would appear to be equal if not greater mystery connected with another writ of the same year, likewise printed in the same well-known collections,<sup>2</sup> and made the basis of somewhat important inferences.

The writ is thus given by Dr. Stubbs:

Rex Vicecomiti Oxon. salutem. Praecipimus tibi quod omnes milites baillivae tuae, qui summoniti fuerunt esse apud Oxoniam ad nos a die Omnium Sanctorum in quindecim dies venire facias cum armis suis; corpora vero baronum sine armis similiter: et quatuor discretos homines de comitatu tuo illic venire facias ad nos ad eundem terminum ad loquendum nobiscum de negotiis regni nostri. Teste me ipso apud Wytteñ. VII. die Novembris.

Eodem modo scribitur omnibus vicecomitibus.

We now know that, as has recently been pointed out by Miss Levett,<sup>3</sup> the late Bishop of Oxford, in transcribing the writ from the *Report on the Dignity of a Peer*, in which it was printed (though not for the first time) in 1829, accidentally gave *homines* for *milites* in the later part; and this is unfortunate, because Dr. Stubbs, in his commentary, drew from the *homines* rather important conclusions, which have been somewhat too confidently accepted by later writers.<sup>4</sup>

The Bishop comments thus:

It is the first writ in which the "four discreet men" of the county (*sic*) appear as representatives; the first instance of the summoning of the folkmoot to a general assembly by the representative machinery

<sup>1</sup> *English Historical Review*, XX, 289 (H. W. C. Davis); XXI, 297 (G. J. Turner); *American Historical Review*, XVII, 12 (A. B. White).

<sup>2</sup> Stubbs, *Select Charters* (fifth ed.), p. 287; Medley, *Original Illustrations of English Constitutional History*, p. 163.

<sup>3</sup> *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXI, 85.

<sup>4</sup> *E. g.*, Gneist, *Verfassungsgeschichte* (trans. Ashworth), p. 270 n.; Maitland, *Constitutional History*, p. 68 (it is only fair to remember that this is a posthumous work); Anson, *Law and Custom* (third ed.), I, 46.

already used for judicial purposes. The four men and the reeve had from time immemorial represented the township in the shiremoot; now the four men and the sheriff represent the shiremoot in the national council.

But it is clear that there is no hint in the writ itself of any connection with the ancient township representation, still less with that vague and shadowy body the "folk-moot"—all that is based upon a mere slip in transliteration. Moreover, the writ, even as given by Dr. Stubbs, affords no authority for the suggestion that the sheriff was to accompany the chosen representatives in their alleged pilgrimage to a central assembly. The well-known words in which such a direction would be given: *et habeas ibi nomina militum et hoc breve*, are not to be found. But, at the risk of destroying a pious legend, which has, however, to the thoughtful reader, always presented great difficulties, it may perhaps be pointed out that the writ in question is open to a construction entirely different from that hitherto accepted.

It is only fair to say that the accepted legend did not originate with Dr. Stubbs. In the oldest modern print known to the writer, that of the Record Office edition of Rymer's *Foedera*,<sup>5</sup> the writ is indexed as "De Summonitione ad Parliamentum Oxon.;" but, as the committee from whose report Dr. Stubbs quotes is careful to point out,<sup>6</sup> there is no authority for this rubric on the original roll, which merely gives the writ without title. Sir T. D. Hardy, however, in the Record Commission's edition of the Close Rolls,<sup>7</sup> published in 1833, instead of reprinting the writ itself, expands the title given by the editors of the *Foedera* into an elaborate summary of what he took to be the meaning of the writ, adding merely a reference to the *Foedera*—a proceeding against which, despite the official explanation,<sup>8</sup> it is surely permissible to protest, as both inconvenient and misleading.

To the writer, the crux of the interpretation appears to be in the final words, not of the writ, but of the enrollment. In later times, no doubt, the words, *codem modo scribitur omnibus vicecomitibus*, would mean that similar writs, with the sole alteration of the address, had been sent to the sheriffs of all the other counties. But can we be sure that, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, the practice had been firmly settled? In other words, can we be quite sure

<sup>5</sup> *Chronological Index*, p. xxxv. (1816). The writ is there given as of November 13, which is not only wrong but impossible.

<sup>6</sup> I. 61.

<sup>7</sup> I. 165.

<sup>8</sup> Given by Miss Levett in note 4 to the first page of her article (*Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXXI. 85).



that the writ of November 7, 1213, to the sheriff of Buckingham did not bid him assemble his knights at Buckingham, that to the sheriff of Bedford, at Bedford, and so on? Dr. Stubbs, with his usual candor, informs us that there is "no record" of the Council of Oxford having been actually held; and this statement, from a man of Bishop Stubbs's learning, is fairly strong evidence that no such record survives. And yet it seems somewhat unlikely that a Council, of the novelty assumed, should be passed over in silence by the chroniclers. Can it be because it not only did not meet, but because it was never intended to meet?

In addition to the significant fact that the alleged council at Oxford, if it ever took place in the representative form suggested by Dr. Stubbs, would have been an anticipation, by forty years, of the first representative central assembly of which we have actual records, there is a special difficulty which has been previously pointed out,<sup>9</sup> with regard to the date fixed for the alleged meeting. The writ, as given by Dr. Stubbs, allows only eight days for the selection and journey to Oxford of the "four discreet knights" of the county. Such a direction, in the circumstances of the time, would have been a farce, at any rate as regarded the remoter counties. Even assuming that nothing in the way of an election was contemplated, but that the sheriff was simply to pick his knights, there would be required the time to send the writ to, say, Norwich, and for the knights to journey from Norwich to Oxford. The allowance of time, eight days, would have been hopelessly inadequate.

But if the direction had been in each case to summon the four knights *to the shire town*, the writs to the other sheriffs would still, surely, have been *eadem modo* with the writ to the sheriff of Oxford; and the time allowed, though not excessive, would not have been unreasonable.

Nor would it have been without precedent in contemporary practice. The process of choosing four knights of the county to perform legal business dates at least from the Grand Assize of Henry II.; and it seems to have been extending in the early years of the thirteenth century. There is, for example, a writ of the very month and year of the Oxford writ,<sup>10</sup> addressed to the sheriff of Cumberland, bidding him send "four lawful knights" of his county to Carlisle, to witness a choice of attorney by two litigants; and it is probable that a further study of the rolls would reveal similar instances. Another

<sup>9</sup> *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXXI. 87.

<sup>10</sup> *Rot. Claus.*, I. 139.

writ of the same year,<sup>11</sup> on the assessment of damages due to the bishops, alluded to by Mr. Turner,<sup>12</sup> and said, apparently without justification, to be found on the Patent Rolls, directs the commissioners to attend at times and places to be fixed by the respective bishops. Is there any suggestion here of a central assembly?

The whole position is complicated by the fact that the writ of November 7, 1213, is obviously supplementary to an earlier writ which appears to have summoned *all* the knights of the shire; and this earlier writ, seemingly, does not survive. But it would appear to have been of a military, rather than a political character; and, regard being had to the circumstances of the time, it seems to be equally arguable that such a writ would be directed toward securing one central or many local gatherings. On the one hand, an army dispersed among thirty-seven different centres is not of much military value; on the other, John may well have hesitated, in view of his quarrel with the barons, to summon the whole feudal forces of the country to a single spot. Such a step might have placed an overwhelming force at the disposal of his opponents.

EDWARD JENKS.

#### THE LORDS OF THE COMMITTEE OF COUNCIL

IN 1896 Professor Wolfgang Michael published the first volume of his *Englische Geschichte im Achtzehnten Jahrhundert*, in which he described the structure and working of the cabinet for this period, an account which he afterwards elaborated in various special studies, the most important, perhaps, being "Die Entstehung der Kabinettsregierung in England", which appeared in 1913.<sup>1</sup> These writings are endowed with qualities well known in the contributions of their eminent author, and for the students of the cabinet they have the particular merit that portions of them are based on materials made known for the first time from the archives of Hanover, Vienna, and Berlin. Probably what relates to the history of the cabinet before 1700 is founded upon inadequate information, and further search in the English sources would have revealed data which apparently the author has not used; but I wish here to acknowledge the excellence of most of what relates to the period subsequent. With one of the conclusions, however, I do not agree, and this conclusion pertains to a matter of great importance in the history of cabinet development.

<sup>11</sup> *Foedera*, I. 114. The writ is, seemingly, on the Close Rolls (see *Rot. Claus.*, I. 164), not on the Patent Rolls, as stated by the *Foedera*.

<sup>12</sup> *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXI. 299.

<sup>1</sup> *Zeitschrift für Politik*, VI. 549-593.

One of the things which most perplexes students of this subject is that in the period after 1688, along with various committees, undoubtedly of the privy council, appears a so-called "committee of council" with members often denoted "lords of the committee", evidently in close relation with the cabinet, but with a relationship very difficult to ascertain. Professor Michael has dealt in some detail with the question of cabinet and committee of council. He comments at length upon the meetings recorded in the Buccleuch MSS. of Montagu House, and considers them to be records of cabinet meetings.<sup>2</sup> He condemns the editor for designating these records as "Privy Council Minutes", and rightly; but elsewhere I have had to note that he himself fails to observe that several of the meetings are by participants described as committees of council.<sup>3</sup> Even at this time, then, I may remark, cabinet and committee of council appear in some instances virtually indistinguishable. Before 1714, and for some years afterward, he says, the term cabinet was applied only to a meeting at which the sovereign was present; nevertheless, in the time of Anne the cabinet councillors often assembled without the queen, but then they met as a committee to deliberate in respect of business about which report was afterwards to be made to the queen in the cabinet. So, there arose the distinction between the cabinet council and the committee of the cabinet council, in accordance with whether the queen was present or not. Committee of the cabinet council, he says, is usually given by contemporaries in shorter form as committee of council. It is not a separate assembly beside the cabinet and the privy council, but a committee of the cabinet without the sovereign presiding. From this cabinet committee comes the cabinet of later times when the absence of the king had become a permanent custom.<sup>4</sup>

I have had reason to comprehend the difficulty of explaining with satisfactory precision the exact nature of the committee of council, and no one would welcome more than myself a definition so clear-cut as this; but grave objections discover themselves. In the first place, so far as I can judge, Professor Michael's warrant for speaking of the "committee of the cabinet council" lies only in a single expression of the Prussian resident, Bonet, who, in a communication of 1715, speaks of the "Comité du Conseil du Cabinet"; and thereupon the author does not hesitate to identify it with the com-

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 556.

<sup>3</sup> *English Historical Review*, XXXI. (forthcoming article).

<sup>4</sup> *Zeitschrift für Politik*, VI. 557, 564, 565; *Englische Geschichte*, I. 439, 440; see also Salomon, *Geschichte des Letzten Ministeriums Königin Annas von England*, p. 356, note.

mittee of council so often mentioned by Bolingbroke and others.<sup>5</sup> Undoubtedly Bonet, though a foreigner, was well informed, but some years ago in commenting upon this passage I observed that, so far as I am aware, for more than a generation thereafter this expression occurs nowhere in the very numerous allusions made by English contemporaries to the various assemblies in which they took part, nor does Professor Michael adduce any evidence thereto pertinent.<sup>6</sup> Further, I find no warrant for the assumption that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the meaning of the word "committee" contained the fundamental idea that a body was assembling without its presiding officer in place. The House of Commons without the speaker in the chair could be a committee of the whole house, but evidence is wanting to show that similar metamorphosis took place when the sovereign was absent from the privy council or the cabinet. "Committee" signified originally, and long continued to mean, a person or a number of persons to whom something was committed to be done. Even if this were not so, however, the theory in question is based upon the assumption that the sovereign did not attend the committee of council, but notwithstanding the fact that cabinet and committee of the council are usually to be distinguished in the presence of the sovereign at the one and his absence from the other, yet the undoubted presence of the sovereign can be shown at numerous meetings of the committee. William attended most of the "committees of council" reported by Secretary Trenchard in 1694;<sup>7</sup> the frequent presence of Anne is revealed in the entry books of the secretaries and in contemporary correspondence;<sup>8</sup> and on one occasion as late as 1729 Queen Caroline was present.<sup>9</sup> The error which I have attempted here to point out, that the lords of the committee of council were a committee of the cabinet council, has been adopted, if I understand him aright, by another author, who continues the argument with the idea, perhaps, that a committee may be supposed to be smaller than the parent body, and thus fortifies his contention that there was a *conciliabulum* or inner cabinet in the time of Anne.<sup>10</sup>

With regard to the committee of council also I wish to amplify a former explanation of my own. In a paper written in 1913 on the early history of the cabinet, I undertook, as seemed well, to

<sup>5</sup> *Zeitschrift für Politik*, VI. 568.

<sup>6</sup> *American Historical Review*, XVIII. 763, 764.

<sup>7</sup> See *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXXI.

<sup>8</sup> See *Report of Hist. MSS. Comm., Frankland-Russell-Astley MSS.*, p. 124.

<sup>9</sup> See *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXXI.

<sup>10</sup> H. W. V. Temperley, *ibid.*, XXVII. 692, 693.

treat of the problem of the lords of the committee. I explained, as Mr. J. Munro had done, that after 1688 the process of development of committees of the privy council was not for the most part as theretofore, in the direction of standing committees which were parts of the council, but almost entirely towards committees of the whole council, until at last there was practically one committee, devoting itself to different tasks and acting under different names, attended by only a few of the privy councillors, but in theory, at any rate, a committee of the whole privy council.<sup>11</sup> What I then undertook incidentally I have since worked out in minute detail, and in this far the earlier conclusions are amply substantiated.<sup>12</sup> But my principal purpose then was to explain the "committee of council" of William's time and the "lords of the committee" of Anne and of George I., and I now think that I identified this assembly too closely with the committee of the whole privy council, though I did it with some uncertainty and with cautious and doubtful phrase.<sup>13</sup> Since then I have devoted myself specially to this problem also, and recently dealt with it at length.<sup>14</sup> I should not, therefore, except for the sake of additional clearness have to mention the subject in this place, except that when the late Sir William Anson very generously alluded to my earlier work, he attempted to summarize my statements more exactly than I had dared, and understood me to mean that the lords of the committee in Bolingbroke's day were a general purpose committee of the privy council, produced by the blending of the various privy council committees manned largely by the same leading members into one committee of the whole privy council; that this committee was quite distinct from the cabinet; and that consequently the cabinet was in no sense an offshoot of any committee of the council.<sup>15</sup> I am not responsible for the deduction, but this interpretation is probably what one was justified in making; so that I feel it necessary to allude to my more recent review of the subject in which there is an attempt to show by means of statistics tabulated from the Registers of the privy council and from other sources, that the committee of the whole privy council had a more fluctuating and inclusive membership than the meetings of the lords of the committee of council; that while this latter committee may have been regarded theoretically as a committee of the whole council, and probably, so far as it persisted, in the end became so ac-

<sup>11</sup> *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XVIII. 758, 759.

<sup>12</sup> *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXXI.

<sup>13</sup> *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XVIII. 759-761.

<sup>14</sup> *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXXI.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, XXIX. 325.

tually, yet this was far from being so in the days of its greatness; that "committee of council" in this particular sense seems for a while merely to denote the cabinet councillors sitting in capacity of privy councillors in a private gathering or committee, probably an informal one; that the assembly of the "lords" seems to have been made up of the same men who composed the cabinet council; and that hence "committee of council" was frequently used to denote a body which was apparently the cabinet sitting under another name. If such be the case, I may add that this tends to support the notion that the cabinet was then in some manner after all regarded as a committee of the privy council.

EDWARD RAYMOND TURNER.

#### GERRY AND THE PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION IN 1813

ON Monday, May 18, 1812, less than a month after Vice-President Clinton's death in office at the age of seventy-three years, a Congressional caucus named James Madison for a second term in the presidency, and cast a majority of its eighty-two votes for John Langdon of New Hampshire as vice-president. Ten days later (May 28) Langdon, writing from his home in Portsmouth, being past seventy years old and disinclined to assume further official responsibilities, declined the honor.<sup>1</sup> As it happened, he was the first of a number of men formally nominated by a leading party to the second office who have deliberately refused the summons. A second caucus, held in Washington on June 8 and gathered for the single purpose of filling the vacancy, named Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts for the place. Gerry was glad to accept the honor thrust upon him just ten days before our declaration of war against Great Britain. Because of his outspoken loyalty to the war policy of Madison, he had recently lost the chance of a third term as governor of Massachusetts.

Gerry was a tried politician grown old in the service of his country. A graduate of Harvard College (1762), delegate to the Continental Congress and signer of the Declaration of Independence, member of the Convention of 1787, whose draft of the Constitution he refused to sign, Representative from Massachusetts in the national House during Washington's first term as President, later (1797) envoy extraordinary to France, and after the lapse of many years governor (1810-1812) of his native state, he was securely established as a man of high reputation and many useful accomplishments. He took his seat for the first time as presiding officer over

<sup>1</sup> Letter printed in *National Intelligencer*, Thursday, June 11.

Senate deliberations on Monday, May 24, 1813, at the opening of the session. His inaugural address of unusual length paid high tribute to Madison (then directing the war) in a manner sure to call forth favorable comment from Gerry's discerning biographer.<sup>2</sup>

There was but one feature of Gerry's limited term as Vice-President—he died in office on November 23, 1814—which has some significance at the present day. As recently as 1903, Senator George F. Hoar commented briefly upon it.<sup>3</sup> Presiding over the session of the Senate which opened on May 24, Vice-President Gerry held his seat as chairman to the very close on Monday, August 2, 1813, refusing in the face of a well-established custom to retire from his place a day or so before the time of adjournment in order to make way for a president of the Senate *pro tempore*. The custom rested upon the law of succession of March 1, 1792: in case of the removal, death, resignation, or inability of both the President and the Vice-President, the succession went to the President of the Senate *pro tempore*; and if there were no such officer, it went to the Speaker of the House of Representatives. With a president *pro tempore* to fall back upon in case of the death of both President and Vice-President, there was slight probability that the presidency would lapse during a recess of Congress into the hands of the Speaker. And the Senate as the more permanent body of Congress showed, soon after the law of March 1, 1792, became effective, its control in this respect over a possible emergency by providing near the close of its sessions for a president *pro tempore*. The practice, which was begun under John Adams, was probably looked upon as established by Jefferson's consistently retiring throughout his term as Vice-President a day or so before the Senate's adjournment. Vice-President Burr retired on April 16, 1802—the session closing the next day—"agreeably to practice".<sup>4</sup> What reasons were there, it may be asked, which should have induced Gerry, an old man, to hold the chairmanship to the close of the session in spite of a well-recognized and established custom?

<sup>2</sup> James T. Austin, *Life of Elbridge Gerry* (1829), II, 384 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Autobiography of Seventy Years*, II, 169.

<sup>4</sup> From 1789 to 1791 Vice-President Adams himself adjourned the Senate sessions. On Tuesday, April 17, 1792, he withdrew from the Senate on account of illness in his family. Though he appears to have presided throughout the special session (Monday, June 8–Friday, June 26, 1795) concerned with the Jay Treaty, the Senate by that time had probably fallen into a practice which Jefferson did much to fix as a custom. The first notable breach of the custom after Jefferson's term was Gerry's in 1813. In May, 1881, Vice-President Arthur acted on Gerry's principle, although the circumstances of the situation were entirely different from those of 1813.

The first session of the Thirteenth Congress was called at a very unusual time, on Monday, May 24, 1813.<sup>5</sup> The war against Great Britain was going badly under Madison's timid and ineffectual direction. In general, our foreign relations under Secretary Monroe's supervision were complicated and troublesome. Neither army nor navy was adequately equipped or capably directed. And with Albert Gallatin, a very able Secretary of the Treasury, out of the country on a peace mission, and our national finances at a low ebb, public sentiment, being much divided, had forced into both Senate and House inharmonious elements. The Federalist minority acted as a peace party. In the Senate in particular there existed what A. J. Dallas termed "a malcontent junto of self-styled Republicans",<sup>6</sup> led by such bitter opponents of the administration as William B. Giles of Virginia and Samuel Smith of Maryland; this junto, allied with discontented Federalists such as Rufus King of New York, hampered Madison's loyal following at every turn.

"Giles has just taken his seat in [the] Senate", wrote the observant young Webster on June 7, "and has put a claw on Gallatin. The President will be hard pushed in the Senate." Four days later (June 11) he remarked: "Giles has no mercy. . . . I should not be surprised if they should drive Madison *to* and Gallatin *from* the Treasury."<sup>7</sup> On June 28 Monroe informed Jefferson at Monticello that Madison's enemies were counting on the presumed death of Madison and Gerry, and that "Giles is thought of to take the place of the President of the Senate as soon as the Vice-President withdraws".<sup>8</sup> When, on July 19, the Senate by one vote defeated Gallatin's nomination as peace-envoy with John Quincy Adams and James A. Bayard, a notable effort of the opposition against the administration was settled. At the moment President Madison was slowly recovering from a serious and prolonged attack of bilious fever which had threatened his life since early June. As late in the summer as July 29, just four days before the Senate adjourned, Mrs. Madison regarded her husband's convalescence as "precarious".<sup>9</sup>

Several weeks before the adjournment on August 2, a group of Senators tried to induce Gerry in accordance with custom to withdraw and thus to make way for a president of the Senate *pro tempore*. Another group, presumably loyal to the administration, urged

<sup>5</sup> Law of February 27, 1813. *Statutes at Large*, II, 804.

<sup>6</sup> H. Adams, *Life of Albert Gallatin*, p. 488.

<sup>7</sup> C. H. Van Tyne, *Letters of Daniel Webster*, pp. 38, 40.

<sup>8</sup> *Writings of James Monroe* (ed. Hamilton), V, 272-273.

<sup>9</sup> H. Adams, *op. cit.*, pp. 487-488.



the Vice-President to remain and adjourn the body. Considering the predicament of war, the serious illness of Madison, and the factional and unruly forces in the Senate, Gerry felt himself, as he explained, "to be differently circumstanced from any of his predecessors", and was under obligations to hold his post until the completion of the business of the session.<sup>10</sup>

There was a chance—already acknowledged by Monroe to Jefferson, as I have shown—that neither Gerry nor Madison would survive the summer. Should he, by withdrawing before the close of the session, give Senator Giles or some other powerful but probably disaffected member, an opportunity to succeed to the presidency? In case the country should be suddenly left without a President and Vice-President might it not be safer to make way for the brilliant young Speaker of the House, Henry Clay, who had already seen service in the Senate, was a loyal supporter of Madison, and in thorough accord with the administration's attitude toward the war?

The longer one ponders the peculiar circumstances of the Congressional situation during the summer and autumn of 1813, the stronger becomes the conviction that Clay as a possible successor to Madison and Gerry in accordance with the law of 1792 must have been in men's minds. Yet there appears to be only circumstantial and very indirect evidence of the conviction. When, in 1811, Clay entered the House of Representatives and there quickly gained the place of a leader, Randolph of Roanoke declared that the young Kentuckian had already fixed his eyes upon the presidency.<sup>11</sup> Fate was against him in 1813, for Madison survived his illness, and Vice-President Gerry died in November, 1814, while Clay was aiding in the peace settlement abroad. Thereafter for nearly forty years Clay sought the honor of the Presidency from an open-eyed public, but he sought it in vain.

HENRY BARRETT LEARNED.

<sup>10</sup> See Gerry's very unusual speech on the subject delivered on April 18, 1814, just before he withdrew from the Senate according to custom. *Annals of Congress*, 13 Cong., 2 sess., pt. I., pp. 776-778. Cf. Massachusetts Historical Society, *Proceedings* (June, 1914), XLVII. 502.

<sup>11</sup> Hugh A. Garland, *The Life of John Randolph of Roanoke*, I. 306.

## DOCUMENTS

### *Documents in Swiss Archives relating to Emigration to American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century*<sup>1</sup>

#### A. VERBATIM REPORTS OF TRIALS OF SWISS CITIZENS SUSPECTED OF BEING EMIGRANT AGENTS.

##### I. BESPRECHUNG DER CANTZLEÏ BEÏ DEM HIER ANGEHALTENEN PETER HUBER VON OBERHASLI. 1742.<sup>2</sup>

Verlesen den 3 ten Martÿ 1742.

*Befr.* Wie er heisse, wie alt und woher er seÿe?

*Ant.* Peter Huber von Ober Hasli in Wÿsland,<sup>3</sup> in circa 36. Jahr alt.

*Befr.* Von was Profession er seÿe?

*Ant.* Ein Schuhmacher.

*Befr.* Was die Ursach seiner verhaft?

*Ant.* Wÿsse es nicht, bilde sich ein, es seÿe wegen denen Leuthen, so hier seÿen and weiters wollen, welches denen Ständen vielleicht zu wieder seÿe.

*Befr.* Wo er von hier hab hinreisen wollen?

*Ant.* Auf Calais in franckreich seÿ er willens gewesen zu reisen.

*Befr.* Was er zu Calais machen wolle?

*Ant.* Von dar hab er ùbers Wasser nachher Haus in Carolina reisen wollen, er seÿ schon seith 1734 in Carolina Haushäblich, letzten Sommer aber seÿ er heraus komen, sein Waib und zweÿ Kinder, so er dazumahlen zu Haslin zurùckhgelassen abzuholen.

*Befr.* Ob er selbige nun beÿ sich habe?

*Ant.* Ja, und ein Kind hab er schon in A<sup>o</sup> 1734 mit sich genommen, welches noch daselbst seÿe.

*Befr.* Ob er aussert seinem Waib und Kinder keine Reisegefährten habe?

*Ant.* Ja, seine Schwester bringe ihm seinen Bündel nach, und dann seÿ Barbara Horger von Oberhaslin auch beÿ ihm.

*Befr.* Ob er nicht mehrere Reis gefährten habe.

*Ant.* Es seÿen wohl mehrere Persohnen hier, die ihn aber nichts angehen.

*Befr.* Ob nicht auch Leuth von Interlackhen beÿ ihm seÿen?

*Ant.* Nein, wÿsse von keinen nichts.

<sup>1</sup> These documents are contributed by Professor A. B. Faust of Cornell University and were found in the course of the investigations made by him for the Carnegie Institution of Washington, resulting in his *Guide to the Materials for American History in Swiss and Austrian Archives* (Washington, 1916). See his article on "Swiss Emigration to the American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century", pp. 21-44 above.

<sup>2</sup> Staatsarchiv, Basel, Auswanderung A.

<sup>3</sup> *I. e.*, in the Bernese Oberland.

- Befr.* Was er seith seinem letzten Aufenthalt im Bernischen geschafet.  
*Ant.* Hab seine Freund besuchet, und seine aus Carolina gehabte Commissionen verrichtet, so darin bestanden, dass er zu Interlackhen und Hasli für einige in Carolina etwas Gelts bezogen, er seÿ zwar in Verdacht kommen, ob wickhle er das Volckh auf, und seÿ deswegen auf Bern berufen und von einer Commission besprochen und wieder nacher Haus gesandt worden, weilen er hierinen unschuldig erfunden worden, er könnte auch wegn der lang Reis solches mit gutem Gewüssen niemand rahten.
- Befr.* Ob er Erlaubniss erhalten wieder in Carolinam zu kehren?  
*Ant.* Ja, sonstn würde man ihm nicht einen Pass ertheilt haben.
- Befr.* Welch weg er hieher genommen?  
*Ant.* Er hab gehört, dass verschiedene von Interlackhen Lust haben, in Carolinam zu ziehen, weilen er nun schon im Verdacht gewesen, als wickhle er die Leuth darzu auf, damit nun selbige nicht mit ihm ziehen und der Verdacht vergrössert werde, seÿ er über den Brüning<sup>4</sup> nach Luzern und von dannen hieher kommen.
- Befr.* Ob er mit denen übrig abgeredt, allhier auf einander zu warten?  
*Ant.* Nein, allein mit seiner Schwester, die er noch mit seinem Küstlin erwaite, hab er solches abgeredt.
- Vorgehalten es verlaute aber, dass er im Oberland die Leuth aufgemahnt habe mit ihm zu ziehn.
- Ant.* Nein, es werde solches auch niemand mit Wahrheith auf ihn ausgeben; wan solches von ihm geschehen wäre, seine Gn. Herren würden ihn schon verwahrt haben.

## 2. ABHÖRUNG EINIGER BERNISCHEN EMIGRANTEN. 1742.<sup>5</sup>

Auf dasjenige schreiben, welches Lobl. Stand Bern den 3 Martii, 1742 wegen einigen dero Emigranten die von Peter Huber zu solcher vorhabenden Reis verführt worden seÿn sollen, haben Meine G. Herren erkannt, dass diesen Emigranten die gnädige Vorschläge und anerbietthen so L. Stand Bern in obgedachtem schreiben ihnen anerbietthet, solten eröffnet, deren Antworthen vernommen und zugleich die aufhebenden Päss abgeforderet werden.

Welches dan Alles von seithen d. Cantzleyÿ folgender massen volzogen worden.

*No. 1.* Abraham Leuthold von Oberhasle 35 Jahr alt, Weib und 5 Kinder.

*B.* wer Ihne zu diser Reis varanlasset?

*A.* der Peter Huber.

*B.* wo er hin wolle?

*A.* in Carolinam.

*B.* Ob er nicht auf das Gnädige anerbietthen L. Standts Bern wider zurück kehren wolle?

*A.* weilen auf der Cantzel verlesen worden, dass man fortziehen könne, so seÿe er fortgezogen und habe einen Pass bekommen; weilen aber seiner G. Herren willen, dass er wider zurück solle, so wolle

<sup>4</sup> The Brüning Pass.

<sup>5</sup> Staatsarchiv, Basel, Auswanderung A.

er auf dero anerbiethen widerum zurück und habe das gnädige Zutrauen, seine G. Herren werden für Ihne sorgen und mit Weib und Kind nicht verderben lassen.

*No. 2.* Hans Trachsel sambt Weib und einem Kind von St. Stephan.

*B.* wer ihne zu diser Reis verführt?

*A.* niemand, auch der Peter Huber nicht, sonderen habe sich solches vorgenommen, darmit er sich besser ernähren könnte; es werde ihne auch nichts mehr von diser Reis abwendig machen.

*No. 3.* Peter Burgener von Grindelwald, 45 Jahr alt, hat 4 Kinder bey sich.

*B.* was Ihne zu der Reis naher Carolinam veranlasset?

*A.* weilen andere arme Leuth geschrieben, dass es Ihnen wohlgehe.

*B.* Ob ihne den Peter Huber nicht hierzu verführet?

*A.* Nein.

*B.* Ob er nicht auf seiner G. H. anerbiethen widerum naher Haus wolte?

*A.* weilen er zu Haus keine nahrung habe, so wolte er lieber sterben als zurückkehren.

*No. 4.* Heinrich Balmholtzer 35 Jahr alt von Oberhasle.

*B.* wer ihne zu diser Reis verführet?

*A.* Niemand, als er selbst seye von seiner Frau und Kinderen weg, und wolle ohneracht des gnädigen anerbiethens dennoch nicht zurückkehren.

*No. 5.* Caspar Negelin von Oberhaslin ein lediger kerle 34 Jahr alt sagt er habe niemahlen im Sinn gehabt naher Carolinam sonderen wolle widerum naher Holland alwo er laut vorgewiesenen Abscheid von H. Hauptmann Tscharner schon gedient habe.

*No. 6.* Peter Negelin von Oberhasli 42 Jahr Alt, sambt Weib 6 Kinder. sagt aus die Armuth habe Ihne aus dem Land getrieben und wolle, ohngeacht seiner G. Herren versprechen, dennoch nicht zurückkehren.

endet.

*No. 7.* Peter Weltsch 23 Jahr alt von Oberhasle sagt dass ihne niemand verführet und er als ein lediger kerle in der Welt herum sein brod suchen wolle.

endet.

*No. 8.* Hans Egger sambt einem Weib und kind 29 Jahr alt von Grindelwald. will aus respect zu seinen Gnädigen, auf dero Gn. anerbiethen und der Hoffnung dass sie als Vättern für Ihne sorgen und etwas zu seiner erhaltung steuern werden, widerum zurückreisen.

Hans Bali von Oberhasli 37 Jahr sambt Frau und Kind, hat Sein pass verlohren, massen er sich schon vor etlichen Tagen um ein neuen pass by d. Cantzley angemeldet, welcher aber Ihne abgeschlagen worden. wolle aus respect gegen seine Gnädigen Herren, auf dero anerbiethen und in der Hoffnung dass sie Ihne in Gnaden beistehen werden, wider zurückkehren.

endet.

Barbara Hargerin 33 Jahr alt eine Wittib von Oberhasle sambt einem Kind, hat kein pass. sagt weilen dero Vatter Heinrich Harger in Oranienburg<sup>6</sup> in Carolina seye so wolle sie einmahlen zu deme reisen, habe zu Haus weder Freund noch Gelt und wüsse sich nicht zu erhalten.  
endet.

No. 9. Jacob Negelin von Oberhasle 45 Jahr alt, sambt Weib und 3 Kinderen sagt aus es habe Ihne die Armuth aus dem Land getrieben, dahero er in Gottes namen weiters ziehen wolle.  
endet.

No. 10. Christen Brawand [Brerand?] von Grindelwald 26 Jahr alt sambt einer Frauen. sagt weilen er einen pass erhalten, dass er fortziehen könne, so wolle er fort und werde Ihne niemand abhalten.

Ohngeachtet nun disen Leuthen allen Zuspruch beschehen so sind doch die meisten in ihrem vorhaben bestanden und haben so gar mit ungestüm die abgenommenen päss widerum zurück haben wollen, mit vorgeben, dass sie nicht so viel Gelt haben, dass sie länger hier zehren können.

### 3. VERHÖR PETER HUBER. 1742.<sup>7</sup>

Demnach der zu Basel arrestirte Peter Huber wegen Verdachts ob hätte Er Leüthe in hiesigen Landen angeworben, nach Carolina in america zu führen, auf Ihr Gnd. Befehl anhero gebracht worden, habend dero Dienern mwHr.<sup>8</sup> Gross Weibel Fischer und der Grichtschreiber heute Dato folgendes Examen mit demselben gehalten.

- F. Wer Er seye? Wie alt? Woher? Was begangenschaft Er habe?  
 A. Er seye Peter Huber, von ohngefahr 36 Jahren alters, gebürtig von ober Hassli, seines handwerks Ein Schumacher. Er habe Ein Weib und drey Kinder, darvon Eines in Carolina.  
 F. Wessenwegen Er sich in hiesiger gefangenschaft befinde?  
 A. Er könnte solches nicht Eigentlich sagen, inmassen Er seines Wissens nichts gefehlet habe.  
 F. Ihme seye in wissen, dass vor etwelchen Jahren verschiedene Haushaltungen auss hiesigen Landen nach Carolina gezogen, auf MrgHrn gethann Lands Vätterliche Vorstellungen aber, seyend viele wieder darvon abgehalten worden, und wäre diessorths alles stille gewesen, biss Er Huber wieder in das Land gekommen und verschiedene zu der unbesonnene Carolina-Reise angefrischet.  
 A. Er habe niemand zu dieser Reise angefrischet, und diessorths nichts unternommen, alss dass Er denen so Ihne gefraget, nach seiner Einfalt das Land in gutem und bösen beschrieben, angerathen noch eingeladen habe Er nicht, in dem gegentheil Er habe allerorthen die weite und beschwehrliche Reise Vorgestellet.  
 F. Ob Er denn Laugnen dörffe, dass Er nicht Leüthe mit Ihme wegführen wollen?

<sup>6</sup> Orangeburg, S. C.

<sup>7</sup> Staatsarchiv, Bern, Thurn Buch der Statt Bern, Novemb. 1740–Marty 1742.

<sup>8</sup> Mein Würdiger Herr. "MrgHrn", below, is Meiner Gnädigen Herren.

A. Er habe niemand wegführen wollen, alss seine Schwester, und einem Welschen Jacob Lanu welcher 7 Jahr droben in dem Bergwerk gearbeitet; dieser habe Ihme Inquisiten sehr oft nachgetreten und angehalten Ihme mit sich zu nemmen, welches Er aber öfters aussgeschlagen, auch vorgewendet, dass solches verboten seye, H. Havre aber der Inspector bei dem bergwerk habe Ihnen verdeüet, der Lanu seye ein freyer Mensch, Er könne gehen wohin Er wolle, habe ihnen hierauf einen accord aufgesetzt und diesen Tractat selbstnen veranlasset, massen Er Inquisit nicht mit dem Welschen Reden können.

Hierauf wurde der Lanu dem Huber unter augen gestellet, und obschon Er Lanu in der hiervor aufgenommenen Information den Huber angeklagt, ob hätte dieser Ihme zu der Carolina Reise angefrischet und Ihme das Land angerühmet, auch dass Er dem Huber 20 K.<sup>9</sup> auf die Reise geben müssen, hat dieser Lanu dermalen bekennen und gestehen müssen, das Er auss Eigenem trieb gehen wollen, und daher dem Huber mehrmahlen angehalten Ihme mit sich zu nemmen, ohne, dass der Huber Ihme darvon gesagt habe, im übrigen habe Er nur 10 K. auf die Reise gegeben, die übrigen 10 K. aber seithero verzehret, und ob Er schon ehemalen die sache anders erzehlet, verhalte es sich dennoch also, und habe er es damalen nicht Recht verstanden, dass Hubers Schwester habe Ihme zwarn mehrmalen gesagt, Er solle auch mit Ihnen kommen, aber ohne Ihme darzu anzustrengen oder Ihme solches sonderbar einzuschwätzen, sondern Er habe freywillig und von sich selbstnen die Resolution genommen.

F. ob nicht Peter Scherz von Aeschi nach Unterseen zu Ihme Huber gekommen, und Ihne befragt ob Er Scherz alss Ein Wäber mit Weib und Kinden in Carolina sich wohl durchbringen könte?

A. der Scherz seye zu Ihme Bey der Zollbrück gekomme, habe Ihn allerhand von dem Land gefragt, seye auch mit Ihme nach Tracht über den See gefahren allda übernachtet und Ihme 20 bz.<sup>10</sup> geben, sich in seine gunsten zu recommendieren, mithin habe Er Huber Ihme Scherz deutlich gesagt, es seyend mehr als genug Wäber in dem Lande, Er Huber dörffe niemand wegführen, und habe Er Scherz zu wenig gelt auf Eine so weite Reise, welche Er Ihme weder abgewehret noch angerathen der Scherz habe ihme nachwerts zwey briefe geschrieben, worauf Er Huber aber nicht geantwortet; dieses seye alles was Er von dem Scherz wisse.

F. Ob er nicht auch dem Hans äbiger von Wildersweil zu der Carolina Reise angefrischet.

A. Nein! der äbiger seye zu Ihme Huber an dem ScheiEgg gekommen, nach seinen bekanten in Carolina fragend derdeüende Er hätte auch Lust dahin, und wie es dorten mit der Jagd bewandt seye, worüber Inquisit das Land in etwas beschrieben, auch um fusil gefragt, welches der äbiger Ihme angebotte, weiters habend sie nichts mit Einander g'redt.

F. ob Er nicht den Abraham Lüthold zu dieser Reise veranlasset.

A. Nein! Er habe niemanden gerathen dahin zu gehen sondern diesem wie andern, auf Befrage das Land in seinem guten und auch in den Beschwerden beschrieben, weiters wisse Er nichts.

<sup>9</sup> Kronen. The Bernese crown equalled about three-quarters of a dollar.

<sup>10</sup> Batzen. The batzen equalled about three cents.

- F. ob Er nicht Barbara Horger Heinrich Isslers von Usters, aus dem Zürichgebieth, Wittib mit Ihme geführt und von Ihra 20 K. genommen.
- A. Ihr Vatter, Muter und geschwisterte seyend in Carolina, habend Ihne ersucht, Sie mit sich hinein zu bringen, Ihre auch zu geschrieben worauf Sie mit gutheissen Ihres Vettern Ihme 20 K.<sup>11</sup> gegeben, welche er abgenommen, und geglaubt dass sie nach dem ehemaligen Mandat wohl gehen könne.
- F. Ob Er nicht denen so nach Carolina Reisen wollen gesagt Sie werdend Ihne zu Basel oder der Enden antreffen?
- A. Er habe niemand nichts gesagt, alls seiner Schwester, welche Erst nach Ihme verreisen könne.
- F. Wie Er von Ober Hassli weg gereiset seye?
- A. Alls Er vernommen, dass viele Leüthe nach Carolina ziehen wollen, habe er allen Verdacht auss zu weichen sich über den Brünig gemacht, und seye niemand mit Ihme gegangen, alls die Horgerin.
- F. Er werde doch dem Lanu gesagt haben, wo derselbe Ihne antreffe, und sage der Lanu er habe Ihme gesagt Er solle mit denen anderen gehen aber nicht wo Er Ihne antreffe?
- A. Er habe seiner Schwester gesagt den Lanu mit zu nemmen, und dass Er mit dene so Bewilligung haben, kommen solle.
- F. Er habe ja den Lanu zu dem Ulli Müller verdinget biss zu Ihrer Abreise, müsse sich also mit denen anderen beabredet haben?
- A. Der Müller habe selbsten angeboten den Lanu biss zu seiner abreise zu Erhalten, weiters habe Er weder mit diesem noch anderen nichts geredt.
- Justirt Er wolle mit der Sprach nicht heraus, es seye doch clar an dem Tag, dass Er die armen Leüthe verführet, Ihnen das Land trefflich beschrieben und dieselben zu der unbesonnenen Abreise angefrischet, Er solle also nur bekennen und die Pure Warheit sagen, damit Er desto Ehender Gnad Erlange.
- A. Er habe durchauss die Pure Warheit geredet und wisse Er nicht gefehlet zu haben, wo er gefehlet hätte wäre Ihme solches herzlich Leid, und bitte Er um gnad und Erlassung, Er habe sein Mann- und Land-recht aufgegeben, Im übrigen niemanden verführet noch angefrischet massen Er auch von so vielen diessorths vernommen Leüthen nur das geringste nicht wisse, auch selbige nicht Kenne, und werde Ihne kein mensch unter augen anklagen, dass Er jemanden angeworben, angerathen, noch anzuwerben gesucht.
- actum d. 15t Marty 1742.

Demme nach MwHrn. Gross Weibel Fischer glaubwürdig hinderbracht worden, wie dass der inhaftierte Peter Huber der Schumacher

<sup>11</sup> Huber gave Barbara Horger a receipt for this amount, a copy of which was found in the Staatsarchiv of Basel, Auswanderung A, as follows: "pro Copia. Den 9ten Tag Hornung 1742 Jahr. Hab ich unterschriebener Geld empfangen, von Babi Horger von Ober Hassli in Wissland 20 Bären [Bern] Cronen, ich sage zwanzig Bären Cronen, dafür hab ich ire versprochen zu gaben, sobald wir in Carolina in Aronisz Burg [Orangeburg, S. C.] werden angelangt sein, 2 Kü mit Kalber für das obige Geld zu bezahlen.—Ich PETER HUBER bekenne wie obstet."

von Oberhasle, vor paar Tagen seinen Lands Leüthen auss der gefangenschaft zum Fenster hinauss, ein Zedulein zu geworffen, darauff geschriben gewesen seyn, Sie, seine Lands Leüth so annoch Lust habind mit Ihme zu Reisen sollind nur trachten etwas zeits sich im neuen Burgergebieth<sup>12</sup> auf zu halten, Wann er einmalen auss der gefangenschaft komme, so wolle Er denn zu Ihnen kommen und Sie mit sich nach Carolina nemmen; hat wohlgedacht MwHr.Gross-Weibel seiner pflicht zu seyn erachtet, Ehe und bevor das 1te mit dem Huber sub 15te hujus vorgegangene Examen vorgetragen werde, sich nachmalen in die obere gefangenschaft zu begeben und diesen Huber sich vorstellen zu lassen; denselben aber zum voraus auf das aller kräftigste zu ermahnen, sein Herz zu raumen, Gott zu Ehren und nach dem Willen der Hohen Obrigkeit die Pure Wahrheit auss-zu-sagen um nicht dero hohe ungnad auf sich zu laden; Worüber hinauf heüte Dato mit Ihme Huber volgendes 2tes Examen gehalten werden.

- F. Wie und wohin Er die Jenigen Leüthe, so mit nach Carolina Reisen wollen, Bescheiden, und wo Er Ihnen habe warten wollen, denn es der Vernunft wiedrig wäre zu glauben, dass diese Leüthe insgesamt von ohngefehrt also auf Basel oder Heuningen gereiset wären? Wann Er Ihnen nichts hätte gesagt oder sagen lassen.
- A. Ein mahlen habe Er niemanden keinen orth vernamset, wo Er sich aufhalten oder seiner Schwester warten wolle; Es müsste von ungefehrt geschehen seyn, dass in allgemeinem Discours er etwann von seiner Route nach Carolina gesagt hätte, darauf die Leüthe sonderbaher müssten geachtet haben.
- F. Ob Ihme nicht von H. Landammann zu ober Hassle, auss befehl MrgHrn anbefohlen worden, sich förderlich und alleine auss dem Lande zu begeben, warum er solchem zu wieder sich annoch eine zimliche Zeit in dem Lande auf gehalten und gewartet habe?
- A. Er habe annoch eint- und anderes in Richtigkeit bringen wollen, aber nicht so gleich darmit fertig werden können, nach werts seye schlechtes Wetter eingefallen, dessen wegen Er etwas Länger als Er selbsten gewolt, sich auf halten müssen.
- F. Alss Er nun von oberhassle verreiset was die Ursach gewesen, dass Er sich so lange zu Basel oder da herum aufgehalten?
- A. Er habe alldorten nur, auf seine Schwester und dem Knecht Jacob Lanu, auch auf sein Zeug gewartet.
- F. Ob Er dann seinem Knecht dem Lanu, nicht gesagt wo Er demselben und der Schwester warten wolle?
- A. Nein! Er habe dem Lanu kein Eigentliches Rendezvous bestimmt, weiln Er nicht wissen können, wann Er Reiss fertig seye, und was Ihme etwann auf der Reise begegnen möchte wordurch Er könnte aufgehalten werden.
- F. Das seyen alles schlechte aussreden. Er wolle also nicht gestehen Jemanden etwas von seiner abreise gesagt und ein Rendezvous bestimmt zu haben, warum Er denen Leüthen das Land in Eint und anderem so sehr anzurühmen gesucht habe, dessen Er von Vielen seiner Lands-Leüthen so mit Ihme gewolt und bereits biss auf Thun gekommen, Laut dess von MrgHrn. Schultheiss Frischings zu Thun an MrgHrn abgelassenen Schreibens, sub dato 14t. cur-

<sup>12</sup> Neuenburger Gebiet (Neuchâtel).



rentis, worauss Ihme eint- und andere vorgelesen worden, heftig angeklagt werde?

- A. Ja es könne seyn, dass Er in der Gesellschaft von dem Land Carolina geredet und darvon gesagt habe, wie es dan in der Wahrheit sich also erfinde, dass Ein Tagelöhner daselbst von 5 biss 10 bz. per Tag verdienen könne und dass es dorten in ansehender Weise wohlfeil, in ansehen des getranks aber theür zu leben seyn; anbey gestuhnde Er, auch das Er laut vorangezognen Schreibens, sich wenig mehr under die Leüthe gelassen, sondern selbige ausszuweichen gesucht und sich verborgen habe, auss forcht der Zulauff möchte zu gross werden und könnte Er darüber in unglück kommen. Er habe nur die Wahrhafte Beschaffenheit dieses Lands, erzehlungsweise gemacht, um denen Leüthen die Curiositet zu stillen, indessen seye Ihme des Vorgegangenen herzlich Leid, Er bitte Eine Hohe obrigkeit, die sich dadurch beleidiget Befinde, in demuth um Verzeihung, habe nicht geglaubt so Hoch zu fählen.
- F. Welchen Weg Er Ehemals nach Carolina und seithero für seine Rückreise genommen habe?
- A. Er habe solchen im hin und Rück Reisen über Burgund durch Frankreich nach Calais genommen.
- F. Er sage dass in der Hin- und Her Reisse Er über Besançon durch Burgund gereiset seye, warum er dann dermalen über Basel nicht der Ehevorigen Route nach Reisen und seinen Weg machen wollen?
- A. Er habe auch Jetzt den gleichen weg nemmen Wollen, damit aber die Leüthe Ihme nicht nach und mit Ihme kommen möchten als habe er getrachtet seine abreise Ihnen zu verbergen und sich dessentwegen Resolvirt, den Weg über den Brüning durch das under Walden Land<sup>13</sup> auf Basel zu nehmen, von dorten wolte Er wieder welen durch das Burgund, der Ihme schon bekanten Route nach über Besançon nach Calais marchiren.
- F. Ob Ihme dann nicht in wissen gewesen, dass albereits Lands Leüthe vor Ihnen auf Basel gereiset seyen so mit Ihnen in Carolina ziehen wolten?
- A. Nein! doch habe Er wohl gewusst und vernommen dass eint und andere Leuthe auss dem Oberland das Land hinab gereiset, wohin aber selbige eigentlich hingewolt, seye Ihme in so weit nicht bekant gewesen, und habe Er von niemanden nichts gewusst, als von der Barbara Horger welche mit Ihme nach Carolina ziehen wollen.
- F. Er solle doch die Wahrheit sagen, was Ihne dermahlen eigentlich veranlasset seine sonsten gewohnte Route zu ändern und ob solches alles nicht abgeredtermassen geschehen seye, dass Er diesen Leüthen bey Basel warten sollen um nachwerts mit ein andern von dorten nach Carolina Reisen zu können?
- A. Nein! Er habe mit diesen Leüthen nichts zu thun gehabt und gehen selbige Ihme nichts an, Er für seine Persohn habe von Basel aus seinen Weg über Land auf Calais nach Carolina fortsetzen diese Leüthe aber sich auf den Rein hin ab (: dafür dieselben bereits ein Schiff gedinget:) begeben wollen; Er könne selbst nicht sagen wohin Ihre Reise hingerichtet gewesen, habe auch nichts darnach gefragt weil es Ihne nichts angegangen.
- F. Ob er nicht ein Hölzernes geschirr habe, da mann obenher getränk unden har aber Brieffen darinn thun könne.

<sup>13</sup> The canton of Unterwalden.

- A. Ja! ein solches habe Ihme ein gewisser Hans Rodt in Carolina gemacht und werde mann solches under seinem Plunder wohl finden.
- F. Ob Er nicht dem H. Lands Venner<sup>14</sup> Sterchi bey der Zoll bruck Einen finger-Ring und ein Püttschafft gegeben um dadurch die Briefen so Er an Ihne übermachen werde zu erkennen und die so Er an Ihne Inquisiten versenden werde, darmit zu verpüttschiren?
- A. Nein! Er für seine Persohn habe demselben nichts dergleichen gegeben, wohl aber habe Er Ihme H. Lands Venner Einen Brief auss Carolina, von Einem gewissen Peter Zaugg mitgebracht, Er wisse nicht ob etwann etwas dergleichen, in gesagten brief eingeschlossen gewesen oder nicht.
- F. Er habe nun alle an Ihne gethanen quaestionen zimlich hartnäckig gelaugnet und darbey versichert, das Er gern alles bekennen wollte was wahr seye, nun wolle mann annoch eine frische ganz wahrhaftige frag an Ihne truken und darbey sehen, wie sehr Er die Wahrheit Liebe? ob Er nicht vorgestern Ein Papeyr auss gefangenschaft Einem Weibe von seinen Lands Leüthen zugeworffen darauff geschriben gestanden, das diejenige so anoch Lust haben möchten mit Ihme zu reisen, trachten sollen, in das Neuenburgische zu gehen und sich dorte Eine weil aufhalten, Er hoffe seine sachen seyen noch nicht so schlimm beschaffen, das Er nicht hoffnung haben solte bald loos zu werden, wenn er dann loos seye, wolle Er hinkommen und im Vorbey gehen Sie mit Ihme nemmen, sie seyend als dann grad in Burgund und könnind Ihren Weg ohngehindert vorsezen?
- A. über diese quaestion schiene Er ganz erschrocken zu seyn, schauete hin und her, wusste eine weile nicht was Er sagen wollte und schosse Ihme das Wasser in die augen. Endlich sagte Er, Ja! Er könne dieses nicht läugnen, Er habe vermeinet, wann Er Einmahl ledig werden könte und diese Leüthe aussert Er. Gnd. Bottmässigkeit antreffen wurde Er selbige, ohne daran übelz zu thun, mit sich nehmen könte, Er gestühre aber auch hierinnen gröblich gefählet zu haben seye Ihme wohl herzlich Leid, Er bette Gott und Er. Hohen Gnd. in dehemuth um Verzeihung und Gnad.

Worauf Er wieder an sein orth geführt worden act. d. 21. Martij 1742.

*Auff genommene Information.*

Demnach Ihr Gnd. zu gröstem Leidwesen hinder bracht worden, was massen eint- und andere Ihrer underthanen auss dem ober Land und daherum, sich entschlossen haben, durch Eiteles Vorgeben Vorgemelden Peter Hubers von unterseen, auss grosser unbedachtsamkeit, von hier weg auss Ihrem Vatterland und nach Carolina in america mit sak und Pack, Weib und Kindern sich zubegeben; Habend Hoch dieselben, auss angewohnter Lands vätterlicher tragender Vorsog und Liebe für Ihre angehörigen und underthanen, zu hemmung dieses übelz, und hinter den ursprung dieser sache kommen zu können, dero Diener Mm w. Hrn Gross Weibel Fischer Befelchlichen auf getragen, diese zu Burgdorf angehaltenen und allhero Beschikten Leüthe, zu vrnehmen zu Er Red zustossen und das heraus kommende Ihr Gndl. zu hinder bringen; da

<sup>14</sup> Landsvenner, standard-bearer.

denn diesem Hohen befehl zu volg heüte dato nach Vermelde Persohnen verhört und von denen selben volgendes aussgesagt worden;

*1<sup>o</sup> Hans übiger von Wildersweil, Amts Interlaken, Sagt:*

Es seye Ihme von Einem gewüssen Peter Huber von Oberhassle, welcher vor etwas Zeits von Carolina wieder zuruck in das Lande gekommen, vieles von obiger Landschaft gesagt und angerühmet worden, wie das es allorten so guth und wohlfeil zu leben seye, und dass einem jeden so dahin komme Ein nahmhafter Bezirk gutes Land zu bauen, für nichts hingeben werde; dieses Vorgeben nun habe Ihne so sehr eingenommen, dass Er in betrachtung seiner armuth und übelen Zeit, da Er nichts zu gewinne sich und die seinigen durch zu bringen, sich endlich entschlossen die Reise zu wagen seine wenig Habschaft zu gelten zu machen und mit Weib und Kind darvon zu ziehen; Weilen nun sein Weib, von dem Huber, durch das anrühmen dieses Lands auch solchergestalte seyn ein genommen worden, dass sie Ihme inquisit, weder Tag noch Nacht keine Ruhe gelassen als habe Er sich desto Ehender zu dieser Resolution anschliessen können; am allermeisten aber seye Ursach daran gewesen sein Elender Knab von 11 Jahren welcher Stum und sonst gebrechlich seye, um dieses Knaben willen, habe Er zu verschiedenen mahlen, schon unter Mm wHrn.<sup>15</sup> Landvogt Dub sel, und under dem dissimaligen Herr Landvogt Gross zu Interlaken, angehalten das Ihme doch etwas zu einicher Subsistenz dieses ellenden Menschen möchte verordnet werden, dar zu man Ihme auch Hoffnung gemachet, aber niemalen nichts verordnet worden, sich also in armuth und trostloos sehend, habe Er vollends nach Carolina zu Reisen sich entschlossen, dennoch aber weilen er sehe, das diese unternemunge, Seiner Gnädigen Landes Obrigkeit missfällig seye, so seye Er erbiethig seinen gefassten entschluss zu verlass[en], und dero Gnädigem Willen, als Ein getreüer underthan sich zu unter werffen:

*Hans Meyger von Oberhassle sagt*

Er habe Einen brief gesehen und gelesen, so Ein gewisser Simeon Zinger, welcher schon vor etwas Zeits auss dem Lande gezogen Einem gewissen Hans Zinger dermalen in der Pfalz hauss häblich zu geschrieben, dieser brieff seye von dem Letzteren, nach oberhassle an seinen bruder Heinrich Zinger verschickt worden, darinnen seye Eine weit läufigte Beschreibung von der guethe und fruchtbarkeit, der sogenannte Landschaft Carolina enthalten, ohngefahr den Huber angetroffen, habe er Ihm auss anlass obigen Brieffs und eint- und anderer getrukte tractätlein, wissend dass Er Huber vor kurzen auss Carolina gekomme und selbiges Ihme wohl bekant seye um die Eigentliche Beschaffenheit dieses Lands, gefragt, Er Huber habe Ihme solches in keineswegs anrühmen wolle, sonderen gesagt er solle es selbstn gehen erfahren, auss oberzehitem anlass nun, und wegen hart truckender armuth indemme Er vieles schuldig, und seine wenige Mittel denen gläubigeren darschlagen müssen, seye Er endlich zu der Resolution geschritten, mit Weib und Kind sein Vatterland zu verlassen und in Carolina zu ziehen; da Ihme dann nach ab bezahlung der schulden 96 K über geblieben darvon Er den abzug dem Hr. Landammann Zopfi bezahlt habe.

<sup>15</sup> Meinen Würdigen Herren.

*Jacob Ritschhard von Oberhofen, seines Handwerks ein  
Huff-Schmied, Sagt:*

Er Ullrich Steinmann sein Tochtermann dessen Weib und 4 Kinder, seynd schon vor 7 Jahren Sinns gewesen Ihr Vatterland zu verlassen und mit Sak und pak in Carolina zu zeüchen, weilendamals gesagtes Land, durch Ein in Truk ausgegangenes Traktatlein männiglich angerühmet worden; seit hero aber seyend verschiedene, auss Carolina, von Ihren Lands-Leüthen geschriebene Briefe in das Land und unter die Leüthe gekommen, welche dieses Land als guth und fruchtbar anrühmen, und die Ihrigen auch dahin einladen, mit dem Peter Huber habe Er zwar wegen dieses Landes ertragenheit geredet, welcher Ihme aber nicht viel darüber sage noch Ihme zur Hinreiss auf muntern wollen. Weilen Er sich aber in grosser armuth mit dene seinige Befinde, hier alle Lebensmittel costbar und wenig zu verdiene seyn, als habe Er die Resolution genomme sein Vatter Land zu verlassen, und weilen Er zu Leiden in Holland einen Verwandten Nammens Ein Znud gebührtig von Belp, welcher Kinder und dorten wohl eingehauset seyn solle, habe Er Bevorderst bey selbigen zu sprechen wollen, um zu sehen, ob Er Ihme mit denen seinigen als ein an Verwandter auf- und annemmen wollte, seyn also annoch gesinnt diesen Zug zu seinem an Verwandt, fortzu setzen, mit Bitte Ihne darann nicht zu hindern.

*Hans Egger auss Grindelwaldamts.*

Den 24t Marty 1742 ward auf geheiss ms wHr. Gross Weibel Hans Egger auss Grindelwald amts Interlaken, so samt seinem Weib und Einem Knaben von 2en Jahren mit übrigen seinen Lands Leüthen sich auf Basel begeben und gesinnet ware mit dem inhaftigten Peter Huber nach Carolina zu Reisen von hiesiger Grichtschreiberey vernommen und von demselben Volgendes ausgesagt worden.

Peter Huber habe Ihme das Land Carolina sehr angerühmet und Ihme gesagt wan Er mit Ihme hinziehen wolle auch sein Weib und Kind mit sich dahin bringen so bekomme Er alsobald 50 Jucharts Land und zwölf 40 bázler<sup>16</sup> in bahrem Gelt, genieesse dorten vile übrige douceur so mann dene dahin vorkommend erweise. Dieses guthe Vorgeben nun habe Ihne bewegen sein Vatterland zu verlassen um so damehr weilen sein Weib als eine aussere nicht gelitten werden er bezahle dan für sie 10 b: ein Zuggelt, er aber alss ein unbemittelter Mann solches nicht zu erstatten im Vermogen gewesen mithin weg zu reisen sich entschloss, nun seye Er bereits seit acht Wochen von Heimath und durch dieses falsche Vorgeben des Hubers in grosse Cösten und ungelegenheit gesetzt worden, dermalen aber wieder gesinnt nach Hauss zu kehren, Eine Hohe obrigkeit in Demuht Erflehende Ihme in etwas nach dero angewohnten barmherzigkeit, under die armen zu greiffen und zu befehlen, dass er als ein armer Mann mit seinem Weib und Kind ohne Einzuggelt in seinem geburthorth sich aufhalten und wohnen dörfte. actum obstat.

4. VERHÖR PETER INÄBNITS AUS GRINDELWALD, BEY 25 JAHREN  
ALTERS. 1744.<sup>17</sup>

Mit dem aus Carolina gekommenen Peter Imäbnit habend Er Gnd. Dienern Heute dato Volgendes Examen gehalten:

<sup>16</sup> The juchart was about an acre. Bázler perhaps means simply batzen.

<sup>17</sup> Staatsarchiv, Bern, Klein Thurn-Buch, 18t. Nov.-2t. Octob. 1744.

- F. Wie Er heisse? wie alt? woher, wesswegen und seit welcher Zeit Er in Ihr Gnd. Landen seye?
- A. Er heisse Peter Imäbnit: Von 5. à 26<sup>18</sup> Jahren alters aus dem Grindelwald gebürtig, vor 9 Jahren seye Er mit seinem Vatter, Mutter, Geschwisterten, vielen Lands- und anderen Leüthen, auss der Schweiz in Carolina gereisset, weilen sein Vatter aber annoch etwas wenig fruchtbares in seinem Heimath zu Rückgelassen, habe Er sich solches zu berichtigen wieder in sein Vatterland begeben und seye etwa, mitten verstrichenen Septembris, droben in seinem Heimath angelanget.
- F. Ob Er wisse wessenwegen Er in Verhaft seye?
- A. Nein! das wisse Er ganz und gar nicht.
- F. Wo Er sich, seitdemme Er in das Land gekommen, aufgehalten?
- A. Droben in dem Grindelwald.
- F. Es seye bekannt, dass Er in dem Ober Land, an verschiedenen Orten gewesen?
- A. Ja! zu Ober Hasle und Interlaken.
- F. Er werde während der Zeit da Er in dem Land gewesen, seine Sachen wohl berichtet haben, was Er nun weiters zu Thun gesinnet und auf welche Zeit seine Abreise bestimmt seye?
- A. Er seye in Carolina ausser denen zwey Ersten Jahren allezeit Krank gewesen, derowegen Ihme dieses Land erleidet, seye also gesinnet, wieder hier im Landen zu bleiben.
- F. Mann habe, an diesem seinem Vorgeben, grosse Ursach zu zweiffeln, um so da mehr weilen mann sicher wüsse, dass Er ein weit anderes zum Zweck habe, Er soll ansagen, ob Er nicht gekommen seye, mehrere von seinen Lands Leüthen aufzuwicklen und solche zu engagiren, mit Ihne in Carolina zu ziehen?
- A. Behüt Ihne Gott! Er seye nicht gekommen, jemanden mit Ihne wegzuführen.
- F. Wie es denn komme, dass allerorthen, wo Er sich droben in dem Oberland befunden, Er einen so grossen Zulauf von Lands Leüthen gehabt und man seithero Erfahren, dass so Viele Emigriren und in Carolina ziehen wollen.
- A. Er wisse nichts hiervon, dass aber so viele Landes-Leüthe sich bey Ihme einbefunden, wisse Er keinen andern Grund, als etwa von Ihne zu Vernemen, wie es denen Ihrigen in Carolina Ergehe.
- F. Ob Er dann Niemanden das Land angerühmt und darvon geredt habe?
- A. Wohl! Er habe Verschiedenen, die Ihne auss Neubegierigkeit, von der beschaffenheit dieses Landes gefraget, Erzählet, wie es sich in der That befinde, dass er aber jemanden angerathen dahin zu ziehen, werde mann Ihme mit Nichten überführen können.
- F. Ob Er nicht, in dem Absehen, Einen Brief an den Englischen H. Residenten<sup>19</sup> allhier geschrieben habe?

<sup>18</sup> *I. e.*, von fünf bis sechs und zwanzig.

<sup>19</sup> A copy of this letter found in the Staatsarchiv of Bern is as follows: "Euer Gn. zu berichten, dass es wohl bey 200 Persohnen hier wären, die in das Süd Carolina wollen ziehen, wan der Ehren Veste Herr Ambassador sein milte Hand wollte aufthun, und Ihnen darzu verhelfen, dann die meisten haben kein gelt, oder sehr wenig, und etwelche haben wohl gelt und andere sachen, doch

- A. Hierauf stuzte Er ein wenig! Endlich aber gestuhnde Er, diesen Brief geschrieben zu haben, Vorgebende, Er habe solchen niemals dem Herren Residenten einhändigen, sondern nur diejenigen, welche Ihne dieses zu thun Ersucht, därmit Contentiren wollen, es seye ja, auss der stellung dieses Zeduls Liecht zu Ersehen, dass kein Vernünftiger sich unterstehen würde, an Einen solchen Herren, auf solche Art zu schreiben, um etwas dermit ausswürken zu können.
- F. Ob Er laugnen dörffe, nicht zu Reichenbach gewesen zu seyn, um mit dem H. Residenten zu Reden?
- A. Ja! Er seye zu Reichenbach gewesen, und habe mit demselben Reden wollen, aber keine Audienz Erhalten können.
- F. Ob an denen Predig Tagen in dem Grindelwald, Er sich nicht auf dem Kirchhöff gestellt, und daselbsten denen Leüthen Vieles von Carolina angerühmt.
- A. Er habe sich auf dem Kirchhoff niemalen lange aufgehalten, in das Wirths Haus aber, seyend Vielle Leüthe zu Ihme gekommen; denen Er aber weiters nichts als was sie Ihne gefragt, von dem Carolina Land gesagt habe.
- F. Ob Er denn nicht auch Briefschaften mit sich auss Carolina gebracht in welchen zweiffels ohn, das Land genugsam werde angerühmt worden seyn?
- A. Ja! Etwa bey 8 brieffen, darvon Einer in das Grindelwald und 7 nach Ober hasle gehört haben.

Hierauf ward Ihne der Bericht von H: Predicant Frölich vor- und abgesehen, darauf Er gestünde, zwar mit denen meisten in selbigem Vernamseten Leüthen, geredt, laugnete aber beständig, Jemanden beredet zu haben, sich in viel gesagtes Carolina zu begeben, um so da mehr weilen Er wohl wisse, dass solches Verboten seye, und der Peter Huber, so desswegen auch in Verhaft gesezet worden, Ihne hiervor Treülich gewahrnet habe, dass aber Viele Leüthe Resolvirt seyn sollen, dahin zu ziehen, und was dessen die Ursach, seye Inhen ganz unbekannt, Einmalen werde Ihne Niemand überführen können, dass Er jemanden darzu geloket oder angerahten habe; Er bette Er. Gnd. in Dehmuth um baldige Looslassung.

Volget dess Herrn Predicanten Frölichs auss dem Grindelwald Schriftlicher Bericht obigen Imäbnit betreffend.

Peter in abnit ein Lediger Gsell von ohngefährd 28. Jahren, ist vor 9 Jahren mit seinen Elteren und Geschwüsterten, wovon aber der Vatter unterwegs auf dem Meer Verstorben, nach Carolina verreisset, im Septembr. 1743 ist er von da wieder in Grindelwald ankommen, unter dem Vorwand einer einzuforderenden geringen Schuld an seinem Oncle dem Jacob In äbnit, [d]er aber nicht allzeit im Grindelwald sich aufgehalten, sonder in seinen mir unbekandten geschäftten bald im Hassli-Land, bald im Amt Interlaken und anderen Orthen mehr, sonderlich aber auch vor ohngefähr 2 Monaten zu Reichenbach bey dem Englischen Herren Residenten gewesen und mit Ihme Reden lassen, übrigens ist Er bey jedem wissen sie nicht, wie sie es können fortbringen, wan sie nicht auf die Reiss bis in Holland können fahren, denn es sind ziemlich viel kleine kinder darunter, sie möchten auch wissen wie viel oder wie lang sie müssen daran abverdienen, wann sie hineinkommen." (Aufgefangener Brief an den Engl. Res. in Reichenbach.)

anlass, sonderlich an Sontagen, von Einer grossen Menge Volks umringet gewesen, mit allerhand an Ihne gethanen Fragen, wobey Er aber so wohl laut dem Bericht von anderen, als was auss seinem eigenen Mund gehört, da Er etliche mahl von mir expressè zu Erkundigung dass eint und anderen an meine Tassel gezogen worden, sich in seinen Reden ganz moderati und nicht als ein Werber aufgeführt, doch durch allerhand an Ihne gethanen fragen, und darauf Erhaltenen Antworten von der Güte des Landes ist geschehen, dass unterschiedliche Hauss-Haltungen, wegen Ihrem armseligen Zustand animiert worden Unser Liebes Vatterland zu Verlassen und in Hoffnung eines guten Wechsels sich nach Carolinam zu begeben, von den Vielen, so sich hierzu Resolviert, und Ihre Güter und Mobilien würrklich verkaufft, sind Volgende, so Mir gägenwärtig in Sinn kommen:

1. Der alt Hans Bläuer, dessen Familie, Weib, Kinder und Kinds-Kinder sich auf 26. bis 30 Persohnen belauffen wird, worunder sich sonderlich befindt der Thallschmid, samt seinem Weib und 6. kleinen un-erzogenen Kinderen, der auch völlig mittellos und durch Hülff dess Vatters dahin muss transportiert werden, der auch ganz billig sein gütlin, bestehend ohngefähr in 2000 [?] wegen der Caroliner Reiss zu Sacri-fizieren. ....

Demnach Ihr Gnd. sich an der Von dem Herrn Amts Mann zu Inter-laken aufgenommenen Information, wie auch an dem mit diesem Peter Im Aebnit Im Januario letzhin allhier gehaltenen Examen nicht Ver-nügen, sondern dero Dienern Mm. Hrn. Grossweibel und dem Gricht-schreibern Sub 4t. hujus Gnädigst befehlen wollen, Ein nochmaliges Ernsthaftes Examen mit Ihme zu Verführen, sonderheitlich wer die Leüthe seyen, welche Ihne Veranlasset Bewusste Briefen auss Carolina mit zu bringen? was sothane Briefen in sich gehalten und was sonstn seine ausssag für andere quaestionen an die Hand geben möchtend, sol-chennach wann Er abermalen nicht bekennen wollte, Ihne mit der Marter zu betrohen und Ihme selbige wie auch den Scharff-Richter zu zeigen, dennoch aber die Marter nicht würrklich anzuwenden; Diesem Hohen Befel ich zu Volge Habend Ihr Gnd. Dienere sich heüte dato in die Obere Gefangenschaft begeben, sich diesen Im Aebnit Vorstellen lassen und mit demselben, nach weitläufig- und wohlgestellter Ernstgemeinten Exhortation Volgendes Examen gehalten:

- F. Von Wemme und an wemme Er die Verschiedenen Briefen auss Carolina gebracht?
- A. 1. Von einem Nägeli an Jacob Mätzener zu Ober-Hassli.  
 2. Von sein dess Bruders Inquisiten Bruders Weib, an Hans Nägeli.  
 3. Von Christen Brauen an seinen Vatter in dem Grindelwald.  
 4. Von Peter Hubers Schwester, an dero Vatter.  
 5. Von Hans Im atter an den H. Landammann Zopfi.  
 6. Von Heinrich Horgers Tochter an Einen Egger.  
 7. Von Hans ohrlj an den Lands Statthalter zu Unter Seen.
- F. Ob Er nicht gewusst was Inhalts diese Briefen gewesen?
- A. Nein! aussert dass der Brauen seinem Vatter gemeldet, dass Er glücklich angelanget, weiln Er aber die Reise Cösten nicht bezahlen können, allss müsse Er 4. Jahr lang um selbige dienen.
- F. Ob Er nicht hier im Land Vernommen, was in denen Briefen ent-halten?

- A. Nein!
- F. Ob Er nicht dergleichen Briefen mit sich zu bringen drinnen sich Bey denen Lands-Leüthen beworben?
- A. Nein! im gegentheil, alls seine Lands Leüthe und andere Vernommen dass Er in Eüropa kehren wolle, habe Ihme jedermann Briefe mit geben wollen, Er habe aber keine mehrere, alls von seinen besten Bekannten abnehmen wollen, weilen Mann nichts alls Beschwerde darvon habe.
- A. Wer Ihme angegeben an den Englischen Hrn. Residenten zu Schreiben?
- A. Er könte das nicht Eigentlich sagen, seye aber, wie Er Ehemalen gesagt, von Vielen darzu angetrieben worden.
- F. Wessenwegen Er selbstn mit dem Hr. Residenten wollen?
- A. Er seye zwarn von Vielen darum Erbätten worden, habe aber Eigentlich für sich selbstn um Dienst anhalten wollen, weilen Er Vernommen, dass derselbe Einen Diener Verlangte, welcher auch die Englische Spraache Verstühnde; Er habe aber nicht zu demselben kommen können.
- F. Was Er droben denen Leüthen, Von Carolina Erzehlt, dass auf Einmal so Viele dahin zeüchen wollen?
- A. Er habe von nichts sonderlich geredt, alls was Mann Ihne gefraget, im Uebrigen habe Er das Land weder gerühmt noch gescholten, sondern Natürlich gesagt, wie es sich Verhalte, und dass wer nichts mit bringe, drinnen wie hier übel seye und obwohlen, Er als Ein Zimmermann bey 15 bz. Taglohn Verdienet, wolte Er doch nicht wieder Hin Ein, weilen Er sich nicht wohl durchbringen können.
- F. Ob der Verndrigen Jahrs hier im Land gewesene Peter Huber, nicht Leüthe mit Ihme nach Carolina geführt.
- A. Es seyend 9. oder 10. Persohnen mit demselben angelanget, Er könne aber nichts davon gehabt haben, zumalen etwelche, nach Ihre Reise-Costen bey denen welche sie Von dem Schiff gelöst abverdienen müssen.
- F. Er solle doch die Pure Wahrheit Reden und sagen ob Er nicht expresse her geschiket worden, Leüthe Hinein zu bringen?
- A. Nein! sondern Er habe Lediglich sein Vatter Land wieder sehen, und hier, oder in Teütschland Verbleiben wollen.

Da Er nun ohngeacht alles Ernstlichen Zusprechens, antrohung der Marter, und da der Scharff-Richter Ihme Vorgestellt worden, Ein mehreres nicht bekennen noch Eingestehen wollen, ward derselbe hinauf und zu der Folter-Bank geführt, Ihme nochmalen äussersten Ernsts zugesprochen und die Marter anzuwenden angetrohet, dessen ohngeacht Verbliebe derselbe durchaus bei seiner Hievorigen ausssaag, und dass Er gar nicht gekommen, jemand nach Carolina zu Verleiten, noch dass Er gewusst was in denen Mitgebrachten Briefen enthalten gewesen, Er seye selbstn nicht gesinnet wieder Hinein zu gehen, und werde Niemand zeügen können, dass Er jemanden dahin verlokete, in dem gegentheil habe Er mehr abgewerth alls angerathen; Im Uebrigen seye Er in seiner Hochen oberkeit Banden, mann könne mit Ihme machen was Mann wolle; Er hätte aber um Gnädige Looslassung. Actum d. 10t. February 1744.

Wird an den Pranger gestellt und ewig banisirt.



Zu Volg Ihr Gnaden Befehls vom 17. hujus habend dero Dienern dem von Basel wieder abgeholt Peter im Aebnit, heute dato über die an und von Ihme, seit seiner banisation, angelangte brieffen, in der oberen Gefangenschaft Ernstlich Examinirt, da dann Er im Aebnit, nach langem Torgiversiren, Endlich bekennt, Er habe zu Basel, Einen gewissen andres Märkj angetroffen, welcher Ihme gebetten an Hans Nägeli, Christen Brunner, und Hans Müller, in das Land zu schreiben und Ihnen anleitung zu geben, wie selbige Ihre sachen anschiken sollen, nach Carolina zu Reiss, wozu er sich, bey dem Trunk Verleit lassen, glaubend Er fähle nichts, weilen Er ohne das schon Banisirt seye. Er habe von Basel auss, allwo Er mehreres gelt auss dem Grindelwald erwarten wollen, auch an MwHr. LandVogt zu Interlaken, und an den Herrn Grossweibel, wegs dess gelts geschrieben; Ferners habe Er an Christen Feller seinen Vettern, zu allmendingen bey Thun, geschrieben, denselben Einzuladen, mit Ihme Inquisiten zu Ihrem, beydseitigen an Verwandt nach Engelland zu Reisen.

Ueber den Brief von Philip Friedenrich Wild auss Rotterdam,<sup>20</sup> sagte Er: der Huff-Schmied Jacob Ritschard zu Unterseen, welcher schon vor 2en Jahren nach Carolina Reisen wollen, habe Ihme angehalten, nach Rotterdam zu Schreiben, um alles zu vernemmen wie Es mit der hinüber-Reise beschaffen, und wie viel Es coste, dessenwegen Er Inquisit dann besagten Wild (: welcher ein Wirth seye, Eines Americanischen Schiff-Patronen:) geschrieben, um solches dem Ritschard zum Verhalt zu bringen, sonstn habe Er für sich selbstn nichts gethan und seye nicht gesinnet wieder nach America zu Reisen, Es werde auch Niemand zeügen können, dass Er Jemand geloket noch zu dieser Reise veranlasset; bette in dessen um baldige looslassung. act. d. 27t. Marty 1744.

Demnach Vorgesteren abends, nach 9 Uhren, Ein Mensch in seinem blut vast Tod ligend, bey dem Kefj-Thurn<sup>21</sup> allhirr gefunden worden, ward dessen MwHr. Gross Weibel, alsobald berichtet; Alss mann nun denselben visitirt und besorget, dass Es der bekannte Peter im-Aebnit welcher als Ein Verdächtiger Wärber, nach Carolina, ohnlängste zu Basel angehalten, von da Reclamirt und zum anderen mahl in die obere gefangenschaft gesezet worden, und dass Er sich an Einem oben in dem Kefi-Thurn an gemachten Seil hin-unter lassen wollen; da Er aber sich nicht vast halten können, auf den boden Stürzen müssen; derselbe aber wurde alsobald auf gehoben, nach dem Wirthshauss zum Bären getragen und hat allda Sprach und Sinnenlos gelegen, biss dess Morgens um 7 Uhren, da Er Todes verblichen, worüber Er. Gnaden Gleichen Morgens, der bericht abgestattet worden; habend Er. Gnaden dero Dieneren befehlhlich aufgetragen, den Todten Körper wegen der am Tag liegenden auch zum Theil gestandenen Verbrechen, unter das Hoch-Gericht verscharren zulassen, anbey über diese Zutragenheit, Eine umständliche Information auf zu nemmen: worauf hin folgende Persohnen vernommen worden.

1. Johannes Reist von Sumiswald: Bei 27. Jahren alters, welcher wegen seines auss-Reissens aus dem Schellenwerk und zu boden geschlagenen Profoss in der gefangenschaft enthalten: Sagt:

Der Peter im Aebnit, seye verwichenen Mitwochen nach 3 Uhren

<sup>20</sup> See Faust, *Guide*, etc., p. 47.

<sup>21</sup> Käfig-Turm, cage-tower, i. e., prison-tower.

nach Mittags, oft in der Kuchj an dem Fenster gestanden, und habe dorten mit verschiedenen Landsleüthen, beyderley Geschlächts gesprochen, was oder wor von wisse Er nicht, indemme Er nicht darauf geachtet; Er habe nicht anders gesehen Ihme zu bringen als wein und brodt, die Leüthe aber, so Ihme solches zugebracht, kenne Er nicht, Endete seine Ausssaag.

2. Hans Beath von Münsingen, der Saagen-Feiler bey 40. Jahren alters, welcher, weilen Er sich wieder des öftern Verbott, aussert seinem Heimath, sehen lassen, von der Marechaussée in die obere Gefangenschaft gebracht worden; Sagt:

Er habe gewahret, dass während dieser wochen, der Imäbnit zu verschiedenen Zeiten dess Tags, mit seinen Lands-Leüthen (: deren Er Inquisit viele in der Statt zu seyn gewahret:) in der Kuchj, durch das Geggitter geredt habe, Er Inquisit habe sich aber Ihres Redens nichts geachtet, Er habe auch an Ihme Imäbnit, nichts unanständiges gewahret, sondern denselbigen oft in der Bibel oder andern geistlichen Büchern lesen gesehen; an dem Mitwochen aber habe Er Eine grosse gemühts unruhe an Ihme gewahret und gesehen, dass selbiger gegen 3 Uhren alle seine briefschafften zu Sich genommen habe; weilen Er aber selbigem nichts böses zu gedacht, so habe Er sich, seiner weiters nichts geachtet, besinne sich aber annoch wohl, dass bey später abendszeit zwey oberländische Weibs-bilder, welche Er Inquisit nicht kenne, gekommen, und lang mit Ihme Imäbnit, in der Kuchj durch das Fenster geredt; wann oder durch wenne aber demselben das Seil und der Borrer seye zu gebracht worde, wisse Er nicht; Er Inquisit habe aber also bald gewahret, nach demme der Kefj-Knecht weg-gewesen, dass der Imäbnit nicht da seye, habe indessen geglaubt, der Kefj-Knecht habe denselben etwann auss befehl in ein ander quartir gethan, weiters wisse Er nichts.

3. Jacob Mürj der Kefy-Knecht von Belle-Rive gebührtig, sagt:

Er habe Lezt verwichenen Mitwochen denen gefangenen das Nacht-Essen gebracht, nach demme nun selbige gespiesen, habe Er das geschirr wieder in den Korb genommen und seye heim gegangen; während demm als Er das Geschirr eingepaket, seye der Imäbnit auss der Schulden-Stuben in die Kuchj gegangs, welches Er Inquisit wohl gewusst und gesehen, glaubend Er werde seine Nohtdurfft verricht, habe Er sich weiters nichts geachtet und müsse selbiger, indemme Er Inquisit damalen, und vorher öfters die gang-Thüren offen gelassen, dieser seiner Liechtsinnigkeit zu profitiren gesucht und sich hinauf in den Thurn geschleiket haben; Er Inquisit habe aber von dem Vorgegangenen nichts gewusst, biss mann Ihme nach 9. Uhren angesagt, der Peter Imäbnit lige in seinem blut unter dem Kefj-Thurn, worüber Er nach seiner schuldigkeit alsobald MwHr. Gross Weibel dessen berichtet; indessen seye Ihme Inquisiten diese unVorsichtigkeit Leid, Er bitte Er. Gnad in Dehe-muht um gnädige Vergebung, werde sich solches zur warnung dienen lassen. wie und auf was weise der Imäbnit, das Seil und den Borrer bekommen, wisse Er nicht. Endete seine Ausssaag.

act. d. 3. Aprilis 1744.

B. LETTERS OF EMIGRANTS (FAVORABLE), FOUND IN THE STATE ARCHIVES OF BASEL. UNPUBLISHED.

I. FROM ANTONY GONDY. 1733.<sup>22</sup>

SCHARLETON<sup>23</sup> den 28 Maÿ 1733  
SUD CAROLINA.

*Lieber Bruder* ich habe nicht unterlassen wollen Dir unseren Zustand und Leben in Carolina zu berichten Weillen d H. Pfarherr Pignaud<sup>24</sup> Naher Purisburg abgereist, alwo er also Pfarherr aufgenommen worden, und er mir heÿlig versprochen mein Brief in Engelland mit seinem Schreiben zu übersenden, und bestens zu Recommendieren, dass es Richtig in die Schweiz übersant werde, also habe durch gegenwertige Zeillen melden Wollen, dass wir in die Einhundert und Siebenzig personen nach deme wir 11 Wuchen auf dem Meere gefahren durch Gottes Beystand glücklich und gesund allhier angelangd. Es haben uns in virginien die Leut vielle und grosse gutthaten gethan, und uns mit solcher Hoflichkeit Empfangen, dass unbeschreiblich. von dannen seind wir auf Purisburg kommen, allwo man uns auf gleiche weis Tractieret, und 6 ganze Wuchen gastfreÿ gehalten allwo die Bas Marianne Ein Man von 50/m<sup>25</sup> Thaler Reich geheirathet, der ein Wittwer war und hatte ein Einzig Kindt von seiner ersten frauen, Er hat Ihren von allem so er hat und besitzt, sein Hab gut verschrieben, er ist ein Pfälzter, von Speir gebürtig, namens Thomas Baumgartner, wir seynd an der Hochzeit gewesen und haben uns gar lustig gemacht, der Neue Vetter hat mir 8 Pferdt auf die Reis verehrt. von dannen seind wir auf Scharleton kommen, allwo mir wieder gast freÿ gehalten worden, als wie in Purisburg, von dannen hat uns der Commisarius auf Savanne geführet, ist ein fischreicher grosser Fluss 8 Stund Schweitzer Stund, vom Meer entfernt, allwo wir unser Hütten aufgebauet, alda hat man einem jeden Kopf weiblich und männlich, 50 Jucharten gutes Landt ausgetheilet, der Boden ist überaus gut fett und fruchtbar, nun arbeitet niemanden im Land länger als 2/m<sup>26</sup> die übrige Zeit kan man fischen oder jagen, es wohnen indianer bey uns die Besten Leut, ausser dass wir nicht mit einander reden können, sondern müssen mit winken und deuten einander berichten, sie gehen halb nackend, und haben nur ein Haut vom gewilde um die Schamb, sonsten thun sie nichts als fischen und jagen, kennen keine andre Arbeit mögen auch keine andre Arbeit thun. wir haben unser ledig frauen Volk so in 13 personen bestanden alle wol versorgt sind alle wol verheirathet, im Vatterlande hätten sie dergleichen glück nicht gemacht. unsere Kinder seynd dieses Landt so gewohnet als wann sie darinnen gebohren wehren, weillen es gar eine gesunde Luft doch macht es heiss dass ganze Jahr durch, wie bey Lausanne im augst monat, man weiss von keinem Winter wann wir Winter haben gibt es 1/m Kälte Thau

<sup>22</sup> Staatsarchiv, Basel, Auswanderung A. Gondy seems to have come from the Pays de Vaud, then subject to Bern.

<sup>23</sup> Charleston, S. C.

<sup>24</sup> He probably means Rev. Joseph Bugnon. For the history of the settlement, see Judge H. A. M. Smith's article in the *South Carolina Magazine of History*, X. 187-219. None of the names mentioned in this letter appears in his lists, except that of Mr. Bugnon.

<sup>25</sup> I. e., 50,000.

<sup>26</sup> Two months, probably.

und regen, doch nur bey nacht, so bald der Tag kommt so ist es wieder warm, auch hat es uber die massen schöne grosse Bäum in den Wäldern, Eich Bäum in 10 schuh dick nach dem Diameter, und darüber, und Tragen gar viel Eichlen, so dass die Zahmen und Wilden schweine Sommer und Winter Kein Mangel an der Nahrung haben. Mann lasst das Vieh Sommer und Winter herum laufen, wie das Wildbredt, es ist ein recht Irdisches Paradies, dieses Land, man hat alles wass man will im überfluss. seyť deme dass die Schweitzer darein kommen machen sie Käs und Butter, so man vorhin nicht gehabt. auch haben sie an unterschiedlichen orten Rāben gepflantzet, die guten Wein geben, allein sie haben die Trotten und fass nicht wie in Europa derohalben wann unsere Nachbarn von Morges, St Nyon, St pre, Etoy, anbronne, Roll,<sup>27</sup> zu uns wollen kommen sollen sie Küfer mit bringen auch von allen Handwerck Leuten wo sie immer bekommen können welche in diesem Canaan glückliche und Reiche Leut werden. wir haben ungeheure Wälder von 8 a 10 Tag lang und Breit, dass gewilt wimmlet darinnen, wie ummaisen.<sup>28</sup> Ich und der Vetter Albert seynd einmahlen mit den Indianern auf des Jagen gängen um zu sehen wie sie mit ihren Bögen und Pfeillern dass gewild schiessen. Es ist eine Curiose sach, allein wir haben dem Heimweg schier verfehlet, dass wir mit den wilden thieren hätten müssen im Wald bleiben, wann nicht einer von den indianern den Weg gefunden wo wir herein kommen. es hat in den Wälderen Erstaunlich grosse Cypressend Bäum, Nuss, Castannien, Citronnen, Limonen, Bümmerantzen, granaden, Datlen, Jujuben, und 1000 erley aller gattung Bäum, und Früchten, gräuter, wurtzeln, wann einer von unseren D<sup>or</sup> Medicine in dass Land kommen, könnte er wann er ein Kräuther verständiger allerhand Köstliche Sachen Entdecken, weilen es Kräuther gibt von gar Köstlichem geruch. wir haben was wir wollen ausser dem Wein der aus Engelland und Spannien herüber geführet wird, so die Mass 4 Schweitzer Batzen kost. Sonsten ist es uns als wie in einem Irdischen Paradies. Es gibt 1000 erley Vögel von aller gattung farben, Roth, weiss, grosse Babengeyter, und kleine, auch Eine gatung solle dergleichen noch keine in Europa gebracht worden seyn, die grün und wie ein Puros Gold under dem grünen vermendet, deren Namen niemand weisst. die Indianer nennen sie pitivaor. sie singen so lieblich wie ein musicalisch instrument, sonderlich wie kleine flöte Dousse. meine feder kan ohnmüglich des Landes Lieblichkeit und anmuth beschreiben, und wer nicht selbst in dass Land kommet der kan es ohnmüglich glauben, Ich hätte es auch nicht glauben können wann ich es nicht selbstn gesehn, dann es ist mir ergangen wie dem ungläubigen Thomas. wass ich von diesem Land in der Schweiz erzehlen hören, hab ich eben als eine fabel gehalten, nun aber ist alles weit Lieblicher, Besser und Schöner als man es beschreiben. die Europen haben Bey 3 in 400 Hüner, gāns, Enten, Schwein bey 6 a 700, Küh 200, Pferd Bey 400. in Summa Es ist ungläublich, wessentwegen Bitte alle unsern guten freund und verwanten die nicht bey grossen mittlen stehen, die wollen doch zu uns kommen. Sie werden mir dafür danken, auch ist die Schiffahrth gar nicht so gefährlich als man uns glauben gemacht, doch ist gut wann viel Leuth mit einander kommen, man hat Minderen Kosten, auch ist gut wann man von aller Gattung Handwerks Leuten mit Bringet denen es am allerbesten gehet.

<sup>27</sup> Places in the Pays de Vaud.

<sup>28</sup> Ameisen, ants.

Sie gewinnen was sie wollen, in Sonderheit die Schmid, Wagner, Zimmerleut, Maurer, Hafner, Seiler, Schreiner, Leinen Wäber, die auch wollen Zeug wäben können, Weilen man gar viel Baumwolle gantze Wälder voll, auch sollen alle armen Weibs Personen so bey geringen Mitlen stechen wann sie Tugendsam und verständig Mit in America kommen. es wird alles wol gehen in dem alle ihr fortun machen können, dann man sicht auf dass gelt, wie in der Schweitz. Lieber Bruder ich bin versichert dass die gegenwertigen Zeillen als eine veritablé Fabel vorkommen werden, allein Ich thäte mich schämen wan ich ein einiges Wort ohne grund der Warheit hierinnen melden thäte. Ich erwarte dich und dein gantze familie. Ich grüss dich dein Frau Liebste Kinder und Freunde, zu 1000 mahlen Befehlen euch insgesambt, des allerhöchsten schutz.

ANTONY GONDY.

## 2. FROM DURS THOMMEN. 1737.<sup>29</sup>

Mein fründlichen Dienst und Gruss und alles Guts an Sie, Hochgeachte, Wol Edle, Gestreng, Fromme, Veste, Ehrenveste, Wol fürneme fürsichtige, Ehrsame, Und wol Weÿse Herren, Herren Burgermeistern Und Raths Lobl. Stat Und Land Basel. Wie auch Wol Weÿse Herren, Herren Oberste Zunftmeister, Ein gantz Ehrsamers Wol Weÿser Raht! Ich Ends unterschribener kan Nicht undlassen sie Erst Gedachte G. H. zu berichten. Weilen Ich samt Meiner gantzen Familien Noch früsch und gesund sind. Und uns von Ihnen solches zu vernemen käme es Uns hertzlich freuen wurde. Ich hab ein Platz angenommen von 350 Jucherten samt 2 Heuserern und scheuren und Habe Mit s. v. 6 Pfert, 2 Fühli, 15 Stuck Rindvieh und hab etwan 35 seckh Haberen, auch 46 seckh Weitzen, 25 seckh Roggen, 23 seckh Welsch Korn. Von diesem Meinem Land darf Ich für ein Jahr Nichts Mehrers geben als 7s.<sup>30</sup> das Ist so viel als 7 mahl 5 schweitzerbatzen, für Zehenden, Bödenzins und alle Gefel. gute freÿheiten hat es in diesem Land, Mit aller Hand sachen. Es sind viellerley Secten darinnen als Reformierte, Lautersche, Amische, 7 Tügen, Sonntags Teuffer, Manisten, Pedisten, Kartolsche,<sup>31</sup> aber die dörfen kein Lehrer haben. Und sind alle Nationen fründtlich und dienstbahr gegen Einander. auch viel Wildeleuth oder Indianer die sind gar gut gegen denen Zahmen. Was sie vermeÿnen dass Einer veriret sey so helfen sie Ihme wider auf den Weg. ist es dann auf die Nacht so nemmen sie die leuth in Ihre Hütten, geben Ihnen Fleisch zu essen bis genug, und Morgens weÿssen sie die zu Recht und geht Einer mit ihm. ist auch gut pflügen. Mit 2 Pferten kan einer Eines Tags 1 grossen Ackhr fahren. Arme Leuth hat es keine in dem Land, dann wer arbeiten wil der kan sich Reichlich Ernehren. Ein Taglöhner hat Sommerszeit ein Tag so viel als 15 s. [d. ?] Winters Zeit ½ gulden<sup>32</sup> und die Speis. Die Schuhmacher und die Schneider auch also. die Maurer und Zimmerleuth können auf einen Gulden oder aufs wenigst auf 12 Batzen kommen und die Schmid

<sup>29</sup> Staatsarchiv, Basel, Auswanderung A.

<sup>30</sup> The symbol used is not quite certainly the abbreviation for shilling, but the context seems to require it to mean something about 16 or 17 cents; probably the Pennsylvania shilling is intended.

<sup>31</sup> Reformed, Lutherans, Amish, Seventh-Day Baptists, "Sunday Baptists", Mennonites, Pedobaptists (?), Catholics.

<sup>32</sup> The gulden was 15 batzen, and was the equivalent of about 45 cents.

haben gar gute Losung. das Eissen ist wohlfeil und die Arbeit sehr theur und Holtz genug zum Kohl, dass es sie Nichts kostet weder das Holtz zu hauen. Es sind auch 3 Eÿssen schmelzenen in Pensylvania und machen wider noch eine Neuwe samt Einer Hammer schmitten so viel als 3 Stund von mir. Die deutschen Bücher sind raar in diesem Land, als Biblen und Psalterspil. So wolt Ich doch vor Gedachte G. Herren ganz Instendig gebätten haben, Wann es etwan Leuth aus Ihro gnaden Landschaft kommen wollten, sie mir etwan 2 Biblen und 2 oder 3 Psalterspiel schickhen wolten und darin schreiben thätten was sie kosten, so wolt Ichs, dem woh in Land käme wider ersetzen und bezahlen. Ich hab mein Platz von einem anderen man genommen und Ihme aberkauft nicht von dem Landherren, umb 360 lb. das ist so viel als Basel Währung . . . 2700 lb.<sup>33</sup> aber er hats mir freÿ und frankh an die Hand geben müssen, beÿ dem Landherren bezahlen und mir ein sichere deut und Kaufbrief an die Hand geben, samt der freÿheit, Wie er es von dem Land herren gehabt hat. Wan aber einer vom Landherren Land aufnimt so mus er 100 ackher bezahlen umb 15 lb. das ist so viel als 112 lb. 10 s. dieses Land ist gut und fruchtbar, es wachst darinnert was man pflanzen wil in aller hand frühten was man pflanzen wil. Was die Früchte gelten in diesem Land, so gilt eine Buschel Weitzen 4 s. 6 d. der Roggen 3 s. 8 d. die Gerste 3 s. und 7, buschlen so viel als 2 Basel Seckh und 2 d. so viel als ein Keisser groschen,<sup>34</sup> Ein s. soviel als 5 schweitzer batzen. Ich samt meiner ganzen Familie grüssen obgemelde unsere gnädige hochehrende Herren und oberen noch mahlen zu tausend mahlen und wünschen Ihnen die Liebe Edle Gesundheit, Friden und Wolstand, dass sie noch viel folgende Jahr Recht und Gerechtigkeit mögen hand haben, Alle Zeit das Rechte färderen und das Unrecht abwenden wie es bis dato geschehen ist, Und endlichen nach Verfliessung dieser Zeit mögen aufgenommen werden in die Seelige Ewigkeit. Weillen ich aber nit denken kan dass Ich sie mit meinen Leiblichen Augen mehr sehen werden so wil Ich doch hoffen dass sie Alle samtlich droben im Himmel das Licht des Lebens anschauen und sehen werden welches ist unser Herr und Heiland Jesus Christus. Ja da wird Gott in Christo, In Euch das A und das O, der Anfang und das Ende, Ja das eine und alles seÿn und Ihr werdet Euch dessen gar hoch erfreuen Ewiglich und ohne Ende. Halleuia: Amen. So geschehe es, das wünsche Ich von grund meines Hertzens.

Quitobihila<sup>35</sup> in Pensylvania.

DURS THOMMEN gewesen von Niderdorf aus dem Candons Basel an jetzt wohnhaft in Quitobihila in Pensylvania, 80 Meil von Philadelphia. Wan mich jemand berichten oder schreiben wollte so berichte man auf Philadelphia in des Caspar Wisters oder Johanna Wister da werde Ichs ordentlich bekommen.

den 3 ten Octobris 1737.

Adresse.

Ahn denen Hoch geachten wol Edlen, Gestrengen, Fromen, Vesten, Ehrenvesten, Wol fürneme, fürsichtigen, Und wol Weÿsen Her-

<sup>33</sup> The Swiss pfund was at this time equal to about 40 cents of our money. The Carolina pound the writer seems to reckon at three dollars.

<sup>34</sup> The imperial groschen was the equivalent of about two cents and not far from the value of two Carolina pennies.

<sup>35</sup> Quitopahilla was the Lenni Lenape name for a branch of the Great Swatara, in what is now Lebanon County.

ren, Herren N. Burgermeister Falckhner und Rath. Lobl. Statt und Land Basel, Meinen Insonders gross günstigen Herren und oberen  
Basel.

3. FROM JACOB SEYLER. 1750.<sup>36</sup>

*Lieber Vetter meier Hansz Jacob Birsinger.*

Ich kan nicht underlasen euch ein wenig zu berichten wie es uns geht, wir sind gott lob noch alle frisch und gesund und sind glücklich in das land komen, dem Hansz Ulrich Spor sind zwei Kinder gestorben, das kleinste knäblein in Holand und das kleinste Techterlein in der statt Viladelfio<sup>37</sup> und sind 9 Wochen von land zu land gefahren. wir wohnen 20 stund von Viladälvia und wohnen 3 stund weit von einander. Der Stofel Seiler ist bei der statt geblieben. Was die landschaft anbelangen thut so hat es sehr viel gut land, es hat auch viel schlächt land und viel stein, das land ist hiblecht wie das Bruderholtz oder wie das Sungau, es hat sehr gut und viel brinen waser bäch im land und sind auch zimlich viel berg im land mit stein und Felsen. Der Hansz Ulrich Spor hat ein gut gekauft aber ich habe eine behausung empfangen und musz iärllich darvon geben zwelf pfunt, ich habe matten das ich zwei hauptvieh kan halten und habe auch zwei jucharten acker mit wäitzen eingesäut, ich habe auch achtzig iucharten land aufgenommen und kosten mich hundert pfundt baselwährung, aber ich wil erst das nächst frihiähr daran arbeiten, ich habe drei und dreisig pfunt gleich misen daran bezahlen. man gibt in Bänselvania kein Bodenzins und auch kein Zenten und kan ein ieder mit seinem gut schalten und walten wie es ihm gefalt. man darf auch kein fron und kein wacht thun, man hat eine grose freiheit im land gegen der dienstbarkeit egypten im Baselbiet. Von den fruchten man hat keine andern frichten als das merste theil wäitzen auch korn und rocken, man hat auch gersten und buchwäitzen und Tirckenkorn, der Sack waitzen gildt 6 lb.<sup>38</sup> und 8 batzen und der rocken 5 lb. die mas wein 18 batzen, die mas bier drei groschen, die mas Thran oder Brandenwein 8 batzen. Der Raum<sup>39</sup> ist eine andere Gattung brandenwein und komt ausz einem andern land, ist etwas theuer, man macht auch viel pfering brandenwein, dan es gibt viel epfell aber wenig bihren. ich habe auch mit dem Leohnhart Herman von Beucken geredt, er hat gesagt sie haben zimlich gut land aber sie kenne es nicht für eigenthümlich haben dan sie wohnen an der Saurbräntz<sup>40</sup> gegen Vierginien.

Man kan auch bald kein land mer bekommen, es ist schier alles aufgenommen. wan einer nicht einen guten Freind hat so findet er auch keins dan die Nachbauren hasen es wan man einem land zeit. Ich lase auch meine geschwisterte und schweger und bekante und verwante samptlich freindlich grisen und winsche ihnen samptlich gute gesundheit. es geht uns wohl. wir haben noch niemahl keinen mangel gehabt, dan wir haben alle zeit zu verdienen, dan man hat einen zimlich grosen lohn. ein tagelöhner hat des tags zehen batzen und die kost darzu, in dem Winter

<sup>36</sup> Staatsarchiv, Basel, Auswanderung A.

<sup>37</sup> Philadelphia.

<sup>38</sup> The Swiss pfund is apparently meant. Türckenkorn is Indian corn.

<sup>39</sup> Rum, which at this time came mostly from Guiana and the West Indies.

<sup>40</sup> South Branch.



einen halben Gulden, aber es ist alles harte arbeit. wir haben auch eine stut Sau, eine kuh und ein kalben, und der Hansz Ulrich Spor hat zwei kih und zwei hauptzugvieh. ich habe vernomen das die frichten their sind zu Basel, wie ich gehert hab so gilt der sack kernen 14 bisz 15 lb. und die räben seien von dem reifen erfroren, ich habe auch gehertt ihr haben ein hagelwätter gehabt, welches bese zeitungen sind. meine zwei elstzen techtern dienen in der stat Viladälvia und haben gute dienst. Der Schiffon iber das mer kost eine gantze Fracht 83 lb. 10 s.<sup>41</sup> und wer das nicht vermag zu bezahlen der musz sich verkaufen fir das gelt, dan die einwohner des lands komen auf das schif die leut zu kaufen. eins das verkauft ist heizet man einen Serben. etliche müszen nur zwei jahr, etliche drei jahr, etliche vier jahr darfür dienen. die leit wo sie kaufen misen sie gleich bar bezahlen und wan sie ihre iahr ausgedient haben so misen sie ihnen noch ein frei kleid oder Sonntagskleid von Wollen geben von dem fusz bis auf das haupt. es gibt auch leit im land die ihre kinder verkaufen bisz auf ihr alter, ein knob bisz er 21 iahr alt ist und eine tochter bisz sie 18 iahr alt ist, weiter hinaus derfen sie nicht. Ich habe auch schon viel von den Wilden gesehen, es sind schwartzbraune leit, sie kennen insgemein englisch reden und kkommen viel zu den Christen. Sie trinken sehr gern brandenwein, sie haben hirschheit umb sich oder wollen decken. weiters weisz ich nicht zu schreiben und ich mecht auch wieder eine antwort haben und wan ir mir schreibet so gebt den brief dem Krug im Eisenladen, dort wirtt ihn der man abholen. Ich habe den Jacob Jündt in einem schlechten standt angetrofen. er ist auf einem lechen nahe bei der statt und gehen täglich mit der milch zu marck und haben nicht im vorraht dan sie bauwen kein frucht und kaufen das brodt am becken. weiters weisz ich euch nicht zu schreiben. Wohl befohlen in den schutz und segen des allerhechsten gottes der himel und erden geschafen hat, hiemit verbleibe eiwer getrewer freind.

JACOB SEYLER anno 1750 den 7den tag Wintermonat.<sup>42</sup>

Wer gelt hat der findet güter genug zu kaufen um einen billichen breisz, dan es sind allezeit genugsam feil. es hat auch viel bappiren<sup>43</sup> gelt. die leit nehmen es lieber dan silber oder gold. ein neue französische Dublonen thut elf gulden, eine teische<sup>44</sup> Dugaten thut 5 lb. und 10 batzen, ein newen thaler thut siben und dreissig batzen und ein halben, es hat auch kleine müntz von Kupfer wie die Sawsticklein und thut eins so viel als ein lutzer. ihr wollet den brief auch meinem schwager zu Bihl geben das er ihn auch besehe ob es ihm gefallen mecht.

Wer sich auf das mer begeben will der nehme mit sich dirr bihren und schnitz und wäitzen und kirszen und dirr brodt und esig und wein auch brandenwein, dan wir haben grosen mangel am waser misen leiden. wir hatten ein zimlich gros schif, es war hundert und siben und fünftzig werck schu lang und dreisig schu breit, es giene sechzehzen schu tief in dem waser und hatte drei grose mastbeim.

<sup>41</sup> About thirty dollars.

<sup>42</sup> December 7.

<sup>43</sup> Papier.

<sup>44</sup> Teutsche.



*beiliegender zettel:*

Diser brif zukome Caspar Krug im Eisenladen Handelsman in Basel.

Ich Jacob Seiler Häuslis Sohn von Bottlingen lase den herrn Johannes Krug freindlich grüsen. ich wolt den herren gebätten haben sie wollen so gitig sein und disen brief an den meier in Binningen schicken, und wan der meier einen andern brief thut an mich schreiben so bitte ich sie wollen ihn dem man widerum geben wan er zurück kumet. wohl befohlen in den schutz und segen des herren.

Den 7ten tag Wintermonat anno 1750.

4. FROM MATIS JUNT. 1752.<sup>45</sup>

Veter Andtony und veter Meirisz als unsere vöckht, wir Eüwere vockhtkinder laszen Eüch ein kleinen Bericht von uns hinden, weilen wir haben müsen so unabgeschetzt von Eüch gehen und mit eüch von keinen sachen haben reden können, wir bitten eüch doch von grund unser hertzen nemet es uns doch nicht so hoch und für übel auf. wir wolle in ein bar Tage eüch alle Bericht schickhen, wüe und auf weisz und ursach wir solches gethan haben und wolen Eüch alle umständt schreiben vor alen unsere sachen, so habet doch geduldt und laset es eüch doch nicht schwer falen und werfet eüch doch nicht ganz von uns ab. es ist uns leidt das wir es eüch nicht haben darfe ofebare. verzeichnet es uns doch dan unser absehen ist jetz dahin gestanden. got geb eüch glückh und segen und uns auch und sey auch unser gleidsman auf wegen und stegen. Seit doch auch so gut und nemet die küh in Eüwer gwarsame und auch die roszt und schauwet dasz Ihr sy könnet an dasz geld bringen. Wir bitten eüch doch nochmahlen seit doch nicht verdriesslich über uns das wir es eüch doch nicht gesagt haben von allem unserem vorhaben, wir wölen eüch in ein bar tagen gründlich berichten. ich habe auf diszmahl nicht mehr zeit gehabt zum schreiben. Wir laszen eüch insgesampt ale gott anbefohlen sey und zürnet doch nicht gegen uns und rechnet es uns doch nicht zu als wann wir als schelmen oder diebe vortgegangen weren, nein deswegen gar nicht, wir wolle eüch die ursach schon schreiben. es sol niemand betrogen seyn von wegen uns, wir haben guts genug hinderlaszen und veter Tohný und veter Meiszes machet Eüwer müh allemahle zu erst bezahlt. vielleicht verkaufen wir die roszt noch zu Basel.

MATIS JUNT

hiermit Got befohlen.

5. FROM ELISABETA STROHMANN. 1768.<sup>46</sup>

Einen freundlichen Grusz von mir Elisabetha Strohmannen und von meinem Mann und von meinen kintern an meinen lieben vatter und mutter und an alle meine geschwister und an alle beyte Grosseidern und an alle gute Freunde in Ziffen sein von uns vihl tausend mahl gekrieset.

Was unsz angeth sein wir Gott lob noch frisch und gesund und ich hoffe dasz diese meine phar Zeile euch auch mechte bey guter gesundheit antreffen, wird es mir von hertzen lieb sein. nun will ich euch auch

<sup>45</sup> Staatsarchiv, Basel, Auswanderung A. A letter from emigrants leaving secretly, "Heimliche Emigranten", found annexed to a document of July 11, 1752.

<sup>46</sup> Staatsarchiv, Basel, Auswanderung A. It is found annexed to a letter of the Obervogt of Waldenburg, dated April 23, 1768.

schreiben wie es in diesem land ist, dasz land ist gut, ich hab doch satt brot in diesem land auch gehabt. wer schaffen will der kan sich gut nehren in diesem land dann wasz man schafft dasz ist sein, man giebt kein Zinsz noch kein Zehnen in diesem land, es ist ein freyland, wasz man schafft dasz ist sein. nun will ich euch auch schreiben dasz ich von meinen landtleiten die mit mir ins land sein keinen weis als den Marthin Schob, der war schon vihl mahl bey mir, er und seine frau und wir wahren auch schon bey ihm, es geth dem Marthin Schob gut, sie haben für Kinder ein buben und drey Meth und einen grossen hoff und ist nichts mehr darauf schultig, und es geth mir auch gut in disem land, ich hab 35 morgen land und mein Mann ist ein weber, wir schaffen auf zwei stihlen auf dem handwerck und ich hab 4 Kinder, drey buben und ein Metgen. nun will ich auch schreiben dasz ich nichts von dem Johannes Degen weis und von der Besel. Ich hab noch keins von ihnen gesehen als ich im land bin.

6. FROM JOHANNES ERNST. 1773.<sup>47</sup>

Anno 1773 den 12. October. \* Ein fründlicher Grusz an Eüch, vielgeliebte alle meine brüdern und geschweien. ich kann nit underlassen ich musz Euch die wahrheit schreiben wie es mit mir in der Welt stet. Ich möcht wüssen wie es mit Eüch stet. ich Johannes Ernst bin kommen in Ammerika in Sudkarlina burger und Einwohner und meine erste Frau ist gestorben wo ich in der Schweiz gehirathet hab 1769 den 29ten Herbmomat und hat mir ein Sohn hinderlassen von fünf monat und ein halben, und hab mich wieder verheirathet 1771 den 7ten May, und meine lieben brüdern ich han viel krankheit und sorgen gehabt, doch der lieb Gott hat mir geholfen in guten Orden dass ich wohl leben kan und hab mein Hausz und land in der stadt und auch die Schmeitten und han auch zwo hundert Jucharten waldt und verstandt auch die Englische sprach also wie die Tscheusche und mein Frau ist Englisch geböhren und ihre Ölteren wahren auch ausz der Pfaltz und ich hab ein brief in die Schweiz geschickt ich habe keine Antwort bekommen und sie sollen euch Brüdern darüber brichten. ich wolte von hertzen wünschen dass ich meine brüdern könte sehen und weillen aber es ist krausam bethurlich über dasz mehr und wie es mit dem land stedt es ist sehr gut.

Aber das land ist sehr ungesund der mensch gewondt ist und es ist sehr heiszland und die leuth werden nicht so alt wie im Deuschland 20 30 40. die schwartzen Mohren werden viel ölter, die kommen auch noch von einem heisseren Land, die werden gekauft für knecht. der Michel Vogt mein kammeradt hat 2 kaufd aber sie sind gestorben, er ist ein armer man. Er hat mihr verschworen meine fracht bezahle, Er hat es nicht gethan. Ein guten fründ hat mir geholfen und alles angeschafft und geburget. er hat mir arbeit aufnemen handtwerk dass ich in einem Jahr bey 6 hundert Pfunden verdiendt hat. Ich hab alles frey gemacht danck Gott Ich bin in einem guten Stand so lang Gott will. Zum beschluss wünsche ich und mein Frau und mein 4 jährig kind allen ein fründlichen Grusz und gute gesundheit so Gott will und wan wir nim-

<sup>47</sup> Staatsarchiv, Basel, Acten Waisengericht. The letter bears the following endorsement: "Diser Brief ist abgeschrieben ausz des Johannes Ernstens wo er in das Baden Durlachischer Lörcher amb [amt?] an seine brüderen geschriben ausz Ammerika in Sudkarlina von wort zu wort."

mermehr auf der Welt zu samem kommen so hoff ich im hiemelreich wern wir zusamen kommen amen.

Ich JOHANNES ERNST ausz Ammerika in Sudkarlina als Burger und Einwohner von dar.

C. LETTERS OF EMIGRANTS (UNFAVORABLE). PUBLISHED AND CIRCULATED.

I. FROM ESTHER WERNDTLIN. 1736.<sup>48</sup>

Nachdeme Unsere Gn. Herren Ein E. Wohlweiser Raht dieser Stadt über den Zustand jeniger Leuten, welche in Pensylvaniam oder Carolinam gereiset, nachstehendes Schreiben, so vor einigen Wochen erst zu Zürich eingeloffen, und von dortig verburgerten Predigers Mauritz Göttshius sel. Wittib aus Philadelphia, der Haupt-Stadt in Pensylvania schon den 24. Wintermonat 1736 an ihre Schwester zu Zürich geschrieben worden, von der Cantzley zu Zürich, mit dem Anhang, dass noch mehrere dergleichen Klag-Schreiben aus gemeldten Landen einkommen, erhalten, als haben Hochbesagte Unsere Gn. Herren befohlen, dieses Schreiben, als welches viel wichtige Umstand enthaltet, publiciren und ihren Unterthanen, absonderlich denen, welche noch eine Lust haben in gemeldte Land zu reisen, communicieren zu lassen: Den 2. Aprilis 1738  
Cantzley Basel /sst

*Abschrift eines Schreibens an Fr. Ursula Oehrin, gebohrne Werndtlin:*

Hertz Vielgeliebte Frau Schwester und Herr Schwager und alle Menschen in meinem Vatterland. Ich weiss nit ob die Freud grösser, oder mein betrübter Zustand, darinn ich nach ausgestandener unbeschreiblicher unglücklicher Reiss, da es uns just gieng, wie es M. gn. Hhrn und andere fromme Leuth treulich vorgesagt, sonderbar dem Vatter selig, da Ihme seine grosse Mühe und Sorg vor das gottlose Volk übel ist belohnet, solches wie allen Menschen zum Exempel, er seye Geist- oder Weltlich mit falschem aufrührischem Pöbel, die wider den Willen seiner Gn. Hhren aus dem Land ziehen, die billich von Gott mit Blindheit in Verstockung geschlagen werden, und in diesem Land nichts anders von Ihnen zu hoffen, dann dass sie zu Heiden werden, dann von Ihnen eines hier aus, das ander da hinaus kommet. Ein Mensch vor seine Fracht muss dienen 3 Jahr, die Kinder vor die halbe Fracht, die Meitli bis sie 18 Jahr, die Buben bis sie 21 Jahr alt, Unter so viel Religionen, Reformierten, Lutheranern, Catholischen, Tumblern, Mennisten, Pietisten, Quackern, Siebentägeren, Atheisten, auch die sich nennen Nichts, die kein Religion, kein Gottesdienst, kein Kirchen, kein Schulen, ja kein Gott, kein Teuffel, kein Himmel, kein Höll glauben, auch so vielerley Sprachen, Englisch, Schwedisch, Nordwelsch, Hochdeutsch, Niderteutsch, Holländisch; da sind viel Niger, die werden nun hier für Slaven verkauft für ihr Lebtag; die hieländischen Heiden wohnen under uns in Büschen, sind sehr abscheuliche Leuth, braun, recht gottlose Heiden, sie schlagen einander zu tod, wie die Hund, gehen nackend, geschminckt

<sup>48</sup> Staatsarchiv, Basel, Mandatasammlung I., vii, section 2a, no. 4. This old printed piece has been reprinted in the *Basler Jahrbuch* for 1883, p. 260. For Pastor Götschi, see James I. Good, *History of the Reformed Church in the United States*.

mit roth und grün und Gall-Farb, haben Ring an Ohren und Nasen; Ich fürcht sie sehr; Summa, der Religionen und Nationen ist hier kein Zahl, dies Land ist ein Zuflucht-Haus vertriebener Secten, ein Freystatt aller Ubelthäter in Europa, ein verwirrtes Babel, eine Behaltnus aller unreinen Geistern, eine Behausung der Teuffen, ein erste Welt, ein Sodom, das bedauerlichste ist, dass sie alle in gantz America lauter Schweitzer, was Deutsche aus Stätten, Landen und Dörfern des gantzen Schweitzer-Lands treffen wir hier Leuth an.

Es sind lauter Schweitzer die vor etwann 30. oder 40. Jahren, vor Hungers-Noth aus der Schweiz in die Pfaltz gezogen, nun aber in dis Land gekommen, und viele wegen mangel des Wort Gottes abgefallen zu allerhand Secten, so dass die Leuth am Leib, und sonderlich an der Seel jämmerlich zu Grund gehen müssen. dem Leib nach verderben sie wegen grausamer Kälte des Winters; dann die Kleider hier erschrocklich schlecht und theuer, dass sie nicht zu überkommen sind. Ein schlecht Hembd kostet 3. oder 4. fl.<sup>40</sup> Man tragt hier nur halb Wollen und leinen. Man vermag hier kein anderes; es ist hier im Winter über die massen kalt, im Sommer ist es über die massen wärmer weder im Schweitzer-Land, dass sehr veil Leuth vor Hitz verschmachten. man muss hier sehr schlecht leben in Speis und Tranck, das Brod ist sehr rauch, darneben Türcken-Korn, Buch-Weitzen, Erd-Aepfel ist unsere Speis, Wasser ist unser Tranck, ein Mass Wein gilt 3 fl. die Leut wohnen sehr weit von einander, die Nachbarn müssen oft eine Stund gehen durch Büsch und Hecken und Dorn, ehe sie zusammen kommen, darum man gar oft wegen den grossen Wasserren, und wilden Thieren, als Hirzen, Bären, Wölff, wild Katzen, schrocklich böse Schlangen antrifft, man muss reiten und ein Gewehr bey sich tragen; ihre Häuslein sind so ellend als kein Schwein-oder Schaaf-Stall im gantzen Schweitzer-Land, ihr Hausrath ist nüt als Rinden von Bäumen, Ihr Trinck-Geschirr und Schüsslen sind nüt anders als calbast oder Kürbsen. Summa, dies Elend ist nüt zu beschreiben; was antrifft das Geistliche, ist viel ein grösser Elend, sie lernen nit lesen; haben weder Bücher noch Schrifften, weder Kirchen noch Schulen, weder Kirchen-Diener noch Sacrament. Es kan nichts anders aus ihnen werden dann Heiden, die Jungen wissen nichts von Gott, darum sind sie so schrocklich ungehorsam den Elteren; wann sie 18. Jahr alt, dürfen ihnen die Elteren nüt mehr einreden, darum manche Elteren grausam seuffzen müssen über diejenige, so sie verführen, wie ich leider mit allem anderen Unglück auch dies hab müssen erfahren. Was mich betrifft, so bin ich unter diesen die unglückhafftste Creatur und das allerärmste Mensch, dann was ich aus meinem Vatterland hiehar gebracht, ist noch gar verfaulet und verdorben, muss wohnen bey solchen Menschen, die mir nit nur nichts Guts thun, sonder mir dasjenige, was mir Gott in meinem Vatterland und Holland durch gute Leuth beschert, missgunnen, das Esterly und Mary Babely ernehren sich hin und her mit Spinnen; die drey jüngerer Knaben sind verbunden, bis Sie 21. Jahr alt sind; das jüngste ist bey mir. Mein Zustand ist sehr verächtlich, mein Beruff gilt gar nichts in diesem Land, hier kan ich kein Schul halten, weil mich niemand will aufnehmen, muss im äussersten Elend hier mein Leben zubringen, und von einem elenden Schlüpflin in das andere gestossen werden, und mein Elend meistens under den Widertäufferen bauen, muss mein armes Leben auch zubringen bey denen, die kein Religion, kein

<sup>40</sup> Florins, or gulden, of about 45 cents.

Gottesdienst, kein Sacrament ästimieren. es ist wie ein Schwert in meinen Beinen, wann sie mich täglich schmähen und zu mir sagen, wo ist deine Religion, die du für deinen Gott haltest. Ich wolt tausend mahl lieber bey Catholischen wohnen; ich weis nit, wie es mit dem Heinrich<sup>50</sup> gehen wird, dann er sehr weit reisen muss, seine Predig- Stunden zu verrichten, braucht darzu sehr viele Schuh und Kleider, die Er wegen geringen Solds nit kan zuwegen bringen; Wann die Kleider vom Vatter S. verreissen, so muss er dann auch schier nackend gehen, ist mir sehr angst; O! hätten wir U. Gn. Hhren. und allen guten Leuthen gefolget, die uns so treulich gewahnet, und wir doch nit hören wollen, darum kommt jetzt das Unglück über uns, und ist keine Erlösung zu hoffen, über dem abscheulichen Meer, bitte also alle Leuth in meinem Vatterland, dass sie sich nit so muthwillig dem Verbott M. Gn. Hhren. widersetzen, und sich mit Leib und Seel ins Elend stürzten, und meine arme Kinder, die an diesem Unglück kein Schuld tragen, wann die wieder einmal solten in ihr Vatterland kommen, dass man ihnen doch gnädig wäre. Ach hätten Meine Gn. Herren ihr Mandat ausgehen lassen, da wir noch daheim waren, es wird gewisslich allen denjenigen solch Unglück widerfahren, die sich ihrem Mandat halstarrig widersetzen; wie es auch erfahren der Stricker von Wartau, der vor 2. Jahren mit etlich hundert von Bern abgefahren in Carolina, da sie mehr als der halbe Theil in selbigem Land verschmachtet, und Er wiederum mit etlich Frachten hiehar kommen, vor etlich Wochen sein armes Leben elendiglich aufgeben, und hinderliess die Wittwe und ein Söhnlein. Da heisst es: O Israel! dein Verderben ist aus dir, welches ich nun täglich klagen und seufzen muss; Siehe, das Unglück kommt von dem Herren, was soll ich fehrner auf den Herren warten, etc., etc.

Den 24. Nov. 1736, aus PHILADELPHIA  
in Pensylvanien

ESTHER WERNDTLIN.

2. EXTRACT FROM A LETTER OF JOHANNES STOCKER, IN PENNSYLVANIA.  
1752.<sup>51</sup>

Ich solte nun auch eine kurze Beschreibung machen hiesiger Landen Beschaffenheit, welche doch sehr weit in Fruchtbarkeit und Gutheit von einandern unterscheiden; allein vorerst muss ich der vätterlichen Vorsorg der hohen Lands-Obrigkeit in Bern allen Preis geben, dass sie das hieher nach America ziehen ihren Unterthanen verbieten, ich achte es als ein grosser Seegen Gottes. O wie viel tausend arme Kinder verlihren ihre Eltern zur See, und damit alles was sie haben, werden im Land verstreut, unter aller Gattung Leute; wissen nicht woher sie sind, von keiner Religion hören sie nichts, und werden meistens nicht besser gehalten als die Leibeigenen Schwarzen. Ich kann nicht begreifen, wie die Stände es vor Gott verantworten können, dass sie zum Hieherziehen ihren Leuten so viel Vorschub thun; sie müssen nicht wahrnehmen, was David sagt: Bleibe in deinem Vatterland und ernehre dich redlich;<sup>52</sup> nicht darum, als ob das Land nicht fruchtbar genug seye, ein Reicher kan

<sup>50</sup> See *Guide*, p. 18.

<sup>51</sup> Staatsarchiv, Bern. This and the next piece were from letters confiscated in 1752 by the cantonal government. Taken from the *Hinkender Bote*, 1749-1756.

<sup>52</sup> Psalm xxxvii. 3. See p. 24, above.

hier nach Belieben leben, ein Armer findet sein Brod durch harte Arbeit, ein Sauffer und Faulenzen aber ist ein verlohnrer Tropf, und zu diesen unsern Zeiten sind Wenige die zu etwas kommen, als etwann dann und wann ein Handelsmann, oder ein guter Handwerksmann; das Wort des Herrn aber ist allhier theur, und sind wenige die darnach fragen, die Vielheit der Secten könnte ich nicht benamsen; aber die Vielheit der wahren Christen ist sehr schmahl. Allen Vorthail so man hier hat, bestehet in der Freyheit, welche gemeinlich sehr missbraucht wird: ob man sich Christenlich und ordentlich aufführe und einigen Gottesdienst pflege oder nicht, darum halt niemand keine Nachfrag. Dem Könige und einer Hohen Obrigkeit zahlen wir nicht viel, etwas wenigen Land-Unkosten; tragen aber auch für die Magistratur gar keinen Respect. Wir gehen bey du und du. In Handel und Wandel sind wir frey denselben allhier zu treiben, der Naturalisirte wie der Unnaturalisirte. Von Pollicey-Ordnung wissen wir noch wenig; das Land aber ist so voller Laster als immer ein Platz in Europa: in Summa, es ist bey nahem ein jeder sein eigener Herr; geniesset aber im Nohtfall sehr schlechte Protection. Das Land um Philadelphia herum ist sehr theuer, wie auch die Losamenter daselbsten; hier aber in Neu-Jersey, wo ich bin, ist es schlecht, und kan kein Mensch mit Sicherheit etwas kauffen. die Neu-länder so hinaus kommen, sind insgemein gewissenlose Seelenverkäufer und Betrüger, denen nicht viel zu glauben; sagen sie: ein Arbeiter könne des Tags mehr als 10. Batzen verdienen, so sagen sie zwar in Thesin die Wahrheit, vergessen aber zu sagen, dass wann man ein Ell von 3. Schuh lang grob und unspunnig Tuch kauffen will, man dafür 10. Batzen bezahlen muss, und so alles nach dieser Proportion.

JOHANNES STOCKER.

3. FROM A LETTER OF A PEASANT FROM THE OBERLAND. 1752.

*Geliebter Jacob Border!*

Ich lasse euch und den wehrten Lands-Venner Sterchi, beyder Haus-Frauen und Kinder, zu tausendmalen grüssen, und danken euch zu beyden Seiten ganz höhlich, für das Reisgelt das ihr mir gegeben habt, sonst hätte ich kurz wurden abbeissen,<sup>53</sup> weilen ich so gottlos bin angeführt worden, mit meinem grossen Herrn der mich gottloser weis aus dem Land geführet hat, und in der Noht verlassen hat, dass ich mich hab drey Jahr müssen verserben, und bin zu einem gottlosen Mann kommen; dort bin ich gsin 14. Monat, jetzen hat mich der Christen Zingreich dort mit seinem Sohn verkauft um 44. Bern-Croni, ich bin bey ihm zwey Jahr lang das Gelt abzuverdienen. Was das Land anbetrifft, ist gut, aber wer kein Gelt in das Land bringet, der kommt in die grösste Armuth. Ich bitte dich und der Lands-Venner Sterchi, dass ihr mir doch wollet so gut seyn und ein Steuer schicken, dass ich kan wieder aussie kommen, und befhle euch dem Schutz Gottes und seiner Gnaden.

<sup>53</sup>Kurze Bissen, Kurzes Anbeissen, poor grazing for cattle, here used figuratively.

D. EXAMINATIONS OF DEPARTING EMIGRANTS.<sup>54</sup>

I. RELATION DER HERREN DEPUTIERTEN WEGEN EINIGEN UNDERTHANEN  
SO IN CAROLINAM REISEN WOLLEN. 1736.

*Wohlweiser Herr Bürgermeister  
Hochgeacht und  
Gnädige Herren!*

Zufolg der von Euer Gnaden Uns aufgetragenen Commission, haben wir Jenige Underthanen welche schon von Euer Gnaden die erlaubnus erhalten fortzuziehen, ferners in Ihrem anbringen vernommen welche einmühtiglich ausgesagt dass der meisten gegenwertige grosse Armuht oder bevorstehenden ohnaussbleiblicher mangel sie aus dem land treibe, in welchem sie keine güeter besitzen und durch andere arbeit Ihre zahlreichen Familien nicht durchzubringen wussen; gehet daher dero tringendliche bitte dahin Euer Gnaden wolten sie in Ansehung der manumissions und abzugsgebühren gnädiglich ansehen. Es sind aber die Familien, welche sich solche gnad aussbitten nachfolgende.

Hans Rudi Erb von Rotenflue ist ledig hat ein bös gesicht und 130 lb. im Vermögen.

Jakob Würtz von Dürnen hat ein Frau, 7 Kinder und nichts im Vermögen als etwan 300 lb. so sein noch lebende Eltern Ihme mitgeben wollen.

Heinrich Gisin von Dürnen hat ein Frau, 2 Kinder und vermag nichts.

Martin Gass von Rothenflue hat 1 Frau 8 Kinder und weiter nichts.

Heini Gerster von Dürnen hat ein Frau, 4 Kinder und 1500 lb.

Hans Jakob Märcklin von dar hat 1 Frau, 4 Kinder und sonst nichts.

Hans Jakob Keller von Rothenflue hat 1 Frau 3 Kinder und 250 lb. in

Gelt.

Jakob Brüderlin von Muttentz ein Frau 2 Kinder und 100 lb. in Gelt.

Hans Jakob Thommen von Zeglingen hat ein Frau, 1 Kind und bey

450 lb.

Rudi Bey von Münchenstein hat ein Frau 1 Kind und 2 Grosskinder, im Vermögen 60 lb.

Hans Joggi Grieder von Rüneberg hat ein Frau 3 Söhn und 400 lb. in Gelt.

Hans Thommen von Höllstein ein Frau und 1 Kind und sonst nichts.

Hans Meyer von Rothenflue hat ein Frau und im Vermögen 300 lb.

Christof Span von Beucken hat ein Frau 4 Kinder und kein Gelt.

Martin Tschudin von Lausen hat ein Frau 4 Kinder und in Gelt 150 lb. und

Margreth Eck von Diegten so ledig und by 60 lb. besizet.

Verlesen den 25. Aprilis 1736.

2. INFORMATION DURCH DIE HERREN DEPUTIIRTE DEN 22N FEB. 1738.  
AUFGENOMEN.

Peter Schwab von Biel ein Steinhauer und Maurer 30 Jahr alt.

B. Ob er den Ihne vorgelegten brief von Durs Thommen bekommen?

A. Nein sonderen von H. Johannes Wiester einem Kaufman zu Philadelphia.

<sup>54</sup> Staatsarchiv, Basel, Auswanderung A. (both documents).

B. Was ihne veranlasset in Americam zu reisen?

A. habe in Londen gearbeitet und weilen er keine arbeit mehr gefunden so habe er sich anno 1735 in Majo auf St. Catharina Schiff embargiert und in Zeit 8 Wochen 5 Tag in Pensylvaniam ankommen; ein Schlesinger kaufman habe Deponenten mitgenommen, welchem Er dafür 6 Dublonen und ein Guinee für Zins abverdienen müssen, welches er in einem halben Jahr mit Steinhauen und Mauren nebst der Kost abverdient, man zahle täglich Lohn 3 englische Schilling; Nachdem er nun zwey und ein halb Jahr lang in Americam gewesen, so seye er widerum heraus kommen, weilen er elteren habe die sehr alt seyen; in Pensylvania und Virginien seye das Land gut, man müsse aber alles kaufen, hingegen in Carolina habe man das Land umsonst, allein es seye darinnen sehr ungesund.

B. Ob er noch mehrere Brief habe?

A. Ja, einige nacher Zürich und Bern und einige auf Bratelen.

B. Wie arme Leut ins Land kommen, die den Schifflohn nicht bezahlen können?

A. Der Schiffcapitain nemme alles an, und geben es so den in Phyladelphia kaufleuth die den Schifflohn bezahlen und die übergebrachte Leuth solhen dan mit ihrer arbeit abverdienen müssen.

B. wie die kranken Leuth versorget werden?

A. die Leuth seyen sehr barmherzig und verstossen die kranken nicht.  
endet.

Heinrich Thommen von Lampenberg und Emanuel Bürgin von Buhendorf, waren befragt, was sie bewege aus dem Land zu ziehen?

A. Thommen antworhet, er könne sich nicht ausbringen ohngeacht die Frau auf seinem Gallunen Stuhl fleissig arbeite, habe 4 kinder und wüsse sie nicht mehr zu ernehren.

B. wer ihme anleitung gebe, die reis anzutreten?

A. müsste gute Leuth suchen, die ihme die Anleitung geben könnten.

B. Ob er einige klägen habe, darum er fortziehen wolle?

A. Nein.

endet.

Emanuel Bürgin sagt er seye ein Armer Taglöhner und habe darzu wenig zu verdienen, also dass er sich sein Weib und ein Kind nicht mehr erhalten könne.

B. Ob er etwas wider Jemand zu klagen habe?

A. Nein.

Uebrigens sagen beide für sich und in dem nammen aller übrigen so fortziehen wollen, dass sie entweder gar nichts zu schaffen haben, und wan sie auch wirklich tag und nacht zu schaffen hätten, dennoch sich nicht durchbringen können, wollten daher in Zeiten gehen, weilen sie annoch etwas wenig haben und Ihre Elteren ihnen etwas auf den Weg geben könnten.

#### E. DECREES AGAINST EMIGRATION.

##### I. VERORDNUNG WEGEN WEGZIEHUNG DER UNTERTHANEN. 1749.<sup>55</sup>

Wir Burgermeister und Rath der Statt Basel, entbieten allen und jeden Unseren Angehörigen Unseren gnädigen Willen und Gruss und geben

<sup>55</sup> Staatsarchiv, Basel, printed Mandat, in Auswanderung A.



anbey denselben hiemit zu vernehmen, wie dass Wir zwar in Absicht auf deren so wohl Leibes als der Seelen Wohlfahrt zu verschiedenen Mahlen und sonderlich in dem Jahr 1738. das Wegziehen in die entfernten Americanische Länder Carolina, Pensilvanien, Georgien und andere, misrathen und verboten haben: Indeme die aus diesen Ländereu erhaltene Nachrichten und die Erfahrung bezeugen, dass die dahin Gezogenen mehrentheils in grosses Elend und Mangel leiblicher Nahrung sowohl als geistlichen unterrichts gerathen, eine weit grössere Menge aber auf der langwierig und gefährlichen Reise durch mancherley Zufälle erkranket und gestorben seyen. Wann aber dieses alles bey vielen nichts gefruchtet, sondern sie durch schmeichelhaftes und betrügliches Vorgeben einiger aus diesen Ländereu zuruckgekommener eigennütziger Werberr, oder durch selbstgefasste ohngegründete Hoffnung ohne Schweiss und Arbeit daselbsten Nahrung und Reichthum in Ueberfluss zu erwerben, sich verführen lassen, ihr Vatterland, da sie doch durch ihren Fleiss vermittelst Göttlichen Segens ihren guten Unterhalt haben und finden können, zu verlassen, und ein anderes mit grosser Gefahr und vielen Kösten zu suchen, da sie lange nicht die zu Hause verachteten Vorteile erhalten können: als finden Wir Uns genöthiget Unsere vorgehende Verordnungen aus Landes vätterlicher Vorsorge zu verschärfen, damit doch das Verderben vieler übelberathener Leuten verhütet werde:

I. Wir wollen und befehlen demnach für das Erste, dass auf die, welche sich unterstehen wurden Unsere Unterthanen zu dem Wegziehen zu bereden, und also zu werben, wie auch auf die Weggezogenen, welche ohne von Uns erhaltene ausdrückliche Erlaubnuss wieder in das Land kommen wurden, geflissene Achtung gegeben, und auf Betretten ohngesammt Unseren Oberbeamteten verzeigt werden sollen, damit sie in Verhafft mögen genommen und von Uns befindenden Dingen nach bestrafft werden.

II. Zweytens wollen Wir, dass sowohl von denen Unterbeamteten als einem Jeden insgemein, jenige, welche sich vornehmen möchten insgeheim und ohne Unsere Erlaubnuss wegzuziehen, beobachtet, und Unseren Oberbeamteten zeitlich gerueget werden. Dann wir diejenigen Gemeinen und Unterbeamteten, welche hierinn saumselig seyn und, wann sie ein solch heimliches Vorhaben und Anstalten darzu vermerekten, solches nicht anzeigen wurden, mit gebührenden Straf ansehen, und insonderheit die Versorgung der unvermögenden Eltern, Weibern und Kinderen solcher Weggezogenen ihnen auflagen werden.

III. Und gleichwie Wir schon unterm 22. Mertzens letzthin zur Nachricht allen Unseren Unterthanen, fürnemlich aber denen, welche sich damals vorgenommen wegzuziehen, in die Aemter kundgemacht, welcher massen Wir Uns vorbehalten in Ansehung derer Erbschafften, welche einem oder dem anderen der Wegziehenden zufallen möchten, nach Gutbefinden zu erkennen, als ordnen und setzen Wir hiemit, dass alle diejenigen Unserer Angehörigen, welche von besagtem 22. Mertzens an aus dem Land in Americam gezogen, und fürterhin wegziehen werden, auf keine Weis etwas erblich weder à testatò noch ab intestato aus dem Land sollen beziehen können, sondern *als tod angeschen*, und was ihnen hätte zukommen sollen, denen übrigen nächsten Anverwandten, oder falls deren keine vorhanden Unserem Fisco und dem Armen-Seckel der Gemeind zugetheilet werde.

IV. Damit aber diese Unsere Verordnung nicht hintergangen, und

denen Weggezogenen auf andere Weis ihr Erbtheil gantz oder etwas davon gegeben oder zugeschicket werde, lassen Wir es bey Unserem schon gethanen Verbott bewenden, dass niemand denen wegziehen wolenden etwas auf ihr Erb hin voraus gebe, solches ihnen abkauffe, oder andere Contracte darüber mit ihnen schliesse: Massen Wir alles was zu Hindergehung solch Unseres Verbotts wurde gegeben oder versprochen werden, als unkräftig, nichtig und unerlaubt aufheben und die wieder Unsere Verordnung disorts Handlende mit gebührender Strafe ansehen werden.

Darum so gebieten Wir allen Unseren Oberbeambteten auf Unserer Landschafft zu veranstalten, dass obstehend Unserer Verordnung in allen Stucken durch die Unterbeambtete und Gemeinen nachgelebt werde, zu welchem End dieselbe ab den Cantzlen kund gemacht und jährlich verlesen werden solle.

Also beschlossen in Unserer Raths-Versammlung den 13. Augustmonats 1749.

Cantzley Basel /ssst.

2. ANHANG ZUR VERORDNUNG WEGEN DEM AUSWANDERN DER UNTERTHANEN. 1773.<sup>50</sup>

Nachdem Unsere Gnädigen Herren E. V. und Wohlweiser Rath dieser Stadt wahrgenommen, dass die Begehren um Verabfolgung der Mitteln, welche denen in Amerika oder anderswohin emigrierten Unterthanen durch Erbschafft zufallen, sehr vervielfältiget werden, dahingegen die Fälle, da von denen an solchen Orten Verstorbenen an die hiesigen Unterthanen Etwas gelanget ist, sich sehr selten, oder deren gar keine ereignet; wobey nicht ohne Grund zu vermuthen ist, dass öftters, von denen verabfolgten Mitteln wenig oder gar nichts, anjenige für welche sie begehrt worden, gelange, sondern das Meiste denen Ausgeschickten in den Händen bleibe, und diese *Emissarii* sich dieser Gelegenheit bedienen noch andere dergleichen Erbschafften auszuspähen, und mehrere Unterthanen durch eitele oder gar falsche Beredungen zur Auswanderung zu verleiten, und solche dadurch in Unglück zu bringen; So haben Hochgedacht UNSERE GNÄDIGEN HERREN der Nothdurft angemessen erachtet, zu verordnen, was hienach folgt:

I. Solle auf alle dergleichen ankommende Neuländer und *Emissarien* genau vigiliret, selbige nirgendwo im Land gelitten, sondern ihnen angezeigt werden, innert Frist von zwei Tagen ihr Anligen und Gesuch Ihro Gnaden den Regierenden Herren Häubteren vorzutragen, widrigenfalls sie nicht mehr sollen angehört, sondern beygefängt werden. Bey Anhörung dieser Neuländern wird es Ihro Gnaden den Herren Häubteren belieben, solchen Leuten zu befehlen, sich nirgends als in der Stadt aufzuhalten, ihre Sachen allda zu betreiben, und nach deren Beendigung sich sogleich wiederum fortzugeben.

II. Damit aber Niemand in seinem Eigentumsrechte gestöhret werde, so solle zwar die Auslüferung der Mitteln fürjenige, welchen sie rechtmässig zugehören, fernerbin gestattet werden, jedoch nicht anderst als auf Vorweisung unzweifelhafter Instrumenten und Vollmachten. Eine solche Vollmacht, damit sie könne angenommen werden, solle vor der Obrigkeit oder den Vorgesetzten der, dem Ansprecher, nächstgelegenen

<sup>50</sup> Staatsarchiv, Basel, printed Mandat, in Auswanderung A.

Stadt *declarirt*, von diesen ein förmliches Instrument verfertigt, und darinn nicht nur des Ansprechers Namen, Aufenthalt, Alter und Umstände gemeldet, sondern auch dessen Herkunft, insbesondere aber dessen Titul zu den begehrenden Mitteln umständlich eingerückt werden. Dieses Instrument solle nachwärts von dem *Gouverneur* oder Stadthalter der Provinz *legalisirt*, und wann es in einem andern Welttheil als Europa gelegen, von demjenigen Herrn *Staats-Secretario*, unter welchem die Landschaft stehet, mit Unterschrift bezeuget werden, dass alle vorweisenden *Attestationen* gültig und wahrhaft, mithin keinem Zweifel unterworfen seyen.

Diese Verordnung solle aller Orten kund gemacht, zu dem Ende jährlich als ein Anhang und mit der Verordnung über das Auswandern der Unterthanen, ab den Canzlen verlesen, von samtlchen Herren Oberbeamten aber darauf geflissentlich gehalten, und alle Unterbeamten zu genauer *Vigilantz* angewiesen werden.

Also erkannt den 30. Jenners 1773.

Canzley Basel ssst.

F. POSTER OF PURRY AND COMPANY OF NEUCHÂTEL, SOLICITING  
EMIGRANTS. 1725.<sup>57</sup>

AVERTISSEMENT.

Messieurs Purry et Compagnie ayant besoin de trois ou quatre cents Hommes Ouvriers de differentes Professions, pour aller faire un bon Etablissement en Amérique dans la Caroline Méridionale, qui est certainement l'un des meilleurs Païs de l'Univers; font scavoir à ceux qui voudront y aller, qu'on les recevra aux conditions suivantes.

I. Qu'ils soyent Suisses Protestans, âgés depuis vingt jusqu'à quarante ans, ayant un bon témoignage de probité et de bonnes mœurs.

II. Qu'ils serviront pendant le terme de cinq Années à compter depuis le jour qu'on aura pris possession du Païs; et que leurs appointemens commenceront à courir depuis ce jour là.

III. Qu'ils feront le métier de la Guerre pour la déffense du Païs, lorsque la nécessité le demandera.

IV. Qu'ils auront chacun neuf Livres Sterlings de gâge par Année, qui font quarante Ecus-blancs.

V. Qu'après cinq Années de service, ils seront payés de leurs gages, soit en Argent ou en bons effets appartenants à la Societé, qui seront à leur choix au prix courant en Caroline.

VI. Qu'ils auront outre leurs gâges, chacun cinq Arpens de terres défrichées et quarante cinq Arpens de bonnes terres non-défrichées, franchises de dixmes, details, d'impots et de toutes autres redevances, si ce n'est trois Deniers Sterlings qui font trois Sols de cense foncière annuellement.

VII. Que les Femmes ou Filles auront trois Livres Sterlings, qui font quarante Francs en Espèces de gâge par Année, et à la fin de cinq Années de service, elles auront deux Arpens de terres défrichées, et dix-huit Arpens de terres non-défrichées, franchises de tous Impots à la reserve de trois Deniers Sterlings, qui font trois Sols de cense foncière par Arpent, par An.

<sup>57</sup> Staatsarchiv, Bern.

VIII. Qu'ils se rendront en Angleterre à leurs fraix, pour y être embarqués pour la Caroline Méridionale, et depuis le jour de leur embarquement, ils seront nourris aux dépens de la Société jusqu'à la fin de leur engagement.

IX. Que ce qui leur sera delivré des Magasins de la Société pour leurs habillemens, leur sera mis en Compte, en déduction de leurs gâges, mais les fraix du trajêt d'Angleterre en Amérique jusqu'au lieu de leur destination, l'entretien des Ministres et des Chirurgiens ou autres fraix, seront supportés par la Société.

X. Que nul ne pourra faire directement ni indirectement aucun Commerce particulier, mais ceux qui auront quelque Argent pourront le placer entre les mains de la Société qui s'obligera de le leur rendre après cinq Années et d'en payer les Interrêts suivant les loix établies en Caroline, à raison de dix pour Cent, par An.

XI. Et enfin, que si quelqu'un de la troupe venoit à mourir avant la fin de son engagement, on fera tenir à ses Héritiers les gâges, qui luy seront deus au jour de sa mort, et ses Enfans s'il en laisse, seront entretenus aux dépens de la Société.

Fait à Neuchâtel le 28. Juin 1725. et imprimé chez  
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## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

### GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

*The Origin and Treatment of Discrepancy in Trustworthy Records; Fundamental Processes in Historical Science: Part I. The Correct Processes; Part II. The Incorrect Processes.* By HERVEY M. BOWMAN, Ph.D. [From the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, series III., vol. V., sect. II.; vol. VI., sect. II.; vol. IX.] (Ottawa: Royal Society of Canada. 1916. Pp. 127-128; 133-164; 489-587.)

THE most important single features in any historical method [writes Dr. Bowman] are its test for trustworthiness in records and its treatment of conflicting statements in trustworthy records where circumstances of the discrepancy are unknown. In the prevailing method the treatment of such discrepancies is to attempt a harmonization . . . the present method's grand test for trustworthiness in records is their contemporaneousness. Both the treatment and the test are incorrect and are purely probable processes [*Fundamental Processes*, part II., p. 494] . . . After a century's trial of the present method historical science is sinking, with respect to its own chief specific requirement, more and more into the place where it is only marking time. . . . To the question here under test, "Is history a science?", the answer, under the prevailing method, according to the adherents of that method, is that it is not [*ibid.*, p. 501].

Clearly "a direct declaration of war" on the "orthodox method" of historical science. What is the trouble with the "prevailing method" and how does Dr. Bowman propose to improve it?

1. The "orthodox" method attempts to harmonize discrepancies in a record. In his first study Dr. Bowman proves from an examination of twenty-six cases, that "where the circumstances of the discrepancy are unknown", an attempt to harmonize them "is a mere groping in the dark" and "the scientific requirement in such cases is silence concerning the point in contradiction". Why silence? The "orthodox" method would note the discrepancies, recognize that it was impossible, "the causes of the discrepancies being unknown", to harmonize them, and would add—in the words of Dr. Bowman—that "the impossibility of finding a reasonable harmonization does not prove that the discrepancy cannot be reconciled in fact".

2. The prevailing method holds that a fact is established by the agreement of the affirmations of two independent witnesses, if they are not self-deceived, and as, for many periods of history, it is impossible to secure the testimony of such independent witnesses, it is impossible to

attain to certainty concerning the facts of that period. Dr. Bowman takes the ground that it is unreasonable to make such a demand and devotes his second pamphlet to an attempt to show that "any record must, if it exemplify in its statements the requisites for trustworthiness, be accepted as essentially correct . . . though it be the sole record of the events narrated" and "there is no need of a checking or corroborating record to ascertain whether the statements in the single record are essentially correct. They could not be otherwise." The reason they could not be otherwise is that "in historical, as in all other science, only those conclusions should be accepted which are established as necessary by processes that, rightly followed, lead necessarily to correct results; and where an operator is accredited as applying such processes, his results must be accepted as correct, unless the contrary be proven".

The processes, the correct application of which leads to correct results and renders a record trustworthy, are:

(1) Right discernment and clear statement, (2) Serious effort to inform the hearer or reader according to his interest, (3) Exercise of impartiality, (4) Preservation of poise, (5) Exclusion of admittedly unnecessary conclusions. These five fundamental processes are not exact processes and cannot make history an exact science, but by them she can attain to essential correctness, which is all that any branch of science can achieve. In a narrative formulated on the basis of these processes, the historian cannot provide certainty in individual statements. . . . Under the prevailing method, history is the great exception among the sciences. It has no fundamental correct process or processes.

3. The third pamphlet treats of the use of probability as one of the fundamental processes in historical science and of "the erroneous attitude of the prevailing method toward records as such". Three forms of probability are distinguished, formal, pure, and reasoned, and after an examination of twelve cases involving the use of probability, Dr. Bowman reaches the following conclusions:

(1) Formal probability, or the application of the correct processes, should be invariably used where this is possible; (2) Pure probability, regardless of its height, should not be used where formal probability, *i. e.*, a correct process, is available; (3) Reasoned probability ought not to be used as a positive criterion of conclusions in scientific, including historical investigation, but reasoned probability has a most important function in guiding the investigator in search for available evidence and also as a resisting negative force to assist in the exclusion of reasonable doubt from the final conclusions, and to detect, if possible, latent defects in the application of correct processes in the inexact sciences, such as the exemplification of the requisites of trustworthiness in history, thereby reducing the percentage of incidental error in the final results reached by the application of correct processes or formal probability.

The latter part of the pamphlet is devoted to a criticism of the "erroneous attitude of the prevailing method toward records as such" and is a mass of misunderstandings and misinterpretations of the

method. "Record" means now source and again secondary work; because the prevailing method insists that the best kind of a source is the record of an eye-witness, Dr. Bowman insists that it makes "contemporaneity" the chief test of trustworthiness and ignores all others; increase in the quantity of careful monographic work instead of being looked upon as a proof of scientific advance is held up as proof of decadence, of inability to produce a larger synthesis; these larger syntheses could be written, if we would only "trust the record", eliminate foot-notes, that often occupy more space than the text, and accept the results of the work of the careful investigator as authoritative. The treatment of Thucydides, at the close of the pamphlet, is an astonishing example of what this kind of medieval confidence in a writer will lead to. Dr. Bowman quotes Macaulay, Jowett, Freeman, Rhodes, and *all the English encyclopedias* (!) to prove that Thucydides was "the embodiment of all the virtues of his calling and of all political wisdom and prescience as well. . . . Thucydides", he tells us, "has no foot-notes. The books of his day being on rolls and not paged did not admit of them. Neither has he sustained himself occasionally by mentioning in the narrative itself some of the sources of his statements. And yet Thucydides is accounted not only a good, but the best and greatest historian."

All that is sound in Dr. Bowman's monograph touching the evaluation of a source has already been stated by Bernheim, and in greater detail; all that is new smacks of the credulity of the Middle Ages to which it is not at all probable that historical science will revert.

FRED MORROW FLING.

*Homer and History*. By WALTER LEAF, Litt.D., Hon.D.Litt. [The N. W. Harris Lectures, 1914-1915. Northwestern University.] (London: The Macmillan Company. 1915. Pp. xvi, 375.)

To say of any book that it is a worthy successor to Mr. Leaf's *Troy: a Study in Homeric Geography* is to accord it very high praise (*cf. Am. Hist. Rev.*, XVIII. 563) both as a work of literature and as a piece of scholarly investigation. That statement the reviewer can make gladly and unhesitatingly with regard to *Homer and History*, although his attitude to the two books is quite different.

The value of the former work lay in the convincing establishment of its main thesis—the reality of the Trojan War. That idea came practically as a novelty—it had been so long and vigorously rejected—and it is destined, in the reviewer's opinion, to become the corner-stone of Homeric studies. Nothing of the sort is contained in the present attempt to erect a superstructure upon that foundation. Its merit lies on the contrary in a wealth of detail, often brilliant and convincing, always stimulating and suggestive; but which in the opinion of the reviewer needs rectification at many points.

The opening chapter, Gods and Men, is a discussion of *Sagenver-*

*schiebung* and kindred ideas, leading up to the conclusion that it is nothing unreasonable to "take the ostensibly historic background of the Homeric poems to represent fact, clothed in poets' forms, but still remaining fact". Chapter II. pictures according to archaeological evidence and Egyptian records "The Coming of the Achaians". The exclusion of the evidence from Greek dialectology seems to have brought its own punishment, but the chapter contains a fascinating comparison of the Achaians with the Normans in Sicily, and a convincing and much needed refutation of the proposition: "All changes of race involve changes of culture perceptible to the archaeologist." The four following chapters, Boeotia, the Dominion of Peleus, the Dominion of Odysseus, the Realm of Agamemnon, confront the picture of Achaian Greece gathered from the rest of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* with that offered by the Catalogue of the Ships to show that while the former is "consistent alike with itself, with geography and Greek tradition", the latter is in direct contradiction with all three. This dissonance is real and has long been felt, but the argument for it has never been presented so clearly and completely as Mr. Leaf has given it. Of especial value are the description of the geographical conditions at Aulis, the presentation of Dörpfeld's Leukas-Ithaka hypothesis in a way that ought to carry conviction, the identification of Taphos with Corfu, and the discussion of the meanings of Argos. In regard to the last it should be noted that Argos = Peloponnese is later than Argos = Greece. That reflects the first step in the dismemberment of Agamemnon's realm. The seventh chapter deals with the rise of Hellenism from the "Fusion of Races"—the Achaian conquerors and the subject "Pelasgian" population. The final chapter gives Mr. Leaf's theory of the rise of "The Achaian Epos". The Homeric poems represent the literary tradition of the Achaian courts undisturbed by the vagaries of popular fancy; they are genuine history, though poetically embroidered. This belief the reviewer cannot share. If the *Iliad* were history, the *Odyssey* could not, as it does, put a taboo upon every incident mentioned in the other poem, and still remain historical itself. The mere fact that the *Odyssey* mentions neither Hector nor Paris is extremely significant. Equally so perhaps is a discrepancy between the poems which is so far from being obvious that it has escaped even Mr. Leaf. In the *Iliad* the base of the expedition against Troy is Lemnos; in the *Odyssey* the rôle played by that island is purely mythological, its place in the story of the war being apparently taken by Lesbos.

Legend—a nucleus of fact and an accretion of fancy—must still, the reviewer believes, be regarded as the foundation of the poems. Mr. Leaf's service is that he has shown that this nucleus is real, and that it is much larger than would have been expected. It is a service for which we should be very grateful.

G. M. BOLLING.



*Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity: being Studies in Religious History from 330 B. C. to 330 A. D.* By F. LEGGE, F.S.A. In two volumes. (Cambridge: University Press. 1915. Pp. xlviii, 202; ix, 425.)

MR. LEGGE begins with Alexander as a forerunner of Christianity, since the marriage of Europe and Asia and the fusion of religions initiated by Alexander's conquests opened the era of general religious associations made up of individuals without regard to nationality or social rank, with rituals rehearsing the passion, death, and resurrection of a god. In particular Mr. Legge gives a most interesting account of the Alexandrian fusion of Greek and Egyptian cults which was fostered by Ptolemy. The bulk of the work is devoted to the study of Gnosticism, Mithraism, and Manichaeism. The transition from paganism to the Gnosticism which attached itself to the Christian movement is here shown to begin with the teaching of Orphic circles, and it is by this construction of the process of religious development that Mr. Legge's book distinguishes itself, making intelligible the ideas and practices which pagans brought as the content of their lives to the portals of Christianity.

As for the cults considered, no writer in English has given us a treatment equal to this in erudition, and many things known only to the few are here brought to more general knowledge, as, for example, what has been learned about Manichaeism by recent discoveries of remains in Asia. Throughout the two volumes Mr. Legge enters with great zest into the details of speculations bewildering and fantastic, and it is probable that specialists will profit by this copious and minute discussion. For a quarter of a century articles in learned journals have evidenced the author's industry, and he prefaces this work with a list of something like five hundred titles of books and articles referred to in the text. The somewhat miscellaneous character of the list makes one regret that he did not give instead a critical bibliography of more modest dimensions. It is a surprise to discover that a scholar of such learning has not used the works of Reitzenstein or Rohde's *Psyche*, and the absence of Conybeare's *Key of Truth* is to be deplored since it would have made impossible the references to the Paulicians as Manichaeans (II. 321, 357).

The appearance of this formidable work is an event of importance at a time when there is increasing interest in the relation of Christian forms of belief and ritual practice to those of pagan cults. Mr. Legge considers that the channel of pagan influence on Christianity was the Gnostic movement—a stage for many in the transition from paganism. With regard to the difficult topic of Gnosticism we may waive what might be at issue between Legge's account and Faye's *Gnostiques et Gnosticisme* (listed but apparently not appropriated), but in general it may be said that Mr. Legge obscures the ethical advance of Christian Gnosticism like the Valentinian, though there is mention of this (II.

87). He has so immersed himself in the details of mythological symbolism that he fails to make evident the practical value for conduct and the psychological religious satisfactions which more than any continuity with the contents of pagan imagination would explain the success of such schools as Valentine's.

Indeed, after his admirable constructive beginning Mr. Legge fails to maintain the impression of constructive insight, and the defect seems to be due to the fact that he is more familiar with the by-ways and hedges than with the main road. He is, to be sure, not dealing with the Christian Church, but it is singular to observe how often this scholar, intimate with the details of obscure sects, should be inexpert in his references to the main current of the Christian historical process. These references are often blemishes in his work. It is amazing to read that in the gospel text "wise as serpents and harmless as doves" we have a reference to the dove and serpent as emblems associated with the Asiatic goddess worshipped under the name of Astarte or Aphrodite (II. 135), and that Paul's success in Asia Minor is due to the eagerness of converts to find a *via media* "which enabled them to reconcile the Jewish tradition, long familiar to them through spells and charms, with the legends of the Greek mysteries" (II. 85). What Paul taught is instanced by references to Döllinger and Hatch, while Neander and Duchesne release Mr. Legge from an independent control of matters of church history. Misled by an error in the English version of Harnack's *Expansion of Christianity*, he dates the fourth-century Apostolic Constitutions in the second century (II. 7). He thinks that Theodotus was a Gnostic (II. 9), that primitive bishops were "intellectual men of the world" (II. 8), and from First Clement, c. 44, leaps to the conclusion that "envy of the Episcopate was the principal sin against which the Christian writers of the sub-Apostolic age warned their readers" (II. 8). With wild exaggeration he says that the effect of the Nicene controversies was "to deluge the world with blood" (II. 23). He dates the appearance of the Fourth Gospel about 165 A. D. and the writings of Irenaeus in the third century. He thinks the passionate philanthropy of the first Christians (having all things in common) was an indifference to wealth in view of the speedy Advent (I. 162), and that a later medieval hostility to riches is due to a Manichaean text. From this Manichaean text, also, Calvin got his doctrine of eternal damnation (II. 309), and a Marcionite anticipated Luther by teaching that "those who trust in the crucified will be saved, if only they do good works" (II. 219)!

These illustrations are symptoms of an insecurity of understanding which impairs the value of a work of great importance.

FRANCIS A. CHRISTIE.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN HISTORY

*East and West through Fifteen Centuries: being a General History from B. C. 44 to A. D. 1453.* By BR.-GENL. G. F. YOUNG, C.B. Volumes I. and II. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1916. Pp. xxvi, 611; xii, 674.)

THESE two volumes cover the first seven centuries, to the death of Leo the Iconoclast in the East and of Charles Martel in the West. The author hopes to cover the remaining seven hundred years in the next two volumes. The key-note to the work may be found in the preface: "I have also avoided long accounts of civil and financial administration, as these appear to be matters rather for the student than for the general reader." Consequently the volumes must be judged from the standpoint of their fitness for the general reader, and minute criticisms would be out of place.

The first portion, concerning "the tragedy of the Caesars", is easy reading. The treatment here, as elsewhere, is mainly biographical. General Young attempts to make the reader acquainted with the character and personality of each emperor, and with this object in view gives a portrait wherever an authentic one can be obtained. He also describes, sometimes in detail, the buildings erected by each emperor and furnishes excellent views of some of the more noteworthy. The treatment is purely chronological, and consequently at times, especially in the second volume, becomes somewhat scrappy. In order "to counterbalance this, the index has been so arranged that a particular group of matters can always be studied separately when desired".

An examination of the "points" on which the author especially prides himself shows the necessity of a warning to the "general reader", that usually when these are true they are not new, and when new they are not true.

In one main point this history differs from others. It has invariably been the custom to make a division between what is called secular history and what is called Church history, separate books being written on each of these supposedly different kinds of history. . . . Moreover, religion has been at the root of three-fourths of the most important events recorded in secular history.

The first statement, with its "invariably", is an example of the exaggeration of which the author is often guilty, especially with regard to religious matters. In the section on "matters concerning religion" in the first twelve chapters, Christianity alone is discussed; the worship of Isis and of Mithras is ignored; neither title occurs in a very full index of over one hundred columns. In religious matters, too, the author always writes from the standpoint of an orthodox member of the Church of England, which "at the present day holds the same doctrines that it did at its 'Birthday in 673'". He finds, for example, that "Gregory the Great has not had justice done to him. He has been

called the founder of the Medieval Papacy when he was a greater opponent of everything which that institution represented, and of the whole basis upon which it rested, than any other man in Europe. And at the same time he has received no honour for that which is his greatest glory", *viz.*, the repudiation of the title "Universal Pope".

"Another main point on which this history differs from others has regard to the period which is to be held as the zenith of the Roman Empire. . . . Any unprejudiced examination will show that it was in the 4th century that the empire attained its zenith, and not in the 2nd." Possibly if General Young had studied the civil and financial administration more closely and had not been biassed by his zeal for Christianity, he would not have enunciated this opinion. There are eighteen "other points upon which this history either takes a different view from that usually held, or brings to notice facts seldom recognized". Of these the most interesting is "the different view from the one usually held as to the reason why the western half of the Roman Empire fell before the northern races, and as to the lesson taught thereby". He considers that the cause of the downfall was the lack of universally compulsory military service in the Empire and the fact that the cradles were not kept filled. With regard to the latter point, he says:

Any nation can do this which really tries. Liberal assistance from the State for each child born (illegitimate children included), the bearing by the State of the cost of maintaining and educating all children wherever it is necessary, and above all the strict removal of any slur upon illegitimacy on the part of the State, will always produce the desired effect if the nation is in earnest on the subject.

These remarks "were written more than a year before the war now raging in Europe began. The strong parallel to the case of England in many particulars . . . is self-evident."

The most interesting portions of the work are some of the comments on military affairs, in which the author is especially versed. Some of the comparisons of Roman and British conditions are provocative of thought, and his account of the daring deeds of the early Moslems is made more vivid from the experiences which the English have had with similar fanatics in India. Although he praises many for their military exploits, possibly the individual to whom he gives the most unstinted praise is Justinian's great general, Belisarius, whose bravery, loyalty, and skill in military tactics under the most adverse conditions he admirably describes.

DANA C. MUNRO.

*The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire: a History of the Osmanlis up to the Death of Bayezid I. (1300-1403).* By HERBERT ADAMS GIBBONS, Ph.D. (New York: The Century Company, 1916. Pp. 379.)

DR. GIBBONS breaks ground for a critical study of the early history of the Ottoman Turks, by describing in four chapters with abundant

notes and references the reigns of their first four rulers. Two appendixes discuss "traditional misconceptions". Full chronological tables are followed by extensive classified and alphabetical bibliographies and a short analytical index.

<sup>1</sup>The best feature of the work is the bibliographical study, which includes in about five hundred titles Byzantine writers, translated Turkish historians, chronicles of various peoples, state papers, popular songs, and European books. Some items have been overlooked, such as Minerbetti's description of the battle of Nicopolis, Norberg's translation of Ali's shorter history, Oksza's *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman* (1871), Langmantel's critical edition of Schiltberger (1885), Novakovitch's *Srbi i Turci* with its references (1893), and Kling's *Die Schlacht bei Nikopolis* (1906).

Dr. Gibbons, desiring to present new aspects of Ottoman history, suggests interesting discussions, as, for example, whether Osman was converted from paganism to Islam, and whether the Ottoman power was not the successor of the Byzantine rather than of the Seljuk empire. Unfortunately the search for novelty appears to influence somewhat his selection and judgment of the facts. The preface, notes, and appendixes reveal a degree of self-consciousness and an interest in displaying the errors of predecessors that would be more tolerable if Dr. Gibbons were himself more exact: for instance, the text and notes 2 and 3 on page 214 contain charges of error against Wylie and Lavissee which result largely from Dr. Gibbons's own inaccuracies in note-taking; had he written LXXXV instead of 85 he would have been led to the authority, whether mistaken or not, for the affirmation that Henry IV. of England (as Earl of Derby and not "Count of Lancaster") took part in the Nicopolis expedition; and had he copied Coville's (not Lavissee's) comma after "Nicopoli", he would not have accused the French historian of locating that city on the shores of the Baltic.

A more fundamental deficiency lies in a failure to analyze and appraise the testimony of the Ottoman historians, even as thoroughly as can be done without a knowledge of their languages. Despite its late commission to writing, the Turkish tradition probably contains the fullest and most reliable evidence for "the foundation of the Ottoman Empire". Dr. Gibbons follows the precedents he deprecates in quoting mainly from Seadeddin, who wrote his compilation a century after the works of Ashik-Pasha-zadeh and Neshri. While repeatedly criticizing others for similar confusions, he has fused into one the historians Muhiyeddin (d. 1550) and Ali (d. 1599).

A number of doubtful statements are presented in positive language, even though resting only on the argument from silence: "Ertogrul, *who never saw the sea*" (p. 33); "Neither Alaeddin himself nor his predecessors had ever acknowledged the suzerainty of the house of Osman" (p. 166). Definite settlement is attempted of the standing puzzles in regard to Bayezid's cage (p. 255), and the derivations of "Stamboul"

and "Amorath-Bacquin" (pp. 199, 213). There are a few direct errors, as that John Hunyadi was the son of King Sigismund (p. 194), and that Bayezid I. was the last Ottoman ruler to marry formally (p. 183). Minor errors are the repeated use of "Monicego" and "Cuspinianus" for "Mocenigo" and "Cuspinianus", and incorrect citations, as on page 255, where ii, 92 is written for V. 96. There are some contradictions: "Bayezid, from the very beginning of his reign [1389] . . . sought alliances with the Sultan of Egypt and other Moslem rulers" (p. 182); "Neither he [Bayezid I. in 1396] nor his ancestors had ever had dealings with the Moslem princes of Asia" (p. 216, see also p. 122). The statement on page 157 (note 1) that "It was not until Murad II. that even the sovereign had a harem" is contradicted by statements on pages 160, 230, 235, 255, 256, and 257.

An insufficient preliminary study had been made of the Mohammedan religious system (see the discussion of *Kanunnameh*, pp. 72, 73) and of the growth and character of the Turkish army (pp. 76 ff., 115 ff., 218 ff.). The use of Byzantine and western historians suffers from a lack of general criticism, but is extensive and careful. On the whole, while verification is often necessary, Dr. Gibbons's book represents substantial and important work, and contains much valuable comment and construction.

ALBERT HOWE LYBYER.

*Studies in Tudor History.* By W. P. M. KENNEDY, M.A., F.R.Hist.S.  
(London: Constable and Company. 1916. Pp. x, 340.)

THE ten essays of which this book is composed fall into two very different categories. The first two and the fifth, on the Policy of Henry VII., Henry VIII. and Clement VII., and the Difficulties of Queen Mary, are little more than clear but commonplace summaries of the principal events of these reigns; they are in fact just the sort of thing that might reasonably be expected of a good senior in any of our leading universities, with the standard secondary authorities at his disposal. The remaining seven, on the other hand, are much more minute and special in their scope, and deal with various aspects of ecclesiastical life in Tudor times. The last, which is by far the most technical of all, treats of "Reservation [in the Eucharistic sense] under the Anglican Prayer-book".

In his preface the author modestly tells us that "the specialist will find little new in this volume"; and he further states that he has "not thought it necessary to burden such a book as this with foot-notes or lists of authorities", and that "the general reader must accept in good faith" his "statements of facts". For the more elementary portion of his work all this is true and justifiable enough; but Mr. Kennedy has deprived his more ambitious essays of such measure of value as they possess by refusing to tell his readers what his "sources" are. Few except serious students of the period will care to peruse these more

advanced portions of his book, and they are certain to demand at once, and quite rightly, where his information comes from. There are a number of statements scattered through his pages which will make his readers "sit up"; some on account of their naiveté, others because of their wide departures from hitherto accepted views. We cannot think, for instance, that Elizabeth's indifference to purely religious questions, and zeal for the maintenance of her prerogative have "been largely overlooked" (p. 242) in explaining her ecclesiastical policy. On the other hand our author's assertions that "it has been too frequently stated that fines for non-attendance at the new worship were not actively enforced", and that "such a position is unhistorical" (p. 188), will at once be challenged by anyone who has studied the documents at the Record Office. We look eagerly for the authority on which Mr. Kennedy rests his case; but none appears. The text indeed continues: "Evidence exists from 1561 to 1570 (and indeed we may say to the end of the reign) of a character which cannot be disputed, proving that fines for non-conformity were levied with unflinching consistency"; but if so why not tell us where to find it? Far more substantial proof than this is needed to support such sweeping statements as the above.

The book, in fact, was worth doing much better if it was worth doing at all. The author evidently has a wide acquaintance with Tudor tracts and ecclesiastical writings, and some of his ideas are distinctly interesting; more's the pity he has not taken enough pains in developing them. The whole work plainly shows the influence of Professor Pollard, to whom it is dedicated—but of Professor Pollard in his more cock-sure and over-confident mood. Certainly no one but a Maitland can afford to proclaim so much, without putting in all the evidence. Mr. Kennedy's book may profitably be utilized as an object-lesson by those who teach that it is the first duty of the student of history to learn to doubt.

ROGER B. MERRIMAN.

*A Critical Study of the Historical Method of Samuel Rawson Gardiner, with an Excursus on the Historical Conception of the Puritan Revolution from Clarendon to Gardiner.* By ROLAND G. USHER, Professor of History, Washington University. [Washington University Studies, vol. III., pt. II., no. 1.] (St. Louis: Washington University. 1915. Pp. 159.)

THIS is an interesting as well as a learned essay. Professor Usher traces the literary and historical criticism of Gardiner's work from the faultfinding with his early productions to the unquestioning acceptance and almost fulsome praise of his later volumes; he draws for us a picture, unique in its detail, of the methods of work of a typical historian; he gives us much incisive discussion of English history during the early Stuart period and much information on the views expressed by its various historians. Yet on the whole we are inclined to think his work

a monument of misdirected scholarship. Mr. Usher's real thesis is Gardiner's inconsistencies. He is able to quote from Mr. Gardiner's various works certain apparently irreconcilable estimates of the characters of James and Charles, Laud and Strafford, Cromwell and Pym. He is able to point out many instances in which a general statement does not seem to be consistent with individual statements made elsewhere. He can find numerous apparently incompatible judgments on many large questions.

Some of these contradictions seem to us to lie rather in Mr. Usher's over-refined analysis than in Mr. Gardiner's essential meaning. But our principal criticism is more fundamental. Consistency in estimating an historical character, in our opinion, should be avoided by the historian, rather than sought for. A man is not a constant but a variable factor, reacting differently to different influences and at different times, and exhibiting varied powers and inclinations under different kinds of stimulus. Paul found within him two men; Oliver Wendell Holmes expatiates on the threefold "young man named John"; and most of us are inwardly aware of quite inconsistent characteristics. King Charles or Cromwell is not a simple personality, to be classified, labelled, and characterized once for all, and Mr. Gardiner does well not to trouble himself to conform to such an improper requirement. A definite, clear-cut characterization of an historical personage should be looked upon by the reader with much suspicion. A figure so characterized belongs in the realm of fiction—and not the highest fiction—not in that of history or genuine psychology. Such a person does not exist now, and it is not likely he existed in the past. Again, Mr. Usher treats such expressions as "the medieval constitution", "the Elizabethan constitution", "the policy of James", "Puritanism", "the discretionary power of the crown", "the English nation", and other familiar forms of historical speech as indivisible entities, concerning which two divergent statements cannot be made without inconsistency. But these conceptions are exceedingly complex. Mr. Gardiner more properly speaks of "that mass of custom and opinion . . . called the English constitution". Two seventeenth-century statesmen of quite opposite policies can both be truly described as striving to "bring back the Elizabethan constitution". That expression includes some elements that appealed to a Strafford, others to an Eliot. Much of the adverse criticism in the chapter called the Problem of Consistency, we cannot help considering perverted ingenuity. We prefer the "inconsistencies" of Mr. Gardiner to the unrealities of Mr. Usher.

Further, we do not agree with the author that it is the duty of the historian to provide the reader with political and ethical judgments, or, as he says, to decide "where lay the blame for the Civil War". We object to his dicta, "The reader should be interested in the narrative less for itself than for the generalizations which he expects it to establish. The historian who has not left his reader a clear, consistent,



unified idea of what the period means cannot be held to have discharged his trust." This is the same view as that of a critic in one of the literary journals Mr. Usher quotes so frequently, who complains that in Mr. Gardiner's writing "the reader is made to be a judge as well as a learner". But should he be blamed for this? Is it the function of the historian not only to give final judgments on the characters and careers of men but to justify or condemn great human movements? After the historian has told his story such philosophic reflections may well be left as a privilege to the reader.

It is obvious that Mr. Usher does not like Mr. Gardiner's attitude of extreme liberalism, and disapproves as heartily of many of his general results as he does of the processes which he considers do not lead to them. But it is not these differences of opinion that we condemn; nor is it the slight but annoying tone of superiority that runs through the whole work; nor is it even what we consider Mr. Usher's exaggerated view of the functions of history. It is rather the application of so much knowledge, ingenuity, and labor on the part of an excellent scholar not to some constructive and positive historical work but to the search for petty flaws in the work of a great historian. It is true that in the last two chapters of Mr. Usher's work a broader treatment is introduced and there is much bright and suggestive discussion of the influence of general ideas upon historical writers; but so far as Mr. Gardiner is concerned this amounts to little more than his depreciation in general instead of piecemeal.

*Of Reformation touching Church-Discipline in England.* By JOHN MILTON. Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary by WILL TALIAFERRO HALE, Ph.D. [Yale Studies in English, vol. LIV.] (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Oxford University Press. 1916. Pp. lxxxix, 224.)

THE volume before us is a very elaborate edition of a rather uninteresting prose work by a great poet. The editor divides his thesis into five main sections: (1) Introduction, (2) Text, (3) Notes, (4) Glossary, (5) Bibliography. The Introduction alone covers eighty-one pages and is subdivided into eight carefully elaborated sections entitled: (A) Authorship and Date, (B) Biographical Settings, (C) Historical Occasion, (D) Point of View, (E) Sources and Allusions, (F) Style, (G) Summary of the Argument, and (H) Text. The editor in his preface (p. iv) states his belief that the "most valuable part of this edition is . . . the notes"—a very reasonable view. Dr. Hale seems to have done his work with thoroughness and care, but we have noted a few minor inaccuracies in the type-setting. In general, too, the editor appears to have been very fair in his estimates, but when on page xviii he speaks of "Whitgift's wise . . . management", we are obliged to disagree. Few historians of any prominence to-day, we believe, would support

Dr. Hale in this statement. In addition to his well-known defects of character, Whitgift no doubt possessed certain excellencies, though it may be extremely difficult to point them out, but wisdom can hardly be said to have been one of them.

If we were to pass any criticism upon this book, it would be that too much time has been devoted to annotating a rather ordinary, though learned tract. Milton's prose, as here exemplified, is hardly to be compared with that of his more important works and especially with the writings of Chaucer, Dante, Ben Jonson, etc., such as have usually been edited by Professor Cook. There is, it is true, a vigor in Milton's attack on the bishops to be found in parts of the pamphlet before us, but hardly such scathing sarcasm as is to be found in the writings of Robert Browne, John Wilkinson, and some of the early English Separatists.

That Milton's tract here edited hardly merits the extended thesis before us seems manifest from the following sweeping statement in Dr. Hale's own words (pp. lxi-lxii). He is here chiefly speaking of Milton's prose in general, but the description may be appropriately applied to the present pamphlet in particular without doing any injustice to Dr. Hale's meaning. Says he:

Many of the sentences are interminably long. And not only are they long, but they have a broken, disjointed structure. They wind and turn, they wander off into elaborate digressions, and they lose themselves in the mazes of epithet and antithesis. The main topic is absorbed in the host of subordinate conceptions that madly rush in for expression. Syntax is thrown to the winds. Each new idea dominates the sentence during its ephemeral existence, and then, suddenly vanishing, ushers in another equally remote from the legitimate thought. The structure is left to take care of itself. The sentences resemble pontoon bridges that loosely hang together, with no integral unity or coherence, each part with a motion of its own, and the whole in constant danger of being torn asunder. . . . If they were clearly constructed, their length would still be a matter for criticism; but their loose, careless structure, together with their length, renders them hardly intelligible at a first or second reading. The pleasure we derive from reading under such circumstances does not counterbalance the strenuous effort we have to make to keep our bearings.

CHAMPLIN BURRAGE.

*England and Germany, 1710-1914.* By BERNADOTTE EVERLY SCHMITT, M.A., Ph.D. (Princeton: Princeton University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1916. Pp. ix, 524.)

THIS is one of the best books on the causes of the war. It is not, however, wholly a product of the war. For the author had already, as a former Rhodes scholar, by study in England and travel in Germany, become interested in the problem of Anglo-German rivalry and sus-

pcion. He had collected a quantity of material, much of it in the nature of an analysis of public opinion in the two countries since the Boer War. He had even written a considerable part of the book before August, 1914. He writes therefore with more maturity of thought and more objectivity than many persons who have taken up their pens since the war began. In a number of instances he gives an interpretation perhaps too favorable to England, or fails to give an adequate explanation of the German point of view, but for the most part he brings his evidence fairly for both sides and that evidence supports his conclusions. Though the title suggests a treatment of Anglo-German relations since 1740, only a few pages here and there touch on their relations prior to 1848. It is with the age of Palmerston and Bismarck that he really begins.

German apologists have asserted that England was jealous of the enormous progress of German industry, commerce, and growing naval power; that, being jealous, she tried to block Germany's legitimate expansion; and that, by her combination with France and Russia, she was menacing German security. Mr. Schmitt's whole book is an examination of this assertion and dismissal of it as unwarranted. He naturally begins with an account of the growth of the British Empire, and emphasizes England's wisdom in allowing such a large measure of self-government to her colonies—in contrast to the German practice. After a good brief account of the growth of the German Empire, he analyzes the statistics of English and German industrial and commercial growth, to show that England was not being overtaken as rapidly by Germany, and that the English were not as excited and jealous as is usually assumed. Particularly in the two years preceding the war England had become more prosperous and optimistic, Germany less so.

Germany's motives in the Agadir affair are minutely examined but not made satisfactorily clear. The author seems to think it probable, although he is careful to say that the evidence does not warrant a positive conclusion, that at the opening of the Agadir crisis (July 1) Germany really aimed at a partition of Morocco and was prepared to claim her share with France and Spain. When she was convinced that England would oppose this, she gave up the partition idea and demanded very large territorial "compensations" in the French Congo in return for conceding the French protectorate in Morocco. But all through the affair she was attempting to use Morocco as a means of disrupting the Triple Entente. The Lloyd George speech of July 21 he thinks was a blunder, in that it increased enormously the bitterness of the Germans, and, by exciting the public of both countries, made the diplomatic situation so much more difficult. Perhaps it was a blunder that the speech was made at the very moment when Sir Edward Grey was asking the German ambassador as to Germany's intentions at Agadir and before the ambassador could receive a reply from Berlin. But one may wonder whether, without the speech, the German government would have finally

given (July 24) such a categorical denial of territorial designs on Morocco.

One of the best chapters, on a subject which deserves more attention in English than it has received, is that dealing with the growth of German influence in Turkey, and the Bagdad Railway. The author thinks that England did not object to Germany's economic enterprises in Turkey except when they tended to make the Ottoman government too dependent politically on Germany; but that England did fear the political designs of Germany because they seemed connected with other devious phases of German diplomacy which had to do with the balance of power in Europe and which were illustrated in connection with Algeciras and Agadir. Yet England was ready to meet Germany more than half-way in a friendly settlement of their differences in Turkey and Africa; an agreement to that effect had actually been initiated for settlement just before the war. "In July, 1914, Anglo-German relations were more cordial than they had been at any time since the Boer War" (p. 373). It is one of the most tragic features of the Great War that after England and Germany had co-operated together to preserve the peace of Europe during the Balkan Wars and were just reaching an agreement which would probably have done much to establish better mutual relations, a terrible crisis arose in which Germany gave virtually no support to Sir Edward Grey's supreme efforts for peace.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

*Les Illuminés de Bavière et la Franc-Maçonnerie Allemande.* By R. LE FORESTIER. (Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1914. Pp. 729.)

THE subject of the Illuminati has long wanted definitive treatment. The need arose not out of the intrinsic importance of the subject but rather that it might be rescued from the dilettante historians, who pounce with avidity on the subject of secret societies and their occult influence on historical movements. In a sober, painstaking volume of seven hundred pages M. Le Forestier has worked out the history of the rise and fall of this curious and typical eighteenth-century affiliation between German Freemasonry and the Illuminati, a Bavarian anti-clerical, rationalistic, pseudo-scientific, philosophical, and vaguely humanitarian organization. He has used the archives in Munich and Gotha, but a careful examination of text and notes indicates that in but one point did they yield important material not found in the controversial pamphlets and in the documents printed by the Bavarian government when it investigated and suppressed the society. Despite the inclusion of many pages of extracts from the ritual of the societies the author has shown considerable skill in piecing together a coherent and reasonably interesting account from these arid eighteenth-century pamphlets. The personal histories of such leaders of Illuminism as Weisshaupt, Knigge, Bode, and others of less importance are so well interpolated that they serve for relief as well as information. The three

chapters on German Freemasonry in the eighteenth century based on secondary works might well have been condensed to give space for a comparative survey of currents in German intellectual life or a fuller explanation of Bavaria's political difficulties between 1778 and 1785. The concluding chapters on the legend of the society's connection with the French Revolution as embodied in such better known works as Barruel's *Memoirs*, Haller's *Restoration of Political Science*, and George Sand's *Countess of Rudolstadt* are perhaps of most interest to the general historical student. In other respects the writer's more than German fidelity to detail in many chapters makes heavy reading for any but the special student of related phases of the eighteenth century. Even this group would willingly have exempted the author from the self-imposed and thankless task of compressing into sixty pages a summary of the thousands of pages devoted by Weishaupt, the founder of the Illuminati, to his befuddled ideas on morals, education, politics, and the philosophy of secret societies.

Adam Weishaupt was a professor at the University of Ingolstadt. His education was a combination of fifteen years of training by the Jesuits and untrammelled reading of eighteenth-century rationalism in the library of his patron and godfather. Through the favor of his patron this pushing, pedantic young bookworm was rapidly advanced in academic rank. He quarrelled with his patron, and fell foul of the university authorities and his Jesuit colleagues. He sought support and satisfaction for his lust of power by forming in 1776 a secret society whose objects were "the moral perfection of man and the happiness of humanity". Its framework and its principle that the end justifies the means were a combination of what was known of the Jesuits and what was attributed to them. The chief obligations were secrecy, obedience, and study. The novitiates did prescribed reading, handed in note-books, and wrote essays in the field they elected for special study. The order sought industriously to form libraries, chiefly by stealing from other collections. Only a few close associates knew the name of the founder. All others than the original five supposed they were joining a very ancient and super-secret organization that could forward any selfish ambition that they cherished. Weishaupt was so busy writing letters, examining note-books and essays, so limited in funds, leisure, and organizing ability that he could not formulate the ritual for more than two degrees. There was a serious halt in the process of transmuting the initiates' stimulated egoism into a great humanitarian, philosophic impulse to reform the world and master the ultimate truth known only to the faithful in higher degrees not yet formulated. Although the society accepted youths of fifteen and sought industriously to interest those who had place and wealth, it had a membership of only about seventy-five two years after its foundation. The aims laid down in its ritual but thinly covered its actual hostility to clericalism and even religion. It was really a league of the friends of

free thought. It was a natural product of a youthful and academic and middle-class reaction against the bigoted and clerical régime in Bavarian politics and education at the close of the eighteenth century. It represented a phase of the struggle between the *Aufklärung* and obscurantism.

The Illuminati, however, seemed doomed to futility or extinction when, through the divided and demoralized condition of Freemasonry in Germany, there was opened up to them the possibility of grafting Illuminism on the older and much more numerous organization. Weishaupt had at first opposed Masonry but finally joined, hoping he might get some ideas for the formulation of his own higher degrees. Other Illuminati were already members or joined and the new order was well on the way to the conquest of one of the three weak lodges in Munich when they won a powerful recruit in Baron Knigge, a North German courtier, statesman, writer, man of the world, and a discontented Freemason. Knigge had a talent for organization and negotiation. After having forced Weishaupt to confess that he was bankrupt in ability to devise new degrees or vital activities for the Illuminati, Knigge practically took over the direction of that society. He formed an alliance with eclectic Masonry and created by fusion Illuminated Freemasonry. At its apogee in 1782-1784 the Illuminati, as founded by Weishaupt, had perhaps 650 members. Estimates of a membership of 2500 are exaggerations even if one include the lodges of Illuminated Freemasons in Austria, Bavaria, the Rhine Valley, Lower Saxony, and the Saxon duchies. The roll of distinguished members of Illuminated Freemasonry, even if some were indifferent, includes Goethe, Herder, Pestalozzi, Bode, Montgelaß, Dalberg, the elder Metternich, Stadion, Kolowrat, Cobenzl, and the dukes of Brunswick, Saxe-Gotha, and Saxe-Weimar. Active efforts to enlist Schiller, Nicolai, and Lavater failed.

Knigge and Weishaupt quarrelled just at the height of the fusion organization. The Ingolstadt professor triumphed and Knigge withdrew. The author having followed somewhat uncritically Knigge's own account of his dominance and activities gives no adequate explanation of this unexpected result. The triumph was a brief one for the days of tribulation were at hand. The Elector Karl Theodor, aroused by his confessor, the ex-Jesuit, Father Franck, and by the Dowager Electress, Maria Anna, abolished secret societies in Bavaria in June, 1784. Illuminated Freemasonry apparently yielded but hoped to weather the storm. A second decree and the ensuing investigations in 1785 and 1786 gave the death blow to Illuminism, ten years after its foundation.

Weishaupt, who had seen the gathering storm, improvised an excuse for early flight by the easy expedient of a quarrel in faculty meeting with the librarian at Ingolstadt for not ordering books he desired for his classes. The faculty, strange to say, sided with the librarian, but the faculty were chiefly ex-Jesuits and the book was Bayle's dictionary. Weishaupt ultimately became a pensioner of the Duke of Saxe-Gotha. The illegal and fanatical prosecution of his followers by the Bavarian

government would have allowed him to play the martyr with more grace if letters seized by the police had not shown him conniving at abortion in the case of his dead wife's sister. Weishaupt died in 1830 having spent a broken old age in a futile effort to justify himself. The only concession from Bavaria was the education of his sons for the army, a small pension after 1808, and non-resident membership in the Munich Academy. These favors came by the grace of his former disciple, Montgelas, now the chief minister of the Elector Max Joseph.

Illuminism or rather Illuminated Freemasonry was born without a clear, practicable purpose. It committed suicide through the tendency of its younger and more radical members to boast of power and to talk too loudly of religion and politics in a land as unprogressive and obscurant as Bavaria at the close of the eighteenth century. It seemingly laid itself open to the charge of having chosen the wrong side, the Austrian, in the Austro-Prussian struggle over the Bavarian succession between 1778 and 1785. It is this latter point as an explanation of the Dowager Electress's hostility that the archival material makes clearer.

One other point, although not ignored, could have been made clearer by M. Le Forestier. It is the opposition between the Illuminati and the Rosicrucians. Wöllner and the Rosicrucians who embodied the mystical, vaguely religious, and somewhat orthodox tendency of the eighteenth century were hostile to Illuminism, which was more nearly allied with the century's rationalistic, anti-clerical, anti-religious, and French philosophic tendencies.

GUY STANTON FORD.

*Modern Germany and her Historians.* By ANTOINE GUILLAND, Professor of History, École Polytechnique Suisse. (New York: McBride, Nast, and Company. 1915. Pp. 360.)

THE European War has had some strange and unexpected by-products, which at least have the merit of being bloodless. One of these has been the undertaking of a translation of Treitschke's *History of Germany in the Nineteenth Century*, a more purely parochial and super-partizan history than even that of Froude. On the other hand no publisher, as far as I am aware, has thought of bringing out a translation of the immeasurably more scientific and scholarly *History of Europe* by Stern, which would be most gratefully received by the judicious. However, we shall take what is given to us, with whatever emotion is appropriate to the individual gift. In the case of Guilland's book on the historians of modern Germany the emotion is entirely pleasurable. This work was first published in 1899, long before the fumes of perfervid patriotism arose to distort perspective in criticism. It ought to be read by every teacher or writer of history and pondered precept upon precept and line upon line, so full of warning is it as to the pitfalls that lie in wait for the historical student and the dangers that compass him about and

which have engulfed several notable persons in ways here liberally set forth.

Guilland studies at length five of the historians of modern Germany, Niebuhr, Ranke, Mommsen, Sybel, and Treitschke and touches upon some of the others, like Droysen and Häusser. He describes the conditions under which the five historians labored and appraises their works according to their scientific value, their literary character, and their political importance. He is impartial in his judgments, substantiating praise and blame by good and sufficient reasons. He has an admirable literary sense and gives us discriminating and sometimes very penetrating analyses of the merits of his authors as stylists and artists. But the chief content of the book, by far its most significant and useful feature, is his treatment of the relations between the historical writings and the politics of Germany, the contribution of German, and particularly of Prussian, historians to the making of the German Empire, their share in the work of unification. His treatment of this theme is instructive and impressive. From Ranke, the most objective and dispassionate of historians, to Treitschke, the most subjective and passionate, is a far cry. It is interesting to trace the steps in the process of deterioration, a deterioration that is not obscured by the brilliancy and glow of Treitschke's literary art. Ranke's first service was, as Gooch has said, "to divorce the study of the past from the passions of the present, and to relate what actually occurred". Treitschke, on the other hand, avows in the preface of the fifth volume of his *History* that history should be written "regardless (*rücksichtslos*) with anger and passion" and he says in one of his letters: "To be called an impartial historian is a reputation for which I have no aspirations; to ask that of me is impossible. . . . That anaemic objectivity, moreover, is surely contrary to true historical sense." There he is, caught in the one unpardonable sin for the historian, and glorying in it! In comparison with that, all other offenses possible for him are venial. Emphatically progress does not lie that way for history, either as a science or as an art.

For a long while, says Guilland, "we have regarded the Germans as the most impartial of historians. We were mistaken. Their learning deceived us." However magnificent the work of investigation, however vast the erudition, these can be vitiated and largely nullified with the greatest ease by the intrusion of partizanship, personal predilections and aversions, temerarious theories of class, racial, national superiorities, confident generalizations as to the psychologies of peoples. The merit of Guilland's book is that where the author finds these elements in the literature he is discussing he calls them by their right names. His study of Sybel, which should be read in full, may be cited in evidence. Sybel spent twenty years on his French Revolution, making unwearied researches in the archives of Paris, London, Brussels, the Hague, and Berlin, and he produced five volumes incorporating this material. But he incorporated a great deal else that was merely personal to himself,



that did not inhere in the documents, and he wrote with an avowed political purpose, namely the extinction of the maleficent "French ideas" of 1789 among his countrymen. The result was only a transient and local success as an historian.

Prussian historiography, under Droysen, Sybel, and Treitschke, tended to become Prussian hagiography, a very different thing. As the tendencies illustrated by these writers are besetting sins not in Prussia alone it is well for the members of the craft everywhere to take to heart the lesson of this book.

It is to be regretted that the publishers, in giving us this translation of Guiland, have omitted his valuable bibliography. They might have given us that or, better still, a completer one, indicating the contributions of the past fifteen years to the subject.

CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN.

*Sei Anni e Due Mesi della Mia Vita: Memorie e Documenti Inediti.*

Per EDUARDO FABBRI. A cura di NAZZARENO TROVANELLI.  
(Rome: C. A. Bontempelli. 1915. Pp. cxcviii, 544.)

EDUARDO FABBRI of Cesena (born 1778, died 1853) was one of the representative men of his epoch and country, an epoch of conspiracy and of struggle for constitutional government, in a country where liberal aspirations and freedom of speech were relentlessly suffocated under the despotism of the temporal power of the pope and the sempiternal menace of foreign intervention from that indefatigable champion of absolutism in Europe—Austria. The political figure of Fabbri in the times of Pio VII. has been heretofore left almost completely in obscurity by historians of the Risorgimento. It was perhaps neither surprising nor of consequence that a hasty writer such as Bolton King in his *History of Italian Unity* should not refer to Fabbri's activities as one of the most influential political conspirators against papal government in the Romagna, or to his subsequent long years of imprisonment—although contemporary papal police authorities had characterized him as "director and dominator" of the secret political societies of his day; but it has been manifestly unjust that in an Italian work of repute, such as Enrico Poggi's *Storia d'Italia, 1814-1846*, Fabbri should not be mentioned. It is true that a man's place in history depends much upon his posthumous luck in finding an able, conscientious, and painstaking biographer; and some men attempt to forestall the capricious errors of historical fate by writing their own memoirs—but if they leave them for posthumous publication, as did Fabbri, even though their recollections be wise and pleasing, much again must depend upon the fortuitous action of heirs and editors. Fabbri, who was a man of letters as well as a political figure, has received his just place in the history of literature in Guido Mazzoni's authoritative *Otto Cento*, but his personal memoirs, which are biographically and politically his most important work, *Sei*

*Anni e Due Mesi della Mia Vita*, are not even mentioned by Mazzoni, nor has their existence become generally known until quite recently.

But if Fabbri has waited long for his posthumous fame, he could hardly have desired better fortune than has finally come to him in the person of Nazzareno Trovanelli as his editor and biographer. Trovanelli belongs to that modern school of Italian historians of the last thirty years, of which the Risorgimento period of history has given so many devoted adherents—men of severe historical method and sterling honesty of historical purpose, endowed with the maximum zeal for research and the minimum of personal and party prejudice, modest in their work and free from the haste that inevitably accompanies greed of gain in authorship. Luigi Chiala and Alessandro d'Ancona were among the most distinguished earlier representatives of this school—they have been followed by Vittorio Fiorini, Alessandro Luzio, Luigi Rava, Francesco Ruffini, Mario Menghini, and many others of equally conspicuous ability and sound historical method. Trovanelli is a lesser light in this group; his previous Risorgimento publications have been distinguished rather for their quality than for their bulk, and they have been principally of local interest, as his *Cesena dal 1796 al 1859* (vol. I, Cesena, 1906); but it is precisely his local knowledge which has made Trovanelli an ideal editor of the Fabbri memoirs. He was himself for many years keeper of the Archivio Storico Notarile di Cesena, and his previous historical work had familiarized him with the material in several other archives; furthermore he has been able to examine and use freely the records of the famous Rivarola trial, in which by one sentence about five hundred subjects of the pope were condemned as political offenders, including Fabbri, who received a life term of imprisonment. The records of this trial were long considered as irreparably lost, and when at length their existence in the R. Archivio di Stato in Rome became known, they were jealously withheld from historians. Trovanelli has been the first who has been allowed to see them, and he has published in the second appendix to the present volume the complete reports of Fabbri's own depositions preserved in the records of the great trial.

The volume is arranged so as to constitute a complete biography of Fabbri. His *Sci Anni e Due Mesi*, 1825–1831, occupy the body of the work and are followed by the depositions just mentioned, and by an uncompleted account of the revolution of 1831 also by him; Trovanelli has prefixed an introduction giving in two hundred pages Fabbri's life down to 1825, and has appended supplementary chapters continuing his life from 1831 to 1853; furthermore Trovanelli has greatly added to the value of Fabbri's text by furnishing numerous critical and explanatory notes.

Fabbri, who had been convicted as a *carbonaro* and an instigator of rebellion, wrote his memoirs confessedly (p. 270) to prove his own innocence and to clear his honor. The purpose of their composition and the

length of time that elapsed between the occurrence of the first events narrated, and their narration—the manuscript bears the date of 1838—might lead one to suspect the trustworthiness of the memoirs. On the contrary, wherever it is possible to test in them the accuracy of Fabbri's statements, one finds him truthful. The appended depositions are of particular value in these tests; whatever in the memoirs he claims to have deposed in the course of his judicial examinations, we find here substantiated, being faithfully recorded in these reports of his inquisitors now for the first time published. And *vice versa*, the memoirs, by this same comparison, prove that the papal inquisitors did not garble the depositions of their prisoners. But the depositions themselves must of course be used with much caution, as in them the prisoner naturally sought to save himself before his judges.

The memoirs are of the first importance as evidence upon contemporary conditions in the Papal States, upon papal methods of administering justice, upon the secret societies of the Romagne, etc. It is noteworthy that the inquisitors, and even Cardinal Rivarola himself, refused to confront Fabbri with any of those who had borne false witness against him (pp. 32, 35, 49) and refused to call witnesses in his favor whom he requested (pp. 35-36). One of the important revelations of the volume is the fact that the proposed revolution in the Romagne of 1820 was planned to precede, not to follow, those of Naples and Turin (pp. 343-344). Trovanelli's description of the organization of the secret societies (pp. clx ff.) is excellent. But his attempts to defend some of the imprisoned conspirators—notably Maroncelli—from charges of having betrayed their companions (pp. 26, clxxvii) are not successful.

As a personal defense, Fabbri's memoirs may be said to be convincing with regard to his not having belonged to secret societies subsequently to 1815, but in judging him by his own testimony one must conclude that the papal government was right in suspecting him to have been an instigator of rebellion—although it lacked the evidence sufficient to convict him honestly and legally. Fabbri exhibits notable fair-mindedness in his appreciation of Cardinal Rivarola (p. 96), who is represented here as much less of a fiend than history has hitherto depicted him. The depositions printed by Trovanelli from the trial which bears the cardinal's name, emphasize the necessity for the historian that its entire records be speedily opened to the student. A comparison between its evidence and that of the Lombard trials would be of great importance. Trovanelli's surmise is probably correct, that of this trial there was never printed the usual official summary because in the evidence brought out in the trial the Tuscan minister, Fossombroni, was implicated in intrigues to overthrow the pope's temporal power in the north, in order to obtain the annexation of the Romagne to Tuscany.

Numerous typographical errors mar the volume; they are probably due to Trovanelli's lamented death, which occurred while the sheets were passing through the press.

*A History of the Third French Republic.* By C. H. C. WRIGHT, Professor of the French Language and Literature, Harvard University. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1916. Pp. 206.)

THIS volume is a history of the Third Republic from its proclamation to the outbreak of the present war. There is a preliminary chapter on the antecedents of the Franco-Prussian War, followed by an account of that war itself. This is one of those books which it is much easier to read than to write. For the author of a brief book on an important subject must meet and solve many formidable and refractory problems. His analytical power and his power of presentation are tested with a severity and a peremptoriness they would not have to encounter in the same degree if displayed on a more liberal scale. For it is essential in such a narrative to present the complex simply and at the same time leave in the reader's mind the sense of complexity. Only thus is a faithful impression of the reality produced. How to combine condensation with the suggestion of spaciousness, how to unite interest with proper proportion, how to keep the main stream of development unobstructed and yet at the same time to reveal the existence of numerous tributaries, each with an individuality of its own, how to use broad strokes and yet produce the requisite shading, these are the questions that confront the author of a compendious history. To condense, to condense still more, and always to condense, this is the first commandment, and the others are like unto it. Yet life and movement must not be sacrificed, for history is the record of the quick, not of the dead.

The author of this volume has shown his possession of the qualities requisite for this type of writing. It is difficult to see how a book of this scope could be more instructive, more readable, or more impartial. The author shows clearly the various stages of the republic's progress from conservatism to an increasing radicalism. He is not bewildered by the multiplicity of rapidly shifting ministries but he perceives and indicates the significance of the tendencies and achievements of the most important of them, and of some that, at first blush, seem of little importance. While he does not enter into the minutiae of party development he enables us to understand what the successive cleavages meant. He gives us excellent and discriminating summaries of such episodes as the Commune, the making of a republican constitution by a monarchical assembly, the Panama, Boulanger, and Dreyfus affairs, the colonial expansion, the struggles of Church and State, the recent growth of pacifism, synchronous with the rise of socialism. He paints a series of interesting and lifelike portraits, necessarily miniatures, of Gambetta, Thiers, Chambord, MacMahon, Grévy, Ferry, Carnot, Casimir-Périer, Faure, Waldeck-Rousseau, Combes, Clemenceau, and Briand. He makes clear the causes and the process of the rise of the Dual Alliance.

Speaking of the present conflict Professor Wright says:

So far as the outbreak of the war in 1914 is concerned, France stands with a clear conscience. She had nothing to do with the disputes between Austria and Serbia, or between Austria, Germany, and Russia. Once war proved inevitable France faithfully accepted the responsibilities of the Russian alliance. Against France, Germany was an open aggressor. Germany's strategic plans for the quick annihilation of France, before attacking Russia, are well known to the world. Everybody is aware how scrupulously France avoided every hostile measure, and, during the critical days preceding the war, withdrew all troops ten kilometres from the frontier to prevent a clash. The Germans were obliged, in order to justify their advance, to invent preposterous tales of bombs dropped by aeroplanes near Nuremberg or of the violation of Belgian neutrality by French officers in automobiles. France had no idea of invading Belgium. All the French strategic plans aimed at the protection of the direct frontier, and they were dislocated by the dishonest move of Germany through Belgium.

CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN.

*The German Empire between Two Wars: a Study of the Political and Social Development of the Nation between 1871 and 1914.*

By ROBERT HERNDON FIFE, JR., Professor in Wesleyan University. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1916. Pp. xiv, 400.)

PROFESSOR FIFE'S *The German Empire between Two Wars* owes its title, but little else, to the outbreak of the present European conflagration. The book was conceived in times of peace, and in its chapters the war receives only incidental mention. Much that is said, however, is given special point by the events of the past two years and by the situation in which the empire, as a belligerent nation, now finds itself.

The author's purpose has been to subject to close scrutiny the external and internal history of Germany since 1871, with a view to ascertaining the reasons for the contrast between "the progress of the nation along economic lines and its arrest in political and social development". That such a contrast exists, and that it has aroused speculation in many minds, is an indubitable fact. In the earlier portions of Mr. Fife's book one, however, gets a somewhat exaggerated impression of the magnitude of this disparity. For, after all, economic growth and social progress are inextricably bound up together, and there has been in Germany an arrest of, at the most, only certain aspects of social development; while even the political situation has undergone substantial alteration, notwithstanding the insignificance of structural changes. In fairness it must be said that in the body of his book Mr. Fife corrects his too dogmatic prefatory statements in this connection.

The volume falls into four parts. In the first there is a review of the empire's foreign relations during forty-three years, together with a characterization of the nation's ambitions abroad as they have developed

in recent times under the influence of population growth, industrial expansion, and international competition for markets. German diplomacy is characterized as, in general, vacillating and inferior to the diplomacy of other states, and the German masses are affirmed to be measurably responsible for the sabre-rattling and the bumptiousness which have impaired the favor with which the German name is regarded. But it is maintained that the inferiority of the German periodical press and the limited use in other countries of the German language have usually prevented the German side of international controversies from being properly presented to the world; and it is conceded that, in view of the populational and industrial conditions that have arisen in the empire, the determination to acquire sea-power, colonies, naval posts—in short, the much-talked-of “place in the sun”—has been natural, inevitable, and justifiable. In view of the decline of the birth-rate, the almost complete cessation of emigration, the phenomenally rapid growth of German foreign trade in the past two decades, and the large room left for development on existing lines, the empire's necessity seems to the reviewer less compelling than it is represented by the author to have been.

The second part of the volume is devoted to government and parties; the third to a group of contemporary national problems, *i. e.*, the Proletarian in Politics, the Church in Politics, the Administration of Alsace-Lorraine, and the Polish Question; and the fourth to Transformations and Tendencies, in municipal affairs, in education, and in public opinion as affected by the press. The book is one of no slight merit. It is not, and it does not purport to be, a treatise abounding in hitherto unknown facts or in novel interpretations. The threads which the author follows wind through familiar fields. None the less, the essentials of later German development are somewhat fully and very accurately described, in a style which, without being conspicuous, is fresh, vigorous, and acceptable. And it should be added that certain chapters, *e. g.*, those devoted to the Polish question and the issues of State and Church in the schools, comprise perhaps the best brief discussions of the subjects of which they treat to be had in English. Statistics are presented very sparingly, and there are practically no citations of authorities. Since the book is designed to engage the interest of the general reader, these aspects of it are perhaps justifiable. But space should have been found for a selected bibliography.

FREDERIC AUSTIN OGG.

*The Diplomacy of the Great War.* By ARTHUR BULLARD. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1916. Pp. xiv, 344.)

THIS interesting and suggestive volume is described in the preface as an attempt to provide an introductory text-book for a “first-year course in European diplomacy”. The author claims for it the “same relation to a treatise on diplomacy that a high school ‘algebra’ has to a text-book in ‘celestial mechanics’”.

The reviewer, however, has not found *The Diplomacy of the Great War* particularly useful even as an auxiliary text for the class room. For this purpose he greatly prefers Gibbons's *New Map of Europe*, which contains a more coherent body of facts couched in narrative form and illustrated by a more intimate knowledge of events.

The book is divided into four parts. The first book attempts to give the historical background of the war in eight chapters. Instead of beginning with the treaty of Frankfort or the year 1870 (as he should), the author opens with the Congress of Berlin (1878) about which he tells us some interesting things, but fails to indicate what was really accomplished there. He then leads us through the Europe of Bismarck and the Resurrection of France to the formation of the Entente Cordiale, the Algeciras Crisis, and Eight Years of Tension preceding the Fatal Year.

These chapters contain much keen and incisive observation and reveal considerable knowledge and even insight. The chapter on *Das Deutschtum* may aid us in understanding that marvellous quality of the contemporary German mind which apparently consists, ideally speaking, in knowing everything and understanding nothing.

In his account of affairs Moroccan, Mr. Bullard unfortunately follows M6rel—a mere disaffected political pamphleteer—too closely and confidently. One would think that our present difficulties in Mexico might enable an American to appreciate more sympathetically the task of the French in Morocco.

Book II., on the New Elements of Diplomacy, contains four good chapters on the Rights of Nations, Dollar Diplomacy, the Colonial World, and the Growth of Public Opinion. On all these topics there are bright and suggestive comments which whet the reader's appetite for more, but leave a sense of inadequacy of treatment.

Book III., on the Liquidation of this War, includes interesting chapters on the Military Outcome, Diplomatic Tactics, Division of the Spoils, the Fate of Turkey, etc., which are frankly hypothetical or tentative. From the text-book standpoint we should willingly exchange these speculations for more solid information.

Book IV., on the United States and Europe, contains much needed discussions of our National Policy, National Defense, etc. In these chapters the author exhibits himself as a somewhat naïve, timid, and provincial American with the customary illusions, prejudices, and limitations of Pan-Americanism.

The volume contains a critical bibliography which shows that Mr. Bullard has read widely and deeply on the causes of the war. The value of this bibliography is somewhat lessened by the failure, in most cases, to mention the time and place of publication. From the academic and pedagogic points of view, the value of the book as a whole is somewhat vitiated by the failure, in many instances, to give precise and definite information. For example, in his brief account of the Fashoda affair

(on pp. 47-48), the author fails to mention the date, and merely speaks of Fashoda as a "little mud village" on the Nile.

If Mr. Bullard has failed to produce a satisfactory text-book (his mode of treatment being much too subjective or impressionistic), he has succeeded in writing a very entertaining and stimulative volume. In the main he seems to have succeeded in his effort to be impartial. Though he confesses to a very definite "fondness for France", he leans backward rather than forward in his treatment of Moroccan affairs. If there is any failure of impartiality it is in his dealing with things British; against that nation he at times appears to harbor a secret grudge or antipathy. This may be because of his somewhat provincial Americanism, or it is perhaps because he has made too much use of Clapp's *Economic Aspects of the War*—a very biassed statement of the diplomatic controversy between the United States and Great Britain during the first year of the war.

The pro-German will doubtless say that Mr. Bullard shows an anti-German bias, but his finding that the outbreak of the war was due to an unsuccessful bluff for prestige on Germany's part is in accord with the views of most unbiassed neutral observers. On the basis of pro-German admissions and the evidence before us, he could hardly have come to any other conclusion. The jury which renders a verdict of guilty of murder in the first degree need not answer to a charge of bias.

AMOS S. HERSHEY.

#### BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

*Storia degli Stati Uniti dell' America del Nord (1492-1914)*. Per VITO GARRETTO. (Milan: Ulrico Hoepli. 1916. Pp. xix, 505.)

THIS book is intended for the Italian public, not primarily for the Italian in this country. It is in many ways a pioneer venture. The author knows of but six previous accounts of our history in Italian, two of them translations. The only Italian work, aside from some studies of the explorers, which has deserved notice in this country, has been the admirable study of the Revolution by Botta. Yet interest in the United States is widespread among Italians of all classes. Those who have connections among immigrants are numerous, and others have exhibited a lively curiosity as to our political and educational systems, the position of women, inventions, Indians, and other unusual features of our life. The author has appreciated this interest, and has shared in it. He believes that Italian readers can best be initiated into American history by an Italian, and he has deliberately and carefully prepared himself for the task. He has visited America, and he has read broadly in American historical literature and sources. His choice of historical works, which is shown by a bibliography and voluminous notes, is not particularly discriminating, but at least includes representative books of all classes. Of sources, he has wisely taken those that



illustrate the spirit of the nation, rather than such as would enable him to make detailed contributions on particular points.

From this preparation he has evolved, not indeed an interpretive work such as Bryce did for us, or Bodley for France, but at least a thoroughly digested story of American development, very far above the patchwork quilts which many, even of our own writers, spread to catch the patriotic dollar. There are, of course, many crass errors which even the unintelligent American would avoid, as that Buchanan favored the slave-trade, that the Thirteenth Amendment was illegally adopted, and the like. The author confuses the compromises of 1820 and 1850, invents a treaty provision with England in 1850, and the typesetter frequently uses *w* for *v*; it would be better for those of his Italian readers who may read further on the United States had he used American terms rather than the Italian equivalent, as House of Representatives instead of *Camera dei Deputati*. Yet the outlines are soundly in place, and if we look to grasp and maturity of judgment, the book deserves to rank well with the best of our one-volume histories.

It offers to the Italian of to-day a story of which Americans need not be ashamed. While there is criticism, there is none of that patronizing aloofness which characterizes most English and recent German works. The author is frankly puzzled by certain subtleties of American intellect and interests. He cannot understand how one so fervently attached as Stonewall Jackson to the religion of the loving prophet of Nazareth could fail to discern the iniquity of the slavery cause, nor how a Confederacy founded to defend slavery could prohibit the slave-trade. He is violently anti-slavery, but seems free from party or sectional bias. His account of Reconstruction is a good example of a detachment which does not prevent sympathy. The proportion of space given to the period extending to the end of the Revolution is greater than that which Americans now give to it, and this means that many phases of our life which seem to us to be of interest are neglected. In fact, the period from the Revolution to the Civil War is scantily treated, but the narrative at that point regains its vigor, which it retains to the end, the middle of the Wilson administration. Naturally certain points interesting to Italians are emphasized, particularly the offer of a major-generalship to Garibaldi. The discussion of Italian immigration reveals deep feeling, especially in its demonstration of the part the Irish have played in American life.

Particularly interesting to Americans is the closing chapter on the American intellect. The author finds this preponderantly Anglo-Saxon, with an independent development from the time of Elizabeth. He discusses jurisprudence, theology and religion, literature and art. Of science he says that it has been practical, that if the Americans had never existed, science would have progressed equally, but humanity would not have had all the machines it possesses. The most important characteristic of American life he finds to be the loving and careful devotion

which Americans give to educational problems. Although he calls attention to the fact that American scholastic emblems depict a youth, not with a book in his hand, but in gymnastic costume, he nevertheless concludes that a nation which is so solicitous for the education of its sons, and those of its guests, has before it a glorious future.

The style is simple and direct, and the shortness of space has not led to absence of color. Particularly good are the characterizations of men, which are both lively and sensible.

CARL RUSSELL FISH.

*Spanish Mission Churches of New Mexico.* By L. BRADFORD PRINCE, President of the Historical Society of New Mexico. (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: The Torch Press. 1915. Pp. 373.)

GOVERNOR PRINCE'S book deals with a section of the United States whose recorded history commences with the year 1539, when Fray Marcos of Niza visited and took possession of the country for the Spanish crown. Subsequent expeditions to the close of the sixteenth century came in fairly rapid succession, and all had more or less in view the dual object of conquest by cross and sword. Thus was Christianization of the southwestern natives begun by Franciscans nearly seven decades before the founding of Jamestown; hence, in being the scene of practically continuous missionary activity for almost four centuries, New Mexico is unique in the annals of the religious history of the United States.

At the outset the author summarizes the history of the Franciscan missions of California and that of the early exploration and colonization of New Mexico, with the resultant missions founded in the latter province. A chapter is devoted to the general history of missionary labors in New Mexico, which were definitely commenced when Coronado left the country in 1542, and another chapter to the Pueblo Indian rebellion of 1680, which resulted in the destruction of the mission and the murder or flight of all the Spanish friars, followed by the conquest twelve years later and the rebuilding of the churches chiefly on other sites.

The churches of Santa Fé are first considered *in extenso*, beginning with that of San Francisco, which superseded an insignificant chapel during the custodianship of Benavides, who went to New Mexico in 1622, not 1626 as the author states (p. 73). This adobe church, which was practically destroyed by the Indians in 1680 and rebuilt in 1713-1714, still exists as a part of the present cathedral. The oldest church in Santa Fé, however, is that of San Miguel, built evidently at the time of the founding of the town by Oñate in 1605. It likewise was partly destroyed by the Pueblo Indians in their great revolt, but was restored by Governor Vargas in 1693-1694, and in 1710 was rebuilt. Other churches in Santa Fé dating back at least a century—of which there were eight, including three family chapels—are adequately described

and illustrated. Indeed, sixty-seven pages of the book are devoted to the more or less ancient ecclesiastical edifices of Santa Fé alone.

In this brief review we cannot follow the author in his summary of the history of the various missions established among the Pueblo tribes, as he describes each of twenty-three churches that still exist or which existed during the early period of the Franciscan labors. More modern than some of these are the Spanish churches at Santa Cruz (founded 1695), Albuquerque (1706), and Chimayó (1816), to each of which a chapter is given. The final pages are appropriately devoted to a brief account of the Penitentes, a survival of the Third Order of Saint Francis, now happily less active than formerly, owing to discouragement by the Catholic Church.

Altogether, Governor Prince's *Spanish Churches of New Mexico* is a welcome addition to the recent better books pertaining to the history of New Mexico. By drawing on many of the best sources the author has avoided practically all the pitfalls of various earlier writers on the subject of missionary labors in the Southwest, and although the book is avowedly popular it will afford adequate information on one of the most interesting phases of the early history of our country.

In treating a subject in which the liability to err is so great, it would be surprising were we not able to point to a few blemishes. By far the chief sin of omission is the lack of an index, while a list of the chief works on the subject would likewise have been useful. On pages 79, 80, 350, we find Gerónimo de la Llama for Llana. The location of the Capilla Castrense on the "west" side of the plaza at Santa Fé (p. 127) is a slip for the *southern* side. Although Fray Gerónimo de Zárate Salmerón manifested great zeal among various Pueblo Indians, there is no evidence that he was "appointed head" of the Franciscan labors in New Mexico as stated on page 183. It is hardly proper to speak of the San Diego church at the Jemez pueblo of Gyúsiwa as the Jemez mission (pp. 180, 183), as there were at least three missions among these Indians; and it is misleading to say that Sandia is the only pueblo besides Laguna "that has been established since the arrival of the Spaniards" (p. 187; cf. p. 189), as many other pueblos were abandoned or destroyed during the revolt and subsequently re-established on other sites. The author confuses Ácoma (Acus) and Hawikuh (Ahacus) on page 217. Silva Nieto did not accompany Letrado to Zuñi in 1629 (pp. 230-231), as may be learned by consulting the two *Relaciones* of Perea; and Letrado was killed not in 1630, but in 1632. San Juan is not "Caypa" pueblo (p. 283) but Ohke, while "Caypa" (Kah-po) is Santa Clara as mentioned on page 292. Pecos was not abandoned in 1840 (pp. 324, 328, 330), but two years earlier. The Tewa and Piro groups of tribes (pp. 335-336) are confused.

However, all these are more or less minor points. In the main the author has handled his subject well.

F. W. HODGE.

*Scandinavian Immigrants in New York, 1630-1674.* With Appendices on Scandinavians in Mexico and South America, 1532-1640; Scandinavians in Canada, 1619-1620; some Scandinavians in New York in the Eighteenth Century; German Immigrants in New York, 1630-1674. By JOHN O. EVJEN, Ph.D., Professor of Church History, Augsburg Theological Seminary, Minneapolis, Minn. (Minneapolis: K. C. Holter Publishing Company, 1916. Pp. xxiv, 438.)

THIS is a contribution to the history of early immigration into the state of New York in the form of biographical articles on Scandinavian men and women who settled on Manhattan and in the Hudson valley prior to the final passing of the province of New Netherland under British control. The articles are alphabetically arranged in three separate groups and contain the names of fifty-seven Norwegians, ninety-seven Danes, and thirty-four Swedes; they are based on a careful study of printed primary sources and in spite of certain omissions may be said to give an adequate account of Scandinavian immigration into New Netherland outside of the distinctly Swedish colony on the Delaware River. Following the articles there is a "Retrospect", in which the author sums up the chief characteristics of the Scandinavian immigrants and indicates the part that may be attributed to them in shaping the early history of the state, especial emphasis being laid on the ready assimilation of the Scandinavians with the Dutch, their law-abiding character, their democratic tendencies, and their spirit of religious toleration. Both the biographies and the "Retrospect" make an impressive showing, which is likely to come as a surprise to those who have been accustomed to think of the population of New Netherland as being almost exclusively Dutch. In taking account of the total number of immigrants included in the biographies, it should be noted however that this number comprises not merely heads of families, but different members of the same families, and that not a few immigrants have been listed whose Scandinavian origin is open to doubt. Among these may be mentioned the names of Bent Bagge, Jan Pietersen Haring, Jacob Eldersen, and Teuntje Jeuriaens Slaghboom. Bagge is included among the Norwegians on account of his name, which Professor Evjen says was likely "Bakke". Judging however from his given name, which in the records is invariably written "Bent" (not "Bert" as printed by mistake in *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, XIII, 374, or "Bernt" as Professor Evjen spells it), he was probably a Frisian, unless, as seems not unlikely from the similarity of signatures and other facts, he must be identified with Benjamin, or "Bent" Roberts, and consequently held to be an Englishman. Jan Pietersen Haring is called a Dane, because "Haring is in Denmark", regardless of the fact that the settler's entire name is typically Dutch. Again, Jacob Eldersen from Lübeck is said to have been probably a Dane, for no other apparent reason than that "Danes

are numerous" at Lübeck, while Teuntje Slaghboom is regarded as "probably Danish", because her first husband, Jonas Bronck, was a Dane and because the syllables "Slag" and "bom" occur in Danish proper names. On this slender basis, the author devotes to Teuntje two pages of biography and even adds an account of her second husband, Arent van Curler, illustrated with facsimiles of his signature and an extract from the *Van Rensselaer Bowier Manuscripts*. This tendency to enlarge on matters which at best are only remotely related to the Scandinavian immigrants is also evident in other places, as on page 259, where in connection with the marriage of Marritje Pieters to Jan Jacobsen of Vrelandt, the author inserts the text and a facsimile of a contract concerning her supposed brother-in-law Cornelis Jacobsen of Mertensdyk, although it is by no means certain that this colonist was the same person as her real brother-in-law, Cornelis Jacobsen of Vrelandt, alias Stille.

It may further be said that while the author assures us that he has "endeavored to leave no stone unturned in order to obtain all the facts possible relative to the history of the immigrants", a number of doubtful points might have been settled by reference to unprinted sources of New York history, among others, that Volckert Jansen [Douw] came from Friedrichstadt in Schleswig-Holstein, and not from Fredrikstad in Norway, as shown by his commission as lieutenant, dated November 1, 1667, in which he is called "van Stapelholme". It is also to be regretted that the author, with his unusual qualifications for the task, has made no attempt to trace more thoroughly the underlying causes of the Scandinavian emigration to this country, or at least, by means of a chronological arrangement, to indicate the general current of that emigration.

Aside from these limitations, the biographies are full and satisfactory, the only important omissions among the names being those of Jan Thomassen from Wittbek and Casper Jacobsen from Hollenbek. Of the minor errors that have been noticed, suffice it to point out here that the book entitled Schultetus, *Dominicalia*, given among Bronck's library on page 175, is not a medical work by "a celebrated surgeon at Ulm", but a devotional work, probably by Abraham Schultetus; also, that "Crietgen Christians", on page 184, is a mistake for "Grietgen Christiaens", and consequently refers to a woman, who has nothing to do with Christiaan Christiaensen; also, that "Rachel Vynen", on page 293, refers undoubtedly to Rachel Vigne, and not to a woman from the island of Fyen, or Fünen, Denmark; that Jacob Jansen Stoll, mentioned on page 261, was certainly not the son of Jan Jacobsen of Vrelandt, or Stille; and that Zürichsee, Switzerland, on page 431, is a mistake for Ziericksee, province of Zeeland, Netherlands.

As regards the appendixes, which are mentioned in the title, little need be said. The first contains a brief account of four explorers who came to Mexico and South America; the second relates to the expedition of Captain Jens Munk to discover the "Northwest passage" to China;

the third contains a list of Scandinavian immigrants in New York in the eighteenth century, and the fourth a similar list of German immigrants between 1630 and 1674, which is useful but incomplete. The book is profusely illustrated with facsimiles of documents and contemporary views of Scandinavian cities, but most of them are poorly executed.

A. J. F. VAN LAER.

*Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1704-1705*, preserved in the Public Record Office. Edited by CECIL HEADLAM, M.A. (London: H. M. Stationery Office. 1916. Pp. xl, 807.)

A SPECIAL interest attaches itself to this volume of the *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*, because it is the first to be issued under the revised plan for the series adopted two or three years ago. At that time it was understood that all entries from the Board of Trade Journal and from the proceedings of colonial assemblies would be omitted and that all warrants and other formal records would be entered only by title. The volume before us shows that this plan has been duly carried out, and that thereby space enough has been gained to include the documents of two years without material loss to the student. Important papers, such as letters, petitions, instructions, representations, and the like still continue to be printed either in full or in abstract, though the absence of quotation marks renders it difficult at times to distinguish the character of the entry. Announcement is made that the Journal of the Board of Trade, a body which Mr. Headlam persists in calling the "Council of Trade", contrary to the practice of the board itself, "is now being issued as a separate publication", and we know that this publication is to begin with the year 1704, though eventually the earlier portions will be added.

Among the more than fifteen hundred items here listed, not counting the enclosures, there are several score that might well be made the subjects for extended comment. The period was one during which the authorities in England were feeling their way, under many difficulties of war and otherwise, toward a fairly definite policy of colonial management. Among the most important sections of the volume are those that exhibit the opinions of the Board of Trade and the crown lawyers upon colonial rights under the charters, upon matters of general colonial regulation, and upon the laws passed by the colonial legislatures. As early as 1705 the claim is put forward in New York that the assemblies in the colonies had all the privileges, powers, and authorities of the House of Commons, to which Cornbury replied, as did the Board of Trade fifty years later, that the holding of assemblies was "purely by the grace and favor of the Crown" and that the claim of privileges was an encroachment on the royal prerogative. Thus very early appears

this fundamental distinction between the colonial and the British points of view.

Other questions deserving examination concern naval stores, rights of appeal, illegal trade, habeas corpus, packet boats, the troubles of Jeronimy Clifford, the Mohegan and Quaker cases in Connecticut, the disallowance of the admiralty law in Rhode Island, Mason's claims in New Hampshire, the position of the Lower Counties in Pennsylvania, Penn's proposed sale of his province, the Newfoundland fishery and the establishment of justice in that island, the four-councillors quarrel in Barbadoes, the coinage proclamation of 1704 and the difficulties attending its enforcement in the colonies, and the famous conflict between Nicholson and Blair in Virginia, in which the former came off second best and the "Extra Twedians" or "Caledonians", as Nicholson called the Scotsmen, won one of many victories in their struggle to obtain standing and influence in the colonies. Of wider importance are the many problems raised by the war with France and Spain, the need of military defense by sea and by land, the difficulty of obtaining colonial co-operation, and the attitude and efficiency (or inefficiency) of the British admiralty and ordnance departments. Behind all is the general poverty, ignorance, and distress, political animosity and factiousness, and the widespread habit of fault-finding and complaint that characterized the period, and was due to the conditions of frontier life, the effects of the late insurrections, the quarrels with the proprietors, and the depressing influence of piracy, privateering, and war.

Mr. Headlam has been very successful in meeting the many difficult problems of calendaring that have arisen and his entries seem to be admirably done. In common with his predecessor he is apparently unaware that large numbers of documents from the Public Record Office have been printed in America elsewhere than in the New York collection, a series which for many years has been the only one officially recognized. An exception to this appears in the case of Gershom Bulkley's *Will and Doom*, the printing of which is mentioned in the preface, but the discovery was made too late to correct "Gresham" to "Gershom" in the body of the work. An illustration of the point is to be seen in the case of Penn's Charter of Liberties of 1701, which is here given verbatim, although it is one of our standard documents and has been printed a score of times. Mr. Headlam's statement that "to do some for him" is a phrase that might be taken for a "modern Americanism" is neither witty nor true and only betrays the persistence of a British habit; it might be met by the query whether the word "streighten" which Mr. Headlam uses in his preface is a misspelling or a modern Britishism. Among the curious words found in Nicholson's letters, the editor might have noted the extraordinary "Hypercondroicall".

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

*Travels in the American Colonies.* Edited under the auspices of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America by NEWTON D. MERENESS. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1916. Pp. vi, 693.)

THIS collection of travels, gathered from various repositories in England, France, and America, is composed of eighteen narratives, hitherto unpublished, of journeys made in colonial America from 1690 to 1780. Nine describe expeditions or missions among the Indians, three treat of the frontier, three of the back country, and three of the settled regions of the coast. But one concerns the West Indies, and that only in part. Taken as a whole, the narratives cover the territory east of the Mississippi, extending from the Great Lakes to the Gulf, and a diligent reading of them gives a vivid and detailed picture of colonial life and its environment, through nearly a century of time. I do not know of any single series of texts that makes so lavish a contribution to our knowledge of the personal and social side of colonial history, as do these narratives. They have a unique value to the scholar, and though a perusal of them is no task for a summer afternoon, some of them are certain to interest the general reader.

The first narrative, Potter's journal of a trip from Virginia to New England in 1690, is chiefly important as containing a Virginian's impressions of the Boston Puritans. D'Artaguiette's journal (1722-1723) records a tour up the Mississippi to the Illinois Country and back. The journals of Colonel Chicken (1726) and Captain Fitch (1726), and that of David Taitt (1772) deal with the Cherokees and Creeks respectively, and are invaluable as accounts of Indian negotiations and descriptions of Indian life and customs, and throw light at every point on the fur-trade. The report of Oglethorpe's ranger (1739-1742) has to do with an Indian assembly on the Chattahoochee and with campaigns against the Spaniards. Bonnefoy's narrative (1741-1742) describes the writer's captivity among the Cherokees and is presented with great charm of style, though perhaps some allowance should be made for the fact that we are reading the work in translation. Bonnefoy's account of the "Kingdom of Paradise" deserves a place among the famous Utopias. De Beauchamp's journal of life among the Choctaws (1746) is scarcely inferior to that of Bonnefoy. Stevens's journey to Canada (1752) is not specially important, but Lord Adam Gordon's narrative (1764-1765) of his long trip through the West Indies, the continental colonies, and Canada is a document of rare worth and significance.

Three of the narratives contain a record of Moravian travel from Pennsylvania to North Carolina and back, one, the earlier (1752), by the upper route through the Shenandoah, the others (1780) by the lower route east of the Blue Ridge. Hamburg's fragment (1763) concerns Detroit and the Lakes. Berkenhout's mission (1778), though hardly a "travel", covering only a trip from New York to Philadelphia and back,



is interesting as a British view of American affairs at a critical time. The last two of the series, Fleming's journals (1779-1780), recording two trips into central and northern Kentucky, deal with the earliest Kentucky settlements and present a sombre picture of cold, sickness, and frequent massacres. Fleming is one of the few writers who makes observations on the flora and fauna, meteorology, and geology of the region through which he passes. Every narrative, without exception, where the subject is mentioned, bears witness to the ruinous state of the British forts in America.

Dr. Mereness has done his work well, and has solved many difficult problems of identification. His annotations, however, seem to me somewhat uneven and capricious. The reader is not likely to have trouble with such abbreviations as "complt agt", here carefully extended, but is likely to be puzzled by "tabby work", "punchins", "schaw", "scoop", "half Goona's", and the like, which are not explained at all. The identification of Lord Adam Gordon could have been made more than "fairly complete" by reference to the *Georgia Gazette* of July 12, 1764, where the ship, the *Polly*, in which Gordon sailed to Antigua, is mentioned with Gordon on board. One or two minor points may be mentioned. Enfield is in Connecticut not Massachusetts. I doubt if Lord Fairfax's estate comprised anything like one-fourth of Virginia, and its location was in northwestern Virginia between the headwaters of the Rappahannock and the Potomac. Is Dr. Mereness quite certain that the act mentioned on page 405 is the Stamp Act? I should be inclined to consider it the Sugar Act.

The one thing that every one using this book will miss is a map. It almost seems as if one large folding map might have been contrived so as to show all the routes. But probably something of the kind was considered by the promoters of this volume, and rejected as impracticable.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

*Guide to the Materials for American History in Swiss and Austrian Archives.* By ALBERT B. FAUST, Professor of German, Cornell University. (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1916. Pp. x, 299.)

THIS book is of the utmost value for students of American history. Its origin is due to the Carnegie Institution of Washington, under whose auspices Professor Faust of Cornell University spent six months in the year 1913, investigating the archives of German Switzerland and Austria for all materials which relate to American history. The archives of the French cantons of Switzerland were examined and are described by Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, editor of the *Papers of the Department of Historical Research* published by the Carnegie Institution. The above work has been done in an exceedingly thorough and satisfactory manner and a whole field of sources of American history has now been made accessible.

The materials discovered by the authors are discussed under the three heads of Emigration, Diplomatic Correspondence, and Trade Relations. The relations between Austria and America were practically nil before the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, with the single exception of the well-known settlement of the Salzburgers in Georgia in 1734. Hence it naturally follows that by far the most valuable part of the book is that devoted to Switzerland. The subject of Swiss emigration to America, in early colonial times, is practically unknown, even to many students of history; and it is time that this element of our people should receive its due recognition in all discussion of American origins. And here comes in the peculiar value of Dr. Faust's book. The materials therein found extend from the beginning of the eighteenth century down to the present. As in the case of Austria, the information given under the head of most of the Swiss cantons practically begins with the nineteenth century. This is not true, however, of the cantons of Basel, Zürich, and Bern, in regard to which, especially the two latter, we find a wealth of materials which throw new light on certain aspects of our colonial history. In the case of Bern, Dr. Faust describes a large number of documents which relate to the well-known Swiss colony founded in 1710 by Christopher de Graffenried in New Bern, N. C.,<sup>1</sup> and the equally important settlements in Pennsylvania, especially that in Lancaster County, Pa., from its first settlement in 1710 by Swiss Anabaptists, down to the end of the eighteenth century. It is to be regretted that Dr. Faust did not visit the town of Langnau in the Emmenthal Valley, canton of Bern, from which most of these early settlers of Lancaster came. It is likewise a matter of surprise that nowhere does he mention the book of Pastor Ernst Müller of Langnau, *Die Bernischen Täufer*, which gives a detailed discussion of all the causes that led up to this first settlement in Lancaster County.

Equally important are the documents discovered by Dr. Faust in the various archives of Zürich, which shares with Bern the honor of having furnished the largest contingent of Swiss emigrants to Pennsylvania in the early decades of the eighteenth century. Many well-known Americans trace their origin to these early Swiss emigrants, such as the Landis, Frick, Hershey, and other families.

Perhaps the most important document described by Dr. Faust is that containing a complete list of emigrants to Carolina and Pennsylvania from every district of the canton of Zürich from 1734 to 1744, a period of the greatest migration to America. As Dr. Faust well says this list is invaluable for genealogical purposes and should by all means be pub-

<sup>1</sup> The story of this colony is told in the so-called Graffenried Manuscripts, a full account of which is given by Mr. Faust in the *German-American Annals*, n.s., vol. XI, (1913). Of the manuscripts themselves, B. and C. are published for the first time in the original languages, in the *German-American Annals*, n.s., vols. XI. and XII.

lished entire. Steps are now being taken to have this done and it is hoped that before long this list will be accessible to all.

OSCAR KUHN.

*Jeffrey Amherst: a Biography.* By LAWRENCE SHAW MAYO.  
(New York and London: Longmans, Green, and Company.  
1916. Pp. 344.)

NATURALLY this volume deals mainly with Amherst's military career, for in no other field did he play a conspicuous part. Whatever claim he may have had to military distinction was derived from his leadership in America during the Seven Years' War, and his contribution to the success of that important event seems to have been overrated by his contemporaries.

During the War of the Austrian Succession he had served with distinction as aid-de-camp to General Ligonier, and to the Duke of Cumberland. Consequently, when William Pitt sought, in 1758, to inject more vigor into the campaign against the French in America, his attention was directed to Colonel Amherst by General Ligonier. Pitt recalled Amherst from the Continent and appointed him major-general of the forces in America. In his new field of action he proved himself, according to Fortescue's *History of the British Army*, "the greatest military administrator produced by England since the death of Marlborough, and he remained the greatest until the rise of Wellington".

Mr. Mayo quotes with approval this unstinted praise, but his portrayal of Amherst's achievements in America gives one quite a different impression of the general's qualifications. In planning campaigns he displayed considerable ability, but in executing them he was frequently a hindrance rather than a help. He was painfully elaborate in his preparations, and spent weeks in brewing spruce beer, as a health-giving elixir for his troops, with the same solemn gravity that he planned military strategy. British success, in most instances, was due either to the weakness of the enemy or to the initiative and bold execution of such men as Wolfe and Forbes. But Amherst was hailed as the conqueror of the French, and he was made a Knight of the Bath by his grateful sovereign.

After the fall of Canada the general would fain have left America, for, as he wrote to a friend, "I will then rather hold a plough at Riverhead, than take here all that can be given to me". But the uprising under Pontiac, due in a great measure to Sir Jeffrey's own Indian policy, delayed the general's homeward journey until the autumn of 1763. His loathing for America led him to decline a resident governorship of New York, but he accepted with alacrity a sinecure governorship of Virginia which yielded £1500 per annum.

After his return to England, Amherst devoted himself to the enjoyment of laurels already won. He accepted, without hesitation, military promotions, landed estates, and a peerage, but he usually failed to re-

spond when the king most needed his assistance. When, in 1768, he was directed to proceed to his post in Virginia so that he might aid in solving the difficulties which resulted from the attempt to tax the colonies, he surrendered his office rather than comply with the order. During the Revolution he refused to command the British army in America, although on two occasions the king personally requested him to do so. However, his advice on military affairs was greatly valued, and for it he was rewarded with a peerage. When France declared war against England in 1793 he was made commander-in-chief, and his good judgment contributed materially to a better military organization. In a word, it may be said that while he served his country well, his country served him better.

While the author has made the most of Amherst's abilities and valuable services, he has, on the other hand, made no attempt to conceal the general's shortcomings. The volume is well written and entertaining, but it does not contribute much to our knowledge of Amherst or to the history of the period covered. A more careful examination of colonial records would have improved the part which treats of the general's dealings with the colonists. The book will be valued most by the casual reader.

E. I. McCORMAC.

[*Appendix to*] *an Historical Journal of the Campaigns in North America, for the Years 1757, 1758, 1759, and 1760.* By Captain JOHN KNOX. Edited with introduction, appendix, and index by ARTHUR G. DOUGHTY. Volume III. [Publications of the Champlain Society, vol. X.] (Toronto: The Champlain Society. 1916. Pp. xii, 587, viii.)

THIS third volume completes Dr. Doughty's edition of Knox's *Historical Journal*. It contains a miscellany of papers, maps, and illustrations, relative to the Conquest of Canada; a List of Works Consulted, being an admirable bibliography of manuscripts, printed material, and maps; and a full index to the three volumes. The first ninety-five pages of the book give the Journals of General Amherst and of his brother Col. William Amherst. The latter was sent home with despatches after the fall of Ticonderoga, in lieu of Col. Roger Townshend, younger brother of Wolfe's brigadier, who was killed by a cannon-ball a day before the French evacuated the fort, and a monument to whom stands in the nave of Westminster Abbey.

Following these journals, and forming an interesting supplement to General Amherst's diary of the operations which ended in the taking of Louisbourg, are "Two Letters from a French Officer of the Garrison of Louisbourg", reprinted from the *London Magazine* of 1760. They give an account of the siege from the inside, such as is given for the earlier siege of 1745, in the "Lettre d'un Habitant de Louisbourg", translated and edited by Professor George M. Wrong. It is most instructive

to compare the two accounts, bearing in mind that in 1758, with the exception of five hundred rangers, all the besieging forces on land and sea were regulars; whereas in 1745, all the land forces were provincials, while the royal navy contributed the sailors. The Habitant in 1745 contrasts the admiral and the general very much to the advantage of the former, and complains of the conduct of the troops after the capitulation; whereas the French officer in 1758 writes in the most eulogistic terms of both Admiral Boscawen and General Amherst, noting the harmony which existed between them, and he has no praise too high for the treatment accorded to the garrison and citizens of Louisbourg by the English, although "they had not forgot the extraordinary barbarities and cruelties which we had suffered the savages to practise upon them, after the taking of Oswego, and Fort Henry-William". Evidently, as might be expected, the French under the old régime felt more antipathy to the democratic fighting men of the British colonies than to the regular sailors and soldiers from England, bred up on more or less similar lines to their own.

Another high tribute to the English from a Frenchman is given by the Abbé Desenclaves, a loyalist Acadian priest, an account of whom, with a translation of a letter from him, written to a French minister in March, 1759, forms no. XXV. of the documents in this volume. "It is a beautiful sight to see English noblemen in North America going to face all the terrors, hardships and even dangers of roads and weather, sacrificing their pleasure and their interests for the service of their prince and their country." The good priest had deserved well of the British government, and—to quote Dr. Doughty's note—"it seems incredible that the English should have neglected a man who rendered them such signal service".

Amherst's Journals, with other evidence, give the impression of a man of high administrative capacity, a good leader of a mixed army, who managed the provincial soldiers with firmness and tact, giving praise when praise was due, *e. g.*, "They are excellent Ax-men . . . and the zeal and activity of their colonels is of the greatest assistance in forwarding the works". The slowness of his movements was no doubt largely due to "the State of the colonies in raising their troops, and sending them to their rendezvous". Still Sir William Johnson's Private Diary (no. X. of the documents) tends to confirm the view that, being over-cautious, Amherst lost time himself and allowed his subordinates to lose it. General Murray is represented in the volume by two letters and by his Journal after the relief of Quebec. His letter to Pitt of October 7, 1760, illustrates how entirely Pitt was the lodestar and the standby of the men who were serving their country faithfully and well across the seas. "Paper cannot blush", he writes, "and as I am a soldier of fortune without a friend, nay hardly an acquaintance at Court, I do not know to whom I can so properly apply for protection as yourself." With the manuscript of Murray's Journal Dr. Doughty

acquired and gives us in print, an Address or General Order from Wolfe to his Army after the Heights of Abraham had been surmounted but before battle was joined. It ends prophetically "Believe me, my friends, if your conquest could be bought with the blood of your General, he would most cheerfully resign a life which he has long devoted to his country." There is not space to comment upon the other documents, but the whole volume is of the greatest interest; and the three volumes taken together form a splendid work, worthy alike of the Champlain Society and of Dr. Doughty's high reputation.

C. P. LUCAS.

*The New Régime, 1765-1767.* Edited with an Introduction and Notes by CLARENCE WALWORTH ALVORD, University of Illinois, and CLARENCE EDWIN CARTER, Miami University. [Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, vol. XI., British Series, vol. II.] (Springfield, Ill.: Illinois State Historical Library, 1916. Pp. xxviii, 700.)

THIS is the second volume of a series of which the first volume is *The Critical Period*, noticed in the April, 1916, issue of the *Review*. It is made up of documents and excerpts from documents relating to the period from February 28, 1765, to July 15, 1767. The subjects with which the documents are mainly concerned are the taking possession by the British of the Illinois Country; descriptions of the country and characterizations of the people; the relations of the British to the inhabitants, French and Indian; and the projects for the exploitation of the territory.

The documents of greatest interest are George Croghan's Journal (February 28-October 8, 1765), which has been several times printed, but seemingly with less critical accuracy than here; the *procès verbal* of the delivery of Fort Chartres (October 10, 1765), which includes a description of the fort and its appurtenances; letters of Stirling to Gage (October 18, 1765, December 15, 1765); Aubry's letter to the French minister (January 27, 1766), from which it appears that the fixing of the capital of Spanish Illinois at St. Louis resulted from the choice of St. Ange and not from the order of his superior officer; Fraser's letter to Haldimand (May 4, 1766); the papers of General Lyman regarding the settlement of a colony on the Mississippi; Capt. Henry Gordon's Journal of a voyage from Fort Pitt to Pensacola by way of the Illinois (May-December, 1766); Memorial of Traders in behalf of Free Trade with the Indians (September, 1766), with which it is interesting to compare the letter from Gage to Conway, page 339 (July, 1766), and the Petition of the Merchants of St. Louis, January, 1769 (Houck's *Spanish Régime in Missouri*, I. 37); and letter of Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan to Irwin (September, 1766) relating to the navigation of the Ohio.

The story told by these and the accompanying documents is not a creditable one. The French had been living in the Illinois Country.

which they had found to be "a terrestrial paradise", for nearly three-quarters of a century. The paradise was not without the trail of the serpent, but the inhabitants lived peaceable and fairly well-ordered lives. The treaty of 1763 changed all this.

It was provided in that treaty that the French inhabitants might at any time within eighteen months sell their property and retire from the country. The country was left for France to take care of for more than eighteen months pending the transfer, during which time the inhabitants could find neither purchasers nor money, yet when the British did come in after the expiration of the time, the commanding officer at first refused any extension; which meant that if any inhabitant wished to leave he must abandon his property; but finally a provisional extension to March following was granted. In the meantime, all those who could get away transported their movables across the Mississippi under cover of darkness, which the British officers thought very reprehensible, and said that it was "done chiefly to distress us and increase our difficulty in maintaining the country". For those who remained no civil government was provided.

Captain Stirling, who was vested with no civil authority, found it necessary to appoint a judge, from whose decisions he would himself entertain appeals. To fill the office of judge he designated a bankrupt named Lagrange, but there is nothing to show that he performed the duties of the office, except Stirling's statement that he was wanting in knowledge of law.

The Indians, whose good-will it was so important to secure, were as little considered as the French. Captain Stirling was sent to them without the customary presents, without the provisions necessary for their entertainment, and even without an interpreter. The previous failure of Pontiac to achieve success at Detroit was the one thing which prevented the destruction of Stirling and his men. And during the whole period the British practically "got nowhere". It was not a régime; it was a muddle. What progress was made in later years will be shown in the succeeding volumes.

The book is well arranged and well edited. What is printed about Lagrange and his creditors should have been supplemented by the inclusion of the decision of the Superior Council at New Orleans in the matter, which decision is in the St. Louis archives. Morgan's journal of his voyage down the Mississippi was printed in the report of the Eighth International Geographical Congress, 1904. The date of the voyage is there given as 1767; here as 1766. Which is correct?

WALTER B. DOUGLAS.

*The Federal Executive.* By JOHN PHILIP HILL. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1916. Pp. viii, 269.)

THIS work, we are informed, has been in process of construction since 1903. Its purpose "is to add a little to the studies on the subject

and to assist in an understanding of the creation, development, organization, and functions of the Federal Executive". Rather less than half of the book is concerned with the history of the ten departments and with reflections on about twenty of our presidents. The remaining portion is an attempt to set forth certain features of the administrative machinery for the purpose of revealing its modes of operation to-day. Here and there Mr. Hill has touched the sources of his theme. Showing some familiarity with the sources, he gives, on the other hand, little evidence of such industry, patience, and care for details as would permit him to write freely and understandingly of the historic aspects of the subject. For many of his conclusions he has searched the writings of a small number of careful students of government; but to these students he has not always given due credit.

On the historical side the reader will look in vain for any careful and well-sustained consideration of the office of the President. The author remarks that the framers of the Constitution "did not dream" that the President "would be the one man in the nation primarily responsible to the people for the enactment into laws of their will" (p. 9). To indicate how this modern ideal of responsibility has come about would be worthy of a long chapter, always recalling the fact that Madison and an influential following in 1787-1789 meant that the President should be responsible to the people for the execution of the laws. Casual reflections on some of our presidents and their policies from Washington to Wilson are, it is true, to be found. But it is startling to be informed that Jefferson took "no steps . . . toward the increase of the executive power" (p. 201); to find classed together as Federalists Presidents Madison, Monroe, and John Quincy Adams (pp. 204, 206, 207); to have the old charge revived that Jackson's heads of departments were "no more than executive clerks" (p. 208); and to hear that President Wilson, following "the practice in cabinet meetings of having each department represented", summons to these meetings, in the absence of a Secretary, "an assistant secretary or other designated official" (p. 47). To the question of admitting cabinet officers to seats in Congress—a question which, according to Mr. Hill, "has never been seriously agitated" (p. 217)—slight attention has been paid (pp. 45-47), notwithstanding the very extensive literature on the subject which has accumulated chiefly since 1864. On the subject of salaries of cabinet officers there occurs a very misleading passage (p. 74); and not a word anywhere to indicate what salaries have been paid our presidents.

On the side of administration, Mr. Hill, guiding himself by the language of the preamble to the Constitution, has conceived the ten departments as dividing themselves into the four following divisions: (i) State, Treasury, and Interior Departments as making for a "more perfect union"; (ii) Departments of War, of Navy, and of Justice as "insuring domestic tranquillity"; (iii) Departments of Agriculture, of Commerce, and of Labor as "promoting the general welfare"; and



(iv) the Post-Office Department as insuring "the blessings of liberty". When he confines himself to simple exposition of function, the writer has given information that may be useful. To say that "the Treasury Department and the Department of Justice are the only two departments that have divided the United States into districts for the practical purpose of administration" (p. 89) is to mislead. Strictly speaking, there has never been in our history a "bureau" of Agriculture (p. 105). The building in Washington occupied by the Bureau of Pensions is not devoted "exclusively" to pensions, nor is the decorative frieze on the building placed "under the eaves" or made of "plaster" (p. 119). The Washington city post-office is built of granite, not "marble" (p. 182).

To the scholar this volume is of no importance. It is likely to mislead less well-informed readers. On both the historical and administrative sides it is shallow.

HENRY BARRETT LEARNED.

*History and Procedure of the House of Representatives.* By DE-ALVA STANWOOD ALEXANDER, A.M., LL.D. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1916. Pp. xv, 435.)

MR. ALEXANDER'S book is a welcome addition to the as yet rather small list of thorough and first-hand studies of American government and administration. Owing its origin in part, we are told, to a friendly suggestion of Thomas B. Reed, the work shows not only careful use of the various series of Congressional debates and of Hinds's monumental *Precedents*, but also a practical appreciation of details of parliamentary procedure for which Mr. Alexander's fourteen years of service as a member of the House have afforded invaluable training. With the exception of documentary references, foot-notes are not numerous, but such citations as there are, as well as the text itself, show use of such special studies as Follett's *Speaker* and of a number of important books of reminiscence. Particularly commendable are the absence of partizanship or special pleading, and the entire avoidance of any attempt to tell, under the guise of a history of the organization and procedure of the House, the political or constitutional history of the United States.

The eighteen chapters into which the book is divided cover all the main aspects of the constitution and procedure of the House: the apportionment and qualifications of members, the preparation of the roll of members elect, the organization of the House, the functions of the Speaker, the appointment and work of committees, the quorum and the rules, the order of business and the conduct of debate, contested elections, procedure in impeachments, and the relations between the House and the President. Chapter VII., on floor leaders, and chapter XIII., on the Committee of the Whole, are especially rich in information not readily obtainable elsewhere; while chapter XVIII., on the President and the House, is a broad as well as a detailed treatment of constitutional and formal relations which have developed greatly in recent years,

and which from the time of Washington have been of increasing significance.

Any account of parliamentary procedure in the House will of necessity give much space to the functions and policy of the Speaker, and of all the Speakers none has aroused more discussion or provoked more antagonism than Reed. It is a tribute to Mr. Alexander's impartiality that, with all his long and intimate friendship for Reed, he does not exaggerate the contribution which the "Czar" made to the theory and practice of American parliamentary law, or gloss over the obvious inconsistency between Reed's early defense of the "disappearing quorum" as "a valuable privilege" of the minority in restraining, by "this extraordinary mode of proceeding", the "madness and party feeling" of the majority, and his later masterful elimination of the same "valuable privilege" when he himself occupied the Speaker's chair. What the author does, rather, in this connection, besides telling the story, is to make clear the nature and aim of Reed's leadership, his "profound regard for the dignity and importance" of the office, his belief that the Speaker is chosen "not simply to preside over the deliberations of his fellow members, but to carry out party pledges and round up a successful legislative session", and his matured conviction, albeit one which involved a complete change of front on his own part, that "the protection of the minority did not mean the destruction of the majority". If any adverse criticism is to be made of Mr. Alexander's handling of this phase of the subject, it is that the more recent policy of Speaker Cannon and the revolt of the House against it are not treated with commensurate fullness.

What might easily have been a dry story is given a refreshing measure of human interest by the numerous brief character sketches of prominent members of the House with which the narrative is studded. For those of members in the decade before the Civil War Mr. Alexander acknowledges special indebtedness to Galusha A. Grow, speaker from 1861 to 1863, and a colleague of the author from 1897 to 1903; and, for those in the decade 1840-1850, to Alexander H. Stephens, through William P. Frye. It was indeed one of Time's curious changes that brought about a close friendship between a stalwart Republican like Frye and the former vice-president of the Confederate States, and placed both of them on the committee which prepared the revision of the House rules adopted in 1880.

WILLIAM MACDONALD.

*The Great Revival in the West, 1707-1805.* By CATHARINE C. CLEVELAND. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1916. Pp. xii, 215.)

WHAT is commonly known as the Kentucky revival is here presented for the first time in clear and consistent form. The book is well arranged in five chapters—the Religious Condition of the West prior to

1800; the Leaders of the Revival; its Spread; Phenomena; and Results. The first chapter is historically the most interesting, since it is difficult to account for such an eruption of emotionalism as that which visited our frontiers between 1797 and 1805. Semple's *American History and its Geographic Conditions* furnishes an initial clue to the problem. A rugged country such as that of the Blue Ridge and Cumberland Valley attracts an adventurous and imaginative class of settlers. The loneliness of the life and the sense of human weakness in the face of untamed nature predisposes to a fear of the supernatural. Besides the objective environment there was a subjective tradition to affect these "Puritans of the South". The terrors of Calvinism—total depravity and reprobation, hell-fire and eternal punishment—were commonly dwelt upon by itinerant sectarians. After the Revolution the easy-going Anglicanism had disappeared, but Scotch-Irish Presbyterianism, Saddle-Bag Methodism, and Close-Communion Baptist doctrines spread through the backwoods. This is made visible by ingenious local maps of the various presbyteries, circuits, and associations in this wild region.

Given these conditions, outward and inward, together with the restlessness due to the constant shifting of newcomers, and the lawlessness of descendants of criminal and convict emigrants, who sought refuge in "Rogues' Harbor" and "Satan's Stronghold", and we have the preconditions for a widespread and simultaneous outbreak of revivalism. To such tinder the religious leaders now set the spark. And the notion that religious emotion must be expressed in some unmistakable manner gave rise to a feverish excitement. This explains the insistent demands for bodily "exercises", as an outward sign of inward grace. But tremblings, fallings, convulsions, and what came to be known as the Kentucky "jerks", did not appeal to sedate and "formal" religionists. The old "professors" opposed shouters and exhorters "driving people distracted". Yet the excitement spread. With Logan County as a focus there was a sort of religious seismic disturbance which spread as far as the Mississippi and the territory north of the Ohio River. The Western Reserve was little affected by the tremors. The author reports the saying that "New England people", meaning Massachusetts and Connecticut people, "would never become subject to the falling", but this clue is not followed up.

While a dramatic recital of events is given, the prologue is omitted. There are certain remoter preconditions which throw light on this subterranean subject. Mention is made of the Great Awakening of 1734, but the significance of that movement in relation to this is missed. The reason for a certain reserve in those of the Western Reserve was that their immediate ancestors had experienced the fires of "enthusiasm". To use the language of a previous generation they were "cold" men because of the excesses of the "hot" men. The bitter controversy set forth in George Whitefield's *Journal* and Charles Chauncy's *Seasonable Thoughts* was one not only between the men of reason and the men of

feeling, but also one between the gentry and the commonalty. This explains the aversion of New England settlers against having their Western Reserve become another "burnt-over district". It likewise explains the friction further south between "the quality" and the "poor whites", as implied in the constant references among the ranters to deists and rationalists, "genteel" people and the "silk and satin" group.

Thus the author misses the significance of the rationalism of that day. The deist is defined as the denier of dogmatic Christianity. That is too negative. The deist positively prided himself as being a representative of the age of reason, and as able to explain away the supernatural. So there should be added to the bibliography certain naturalistic interpreters of a century ago. Such were Dr. Benjamin Rush of the "Zoöconomic" School in his *Influence of Physical Causes upon the Moral Faculty*, James Fishback in his *Philosophy of Mind in Respect to Religion*, and various writers in the *United States, Columbian, and Philadelphia Magazines* upon the excesses of enthusiasm, religious melancholy, and the connection between camp-meetings and illegitimacy.

This sinister side of revivalism is neglected in the chapter on Results, while that on the Phenomena, psychologically considered, is quite inadequate. Some foreign authorities, like Carpenter and Maudsley, are antiquated. Other, native, writers are omitted. Such are Leuba, Starbuck, and especially Cutten, who identifies the revival counties and lynching counties of Kentucky.

WOODBRIDGE RILEY.

*The Writings of John Quincy Adams.* Edited by WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD. Volume VI., 1816-1819. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1916. Pp. xxvii, 573.)

WHEN Adams made up his mind to accept the post of Secretary of State in President Monroe's cabinet, he took what was in many respects the most important step in his career. The appointment was not unexpected, for intimations had come from one source or another that he was likely to be the choice of the new President. A man of more buoyant ambition and more eager vision would have been elated at the distinction and the prospect which it opened. Adams took this, like all his honors, with cold sobriety, with much searching of heart, and with a deep sense of personal obligation. How far he allowed himself to peer into the future his letters do not reveal. He might have reflected that the office had been in two instances a stepping-stone to the presidency, but there is no evidence that he indulged in dreams of further preferment.

It is no exaggeration to say that Adams assumed his portfolio with more ample equipment than any secretary before or after him. That he had the making of a great minister of foreign affairs, this volume of letters makes clear beyond a peradventure. He brought to his task a nationalism not less deep, though less ardent, than Clay's, an unrivalled

knowledge of European courts, and an intellect more highly trained by education and travel than that of any man then in American public life. By his long sojourn in foreign lands, Adams had freed himself from a narrow sectionalism though he never succeeded in throwing off his New England heritage. He never forgot that he was the son of John Adams and custodian of his father's achievements. He never lost sight of the New England fisheries. Yet, on the whole, he was right when he wrote, "The longer I live the stronger I find my national feelings grow upon me, and the less of my affections are compassed by partial localities. My system of politics more and more inclines to strengthen the union and its government." He rose superior to his compeers in his ability to appreciate the culture of other lands and other people. His unstinted praise of English institutions comes as a distinct surprise in this sheaf of letters written by one who had been a good hater of our late foe. Finally, his temperament went far to make him one of the greatest of our secretaries of state. A cold, incisive intellect, which cut to the heart of diplomatic questions, a clear-sighted vision of the end to be gained, and indefatigable persistence in choice of means, were qualities that made him more than a match for the trained diplomats of Europe.

Adams took office at a time when all these qualities were laid under requisition. He fortified himself for his duties by assiduous study. He spent from four to six hours a day at his office desk, as much more in study. He was not content to leave to subordinates the preparation of state papers. The force of his diplomatic notes came from his absolute mastery of pertinent facts and historical precedents. Notwithstanding this assiduity, he found time to keep in touch by letter with our diplomatic representatives abroad. To a *chargé d'affaires* at Stockholm he wrote,

Write me everything that you can learn about the affairs and interests of Sweden, not only in their direct relations with the United States, but with every part of Europe and with all the rest of the world. . . . Turn in a word all your sagacity, all your activity, and all your ingenuity, to the account of your country, and whether you write me public dispatches or private letters, *they shall be answered*.

Yet it was in these full years that Adams found time to systematize the work of his office and to devise an index system for diplomatic papers, which we are told is still in use in the Department of State. Small wonder that the Secretary of State and his wife neglected their social obligations and incurred the displeasure of the exacting society at the capital.

Space does not permit a review of the diplomatic problems with which Adams was brought face to face. It must suffice to say that these letters throw light from many angles upon the evolution of the foreign policy associated with the name of Monroe. The editor has already drawn largely upon this material for his illuminating papers on the

relation of Adams to the Monroe Doctrine. Many of the important despatches are printed in full or in part in *American State Papers*.

The reviewer has found only one serious error. The foot-note on page 259 would seem to be misplaced. Did the impeccable Adams, formerly Boylston Professor of Rhetoric in Harvard College, really write twice "You was" (pages 187 and 256)? Or has the editor, nodding, allowed two typographical errors to escape his vigilant eyes?

A. J.

*A History of the National Capital from its Foundation through the Period of the Adoption of the Organic Act.* By WILHELMUS BOGART BRYAN. Volume II., 1815-1878. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1916. Pp. xvi, 707.)

THE second volume of Mr. Bryan's history of the District of Columbia is better than the first volume. The author seems to feel more certain of his ground and to have greater familiarity with his facts. The volume itself grows better as it proceeds and the chapter next to the last, in which Mr. Bryan deals with the Shepherd régime, is the most interesting. The whole book, however, is interesting. It is not arranged on the topical plan, as histories of cities usually are, but, in a general way, proceeds chronologically. Thus the variety of the subjects dealt with holds the attention of the average reader who would grow weary with the strain of following one subject for a long time. The book shows conscientious industry and contains a wealth of facts, large and small. Presidential inaugurations, schools, municipal government, streets, roads, newspapers, clubs, slavery, bridges—these are a few of the hundreds of subjects dealt with. Many of them are of little concern to people who do not live in Washington, but many are of national importance and are a part of the history of the United States.

The federal capital, before the government of the United States created the city of Washington, had been located in two old, well-established cities which had acted as the government's hosts, and the government had no sense of ownership in New York and Philadelphia and no responsibility for their municipal affairs. When it moved to Washington it did not accept the new relationship which actually existed between itself and its city. Moreover, the theory of local self-government obtruded itself upon the fact that here there was no local population—that everybody in the city had come there to serve the government directly or indirectly. As the city formed it was encouraged to believe that it had interests independent of the government and even in conflict with it. The history of Washington, as Mr. Bryan unfolds it, is the story of how the city blundered forward oppressed and hindered in its progress by a division of responsibility when the responsibility really belonged with the federal government alone. But Congress created the separate municipality, which, until recently, had mayors, aldermen, councilmen, frequent elections, mobs, riots, bribery, debts, and all the famil-

iar attributes of cities. And as long as it had to govern itself it had civic pride, although there was not much to be proud of. The vain effort to draw a line of division between the interests of the city and of the United States went on. Congress was for a long time a hard step-mother to its own offspring. Many members could not forgive it for having been hatched upon the banks of the Potomac and it was not until our own day that efforts to move the capital to some other place were finally abandoned.

Mr. Bryan tells us how the city in 1817 entered upon a plan of canal construction, joining with other communities in the pursuit of wealth through internal improvements; but in 1828 the railroads began to come and the canals never brought in any profit. The city was bankrupt in 1836. It had borrowed much of the money for the canals from bankers in Amsterdam. Consequently, it was declared on the floor of the Senate: "the agents of the foreign creditors are here ready to purchase the property of these citizens of Washington under the hammer, so that there is danger emphatically that this city may be sold to the Dutch." "It was said", adds Mr. Bryan, "by those members of Congress who acknowledged no right of claim to relief that they were willing to vote for it as they did not wish to see the capital sold." So Congress paid the debt for Washington, but not for Georgetown and Alexandria.

The national capital then comprised the three cities of Georgetown, Alexandria, and Washington, but so unprofitable did the connection appear to be to Georgetown and Alexandria that they desired to sever it and to return to their original allegiance. In 1838 the citizens of Georgetown at a public meeting said that Congress did not afford the city congenial and proper legislation and they sent a memorial to the Maryland legislature asking the state to take Georgetown back. A committee of the legislature reported favorably on the request, but the state was already burdened with canal debts and did not wish to bring Georgetown in with more, so it laid the Georgetown memorial on the table. Alexandria, however, when it found its burdens heavy, found promise of help in the legislature of Virginia, and when it requested to be put again under Virginia jurisdiction the act on Virginia's part was promptly passed. The measure was looked upon with equal favor by the national Congress, but that body made it conditional upon an expression of preference on the part of the inhabitants of Alexandria and the vicinity. They left no doubt on the point by voting 7463 in favor of the change and 222 against it. From that time (1846) the history of the national capital excludes Alexandria.

The grievance of the District against Congress was not only that it neglected it but that it experimented upon it. The chairman of the House committee on the District is quoted by Mr. Bryan as saying: "Some gentlemen seem to regard the District of Columbia with the same feelings with which doctors regard animal life. They look upon it as a rat under an exhausted receiver, where political empirics may display

their quackery without danger of being called to account for their folly and ignorance."

The inclination to make the city a proving-ground had a good illustration as soon as the Civil War was over, when the question of negro suffrage was brought forward. It was pronounced against in Washington by 6591 votes to 35 and in Georgetown by 712 votes to one vote. Nevertheless, Congress determined to try it here first and the negroes were given the ballot. When they first voted in 1867 they were orderly and the candidates were white men. After a time, however, they demanded and received a share of the municipal offices. An effort was made at this time to further experiment with the city by allowing women to vote, and Representative Julian of Indiana offered an amendment to the District government bill for that purpose, but Congress was opposed to it. So far as negro suffrage was concerned, although it was obnoxious to the white people in the District, as Mr. Bryan says, it never fulfilled the worst predictions of its opponents. It gave the city an inferior set of officials, but it did not put the city wholly at the mercy of the less intelligent and responsible residents. It had a tendency, however, to lower the tone of the government and to strengthen the hold of national questions upon purely local problems. The effort of the more far-seeing citizens was to divorce the city from consideration of national politics. They pointed out truly enough that as it must have the good-will of Congress it was bad policy to offend the political views of the members. When the political excitement was intense immediately after Lincoln's election it was seriously proposed by responsible property-holders that the entire management of the city should be put in the hands of Congress.

A new form of government was given the city in 1871 with the power still partially in the hands of the citizens. There was a board of public works, however, appointed by the President, and Alexander R. Shepherd became in fact the board of public works. Then began that extraordinary régime, under which money was borrowed without collateral, all questions which required public approval were carried by rough but effective methods, new streets were opened, hills were levelled, pavements were laid, and the noble plan of L'Enfant which had been a forgotten dream was made a reality. By the time that sober citizens had caught up with the breakneck race of the mad builder of Washington and headed him off his work was done. The credit of the city was gone, debt was piled on debt, it was impossible for the city to pay the interest under any arrangement. The value of much of the property had been destroyed by regrading the streets, curses loud and deep fell upon the head of the ruthless Cadmus, but Washington was made. Between the drawing of the plans by the visionary, impracticable, contentious L'Enfant and the building of the city by the reckless, determined, unscrupulous Shepherd, eighty years of doubtful and precarious destiny had passed.



With the downfall of Shepherd ended local self-government in the District of Columbia, and in 1874 began the commission form of government with all the chief appointments resting in the President and the population not voting. Mr. Bryan's history stops at this point, but it is evident that he has a great deal more to say and a third volume bringing the history up to the present day is to be hoped for.

GAILLARD HUNT.

*Anglo-American Isthmian Diplomacy 1815-1915.* By MARY WILHELMINE WILLIAMS, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History, Goucher College. (Washington: American Historical Association; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1916. Pp. ix, 392.)

THE excellence of the work done in this volume is attested by the fact that the Justin Winsor Prize in American History for 1914 was awarded to the author on account of it. It is indeed the most important exposition, historically speaking, of the subject to which it relates. For the first time, by reason of the use of manuscripts in the Public Record Office in London and the Department of State at Washington, but particularly of those in London, the actual course of the negotiation of the celebrated Clayton-Bulwer Treaty is disclosed. In one place (p. 102) the author speaks of Clayton as having been guilty of "indirection", and elsewhere represents him as having shown a want of what we may call steadiness in the conduct of the transaction. It is not implied, however, that he overreached his adversaries in the negotiations. All the proofs combine to show how ardent was his desire to make a treaty which should on the one hand be approved by the United States Senate, and which should on the other hand be the means of averting a collision with Great Britain. The latter motive seems indeed to have been the overruling one, and to such an extent was it influential that it produced results in phraseology that came near defeating Clayton's main object.

This circumstance and the train of events connected with it render appropriate certain comments which by no means affect the accuracy or thoroughness of the author's investigations but relate rather to historical perspective. On a certain occasion a public speaker, when asked to give reasons for his demand for a "big navy", replied that he "desired to be in the fashion". By analogy, we may say that there seems to be a certain historical "atmosphere" which is supposed to be essential to the discussion of the diplomacy of Pierce's administration, to say nothing of that of Buchanan. A certain deprecation should, it seems, characterize it: a suspicion of aggressiveness, especially in the interest of the "slave power", should always attend it; and to this should be added, for seasoning, just a dash of assumed demagoguery. On any other supposition, how are we to explain the fact that, while the language of Pierce's message of 1855 is admitted to have been temperate, there should be found, in the "determination not to yield on either the

recruiting difficulty or the dispute over Central America", a "hostile note"? And how, on any other supposition, is the statement to be explained that the "compromise", effected under Buchanan in 1860, was "an unequal one, for Great Britain conceded the more"? For it must be borne in mind that the author rejects as an afterthought and unfounded Great Britain's claim that the restrictive clauses of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty were wholly prospective. Had this construction at the time been suspected, it is hardly conceivable that an American Secretary of State would have signed the treaty, or that a single vote could have been secured for it in the United States Senate. In explanation of the British claim, and of the British forward movements after the treaty was made, we may indeed in fairness take into account the enterprises of the filibusters, and the suspicions which they naturally served to engender; but this is far from justifying an imputation of unfriendliness either to Pierce and Marcy or to Buchanan and Cass. While it is true that Marcy was not easily intimidated, and was not inclined to yield clear rights under the stress of threats, he sincerely desired to maintain friendly relations with Great Britain on the basis of mutual respect. His disposition in this regard is clearly exemplified by the reciprocity treaty of 1854, which was largely his handiwork. As for Buchanan, who, for reasons generally understood, to a great extent personally conducted the diplomacy of his own administration, his desire to preserve the most cordial relations with Great Britain is amply attested. Ten years earlier, as Secretary of State, his reluctance to force the issue with that government in the Oregon controversy caused Polk to regard him as "timid". Of the essential friendliness of his attitude there can be no doubt.

In the author's preface, it is stated that chapter X., which embraces the latest phases of the tolls question and even adverts to what is called the "new Monroe Doctrine", covers a period too recent for satisfactory treatment. The facts are, however, pretty well known, and future investigations will not add anything that is requisite to a judgment upon the questions involved. But, should further disclosures be made, they can hardly justify stronger expressions than the author has used in condemnation of the diplomacy of the United States in the matter. We are indeed advised that the reply of Mr. Knox to the British protest was "evasive and in its arguments unsound", so that it did not have "the undivided support of the nation". The latter test we may reject as inconclusive, in view not only of the popular reception accorded to President Wilson's address to Congress of March 5, 1914, but also of the circumstance that Congress, in eventually granting a reluctant repeal of the exemption of coastwise vessels, reaffirmed the right of the United States in the premises. A more intelligent understanding of the subject would, besides, have been assured if the author had pointed out the particulars in which Mr. Knox's note was "evasive" and "unsound". Had this been done, the fact should have appeared that the

position of the British government was not what it seems to be supposed to have been. The British government did not in fact allege that it would have suffered any wrong if the tolls schedule had actually gone into operation and American coastwise vessels had been exempted from the payment of dues. The precise claim was that all vessels should be included in the aggregate tonnage on which the rate of tolls was computed; and this had in reality been done. The protest of the British government was based upon the circumstance that the language of the act of 1912 was broad enough to permit the government of the United States to omit its coastwise vessels from the computation of rates, in case it should at some future time see fit to do so. In other words, the protest was in effect a reservation made with reference to a future contingency. It is, therefore, not strange that the British government, after receiving Mr. Knox's reply, did not continue the correspondence.

*Union Portraits.* By GAMALIEL BRADFORD. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1916. Pp. xvi, 330.)

THERE are sure to be three ways of regarding these essays. The pedestrian student, finding in them the pedestrian task declined, will call them vague. The historian of broader views and more generous sympathies, is likely to applaud their temper. The reader who approaches them as literature will be the most equivocal of the three.

The dissatisfaction of the pedestrian in history will not trouble Mr. Bradford. To look in his pages for the definite sequence of his subject's career, is to ignore his own warning as to what he has set out to do. Here, as in his earlier volume, *Confederate Portraits*, he aims at what he terms "psychography"—which, however, many of us fail to distinguish from a familiar thing not disguised in a peculiar name. The manifest difference between an essay by Mr. Bradford and one by, let us say, such an old-fashioned workman as Macaulay, is not, to the ordinary intelligence, a matter of the literary form. Though Mr. Bradford will, of course, disagree, most of us will find the difference between him and, say, Macaulay, when it shows to his advantage, to lie in a more jovial cast of mind, and when it is not to his advantage to involve a less arduous apprenticeship to letters. In both cases the predominant note is the freely impressionistic use of a vast knowledge of detail. In this impressionism of Mr. Bradford's is revealed his attractive temper, the gracious, glancing, always slightly amused attack, which contrasts so happily with the dogmatism of so many critics. This it is that will lead every fair-minded student to applaud him, to hope he will not cease applying to American history this fine clarifier of an atmosphere rendered murky by acrimonious debate.

And yet, from the historical point of view, one must ask the question, Is there here any contribution to our understanding of—not merely our attitude toward—our history? Do these essays, discussing all the

great Union leaders except Lincoln, contribute new ideas—they make no claim to contribute new data—which other historians must reckon with? Well, one must admit that in most cases, they end by reaffirming the traditional impression. For example, the initial essay. It beats the bush with great spirit but does it really—if new ideas are what we are after—start the hare? Is not the McClellan we know at the end of this essay pretty much the McClellan we knew at the beginning? One essay, perhaps—"Stanton"—emerges from the rest as a somewhat sharper attempt to weigh evidence with more definite results. Two essays will have distinct sectional interest. The "Sherman" will cause the typical Southerner to wonder whether he is beholding a mirage—so richly is the subject endowed with admirable qualities—while the "Sumner" challenges not a little of the established tradition of New England. And when considered as a whole the entire group has a stimulating word for us all. Without, perhaps, conscious purpose, Mr. Bradford, in these essays, is making a study of "Americanism". Here is his real contribution. What he sets us thinking about, time and again, is this question: how, to what extent, were these characters typical of America? The illusive-mindedness of McClellan, the vaingloriousness of Hooker, Meade's irritability, Sherman's restless preoccupation with externals, Sumner's belief that "words could do anything"—are these but so many traits of "the American"?

Furthermore, is there, in all these men, any common factor? The reviewer has a strong feeling that, as they are here presented, there is. It is never formulated and yet—if the effect is not a fancy—it is all the more real because of its pervasiveness and its unintentionality. Only to those who have no literary sense will it seem strange if Mr. Bradford's impressionism has done its best work unaware, sustaining throughout this book a sense of things that it was not his conscious purpose to express. Could he do better than to make his next task the formal presentation of this sense he has of a certain character tone, a moral and mental atmosphere that is distinctively "American"?

N. W. STEPHENSON.

*The Life of William McKinley.* By CHARLES S. OLCOTT. In two volumes. (Boston and New York; Houghton Mifflin Company. 1916. Pp. xvi, 400; viii, 418.)

MR. OLCOTT has made a readable biography, though it might with advantage have been either shortened in text or lengthened in title, for it is a panorama of McKinley's times not less than of his life. As explained in the preface, this expansion of its scope was due to the way in which the fortunes of its hero were intertwined with those of the nation. For the purposes of a reference compendium, the subject is well treated; but if the intention was to give us a vivid picture of one man's career, the chapters on the Tariff, Sectionalism, and the Cur-

rency might have been reduced to a few paragraphs apiece without spoiling its background.

The author is happiest in his handling of the human phases of his narrative. The memories which linger in the minds of intimates of McKinley as youth, soldier, son, husband, man among men, are wholly amiable; and possibly it is still too soon for the historian, above all things a friend, to present in its true perspective the public record of such a man during twenty-five years of making politics a profession. Mr. Olcott is so unreservedly a eulogist that in discussing McKinley's original attitude toward free-silver coinage, for instance, he goes into elaborate excuses for a course which might better have been dismissed with a simple confession that it was a mistake. A kindred criticism applies to the case of the civil-service order of May 29, 1899, "making certain changes which experience had proved necessary, and all intended to make a real improvement"; for no one familiar with the circumstances can forget the spirit in which most of the President's advisers attacked the task of overhauling the work of his immediate predecessor, or the "pressure from without" which all frankly admitted they were suffering. On such matters, the judicious reader will have to form his own judgments quite independently of those volunteered by the author.

Much interest attaches to the picture Mr. Olcott sketches of the administrative processes in ending the war with Spain. He was fortunate in having among his direct sources of information not only several close friends of McKinley like William R. Day and Charles G. Dawes, but so methodical a man as former Secretary Cortelyou, who made minute notes of every incident worth recording during this epoch. The preserved fragments of McKinley's own correspondence and private papers are few, because of his habitual preference of a face-to-face interview to an exchange of letters, as he consciously owed much of his influence over others to the spell of his personality; and his practice of disposing every day of the current business brought before him usually obviated the need of a memorandum. One of the rare exceptions to this rule was a pencil-jotting, plainly made on the spot by the President's own hand, of his informal talk with Admiral Dewey on October 3, 1899, about the Philippine situation. Of that a facsimile is given us. Several confidential letters, also, from Whitelaw Reid, John Hay, and Justice Day, written to the President in the summer and autumn of 1898, throw a little welcome color into the negotiations between the Spanish and the American peace commissioners at Manila, with inklings of the sentiment of the British and German governments respectively at that period.

Likewise illuminating are the communications by wire between Colonel Montgomery, who had charge of the White House telegraph and telephone facilities during the Boxer rebellion in China, and Secretary Cortelyou, who was passing the summer with McKinley in Canton, Ohio. These two men acted as mouthpieces for the President and the

members of his Cabinet. A cabinet officer in Washington would hold a long-distance telephone receiver to his ear; the President would do the same at the other end of the line; Montgomery and Cortelyou, seated at the main instruments, would do the actual conversing for them; and thus they could thresh out any question almost as conveniently as if they were on opposite sides of a table. Cortelyou's stenographic note-book recorded the conferences verbatim; and posterity will be able to read in them the story of the upgrowth of the policy pursued by our government in that crisis, and see the painstaking way in which the President personally edited the military and diplomatic despatches which were to be cabled abroad, so that they should convey just the desired shade of meaning, and avoid committing the United States by a single unnecessary or inadvisable word.

The chapter entitled Renomination and Re-election tells, probably for the first time in detail, the McKinley version of what took place behind the scenes at the Philadelphia convention of 1900, including the sharp and fateful struggle over the vice-presidency, and the individual shares of several of the more notable participants in bringing about the final result. In respect to sundry other features of his hero's career, Mr. Olcott answers questions which have long been waiting for authoritative settlement. The persistent devotion of McKinley to the protective tariff cause is attributed chiefly to two men: his old comrade in arms, Rutherford B. Hayes, advised his preparing himself for service in the House of Representatives by making a special study of this subject; and when James A. Garfield retired from Congress in 1880, leaving a vacancy in the Republican minority of the Ways and Means Committee, it was on his recommendation that Speaker Randall appointed McKinley to fill it. The friendship with Marcus A. Hanna which was to bear fruit of such historic importance began in the national convention of 1888, where McKinley remained loyal to Sherman in spite of the efforts of the opposition to lure him into countenancing a movement in his own behalf.

The two volumes are illustrated with nineteen reproductions from photographs; an appendix contains the complete text of McKinley's last address at Buffalo, a brief account of the trial of his assassin, and a paper on the monuments reared in his honor; and there is a very fair index.

*History of Education in Iowa.* By CLARENCE RAY AURNER. Volumes III., IV. (Iowa City, Iowa: State Historical Society, 1916. Pp. xii, 464; xi, 471.)

THE appearance of these two volumes in quick succession marks the completion of the second third of Dr. Aurner's notable history of education in Iowa. It is gratifying to find in them the dignity and worth which characterized the form and substance of the former volumes. They are authoritative, within their limitations, impartial in

tone, and rich in material suggesting further refinement and research. The third volume deals with secondary education, including chapters on academies, incorporated, unincorporated, and sectarian, on public high schools, and on courses of study in such schools. The entire fourth volume is given up to the three state-supported institutions: the state university, the state college of agriculture and mechanic arts, and the state teachers' college. The large story of other institutions of higher learning is left for future treatment.

It is clear that the task of preparing a history of secondary education in Iowa was difficult to an unusual degree; it is equally clear that Dr. Aurner has not been specially successful in performing it notwithstanding his painstaking and loyal efforts. He is at his best when he can analyze legislation and official reports, and deficiency of this sort of material in the field of secondary education constituted a double handicap for him. The third volume is confused, prosaic, uncertain in its emphasis, too often apologetic for omissions, and quite lacking in elevation of understanding of the subtle forces which were shaping the great secondary school movement, not in Iowa alone, but in the whole West. It gives a prairie view of a prairie state's notable progress, but it leaves the reader with the conviction that even this faithful study is at best a re-enforced concrete foundation, with every stone elaborately labelled and each steel rod duly inscribed, on which some later worker who has imagination and a finer power of summarizing and interpreting will build a more sightly structure. The fear of tabulations amounts almost to an obsession of the editor or of the author, and waste of fair paper and of the reader's time in making comparisons is one of the results. To trace the development of the curriculum of a high school he must, in the case of Dubuque, for example, look at as many as five separated statements; prolix paragraphs embodying exact figures of attendance at schools, like business colleges (III. 128-135), figures of graduating classes in twenty high schools in 1880, and many courses of study grow wearisome.

Particular mention should be made of chapters dealing with pioneer academies such as Denmark and Howe's, with seminaries for women wherein some interesting experiments were attempted, with the evolution of the organization of public high schools, and with "The District High School—Analyzing the Situation" (chapter XVIII.), the last being one of the best in the volume. Even these chapters, however, illustrate a defect in the author's method, a defect which is not chargeable to limited space: a tendency to write Iowa's history, whether political or educational, as though that commonwealth had grown up apart, a sort of Chinese entity surrounded by a high wall over which strong influences and impulses rarely if ever flowed. A whole chapter (XIV.) is devoted to the township high school, but no mention is made of the fact that 150 such schools have grown up since 1866 just across the Mississippi in Illinois. Similarly a good deal of space is given to the

Iowa system of accredited high schools, but never a reference to obligations or relations to Michigan, where it originated and whence it spread.

The fourth volume is based on abundant and orderly materials furnished by state legislation, official reports, proceedings of boards, and institutional publications. It is a distinct improvement on the preceding volume in proportions and in the tracing of forces at work in the evolution of the three institutions of collegiate type. The struggles of each for existence in the early years, for income, buildings, and equipment, and for better salaries of teachers, are sympathetically described, though there is scant reference to the effect of inter-institutional animosities and competitions before the legislature. The section treating of the state university has an excellent chapter (XVII.) on Recognition of the Methods of Science in that institution. The transformation of the state college of agriculture and mechanic arts from an "industrial", manual-labor school for earnest but unlettered children of farmers into a vigorous, stately, outreaching, diversified technological institution is admirably presented. Five good chapters are given to the state teachers college.

A captious critic might differ with the author as to what should go into the text and what should go into the foot-notes. Across a page of text stalks a paragraph burdened with the information that the state college was visited by a company of distinguished German agriculturists "and due provision was made for their entertainment, the President, the dean of agriculture, and the chairman of the Board of Trustees being charged with the functions of the occasion" (p. 287). Early presidents and professors of the university get whole pages of text; later presidents slip into and out of this history through the narrow slits of foot-notes.

KENDRIC CHARLES BABCOCK.

#### MINOR NOTICES

*Plutarch's Lives.* With an English Translation by Bernadotte Perrin. Volume III. *Pericles, Fabius Maximus, Nicias, and Crassus.* (London, William Heinemann, New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1916, pp. ix, 442.) This compact little volume, from the hand of one whose work as a translator and commentator is familiar to all students of Plutarch, forms the third of a series of ten, which will eventually present a complete new translation of the *Lives* of the Greek biographer. In accordance with the plan of the *Loeb Classical Library*, of which this edition forms a part, the Greek text appears on the left-hand, faced by the corresponding English version on the opposite, pages. Perrin has made a departure from the traditional order of sequence of the *Parallel Lives* and has arranged them in general in the chronological order of the lives of the Greeks whose biographies Plutarch composed. In accordance



with this plan the third volume contains the *Pericles* and *Fabius Maximus*, and the *Nicias* and *Crassus*, with the comparisons of each pair. The translations of the *Pericles* and *Nicias* are reproductions, with unimportant alterations, of Perrin's versions published previously in volumes II. and III. of his *Six of Plutarch's Greek Lives* (cf. XI. 840). The rendering of the *Fabius Maximus* and *Crassus* is, however, new, and conforms to the high standard set by the author's previous translations.

A correction should be made, I think, in the note on page 127, where, on the authority of Livy (XXII. 8), Fabius is styled pro-dictator. Mommsen (*Staatsrecht*, II. 147 A. 4; cf. 162 A. 1) has shown that we have no ground for accepting this view of the dictatorship of Fabius.

For the historical student this new edition of Plutarch's *Lives* should prove of value, in view of the presence of the Greek text, the numerous foot-notes with dates, historical and other information, and the location of references made to the works of other authors, as well as to those of Plutarch himself. Of additional value is the appended Dictionary of Proper Names, which contains a great deal of useful historical, biographical, and geographical material. The appearance of the remaining volumes of the series will be welcomed.

A. E. R. BOAK.

*Syria as a Roman Province.* By E. S. Bouchier, M.A. (Oxford, B. H. Blackwell, 1916, pp. ix, 304.) Historical incursions into the provinces seem to be the order of the day for writers who are attacking the questions involved in the spread and maintenance of the Roman Empire. In his *Life and Letters in Roman Africa* and his *Spain under the Roman Empire*, Mr. E. S. Bouchier has already roamed the imperialistic path around the western Mediterranean and validated the Roman stamp on barbarian lands. Now he invites us to the farthest eastern shore of the Mediterranean to see Syria as a Roman province.

To be sure, the Holy Land and the Syrian Christian Church bring to mind the religious significance of Syria, and if one glances at the rather meagre bibliography at the back of Mr. Bouchier's book, the names of Bevan, Bury, Hahn, Cumont, Frazer, Croiset, Mahaffy, and Strzygowski will recall many an interesting side-light on Syria from particular points of view. But this book of Mr. Bouchier's is the first serious attempt to bring together in one place an "account of the life and manners, the literature, and antiquities of central Syria and Phoenicia in Roman times". References are also made to such outlying districts as Palmyra, Commagene, and Roman Arabia, but none (as the preface states) to the Holy Land or to Christian ecclesiasticism in Syria.

The first six chapters of the book are given up to a catalogue of the peoples and cities of Syria, to the history and constitution of the province, and to the Syrian dynasties at Rome. This more strictly historical section is carefully handled, as foot-notes with ancient sources and *Corpus Inscriptionum* references testify, but the mixture of annalistic

and guide-book style of treatment tends toward making good material and pleasing diction slightly monotonous. The chapter on Natural Products and Commerce is likely to be an eye-opener to most readers, for it gives in charming yet multitudinous detail the commercial facts which underlay the perennial pecuniary importance of Syria not only to Rome but to its predecessors in that territory, an importance all the more impressive when compared with the present-day desolation and poverty. The last four chapters are devoted to literature, religion, and the arts, and here the author indulges perhaps in too much detail.

The book has very few even of the little mistakes. Aryan is used instead of Indo-European, Dion Cassius instead of Cassius Dio, and the very late and more unusual forms *Arelatum* and *Treviri* for *Arelate* and *Augusta Treverorum*.

Mr. Bouchier has added a good book to the field of Roman history.

R. V. D. MAGOFFIN.

*The Domesday Survey of Cheshire.* Edited with Introduction, Translation, and Notes by James Tait, M.A. [Remains Historical and Literary connected with the Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Chester, vol. LXXV., new series.] (Manchester, Chetham Society, 1916, pp. xvii, 258.) The fascination of the study of Domesday Book is due in no small measure to the light it is throwing upon English institutions of the pre-Norman period for the explanation of which various hypothetical solutions have been offered. In examining the scholarly introduction to the present volume for a discussion of these questions one is not disappointed. The view that the original hidage of a county was allotted to its hundreds in blocks of one hundred finds support in but two of the twelve Cheshire hundreds. Villis here are too poor to be rated at five, ten, or twenty hides, but in a few cases the assessment of parishes is based on a five-hide unit. The well-known statements of the Cheshire Domesday, urged by Mr. Maitland in support of the garrison theory of the borough, tend rather to constitute an argument against the theory.

The work is a substantial aid to Domesday students. The text is printed in extended Latin with English translation. The introduction is illuminating and the indexes good. A useful map locates the villis in which lay the lands of the great churches and the principal tenants. Among the editor's contributions is the discovery that in a few instances *carucates* and *bovates* formed geldable units in this county. He holds that assessment to the geld was roughly adjusted to ability to pay; that the Domesday rating, which is but slightly more than half of the 1200 hides assigned the county by the county hidage, is fair when judged by the criterion of agricultural capacity, though actually high on account of the waste of war. The word "*salina*" is rendered "*salthouse*". The definition of "*hámfare*" (p. 81) is more specific than the almost contemporary evidence of the *leges* admits.

WILLIAM A. MORRIS.

*La Controverse de Martin Marprelate, 1588-1590: Épisode de l'Histoire Littéraire du Puritanisme sous Elizabeth.* Par G. Bonnard, Docteur ès Lettres. (Geneva, A. Jullien, 1916, pp. xv, 237.) The Martin Marprelate controversy has been a fruitful field of recent discussion. The labors of Arber, Bond, Dexter, Pierce, and Wilson have made these lively Puritan writings familiar both in text and circumstance. M. Bonnard cheerfully admits that he "has not had the good fortune to discover new sources of real importance". Nevertheless, his scholarly study has been well worth the doing. No treatment thus far accorded this episode has given so satisfactory an analysis of these tracts or has so presented to the reader not only their faults and merits, but their setting in the circumstances of their time. His volume is one that will be well-nigh indispensable to any further student of the most picturesque episode of Puritan discussion under Elizabeth.

The author is peculiarly happy in showing how these tracts occasioned, by their claim of a *jure divino* Presbyterianism addressed to a popular audience, the assertion by Richard Bancroft of a similar *jure divino* claim for Episcopacy, with all the momentous consequences that that assertion has involved for the Church of England.

Regarding the authorship of the tracts, M. Bonnard believes a practically conclusive case is to be made out for Job Throckmorton, in spite of that worthy's denials, and of the recent attempt of a careful English scholar, Mr. J. D. Wilson, to fasten them on Sir Roger Williams, at least in part. M. Bonnard has made out a strong case for his contention. It seems the most probable of any solutions thus far offered.

The name of the well-known Congregational scholar, Rev. T. G. Crippen, is twice erroneously printed "Grippen" (pp. 5, 232); but blemishes in this careful volume are few.

WILLISTON WALKER.

*The Identification of the Writer of the Anonymous Letter to Lord Monteagle in 1605.* (London, Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent, and Company, Ltd., 1916, pp. ix, 28.) The history of the so-called Gunpowder Plot of 1605 has been involved in obscurity from the appearance of the disingenuous contemporary official account to the scholars' controversy between Father Gerard and Professor Gardiner a few years ago; and one of the most obscure questions connected with it has been the authorship of the warning letter to Lord Monteagle which has been generally supposed to have led to the detection of the plot. This last mystery appears now to have been cleared up. In a thin quarto, sumptuous of paper and printing, lawyerlike in style and abundantly supplied with fine facsimiles, it seems to be reasonably fully proved that the writer of the anonymous letter of warning was a certain William Vavasour, trusted serving man in the Tresham family, to which one of the conspirators and Lord Monteagle belonged. The identification is based partly on handwriting, partly on Coke's statements at the trial, partly on the gen-

eral relations among the parties concerned. Although the only point claimed to be actually demonstrated is that the letter was written by William Vavasour, the inference necessarily follows that he wrote it at the bidding of his master, Francis Tresham, the latest sworn of the conspirators, and delivered it by his orders to Lord Monteagle's serving man. It is characteristic of the obscurity of the whole affair that the steps in the reasoning by which these things are proved are very close, that examples of disguised not natural handwriting are here compared and found similar, and, as if to perpetuate the mystery, that this little book is itself anonymous.

E. P. C.

*La Mission du Conventionnel Lakanal dans la Dordogne en l'An II. (Octobre 1793-Août 1794).* Par Henri Labroue, Professeur Agrégé d'Histoire au Lycée de Bordeaux. (Paris, Honoré Champion, 1916, pp. xxii, 704.) Lakanal is recalled chiefly for his activity as a member of the Committee of Public Instruction of the Convention, as one of the prophets, therefore, of the modern French educational system. It is M. Labroue's aim to exhibit another side of the *Conventionnel's* career, and to make, at the same time, a contribution to the study of the work of the deputies on mission, the "Proconsuls of the Terror".

How varied were the tasks which the more conscientious, or ambitious, deputies undertook is indicated by the titles of the fifteen special chapters which describe what Lakanal sought to accomplish; for example, "Lakanal and Revolutionary Government", "Lakanal and Ecclesiastical Affairs", "Lakanal and Subsistence", "Lakanal and Revolutionary Taxes". Each topic is studied from the documents preserved in the various collections at Paris and in the local archives, municipal as well as departmental. The author has been able through his unwearied researches to correct many errors in the older tradition of Lakanal's career in the Dordogne and even to show that Lakanal's own memory suffered convenient lapses. For example, Lakanal boasted that he had caused no arrests while on his mission. It is true that he was personally responsible for no executions, but he did cause arrests.

If M. Labroue desires to convince us that Lakanal was a substantial personage, he has not succeeded. His own approval of him seems at times doubtful. Lakanal's principal fault was the ease with which he assimilated dominant ideas. He had been a priest, and at the time of his election to the Convention was vicar-general of Pamiers, but in 1793 he refers to "momerics sacerdotales", "insignifiantes prières", "ridicules génuflexions", and "jongleries des prêtres". One is reminded of Camille Desmoulins's remark about ecclesiastics who confess that they have been charlatans for the sake of enjoying good cheer.

Lakanal's ideas about property are typical of the Jacobin school of thought. "L'ennemi du peuple n'a point de propriété", he declared in order to justify his levies of extraordinary taxes upon the "riches inciviques", anti-revolutionaries or even moderates, who happened to have

money. As the "people" were his own faction, it was not difficult to discover those who had lost all right to their property. Lakanal was also a firm believer in a social justice which assumes that the rich are robbers of the poor, and he proceeded accordingly, to a partial restoration, describing the process as relief of the needy.

Lakanal may not be admirable, but this work is. It is a real contribution to the history of the revolutionary government which the Convention carried on in 1793 and 1794.

H. E. BOURNE.

*How Wars were Won: a Short Study of Napoleon's Times.* By George Townsend Warner, M.A. (London, Blackie and Son, 1915, pp. 236.) This is a series of lectures given at Harrow to boys in the Officers' Training Corps. There are few schools in this country, leave alone our universities, where anything of nearly as good quality could be produced. This is far from saying, however, that Mr. Warner attains the best standards either of historical study or of military theory; and his teaching is not free from serious pitfalls. Among the topics he deals with are Ulm, Tourcoing, Jena, Torres Vedras, and Vittoria. The maps and diagrams are distinctly better than in the average book of this type; we particularly commend the relief sketch, with troop positions marked, for the battle of Busaco.

J.

*List of Works relating to Scotland*, compiled by George F. Black, Ph.D. (New York Public Library, 1916, pp. viii, 1233.) The New York Public Library is to be congratulated on the affluence of its material respecting Scotland, and also on the affectionate zeal of the Scot who has produced for it so prodigious a catalogue of that material. The 1072 pages of text must contain more than 20,000 entries. Though many are repetitions of the same title under various headings, the sum total of books, pamphlets, papers in transactions, and articles in magazines, remains impressive. Archaeology, history, biography, and genealogy embrace three-fifths of the book. Scots law is but meagrely represented, Scottish and Gaelic language and literature largely. The index, of 160 pages in double column, seems to be merely an author-index. We find no section of the book devoted to those influences of Scots in Ulster or on the Continent, or of Ulster Scots in America, to which allusion is made in the preface.

*Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap.* Zeven en Dertigste Deel. (Amsterdam, Johannes Müller, 1916, pp. lxxvii, 369.) Of this thirty-seventh volume of the Utrecht society's proceedings, the first sixty pages are occupied with a series of responses made in 1663 by cities of Holland to an inquiry sent to each by the provincial states, relating to the condition of the cloth industry, about which anxieties had

been expressed. Reports from nine cities are extant, mostly in the communal archives of Leiden. In the fifth volume of the *Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis van de Leidsche Textielnijverheid* Dr. N. W. Posthumus published the Leiden replies. The remaining eight, with some pertinent documents from the "admiralties" and elsewhere, are now presented. They illuminate the history of the industry at a critical period, seem to prove that its decline had already begun, and show how French competition and other difficulties were already inciting a reaction from free-trade sentiments. The second contribution, twice as extensive as this first, consists of a body of extracts from the resolutions of the *vroedschap* of Gouda, embracing such as relate to transactions of the States of Holland and the States General in the earlier years of the sixteenth century. They run from 1501 to 1524, stopping at that point because the journals of Aert van der Goes begin in 1525. In the existing state of early formal records of the States, these local instructions and local actions upon provincial and national affairs, edited by Mr. A. Meerkamp van Embden, are of much interest. Dr. S. Van Brakel prints, from notarial archives, a group of seventeenth-century agreements of partnership, of considerable importance to the history of Dutch business administration. As interesting as any section of the book, and longest (pp. 235-369), is Mr. H. G. van Grol's contribution on the Zeeland prize court at Flushing and its operations, 1575-1577. The life of the admiralty court of Zeeland was brief; the Pacification of Ghent made the trial of prize causes once more an affair of the general administration, and provincial jurisdiction ceased. Mr. van Grol finds in the archives of Flushing the records of 258 prize cases in these two years, and presents the essential data in tabular form.

*Poland.* By W. Alison Phillips, M.A., Lecky Professor of Modern History, University of Dublin. [Home University Library of Modern Knowledge, no. 100.] (New York, Henry Holt and Company, London, Williams and Norgate, 1916, pp. vi, 256.) This small volume is a history of the Polish question, rather than of Poland. Professor Phillips has undertaken not to narrate, even in outline, the ten centuries of Polish history, but to trace the evolution and to discuss the present state of a problem to which, as he justly says, "recent events have given so fateful an importance and so poignant an interest". The five chapters dealing with the period of Polish independence (down to 1795) are disappointing. They are marred by a surprising number of errors, particularly with regard to dates; and they seem to the reviewer to contain more than one fundamentally false conception, and to rest on a quite too superficial and hasty investigation of the subject. The "Congress Kingdom" and the insurrections of 1830 and 1863 are satisfactorily treated; as well, perhaps, as has yet been done in English (within the given limits of space). Doubtless the most valuable part of the book, however, is that dealing with the fortunes of the Poles under their three masters since

1863 and with the evolution of Polish political parties and political thought just before the outbreak of the war. Professor Phillips believes that the great majority of the nation now bases its hopes upon Russia; that the best solution of the question would be the establishment of an autonomous Polish state, bound to Russia at least by a customs union (for "the independence of Poland would be dearly bought, were she to be cut off by a high tariff wall from her Russian markets", p. 163); and that England and France, as well as Russia, must realize that upon the restoration of Polish freedom the liberty of the rest of Europe essentially depends (p. 250).

The book is to be commended for a clear and attractive style, and for the fairness and objectivity which the author has, on the whole, maintained. The appended short bibliography of works dealing with the Polish question should be of assistance to the general reader.

R. H. L.

*Reden, Vorträge und Abhandlungen.* Von Alfred Stern. (Stuttgart, J. G. Cotta, 1914, pp. 389.) This collection illustrates admirably the catholic interests of the gifted Jewish-Swiss author of the *Leben Mirabcaus* and the *Geschichte Europas, 1815-1848*. The "speeches" comprise brief eulogies of the Emperor William I., of Gabriel Riesser, who contended energetically in Germany for the emancipation of the Jews and who, appointed a judge at Hamburg in 1860, was the first Jew admitted to the bench in his country, of Leopold von Ranke and George Waitz, and of Gabriel Monod. The last three speeches, delivered at various dates from 1886 to 1912, had previously appeared in print. Similarly, the four "studies" in the volume had already been published: the first, on Mirabeau and Lavater, in the *Deutsche Rundschau* in 1904; the second, on Talleyrand's memoirs, in *Nord und Süd* in 1893; the third, prepared with the aid of documents discovered in the British Foreign Office in 1899 and recounting the visit of Gneisenau to London in 1809 and the secret negotiations for a close alliance of Prussia and Great Britain against Napoleon, appeared in the *Historische Zeitschrift* in 1900; and the fourth, particularly diverting in these present embattled and nationalistic times, presenting the curious scheme of Prince Polignac for a territorial readjustment of Europe in 1829, appeared in the *Historische Vierteljahrschrift* in 1900. Prince Polignac, it will be recalled, taking account of the contemporaneous war between Turkey and Russia, urged the French government of Charles X. to co-operate in ending Ottoman rule in Europe and in refashioning the Continental map: Russia should secure Wallachia, Moldavia, and a third of Anatolia; Bosnia and Serbia should go to Austria; Belgium and Luxemburg to France; Prussia should annex Holland and Saxony and indemnify the Catholic king of the latter by ceding him her Catholic Rhenish province; the head of the Orange family, compelled to yield his native Holland to Prussia, the Belgian provinces to France, and the Dutch colonial em-

pire to England, should receive compensation as king of a new Greece, which would include not only the modern kingdom of Greece but also Constantinople, Bulgaria, Macedonia, and Albania. All of these "studies" of Professor Stern have been considerably revised since their first appearance.

The only contributions in the collection, however, that are entirely new, are the four "lectures": the first is a glowing tribute to the mind and achievements of Beaumarchais; the second, a painstaking study of the attitude of Wieland towards the French Revolution, according to the articles published by the poet in his *Teutscher Merkur* and *Neuer Teutscher Merkur*; the third, a sympathetic sketch of the life and career of Mary Wollstonecraft, "the first woman to champion equal rights for her sex"; and the fourth, an appreciation of Moltke as a Caesar-like historian in his letters and in his earlier works on Poland and Turkey. It may not be amiss to add that all the lectures and studies in this volume are written in a style characteristically simple and clear.

CARLTON J. H. HAYES.

*German Policy before the War.* By G. W. Prothero, Litt.D., Hon. LL.D., F.B.A. (London, John Murray, 1916, pp. viii, 111.) This little book is expanded from notes of a lecture delivered in January, 1916, before the Royal Historical Society and bears both in spirit and style marks of informal origin. Interesting but highly inconclusive is the author's development of the militaristic theory of the state, "the state as a superhuman entity", from Kant's categorical imperative on the one side and the "sublime selfishness" of Goethean self-culture on the other. The second chapter summarizes the causes of the nation's trust in the army and the economic forces which armed its aggressiveness and led finally to the *Drang nach Osten*, which Prothero regards as "the master key of German foreign policy". The author then traces in three chapters the history of German foreign affairs since 1871, pivoting important changes of policy on the accession of William II. and on the weakening of Russia in 1905. He concedes the "obvious need" of a German navy, justifies German claims in Morocco, and admits with reserve the plausibility of German reasoning as to a "wide-spread plot against the life of Germany". In spite of its fairness of tone, the work bears the marks of special pleading, and is, as was perhaps inevitable, a partizan interpretation of history, a fact which strikes the neutral reader on well-nigh every page, whether in such statements as that regarding the brutality of recent German literature and the materialism of German science (p. 23), or in the recitation of the Schnäbele incident (p. 51) or the proposed Sanjak railway (p. 85) or in the whole account of the annexation episode of 1908 (p. 87 ff.), where fact and theory are no longer distinguishable. The weakest point is the author's failure to appreciate the German attitude toward the alliance with Austria, culmi-



nating in the statement that "Germany's intense interest in the maintenance of the Austro-Hungarian empire" is "difficult to understand except as a part of Germany's ambition in the Orient". The foreign critic will find that Bismarck's justification of the alliance as a necessary bulwark for German independence of Russia furnishes a simpler explanation (*Ged. und Erinn.*, II. 525 ff.).

ROBERT H. FIFE, JR.

*Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706.* Edited by Herbert Eugene Bolton, Ph.D., Professor of American History, University of California. [Original Narratives of Early American History.] (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916, pp. xii, 487.) In the preparation and publication of this book students of the history of our extreme Southwest and of California have been rendered an extreme service, for, as Professor Bolton announces, of the numerous Spanish documents herein presented in translation, only a third have hitherto appeared in English, about a third in Spanish only, while the remainder have never before been printed in any language. In a word, then, the volume is replete with original material for the history of the territory to which it pertains. Each document or series of closely related documents forms a section of the work, with an introduction which summarizes the object of the expedition (for all the documents pertain to expeditionary activities) and its achievements. The sections comprise the following subjects: I. Exploration and plans for the settlement of California (the Cabrillo-Ferrelo expedition, the Vizcaino expedition, and Father Ascención's Report of the Discovery of the South Sea); II. Exploration and settlement in New Mexico and in adjacent regions (the Rodríguez and Espejo expeditions; the Oñate expeditions and the founding of the Province of New Mexico); III. Exploration and settlement of Texas (the Bosque-Larios, Mendoza-López, and De León-Massanet expeditions); IV. Arizona: the Jesuits in Pimería Alta, comprising the report and relation of Fr. Eusebio Kino. An elucidative map of explorations on the northern frontier of New Spain (1535-1706), compiled by Professor Bolton, and two hitherto unpublished original maps—one of Oñate's route to New Mexico in 1598 and to the Arkansas River in 1601; the other recording De León's journey in 1690 from Monclova to the Neches River in Texas—add further interest and value to the work; indeed the Oñate map is destined to clarify a number of mooted points pertaining to Oñate's colonization scheme. The text is illumined with many brief foot-notes, and the contents are made readily consultable by a full index.

No adequate review of this important contribution to Spanish-American history is possible within our limitations of space, as each of the numerous documents appearing is itself worthy of a summary. In a word, Professor Bolton's book is of such importance and usefulness to students of the Southwest and of the Pacific slope as to be indispensable.

We note a slip or two of minor importance: Cocoyes (pp. 212, 218) is not Cicuyé or Pecos, as that pueblo, in the form "Peccos", is given in the same document (p. 216). The "Piguís" of Oñate (p. 216) are undoubtedly the Piro, as all the other Pueblo tribes are readily accounted for. It may also be mentioned that the Zuñi saline (p. 236) is at once recognized as the salt lagoon southwest of Zuñi, the source of the Zuñi salt supply from time immemorial and to which the members of the tribe mentioned still make periodical pilgrimages.

F. W. HODGE.

*Our Country's Flag and the Flags of Foreign Countries.* By Edward S. Holden, LL.D. (New York and London, D. Appleton and Company, 1916, pp. xiv, 165.) The new edition of Edward S. Holden's volume, which first appeared in 1898 as one of the series of Appleton's *Home Reading Books*, is well timed with the patriotic fervor of the day. There are few changes to be noted. A page describing special United States service flags is substituted for one illustrating some official flags of the country, and efforts have been made to have text and illustrations meet the historical changes that have taken place. But the discrepancies between text and illustration are many, with results that must be confusing to the young reader, for whom the book is primarily designed. This is true, for example, in the description and illustration of the flags of Algiers, the Chinese Republic, Congo, Corea, Madagascar, Portugal, Tripoli, and Tunis; and in spite of the admonition given that in any disagreement between plate and text the latter is to be preferred, it is the text that is, in most cases, at fault.

*Historical Records and Studies of the United States Catholic Historical Society.* Volume IX. Edited by Charles George Herbermann, LL.D. (New York, 1916, pp. 258.) Nearly half of this volume, 100 pages, is devoted to Dr. Herbermann's History of the Sulpicians in the United States, of which four chapters are presented. In the first, entitled the Sulpician Missionary Bishops and Missionaries, sketches are given of Bishop Flaget of Bardstown (based mostly on the biography by Archbishop Spalding), of Bishop David, his successor in the same see, of Father Gabriel Richard of Detroit, of Bishop Dubourg of St. Louis and New Orleans, of Archbishop Maréchal, and of Bishop Dubois of New York. Two other chapters trace with care and with interest the history of St. Mary's Seminary and St. Mary's College till 1852, and another, under the title *Protégées of the Sulpicians*, gives the contemporary history of Mother Seton, of the Sisters of Charity, of the Sisters of St. Joseph, and of the (colored) Oblate Sisters of Providence. Another long article, by Rev. W. J. Howlett, treats in a similar manner the biography and the missionary labors of the Very Reverend Stephen Theodore Badin, vicar-general of Bardstown, of Cincinnati, and later of Chicago, while Mr. Thomas F. Meehan adds a sketch of Very Rev.

Johann Stephan Raffener, vicar-general of the Germans in the diocese of New York. A picture of New Mexico in 1681 is presented by the translation of a letter written that year by Father Johannes Ratkay, S. J., missionary in the province named. Another translation is of a German discourse of 1888 on the Ludwig-Missions-Verein.

*Memorandum written by William Rotch in the Eightieth Year of his Age.* (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1916, pp. xii, 88.) This little book relates some of the experiences of William Rotch, a Nantucket Quaker, who was engaged in the whaling and shipping business at Nantucket and later at Dunkirk, France. The story covers the eventful years 1775-1794. The first portion centres around the fact that he believed, with other islanders, both because of expediency and because of his Quaker principles, that Nantucket should remain neutral during the war. Mr. Rotch was on committees appointed by the town in 1779 and 1780 to go to Newport and New York to secure from the English better treatment and permits for whaling, and later to Congress for the same purpose. In all these missions he was successful. He was "impeached" for high treason in 1779 for alleged correspondence with the English, but brilliantly defended himself.

When the war ended, Mr. Rotch had lost much of his fortune by reason of it, and besides found the English market for sperm oil closed as a result of heavy import duties. He accordingly determined, in 1785, to set up his business in England. After the English government had refused to give him proper encouragement, he made proposals to that of France. He had interviews with Vergennes and other ministers who accepted his proposals, and the business was established at Dunkirk. In 1791 he petitioned the National Assembly in the interest of the Quakers, spread their doctrines, looked after his business interests, and returned to America in 1793. An appendix gives the petition, the answer of the president, and the complaint against Mr. Rotch in 1779. There are several fine illustrations of whaling scenes. The story is told in a simple and interesting style, and makes vivid the peculiar difficulties experienced by Nantucket in the Revolution. It also gives us an example of the courage which so many Quakers exhibited in maintaining their principles in war times.

MARCUS W. JERNEGAN.

*The Presidency: its Duties, its Powers, its Opportunities, and its Limitations.* Three lectures by William Howard Taft. [University of Virginia, Barbour-Page Foundation.] (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916, pp. 142.) This is a clear, comprehensive, and useful treatise on the office of the presidency. Probably no other incumbent of the position could have written it, because no other has possessed the faculty of studying the powers and limitations of the office with the peculiarly detached and judicial temperament that distinguishes Mr. Taft.

The Constitution is singularly vague in defining the powers of the President. Being vaguely expressed, those powers have been capable of great extension since the days of Washington, who hesitated long before he sent to Congress, basing it upon constitutional reasons, the first of his two vetoes; whose power to remove an officer without the consent of the Senate was warmly disputed; whose advice to Congress on the subject of legislation was conveyed in the simplest and broadest suggestions of topics to be considered.

President Taft takes the office as he found it—and as he left it—and explains what it is. He does not attempt to show historically when and how one power after another was derived from a lesser power assumed by one of his predecessors. But he does exhibit the office in the present state of its evolution, and illustrates each position by many interesting events and problems in his own experience and in that of those who preceded him. There is little that is controversial in his statements or opinions. In one or two instances he makes it clear that he recognizes limitations on the executive power that one or two recent Presidents have been inclined to disregard. That is a useful service; for the American public is strangely blind to the evil that history shows us may result to the liberties of the people from a too-extensive assumption of authority by a Chief Executive.

*Presidential Nominations and Conventions: a History of American Conventions, National Campaigns, Inaugurations, and Campaign Caricatures.* By Joseph Bucklin Bishop. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916, pp. x, 237.) Mr. Bishop devotes the first part of his volume to the conventions to nominate candidates for president; then follow some twenty or thirty pages relating to political caricatures and cartoons, a great many of which are reproduced; and the book closes with accounts of the ceremonies and accompanying incidents of the installation of a few of the presidents. It seems to have been the author's chief aim to be picturesque, and in that he has succeeded. He has culled from well-known books of history and reminiscence many anecdotes and events illustrating our political history. He does not pretend to give anything like connected history, and no student will find in the book any help in understanding fully the significance of public events, or in educing the lessons from them.

Nevertheless the book will be found, by those who read pseudo-history for entertainment only, more interesting and readable than more serious works. It is not misleading, in the sense of misstating facts, but it does tend to mislead by emphasizing what is unimportant and frivolous in political history, and by repeating forgotten scandals. Such a statement as that cannot be justified without specification of what it is intended to condemn.

The reproduced cartoons are a prominent feature of the book. Mr.

Bishop had access to large collections of the feebly-pictured political wit of politicians from the time of Jackson onward. The most of those which he presents are harmless, simply because to men of the present generation they are meaningless. The alleged political tricks represented were never heard of by them and the names and caricatured countenances of those figuring in the pictures convey no information. Indeed, when you have to turn from the picture to another page, by use of the index, to learn what is intended by the picture, there is little danger that you will conceive a contemptuous opinion of the statesmen of the past, save in a general way. But it is a serious offense to reproduce such caricatures as those of Lincoln and Blaine, to mention no others, ridiculing or heaping moral condemnation upon men whom a large number of the present generation hold in respect.

Something similar must be said of the text. The general effect is to bring out all the littleness of our public men and to omit whatever explains the prominence they achieved in their time. The weak sides of Webster, Conkling, Blaine, and others are fully exposed, with anecdotes, the most objectionable of which is that—which ought to be forgotten—about Henry Clay. And a few million voters will think their party is not fairly treated in the partizan account of the Taft-Roosevelt convention of 1912.

*The Centennial History of the American Bible Society.* By Henry Otis Dwight. In two volumes. (New York, the Macmillan Company, 1916, pp. 296, 297-605.) This is for historians both a grateful and a disappointing work. It is good to have a detailed history of the American Bible Society. In its first ninety-nine years its receipts aggregated over \$38,000,000, it circulated nearly 110,000,000 Bibles and Testaments, embracing in the United States alone ninety-two languages; and it has been an almost indispensable element in all missionary activities. Moreover, it is of importance both as an illustration of, and a factor in, our nationalizing processes, and is one of the most significant items in the tendency toward Christian unity. Historians generally have overlooked it; even Henry Adams's history of the years in which it came into existence ignores it entirely. Yet the bare fact of the formation, chiefly by citizens of New Jersey and New York, of a national Bible Society in 1816, as a capstone of perhaps a hundred local and state societies, has bearings on general American history easy to be seen.

We have here, in many respects, an official history. The author is not only an experienced missionary and editor, but since 1907 has been the recording secretary of the American Bible Society, and in 1914 was apparently released from other duties to devote his time to this work. He has used as material, in addition to the elaborate *Annual Reports* and other publications of the society, its records and considerable collateral material. His work has been carefully and accurately done.

Yet anyone who goes to it for information will be disappointed to find that it is not primarily a history, but "a book to be read by the people", with a strongly pronounced propagandist tendency, seeking obtrusively "in every chapter the glory of God". The author is obviously less interested in history than in the American Bible Society. There are very few references to sources, but there is incessant moralizing. The facts given could easily have been compressed into one volume. Were it not for a good index and valuable appendixes, its use would involve much waste of time.

There is space for but a few criticisms of details. "Spaulding" (p. 366 and index) should be Spalding; "Samuel J. Walker" (p. 189) should be Robert J. Walker, and "J. H. Poinsett" (p. 78) should be Joel R. Poinsett. For "December 31, 1916" (p. 469) read December 31, 1915. For "Polk" (p. 183, line 1) read Tyler. The foot-note on page 400 should show Japan and China as a single agency of the society in 1876; there were not two separate agencies until 1881. A rigorous exclusion of mere variations in versions or manner of printing would reduce the number of languages in which the society has translated, printed, or distributed the Scriptures from 164 to less than 150 (pp. 562, 533).

*The Real Story of the Whaler: Whaling, Past and Present.* By A. Hyatt Verrill. (New York and London, D. Appleton and Company, 1916, pp. xv, 249.) The history of the American whaling industry has been undertaken by several authors with varying degrees of success. Alexander Starbuck's *History of the American Whale Fishery from its Earliest Inception to the Year 1870*; Walter S. Tower's *A History of the American Whale Fishery* (1907); John R. Spears's *The Story of the New England Whalers* (1908),<sup>1</sup> are examples. In the present book there are ten chapters, entitled, What we Owe the Whaler, Whales and their Ways, How the Whales are Caught, Whaling Ships and their Crews, Outward Bound, True Stories of Whaling, the Log of the Whaleman, Leisure Hours, the Rise and Fall of Whaling, and the Passing of the Whaler. The special feature of this book is the vivid inside view of the whaling industry which the author has apparently acquired from close association with men who have followed the business and from a study of whale-ships and their fittings, log-books, shipping accounts, papers, etc. One can almost smell a whale-ship and the wharves of New Bedford and Nantucket as they were in the heyday of whaling. Another important feature is the large number of illustrations, such as maps, pictures of whale-ships and whale-boats, sectional plans of the same, pictures of outfitting shops and outfits, figures of different varieties of whales, implements for capture, processes of "cutting-in", "scrimshawing", log-books, accounts, etc. Particularly interesting is

<sup>1</sup> The latter was reviewed by the present writer, with comment on the first two, in the *American Historical Review*, XIV, 391-392.

chapter IV., with sectional views of two ships, and a list of "Articles for a Whaling Voyage", published in 1858. No less than 635 different articles are mentioned. As Mr. Verrill says (p. 67) "it will be seen that a whale-ship was really a floating department store, carpenter shop, blacksmith shop, shipyard and several other things all rolled into one". There are some thrilling "True Stories of Whaling" in chapter VI., and a clear statement of the causes for the rise and fall of whaling in chapter IX.

Much concerning the evolution of the industry is omitted, better treated by Tower, and little attention is paid to its economic and social significance in the development of New England. The book is in no sense a scientific study of the subject but is written in popular style, without a bibliography, citations, or index. Nevertheless, the author has used much original material of the kind which has to do with the actual processes of whaling and the life of the whaler. In this respect it is, in the opinion of the reviewer, one of the most interesting and best books yet written on this subject.

MARCUS W. JERNEGAN.

*Abraham Lincoln: the Lawyer-Statesman.* By John T. Richards. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1916, pp. vii, 260.) This is an interesting and valuable book. It does not purport to be a biography of Lincoln,

but is intended only as a presentation of the results of an investigation into the record of Abraham Lincoln as a lawyer, his views upon the subjects of universal suffrage and the reconstruction of the Confederate State Governments at the close of the Civil War, and his attitude toward the judiciary, upon which there has been considerable misunderstanding in recent years.

In many respects, it covers the same ground as *Lincoln the Lawyer*, by Frederick Trevor Hill, which appeared in 1906, though it gives rather more attention than the latter book to the exposition of Lincoln's legal views as they were developed during his presidency. It gives less attention than Mr. Hill's book to the early life of Lincoln, and is much less full on the intimate and anecdotal side of Lincoln's life. On the other hand, Mr. Richards gives a more detailed statement of the facts of the various cases which Lincoln had in the supreme court of Illinois than does Mr. Hill, and his account of some of the more frequently mentioned cases in which Lincoln appeared, like the Armstrong murder case, the Rock Island bridge case, and the McCormick reaper case, is more full and circumstantial than that of Mr. Hill.

Mr. Richards deals with his subject with sympathy and enthusiasm, but his method is always restrained, temperate, and judicial. He has certainly rendered a valuable service, as did also Mr. Hill, in rescuing Mr. Lincoln's reputation as a lawyer from the hands of certain of his biographers who would leave the impression that his practice was small, his

cases of little importance, and his methods those of a backwoodsman who relied upon trickery, rude wit, and vulgar story for such success as he achieved. The records show conclusively that Mr. Lincoln was one of the ablest, most successful, most respected, and widely employed lawyers of his time and territory. Whether, as Mr. Richards contends, he may properly be termed "great" as a lawyer, depends of course upon the sense in which that adjective is used. One is reminded of the comparison drawn between Jeremiah Mason and Daniel Webster—that one was a great lawyer and the other a great man practising law. Mr. Richards quotes from David Davis, the early and life-long friend to Mr. Lincoln, whom Lincoln as President appointed to the Supreme Court of the United States:—"In all the elements that constitute the great lawyer, he [Lincoln] had few equals. He was great both at *nisi prius* and before an appellate tribunal."

FLOYD R. MECHEM.

*The Administration of President Hayes.* The Larwill Lectures, 1915, delivered at Kenyon College by John W. Burgess, Ph.D., J. U. D., LL.D., formerly Professor of Political Science and Constitutional Law, Columbia University. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916, pp. xi, 154.) Professor Burgess publishes under this heading what is in reality a series of lectures bearing to a considerable extent the character of a tribute to President Hayes. Hence one encounters a good deal of eulogy, frequently extravagant in phraseology, which, in seeking to estimate the value of the book, must be discarded as part of the usual trappings of memorial addresses. Was President Hayes really, as the writer asserts, "the finest example of genuine American manhood . . . who ever occupied the White House", and can we say of his term that "no wiser, sounder, and more successful presidential period has ever been experienced by this country"?

About three-fifths of the volume is devoted to the election of 1876 and the subsequent withdrawal of troops from Louisiana and South Carolina. Here one finds the same facts and theories which Professor Burgess has already elaborated in his *Reconstruction*, justifying on strictly constitutional grounds the action of the Electoral Commission, and yet managing, also on constitutional grounds, to applaud the legality of Hayes's refusal to continue the federal support of the returning boards. The distinction is an exceedingly technical one and Hayes's purposes, as the author admits, were wholly political and not legal, but on it he relies to sweep away the charge that Hayes was inconsistent in refusing to maintain the state governments to which he owed his own election. In the part of the book devoted to the events of Hayes's administration Professor Burgess depicts him as chiefly a constitutional reformer, "re-establishing the government upon its constitutional foundations" through his contest with Congress. He even goes so far as to say that Hayes's use of the veto power and his assertion of executive



rights over appointments "prevented the parliamentary system of government, the system of the sovereignty of the lower house of the legislature, the system which finally extinguishes all of the constitutional immunities of the individual, from displacing the check-and-balance system provided by the Constitution for the purpose of maintaining and protecting those immunities". This curiously technical and hypothetical way of characterizing the bitter party contests of 1879-1880, in which the Senate was in no danger of being subordinate to the lower House, and the President, supported by more than one-third of each branch, occupied an impregnable position, cannot but seem artificial. Throughout the book the writer's preoccupation with political science, constitutional procedure, and legality throws social or political factors into the shade. The student of government will find interesting and suggestive material, but little to suggest the great underlying tendencies of the time or to show President Hayes's share in them or his relation to his party.

THEODORE CLARKE SMITH.

*My Story.* By Tom L. Johnson. Edited by Elizabeth J. Hauser. (New York, B. W. Huebsch, 1913, pp. xli, 326.) "Tom" Johnson made a fortune in street railways before he was thirty-five, and spent the rest of his life in the anomalous position of a capitalist who was at once a free trader and a disciple of Henry George. In politics he called himself a Democrat but he often found that he was unacceptable to the orthodox in both great parties. Twice he represented the Cleveland district in the House of Representatives before he reached the top of his public service as mayor of Cleveland, 1901-1909. The identity between his professions and his practices was often questioned by his contemporaries, but his associates, at least, believed that the harmony was complete and that he was the prophet of a new public spirit. Johnson and Pingree, Brand Whitlock and "Golden Rule" Jones managed to force city government into the public view over the obstruction of best citizens, of indifference, and of greed. As a group they stand midway between the municipal reformers of the Cleveland and Blankenburg types, and they form a connecting link between the populists and the progressives.

Johnson was not an easy writer or speaker. He was effective in rapid debate under his big tent, but he left few manuscripts or set speeches. He tells in one place how he defeated the Hon. T. E. Burton in a joint debate under conditions limiting speeches to ten minutes, in which time his learned opponent could not get started, much less finish. Because of this habit Johnson would not have left an autobiography had not his friends demanded it and his secretary put it together; and his book shows the defect of his method. It is a first-hand narrative of his life as it appeared from its later end, and it relies little upon investigation or preserved records. It approximates in type Brand Whitlock's *Forty Years of It*, and the Roosevelt and LaFollette autobiographies

rather than the admirably documented books on Henry George and Henry Demarest Lloyd. With the biographical works here mentioned it needs to be compared. The external facts of the last forty years are patent to the industrious, but the spirit which will give them life for the historian can be got only from the sincere utterances of participants. And if these have left no contemporary documents, their recollections must needs serve. In addition to the light thrown upon himself, Johnson necessarily gives much useful information upon railway promotion and municipal control. He was, by his own definition, "a good executive . . . one who always acts quickly and is sometimes right".

FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

*Collections of the Maine Historical Society, Second Series, Documentary History, volumes XXI. and XXII., Baxter Manuscripts.* Edited by James Phinney Baxter. (Portland, the Society, 1916, pp. xiv, 491, xii, 482.) These are the sixteenth and seventeenth volumes in this series to which the designation *Baxter Manuscripts* has been given apparently for the reason that the society is indebted to Mr. Baxter for the care and expenditure necessary for bringing the materials together. Ordinarily such a designation would indicate either the papers of the Baxter family, or a mass of papers possessed by someone of that name. It is apparent that neither of these alternatives is true of the materials composing the present volumes. Although there is not a foot-note in either book, nor any indication as to whence any document is derived, the materials are evidently drawn from divers sources, such as the archives of Massachusetts, those of the state of Maine, or of its counties and towns, those of the Maine Historical Society, and the manuscript collections of individual possessors. One document filling seventy pages of the second volume is the Act of Congress of August 4, 1790, establishing the customs system of the United States, a document which, though it has some relation to the history of Maine, as to that of all other states in which there were ports of entry, is surely sufficiently accessible elsewhere. The documents in the first volume extend from 1785 to 1788, those in the second from 1788 to 1791. They are of much value and replete with interest. Despite the insufficiency of their apparatus in the respects which we have mentioned, the volumes have excellent indexes.

*A List of Newspapers in the Yale University Library.* [Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany II.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1916, pp. viii, 217, 25 charts.) Many historical readers have known that the library of Yale University contained a large collection of newspapers, but few, the reviewer imagines, can have been aware that it is so large as is indicated by this list. The Yale University Press and the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences have done a useful service to the historical inquirer by providing him with such a key to

the library's newspaper treasures, a manual ranking alongside the catalogues of newspapers published by the Library of Congress and the Wisconsin Historical Society, and the newspaper lists of a different sort published by the Colonial Society of Massachusetts and the American Antiquarian Society. The list includes, besides the newspapers owned by the Yale library, a large collection of South American newspapers deposited by Professor Hiram Bingham. While most of these last are of dates since 1875, there are substantial Bolivian and Peruvian series for earlier portions of the nineteenth century, Argentine facsimiles for 1810-1821, and the *Gaceta de Mexico* during most of the period from 1784 to 1823. There are a number of good English sets, especially after 1754, and, before that date, *Mercurius Politicus* from 1653 to 1660, and an almost unbroken series of the *London Gazette* from 1665 to 1712. In modern English series and in those of New England from the Revolution down, the collection is rich, and for New York from 1850 it is more than good. Of Continental European series, we may mention the *Moniteur* and *Journal des Débats* substantially complete to 1842, the *Sievernaiia Pchela* from 1825 to 1835, the *Allgemeine Zeitung* from 1798 to 1819 and from 1860 to 1873. Twenty-five charts at the end of the volume give a clear conspectus of all the library's series having any considerable extent.

*Records of the Columbia Historical Society, Washington, D. C.* Volume 19. (Washington, 1916, pp. 234.) Aside from formal records of the society and certain obituary commemorations, the chief contents of the volume are as follows. There is a discourse on the history and jurisdiction of the United States Court of Claims, by Judge Stanton J. Peelle, retired chief justice of that court. Mrs. Margaret Brent Downing, under the title *Literary Land-Marks*, gives an account of many authors, more or less celebrated, who have lived in Washington, of their places of residence, and of what they have written. It is entertaining but not always discerning or accurate; *e. g.*, Samuel Hooper is throughout two pages constantly spoken of as Samuel Cooper. Mr. Allen C. Clark, in continuance of a series of papers on the mayors of the corporation of Washington, deals in this volume with the life of Thomas Carbery, mayor from 1822 to 1824. There is an historical sketch of George Washington University, formerly Columbian College, by its present president, Rear-Admiral Charles H. Stockton. Mr. W. B. Bryan, the historian of the city, presents a diary of Mrs. William Thornton covering the period of the capture of the city in 1814.

*The Conquest of Virginia.* By Conway Whittle Sams. (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1916, pp. 432.) The early histories of Virginia are replete with accounts of the manners and customs of the native tribes with whom the colonists came in contact. Various passages are, necessarily, quite vague and involved, but in recent years, as a result of care-

ful study and research, many such statements appearing in the works of Smith and Strachey have been made clear and easily understood. In *The Conquest of Virginia* the author has brought together much of the early material, making lengthy quotations, in an attempt to represent the aborigines of Virginia as they were at the time of the coming of the first settlers; but he has failed to refer to later publications which would, in many instances, have explained and amplified the older texts. And having failed to become acquainted with the relationship of the different tribes of eastern United States, and of Virginia in particular, he has, unfortunately, often erred in their identification. Thus (p. 26) we find a reference to the "Susquehannocks" [Susquehanna] being one of the Six Nations! On the same page, after mentioning certain tribes living on the southern boundary of Virginia, he wrote:

South, southeast, and southwest of these, stretching close to the end of Florida, were the Maskoki, or Mobilians, comprising the Catawbas and the Yemassee; in North Carolina and South Carolina, the Chickasaws and Choctaws; on the Mississippi, with a small territory of the Natchez Indians between them, the Creeks in Georgia, and the Seminoles in Florida.

A sentence so filled with errors that it would be difficult to add another; and others of a similar nature occur in different parts of the book.

In no part of the work—a work dealing with the Indians of Virginia—do we find mention of a Siouan Confederacy bordering the Algonquian tribes on the west, or of Iroquoian tribes south of the James.

No new facts are presented in the work under consideration, and from the manner in which many comparatively simple words and terms have been defined (as on p. 162), and the curious method of presenting "Some Indian Words" (pp. 285-323), we are led to believe the book was intended for juvenile readers, to whom it will appeal.

DAVID I. BUSHNELL, JR.

*Letters of Benjamin Hawkins, 1796-1806.* [Collections of the Georgia Historical Society, vol. X.] (Savannah, the Society, 1916, pp. 500.) From 1796 to his death in 1816, Benjamin Hawkins of North Carolina, formerly a member of the Continental Congress, and afterwards, for five years, senator from his state, served his country faithfully and with great intelligence and efficiency as an agent to the Creek and other Southern Indians. Nine volumes of his letter-books have been in the possession of the Georgia Historical Society for seventy-five years. In 1848 the society published, as part I. of volume III. of its *Collections*, his Sketch of the Creek Country in 1798 and 1799, one of the most interesting and valuable accounts we have of any tribe of the Southern Indians in the eighteenth century. The society now prints, under the above title, the text of his remaining letter-books. In the preface, the committee in charge of the publication speaks with a certain

complacency of the service to the public thus performed. It is indeed a considerable service, for the volume contains a great deal of invaluable material, far more than might be expected from the title "Letters"; for many of General Hawkins's letters are reports or narratives of large extent, and marked by much fullness of information.

But if the society has performed a useful service to the historical public, it has reduced the service to its lowest terms by a method of publication which can only be described as discreditable. The materials of the letter-books have been simply put into print, fed, so to speak, into the hopper, in the order in which they stand in the manuscript books. Now this order is far from chronological. After a reprint of Dr. Weeks's account of Hawkins's life, from the *Biographical History of North Carolina*, the first 355 pages are occupied with letters of the latter part of 1796 and of the years 1797 and 1798. The next sixty or seventy pages are material of 1801, 1802; then follow a few letters of 1806 and of 1805; then a large number relating to 1796-1798 again. The location of this last section in the manuscripts being obviously casual, they should by all means have been put in their chronological place, where the searcher could find them. In addition to this pointless following of a disorderly arrangement, the material is printed without a single foot-note of explanation, though in many places explanations are requisite; and there is no index! The volume concludes with a reproduction of a part of Early's map of Georgia, of 1818, a date too far removed from the period to which the material mostly relates.

*Circuit-Rider Days in Indiana.* By William Warren Sweet, Professor of History in DePauw University. (Indianapolis, W. K. Stewart Company, 1916, pp. 344.) The student of the early history of Indiana will find no more interesting material than that relating to early religious influences. Indiana's obligation to these influences in the development of the state cannot be calculated. A complete record of these would be an invaluable addition to the archives of the commonwealth.

Among the contributions of the year to Indiana history which have had their inspiration in the centennial activity, *Circuit-Rider Days* deserves an important place. The author states that the "volume will, in a sense, be recognized as Indiana Methodism's contribution to the historical literature of the Centennial year".

Professor Sweet has previously been interested in religious history, his doctoral dissertation for the University of Pennsylvania having been on the subject *The Methodist Episcopal Church and the Civil War*.

In the preparation of *Circuit-Rider Days* the author has had the advantage of the large collection of material in De Pauw University, including a complete file of the *Western Christian Advocate* and the *Minutes* of the old Indiana Conference from 1832 to 1844. It was during these years that the foundations of Indiana Asbury University (now De Pauw) were laid. These minutes were never before pub-

lished. They are here edited with notes and constitute part II. of the volume covering pages 90-333.

Part I., consisting of eighty-nine pages, outlines the history of Methodism in Indiana until 1844. This is divided into three chapters—the planting of Methodism in Indiana, Indiana Methodism 1816-1832, and the Old Indiana Conference 1832-1844. Pages 334-339 are given to a bibliography arranged under the subjects of Manuscripts, Biographical and Autobiographical, and General. Four maps showing early Indiana, Indian cessions, Indiana circuits in 1812, Indiana districts in 1832, and presiding elders' districts in 1844, add to the interest of the narrative.

The Methodist Church has been considered one of the most active of all the pioneer churches in the state, and it made a very rapid growth from the beginning. The period of great activity in organization, missionary work, the organization of Sunday-schools, and the distribution of Bibles and religious literature is covered by this volume, and the official minutes furnish one of the best sources for early Indiana church history. The book is not encumbered by narrative but enough is given to make it readable and spicy.

Professor Sweet dedicates the volume "To the Circuit Riders of old who contributed so largely to Indiana's life", and it may be said that he has made his contribution in much the same spirit as actuated their endeavors. His work has been carefully done and it is a valuable contribution to Indiana history.

HARLOW LINDLEY.

*History of the University of Chicago.* By Thomas Wakefield Goodspeed. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1916, pp. xvi, 522.) The twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the University of Chicago is appropriately marked by the publication of this hundred-page history. At first sight the volume seems too massive for so brief a period, especially when we remember the attractive "short stories" of Columbia, Princeton, and other institutions, recently issued. But the careful reader will find it difficult to suggest how the narrative could be abbreviated. It was necessary that once for all a documentary history of a most remarkable enterprise should be written, and written within the lifetime of most of the men who played the leading parts. That has now been done—modestly, adequately, authoritatively—and need not be done again until future generations have gained a new perspective.

It will be a surprise to many readers to learn how profoundly religious was the motive behind the inception of the university. This discriminates the founding sharply from that of, *e. g.*, Virginia, or Cornell, or Leland Stanford. At Chicago the primary motive—as the printed documents show—was the desire of a great section of the Christian Church to make some offering toward human enlightenment and toward the equipment, under religious auspices, of men and women for human

service. The university motto—*crescit scientia; vita excolatur*—finely expresses the subordination of knowledge to life which has marked the entire history of the institution.

The many extracts from private letters here printed for the first time are of permanent interest. In them we read the minds of the quite unusual group of men who conceived the university before either the founder or the first president had given it any thought. Here we see the long and persistent attempts to interest Mr. Rockefeller, and see him passing from his early non-committal attitude through the stages of inquiry, prolonged study, growing confidence, and genuine devotion. In these letters we see that *prodigious*—no other word will do—dreamer and organizer, William R. Harper, refusing point-blank to leave the professor's chair and venture out on uncharted presidential seas. Here we can follow the young president through his early struggle both for men and for money; we see him in his alternations of enthusiasm and despair; we see his tireless patience, his harmonizing power, his steady mastery, his heroic ending.

Like all great enterprises, the university has had its interior struggles. The early attacks on Dr. Harper's methods of Biblical study, the natural, but baseless, charge that freedom of teaching did not exist, the subsequent charge that the university allowed too much freedom and encouraged fantastic theorists—all these familiar stages in the evolution of a university are frankly depicted. The later debate over the "segregation" of the sexes in the first two academic years evidently approached the dimensions of civil war. But the institution survived all these difficulties and the reader of the history is conscious of a resistless buoyancy in the enterprise, as of a vessel that could weather any storm.

There is in this book little attempt to set forth the temper or inner life or spiritual quality of the university. It may have grown too fast to know its own soul. Decades still are needed to fuse all its multifarious elements into one ideal. Only the men of a later generation can appraise its output, and compare its products with those of the more quiet and conservative institutions of the East. In no country save America could such a gigantic dream have come true in a quarter-century; and the story is well worth the reading.

*Review of Historical Publications relating to Canada.* Edited by George M. Wrong, Professor of History in the University of Toronto, H. H. Langton, Librarian, and W. Stewart Wallace, Lecturer in History. Volume XX., the Publications of the year 1915. (Toronto, Glasgow, Brook and Company, 1916, pp. xii, 224.) This new volume has the same high qualities as its predecessors. The judgments expressed upon books seem to us admirable in quality, just, liberal-minded, discerning, and practical. Still more to be emphasized is the high degree of completeness the editors have attained in their effort to cover their field. In view of the natural difficulty of reviewing a book of this sort, itself

consisting of reviews, our best method may be to signalize several important books of which we have learned for the first time through its pages. They should be made known to our readers, and, though the confession is made in sackcloth and ashes, the omissions after all furnish but one more illustration of the curious want of connection between the Canadian and the American book trade, which leaves us such insufficient means of learning promptly what goes on in literature upon the other side of that pacific boundary. The books (and parts of books) to which we refer are the following: *Les Franciscains et le Canada*, volume I., *L'Établissement de la Foi, 1615-1629*, by Father Odoric-Marie Jouve, O. F. M. (Quebec, Imprimerie Franciscaine Missionnaire, pp. xviii, 506); *Montreal, 1535-1914*, by Dr. William Henry Atherton, in three volumes (Montreal and Chicago, S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1914, pp. xxv, 450; xxvi, 673, 686); *Pioneer Life among the Loyalist Settlements of Upper Canada*, by W. S. Herrington (Toronto, Macmillan, 1915, pp. 107); *Forty Years in Canada*, a remarkable narrative of military and police duty in the Northwest, by Major-General S. B. Steele (London, Herbert Jenkins, 1915, pp. xviii, 428); *The Beothucks or Red Indians: the Aboriginal Inhabitants of Newfoundland*, by Mr. James P. Howley, geologist of that colony (Cambridge University Press, 1914, pp. xx, 348); *The Canadian Constitution as Interpreted by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in its Judgments*, accompanied by a collection of all the pertinent decisions, by Mr. Edward R. Cameron (Winnipeg, Butterworth and Company, 1914, xiv, 825); and two important original documents in the ninth series of *Historical Documents* published by the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, namely, the French original of the "Mémoires de M. le Chevalier de Johnstone" (pp. 69-199) and the journal kept by Lady Durham during the important period of Lord Durham's rule in Canada (pp. 1-68).



## COMMUNICATION

### *An Ibero-American Historical Review*

TO THE MANAGING EDITOR OF *The American Historical Review*:

*Dear Sir:*

The undersigned wish to suggest to the American Historical Association, through the *Review*, that a section should be devoted at the next meeting of the Association to a discussion of the feasibility of founding an *Ibero-American Historical Review*. They believe that the publication of such a review would be, possibly, the most practical method for North American historical scholars to co-operate with the permanent Congress and the American Bibliographical Institute, which have just been established by the Congreso Americano de Bibliografía é Historia at Buenos Aires. In connection with the project to found a new historical review, the undersigned wish to make the following tentative suggestions:—

1. That the said review should be devoted to the history (political, economic, social, and diplomatic, as well as narrative) and institutions of Spain, Portugal, and the Latin-American states.
2. That it follow the general style and arrangement of the *American Historical Review*, but with more space allotted to bibliography.
3. That articles in Spanish and Portuguese be printed as well as those in English.
4. That the articles published be mainly those of such a character that they cannot find ready acceptance in the regional periodicals which already exist.
5. That members of the American Historical Association who may be interested in the project, kindly consider it before the December meeting, with special attention to its financial aspects.

WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON,  
CHARLES EDWARD CHAPMAN.

## HISTORICAL NEWS

### AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The thirty-third annual meeting of the American Historical Association will take place at Cincinnati, sessions being held from Wednesday morning, December 27, till Saturday noon, December 30. The annual business meeting will take place on Thursday afternoon and the presidential addresses of this society and of the American Political Science Association, which meets at the same time and place, will be delivered on Thursday evening. The usual conference of archivists will probably take place on Wednesday evening, that of state and local historical societies probably on Thursday morning. There will be meetings of sections on ancient history, on medieval history (perhaps with particular emphasis on Constantinople), on English history, on general European, and on general American history. It is planned to leave Friday evening open for dinners followed by conferences, privately arranged, for members interested in the various special fields of history. The joint session held with the American Political Science Association will relate to American colonial policy in the Philippines. Dr. James A. Robertson is to review the progress made in these islands during the last decade. The joint session held with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, on Friday afternoon, will be devoted to those phases of the history of the Middle West which relate especially to Kentucky and the neighboring states, with papers by Professor A. B. Hulbert on Ports of Entry and Delivery in the Middle West, by Professor J. A. James on Spanish Influence in the American Revolution, and by Professor James R. Robertson of Berea College on the distribution of votes according to natural geographic conditions. Three important special features will be the session of Wednesday evening, on recent phases of the European balance of power, in which the recent conflicts of alliances and the question whether the *ententes* were arranged to promote the cause of peace or to isolate Germany will be discussed by Professor Charles Seymour; a session on the great peace congresses of the nineteenth century (Vienna, Professor C. D. Hazen; Paris, Mr. W. R. Thayer; Berlin, Dr. R. H. Lord—Thursday morning), in which it is proposed to discuss not so much the acts of these congresses as their organization, methods of procedure, outstanding personalities, etc.; and finally, a discussion, on Wednesday afternoon, of the field and method of the elementary course in college history, to be carried on by brief speeches of ten, five, and three minutes.

Dr. Theodore C. Pease's *The Leveller Movement*, to which the Adams prize for 1915 was awarded, is now in press and will probably be published in November. Volume I. of the *Annual Report* for 1914, which contains the proceedings of the annual meeting at Chicago, is expected from the Government Printing Office before the end of that month. Volume II. of the same report, which is entirely devoted to a cumulative index to the *Papers and Reports* of the Association from the beginning to 1914, is nearly ready for the press. It is hoped that it will be possible to distribute it to members before next summer. The *Annual Report* for 1915, which will be in one volume and which will contain among other contributions the R. M. T. Hunter correspondence, is in press.

The last volume in the *Original Narratives* series, *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, edited by Miss Louise Phelps Kellogg, is to be issued by Messrs. Scribner this autumn.

#### PERSONAL

Sir Gaston Camille Charles Maspero, who in 1880 became director of the Institute of Oriental Archaeology in Cairo and a short time later director-general of the antiquities, which position he held till 1886 and to which he returned in 1899 for fifteen years, died at Paris on June 30, at the age of seventy. The most famous of French Egyptologists, he was the author of numerous works on Egyptian archaeology and history, among which were *Histoire Ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient Classique* (1895-1897, 3 vols.), *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes* (1893), and *L'Archéologie Égyptienne* (latest ed., 1907). At the time of his death he was perpetual secretary of the Académie des Inscriptions.

Samuel W. Pennypacker, governor of Pennsylvania from 1903 to 1907, and for several years president of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, died on September 2, at the age of seventy-three. A learned scholar, especially in the field of Pennsylvania German history, he had published several notable books of local history, especially on the early history of Germantown.

Miss Kate Mason Rowland, author of biographies of her ancestor George Mason and of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, works highly esteemed by the historical profession, died on June 28.

Wymerley Jones DeRenne, founder of the celebrated collection of books, manuscripts, and maps relating to the state of Georgia, preserved at Wormsloe, near Savannah, called the Wymerley Jones DeRenne Georgia Library, died on June 23. All his collections having been bequeathed to his son, Wymerley W. DeRenne, the latter intends that they shall be maintained and added to as heretofore. In particular, Mr. Leonard L. Mackall, who has been in charge of the library since he

entered upon the preparation of a new catalogue in March, will continue the preparation of that catalogue in an elaborate form worthy of the unusual quality of the collection. All communications should be addressed to the library, P. O. Box 1166, Savannah, Georgia.

Clarence S. Paine, secretary of the Nebraska State Historical Society since 1907, and of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association from its foundation, died on June 14, 1916, at the age of 48. Mrs. Minnie P. Knotts, formerly librarian, has provisionally been made secretary of the society, and Mrs. C. S. Paine librarian.

The seventh series of the Carpentier lectures on the history of law, at Columbia University, will be given by Mr. Harold D. Hazeltine, reader in law in the University of Cambridge, and fellow of Emmanuel College (an American scholar). His subject will be English legal history, with special reference to the sources and development of English medieval law and its bearing on modern legal growth in England and America.

Professor Robert M. McElroy of Princeton University, upon leave of absence for the academic year 1916-1917, is spending the year in China.

Mr. Frank Fritts has been made assistant professor of history and political science in Princeton University.

Dr. R. V. D. Magoffin of Johns Hopkins University has been promoted to an associate professorship of Greek and Roman history in that university.

Professor Payson J. Treat of Stanford University will this autumn give the Albert Shaw lectures in American diplomatic history at the Johns Hopkins University. His lectures will concern the early diplomatic relations between the United States and Japan.

Dr. Albert H. Lybyer of the University of Illinois has been promoted to a full professorship of history at that university.

Dr. Theodore D. Gronert of the University of Wisconsin has been made professor of history in Centre College, Danville, Ky.

Dr. Frank E. Melvin of Cornell University has been made assistant professor of modern history in the Kansas State University.

#### GENERAL

Professor Dutcher, who regularly supplies this journal with such items of news as are derived from French, German, and Italian periodicals, desires the explanation to be made that in the preparation of the notes for this number there has been available not a single German publication received since the July number went to press. No German periodical of later date than March 18 has come to hand. A glance at

the dates of periodicals published in other European countries, cited in the lists of noteworthy articles in this number, will show the delay both in publication and in transmission.

The Library of Congress has printed "as manuscript", in a thick volume of 633 pages, its minutely detailed classification of *Class D, Universal and Old World History*, which may be of use in the building up of the historical portions of many other libraries.

The (English) Historical Association has published, in June, its annual bulletin of historical literature for the year 1915, in a brief pamphlet which may be the more useful to American teachers from confining its attention to leading works.

The *Revue des Nations Latines* (Paris, Mignot) made its first appearance in May, under the editorial direction of Guglielmo Ferrero, Professor Julien Luchaire of Grenoble, Maurice Wilmotte, former secretary of the University of Liège, and Jean Alazard. The foreign subscription is twenty francs a year. The review is also published simultaneously in Italian at Florence.

Mr. Norman H. Baynes contributes to the second number of *History*, the quarterly edited by Professor A. F. Pollard, a study of the historical significance of Constantinople, and Miss Constantia Maxwell the first installment of an account of the Colonization of Ulster.

The April number of the *Military Historian and Economist* contains among other things the opening installment of a study entitled Lieut.-General Grant's Campaign of 1864, by Capt. Willey Howell, a paper on Economic Causes of Wars in Ancient Greece, by Professor W. S. Ferguson, read at the meeting of the American Historical Association in Washington last December, and a survey of the publications and activities of the Naval History Society for the five years of its existence. In the July number there are four historical articles: one by Professor Charles J. Bullock on Adam Smith's Views upon National Defence, one on the Raising of the Wisconsin Volunteers in 1861, by Professor Carl R. Fish, a paper read at the last meeting of the American Historical Association, a second article by Capt. Willey Howell on Grant's Campaign of 1864-1865, and the beginning of a discussion, by Capt. A. L. Conger, of Moltke's Plans of Campaign and of the reasons for their publication by the German general staff in 1897. Among the economic notes is one that amounts to an article, and is partly historical in character, on the Rail Section in Conjoint Relation to the Progress in Steam Railroad Transportation, by Mr. P. H. Dudley, consulting engineer of the New York Central lines.

In the July number of the *Journal of Negro History*, particular commendation should be given to Louis R. Mehlinger's thoroughgoing article on the Attitude of the Free Negro toward African Colonization and to Professor John H. Russell's paper on Colored Freemen as Slave-

Owners in Virginia. There is also an interesting account of the Fugitives of the *Pearl* (the episode of Drayton and Sayres, 1848) by John H. Paynter, a descendant of one of the fugitives, and a sketch of Lorenzo Dow by Benjamin Brawley. In the section devoted to documents appear some papers relating to the transplantation of free negroes to Ohio, 1815-1858, and the proceedings of a typical colonization convention held at Baltimore in 1852.

The Harvard University Press announces among its fall books *The Spiritual Interpretation of History* by Dean Shailer Mathews.

A study of *Mazzini: la Dottrina Storica* (Palermo, Reber, 1916, pp. xii, 347) is from the pen of G. Calabrò.

*The Teaching of History in Elementary Schools*, by Professor R. L. Archer, of University College, Bangor, L. V. D. Owen, of the University of Sheffield, and A. E. Chapman, of Bangor, is primarily intended for English schools but will doubtless be useful to American teachers.

Messrs. Little, Brown, and Company have brought out the first two, and will soon bring out the remainder, of the following translations in continuation of their *Continental Legal History Series*, published under the auspices of the Association of American Law Schools: *History of Germanic Private Law*, by Professor Rudolph Huebner of Rostock, translated by Professor Francis S. Philbrick of the University of California; *History of Continental Criminal Law*, by Professor Ludwig von Bar of Göttingen; *History of Continental Civil Procedure*, by Dr. Arthur Engelmann, chief justice at Breslau; *History of Italian Law*, by Professor Carlo Calisse of Rome; *History of Continental Commercial Law*, by Professor Huvelin of Lyons; and *The Evolution of Law in Europe*, by Gabriel Tarde and others.

*A Century of Progress: a Study of the Development of Public Charities and Correction, 1790-1915*, by Amos W. Butler, is the title of an illustrated volume issued by the board of state charities of Indiana.

Mr. Edwin A. Pratt's *The Rise of Rail Power in War and Conquest, 1833-1914* (Philadelphia, Lippincott), is a clearly written book of general survey, by one who is an authority in railway matters rather than in military history.

General Mennessier de la Lance has undertaken the compilation of an *Essai de Bibliographie Hippique, donnant la Description détaillée des Ouvrages publiés ou traduits en Latin et en Français sur le Cheval et la Cavalerie, avec de nombreuses Biographies d'Auteurs Hippiques*, of which the first volume (Paris, Dorbon, 1915, pp. ix, 760) extends through the letter K.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Keith, *Presidential Address: On Certain Factors concerned in the Evolution of Human Races* (Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, January); H. Hauser, *Le*

*Principe des Nationalités, ses Origines Historiques* (Revue Politique Internationale, March); G. Lanson, *Le Déterminisme Historique et l'Idéalisme dans "L'Esprit des Lois"* (Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale, January); C. Barbagallo, *La Méthode Historique Allemande et l'Historiographie des Pays Latins* (Revue des Nations Latines, July 1); Hubert Hall, *National Service for Historians* (Contemporary Review, May).

#### ANCIENT HISTORY

Under arrangements which have been in force for the past few years, it is our usual custom to leave to the *History Teacher's Magazine* the reviewing of historical text-books. It is impossible, however, to permit the publication of Professor James H. Breasted's remarkable, brilliant, and finely illustrated text-book of ancient history to pass without comment. Something of its distinctive qualities may be seen from the title, *Ancient Times: a History of the Early World: an Introduction to the Study of Ancient History and the Career of Early Man* (Ginn, pp. xx, 742). It extends to the days of Constantine and, briefly, to the fall of the Western Empire.

To bring together and put into popular form the results of recent archaeological labors in the field of ancient art has been the work of Mr. Ernest A. Parkyn in *An Introduction to the Study of Prehistoric Art* (Longmans).

*Les Anciens Peuples de l'Europe* (Paris, Klincksieck, 1916) is the first volume of a projected *Collection pour l'Étude des Antiquités Nationales*, edited by Professor Camille Jullian of the College of France.

*Antiquities of Ionia*, part V., supplementary to part III., published by the Society of Dilettanti (London, Macmillan and Company) concludes a series begun in 1840. This volume consists of forty-five engravings with five helpful chapters of text by Professor Lethaby.

A. Tenne has given an account of *Kriegsschiffe zu den Zeiten der Alten Griechen und Römer* (Oldenburg, Stalling, 1915).

M. Modica has compiled a volume of *Contributi Papirologici alla Ricostruzione dell' Ordinamento dell' Egitto sotto il Dominio Greco-Romano* (Arpino, Soc. Tip. Arpinate, 1916, pp. xii, 359).

An interesting volume on *Public Libraries and Literary Culture in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge, University Press, 1915) is by C. Boyd.

Professor Alfred J. Church's *Roman Life in the Days of Cicero* (pp. xl, 291) is published in New York by the Macmillan Company.

G. Harrer is the author of a volume of *Studies in the History of the Roman Province* (London, Milford, 1915).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Boyd Dawkins, *The Antiquity of Man and the Dawn of Art in Europe* (Edinburgh Review, July); A.

H. Sayce, *The Assyrian Empire: a Lesson in History* (Scientia, May); S. Reinach, *Découvertes en Crète* (L'Anthropologie, May); J. B. Bury, *The Trojan War* (Quarterly Review, July); A. Andréadès, *Les Finances de l'État Homérique* (Revue des Études Grecques, October, 1915); H. Peake, *Racial Elements concerned in the First Siege of Troy* (Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, January); H. Welschinger, *Démosthène et les Athéniens* (Revue Hebdomadaire, June 3); G. Corradi, *La Fine del Regno di Seleuco Nicatore*, I. (Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica, April); H. S. Jones, *Land Problems in Ancient Rome* (Edinburgh Review, July); J. P. Postgate, *The Last Days of Pompeius* (Quarterly Review, July); E. Guimet, *Les Isiaques de la Gaule* (Revue Archéologique, March); V. G. Simkhovitch, *Rome's Fall Reconsidered* (Political Science Quarterly, June).

#### MEDIEVAL HISTORY

General review: E. Jordan, *Histoire Ecclésiastique, Moyen Âge* (Revue Historique, July).

G. Montelatici has published a *Storia della Letteratura Bizantina, 324-1453* (Milan, Hoepli, 1916), which treats the subject in three periods divided by the years 640 and 1080.

#### MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The Macmillan Company has published in two volumes a *Political and Social History of Modern Europe* by Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes of Columbia University, a college text-book in which increasing emphasis is given to the history of the civilization of modern Europe in the more recent periods.

The thesis of Dr. V. Sténio is on *La Capitulation de 1535, Étude d'Histoire Diplomatique et de Droit* (Paris, Rousseau, 1915, pp. vii, 267).

The relations between France and England since the sixteenth century are surveyed by J. L. de Lanessan in *Histoire de l'Entente Cordiale Franco-Anglaise* (Paris, Alcan, 1916).

The *Correspondance Diplomatique* (Paris, Plon, 1915, pp. lxx, 605) of the Comte de Montaignu, French ambassador at Venice from 1743 to 1749, has recently been published.

Messrs. A. and C. Black of London publish *Europe in the Nineteenth Century: an Outline History*, by Mr. E. Lipson of Trinity College, Cambridge, whose *Introduction to the Economic History of England* was recently reviewed in these pages.

The period from May 4 to July 10, 1866, is covered in the ninth and tenth volumes of *Les Origines Diplomatiques de la Guerre de 1870-1871* (Paris, Ficker, 1915). These volumes have peculiar interest as they relate to the outbreak of the Seven Weeks' War and the campaign of Sadowa.



Professor E. Debidour has undertaken to continue his well-known *Histoire Diplomatique de l'Europe* from the Congress of Berlin to the present. The volume on *La Paix Armée, 1878-1904* (Paris, Alcan, 1916) has already appeared and the volume for the decade 1904-1913 is announced as in press.

English colonial activities are dealt with in the first volume of *Storia Coloniale dell' Epoca Contemporanea* (Florence, Barbèra, 1916, pp. 810), by G. Mondaini.

The London house of Hugh Rees has published in two volumes, with maps, a translation of *The Japanese in Manchuria*, a valuable study, by Col. E. L. V. Cordonnier, formerly professor at the École Supérieure de Guerre in Paris.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Martin, *La Diplomatie Occidentale à Constantinople au Quinzième Siècle* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXIX. 5); F. Rocquain, *Les Espagnols en France sous Henri IV.: le Roi et la Nation* (Revue Hebdomadaire, April 15); J. Mathorez, *Les Espagnols et la Crise Nationale Française à la Fin du XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Bulletin Hispanique, April); E. Griséle, *La Diplomatie Française et les Aïeux du Premier Roi de Prusse* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXX. 1); C. de la Roncière, *Guerre de Candie: l'Intervention Française, 1646-1669* (Revue des Études Historiques, April); X., *La France et l'Espagne à la Fin du Ministère Choiseul* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXIX. 5); J. Mathorez, *La Pénétration des Allemands en France sous l'Ancien Régime*, III. (Revue des Études Historiques, April); A. H. Stockder, *The Legality of the Blockades instituted by Napoleon's Decrees and the British Orders in Council, 1806-1813* (American Journal of International Law, July); O. Karmin, *Les Finances Russes en 1812 et la Mission de Sir Francis d'Ivernois à Saint-Pétersbourg*, I. (Revue Historique de la Révolution Française et de l'Empire, October, 1915); L. de Lanzac de Laborie, *Un Témoin du Congrès de Vienne, 1814-1815* [Eynard] (Revue Hebdomadaire, April 22); A. Chuquet, *J.-G. Eynard au Congrès de Vienne* (Revue des Études Historiques, April); E. Chapuisat, *La France au Secours de la Grèce, d'après la Correspondance de G. Eynard* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, July); A. Chuquet, *Les Prussiens à Paris en 1815* (Revue Hebdomadaire, May 13); T. H. S. Escott, *The Beginning of the Anglo-French Alliance* (Contemporary Review, June); J. L. de Lanessan, *The Entente Cordiale* (*ibid.*, May); H. Marczali, *Polonais et Hongrois devant l'Histoire* (Revue Politique Internationale, March).

#### THE GREAT WAR

General review: E. Driault, *Constitution de l'Histoire Scientifique de la Grande Guerre*, II. (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, July).

One of the earliest attempts at a scientific study of the present war is *Les Conditions de la Guerre Moderne* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1916) by General Bonnal, a former head of the *École de Guerre*.

*The Deeper Causes of the War*, by Émile Hovelague, translated from the French by the author, has a preface by Sir Walter Raleigh (George Allen and Unwin).

*German, Slav, and Magyar: a Study in the Origins of the Great War*, by R. W. Seton-Watson, has been published recently in London by Messrs. Williams and Norgate.

*Nelson's History of the War*, by John Buchan, has reached in vol. XIII. an account of the fall of Erzerum and the first battle of Verdun.

In addition to continuations of works noted in earlier numbers mention may be made of the following attempts to furnish continued histories of the war. The *Recueil des Communiqués Officiels des Gouvernements et États-Majors de tous les Belligérants relatifs à la Guerre* (Paris, Payot, 1916) is done from the actual texts, with French translations from the other languages. The numbers are prepared and published by Swiss, as a guarantee of their precision. Twelve numbers have appeared extending through February, 1915. The sixth series of *Tablettes Chronologiques de la Guerre* (Paris, Larousse) extends to March 31, 1916, and is illustrated with maps and views. Jean-Bernard has begun an *Histoire Générale et Anecdotique de la Guerre de 1914-1916* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1916, pp. 500, 124 illus.) with a volume on the first weeks of the war.

The fifth volume of J. Reinach's articles in the *Figaro* entitled *Les Commentaires de Polybe* (Paris, Fasquelle, 1916, pp. xi, 422) has appeared, completing the year 1915. The second volume of *L'Allemagne contre l'Europe* (Paris, Perrin, 1916) contains the articles down to the beginning of the present year by Francis Charmes, the late editor of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. The war articles by Gustave Hervé in *La Guerre Sociale* have appeared in four volumes bearing the successive titles: *La Patrie en Danger*, *Après la Marne*, *La Muraille*, and *Jusqu'à la Victoire* (Paris, Quignon), extending to August, 1915. Four volumes are announced, of which one is in print, containing the brilliant articles of Charles Maurras, under the title *Devant l'Ennemi: les Conditions de la Victoire* (Paris, Nouvelle Librairie Nationale). The volume which has appeared has the subtitle *Ministère et Parlement* and covers the last months of 1915. Charles Maurras has also published *Quand les Français ne s'Aimaient pas, Chronique d'une Renaissance, 1895-1905* (*ibid.*, 1916, pp. 420).

The monthly numbers of the *Diario della Guerra d'Italia raccolta dei Bullettini Ufficiali* (Milan, Treves) contain the daily bulletins of the Italian general staff, important official documents, speeches by members of the government, and news relating to both Italy and the general

European war, illustrated with portraits and maps. The eighth number of this, the best of the Italian publications of the sort, appeared on May 15, 1916. A similar collection in popular form consisting of general staff bulletins and official communications to the press, illustrated with maps, is *Il Diario della Nostra Guerra* (Milan, Ravà) of which the twelfth number was dated June 3, 1916. Under the patronage of the Italian general staff the publication of a history of *La Guerra* (Milan, Treves) in monthly volumes in Italian, French, Spanish, and English editions has been begun. The June volume dealt with the war in the Alps, the July number with the campaign for the Carso, and the August number with aviation. Four issues have appeared of *La Guerra Europea e particolarmente la Guerra l'Italia* (Milan, Vallardi); twenty of *La Più Grande Guerra* (Sesto S. Giovanni, Soc. Ed. Milanese); and thirty-three of *La Guerra d'Italia* (*ibid.*), by G. Pattini.

The relations of Italy to the war are discussed in W. N. Doerkes, *Das Ende des Dreibunds, nach Diplomatischen Aktenstücken und Quellen* (Berlin, Mittler, 1916, pp. 142). E. J. Dillon, the well-known English publicist, has written *From the Triple to the Quadruple Alliance: Why Italy Went to War* (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1915, pp. 256). A second volume of *Legislazione di Guerra del Regno d'Italia* (Modena, Del Re, 1915, pp. vii, 205) contains the laws on economic and social relations from January to June, 1915. The early stages of *La Battaglia di Gorizia* (Milan, Treves, 1916, pp. xi, 159) have been recorded by B. Astori.

*La Guerre et l'Italie*, by Jacques Bainville (Paris, Fayard), is an attempt to make plain the motives which have guided Italy's course during the last two years.

*L'Italie en Guerre*, by H. Charriaut and M. L. Amici-Grossi (Flammarion), studies the evolution of the political situation in Italy, the military operations of Italy, and the place which is to be Italy's in the future.

Messrs. Methuen have announced a volume entitled *The Great War: the Land Operations, 1914-1916*, by Maj. G. W. Redway.

Among the later discussions by French writers of the problems involved in the war are A. Chéradame, *Le Plan Pangermaniste Démasqué* (Paris, Plon, 1916), and A. de Pourville, *Jusqu'au Rhin, les Terres Meurtriés et les Terres Promises* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1916).

French readers have been enlightened concerning England's share in the war by J. Destrée, *L'Effort Britannique, Contribution de l'Angleterre à la Guerre Européenne, Août 1914-Février 1916* (Paris, Van Oest, 1916, pp. xii, 277); by A. Chevillon, *L'Angleterre et la Guerre* (Paris, Hachette, 1916); and by C. Cestre, *L'Angleterre et la Guerre* (Paris, Didier, 1916).

Several deliberate studies of the French and Belgian campaigns have appeared, including Joseph Reinach, *La Guerre sur le Front Occidental, Étude Stratégique, 1914-1915* (Paris, Fasquelle, 1916); P. Fabreguettes, *Les Batailles de la Marne, 4-15 Septembre 1914* (Étampes, Terrier, 1916, pp. 123), reprinted from *La Grande Revue*; C. Le Goffic, *Steenstracte et Saint-Georges* (Paris, Plon, 1916), continuing the account of the Fusiliers Marins begun in his *Dixmude*, which is now in its 78th edition; L. Bocquet and E. Hosten, *L'Agonie de Dixmude* (Paris, Tallandier, 1916); and H. Dugard, *La Bataille de Verdun, 21 Février-7 Mai 1916* (Paris, Perrin, 1916).

"Hubert F. . . ." has attempted to furnish a history of the maritime portion of the war down to the battle off Jutland in *La Guerre Navale: Mer du Nord, Mers Lointaines* (Paris, Payot, 1916). Some account of the marvellous *Fahrten der Goeben und der Breslau* (Berlin, Fischer, 1916) has been given by Emil Ludwig.

The *Collection des Mémoires et Récits de Guerre* (Paris, Hachette) contains G. Riou, *Journal d'un Simple Soldat, Guerre, Captivité*; J. Léry, *La Bataille dans la Forêt, Argonne, 1915*; M. Gènevoix, *Sous Verdun, Août-Octobre 1914*; and V. Boudon, *Avec Charles Péguy, de la Lorraine à la Marne, Août-Septembre 1914*. Other French memoir volumes are J. Roujon, *Carnet de Route, Août 1914-Janvier 1915* (Paris, Plon, 1916); M. d'Hartoy, *Au Front, Impressions et Souvenirs d'un Officier Blessé* (Paris, Perrin, 1916); A. Dauzat, *Impressions et Choses Vues, Juillet-Décembre 1914* (Paris, Attinger, 1916); and Lobbedey, bishop of Arras, *La Guerre en Artois* (Paris, Téqui, 1916, pp. xxii, 512).

Several accounts of experiences of French prisoners of war in Germany have appeared: C. Hennebois, *Aux Mains de l'Allemagne, Journal d'un Grand Blessé* (Paris, Plon, 1916, pp. xii, 301); Capitaine Olivier, *Onze Mois de Captivité dans les Hôpitaux Allemands* (Paris, Chapelot, 1916); Abbé A. Aubry, *Ma Captivité en Allemagne* (Paris, Perrin, 1916, pp. viii, 167); A. Warnod, *Prisonnier de Guerre, Notes et Croquis rapportés d'Allemagne* (Paris, Fasquelle, 1915, pp. 188); "Un Prêtre de la Société des Missions Étrangères, Infirmier Militaire", *Prisonnier des Allemands* (Paris, Lethielleux, 1915, pp. vii, 160); and J. F. Batteler, *Les Étapes et l'Évasion d'un Prisonnier Civil en Allemagne* (Paris, Attinger, 1916, pp. 160).

A double number, III-IV., of *Documents Officiels relatifs à la Guerre, Rapports et Procès-Verbaux d'Enquête de la Commission instituée en vue de constater les Crimes commis par l'Ennemi en Violation du Droit des Gens, Décret du 23 Septembre 1914* (Paris, Hachette, 1916) has been issued recently.

Two volumes of very different character but both dealing with English prisoners and prison camps in Germany are *The Horrors of Wittenberg*, the second edition of the official report to the British govern-

ment, and *The Story of a Prisoner of War*, by Arthur Green, no. 6646, 1st Somerset Light Infantry (Chatto and Windus).

Colored photographs by Gervais-Courtellemont of *Les Champs de Bataille de la Marne* (Paris, L'Édition Française Illustrée, 1916) have been published. Three volumes of *À Coups de Baïonnette* (Paris, *ibid.*) have appeared containing views and drawings from *La Baïonnette*. A series of volumes entitled *Le Panorama de la Guerre, 1914-1916* (Paris, Tallandier) extends to the close of 1915 in the third volume.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Boutroux, *L'Allemagne et la Guerre*, II. (Revue des Deux Mondes, May 15); J. Reinach, *La Bataille de la Marne* (Revue Hebdomadaire, May 20); Baron Saillard, *Autour d'Ypres, Mai 1915* (Revue de Paris, June 15); H. Bidou, *Le Front Britannique et les Fronts Voisins* (Revue des Deux Mondes, July 1); H. Bidou, *La Bataille de Verdun* (*ibid.*, May 1); G. Caprin, *La Guerre Italienne sur l'Isonzo, Juin-Décembre 1915* (Revue des Nations Latines, May 1, June 1); Général Malleterre, *La Guerre dans le Levant, Salonique, Erzeroum, Trébizonde, Bagdad* (Revue des Deux Mondes, May 1); C. Ferrand, *Réflexions sur les Opérations Maritimes* (Revue Hebdomadaire, April 22); Contre-Amiral Degouy, *La Sortie de la Flotte Allemande* (Revue des Deux Mondes, May 15); *id.*, *La Bataille Navale du 31 Mai* (*ibid.*, July 1); . . . , *La Question des Transports* (Revue de Paris, July 15); H. E. Clouzot, *Disparus et Prisonniers: l'Agence Internationale des Prisonniers de Guerre à Genève* (Mercure de France, June 1); F. Meda, *La Conferenza Parlamentare Internazionale del Commercio* (Nuova Antologia, May 16).

#### GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

General review: C. Bémont, *Histoire de Grande Bretagne* (Revue Historique, July).

Longmans, Green, and Company have published a general index to the *English Historical Review*, vols. XXI. to XXX., edited by Reginald L. Poole.

A. C. Fox-Davies has issued a new and greatly enlarged edition of *The Book of Public Arms, a Complete Encyclopaedia of all Royal, Territorial, Municipal, Corporate, Official, and Impersonal Arms* (London, Jack, 1915, pp. xx, 876). In spite of its comprehensive title the volume relates mainly to England, though a few colonial and foreign arms are included.

Sir Henry H. Howorth's *The Golden Days of the Early English Church*, in three volumes, to be published before long by Murray in London and by Dutton in New York, will complete the series of which *St. Gregory the Great* and *St. Augustine of Canterbury*, by the same author, were the first parts.

*The English Civil Service in the Fourteenth Century* is a lecture delivered by Professor T. F. Tout at the John Rylands Library.

*England's First Great War Minister* is the title of a study of the activities of Wolsey in 1513, by Mr. Ernest Law. The book is soon to be published by Messrs. George Bell and Sons.

*Notes on the Bishopric of Worcester, 1547-1559*, by Mr. James Davenport (Worcester, E. G. Humphreys), is the result of an effort to place the contents of the episcopal records of Worcester at the service of students.

The Clarendon Press is publishing, in two volumes, a collection having almost the character of a Shakespeare encyclopedia, entitled *Shakespeare's England: an Account of the Life and Manners of his Age*, prepared by thirty-seven authors, dealing with a wide variety of topics in Elizabethan history, especially such as relate to Shakespeare's themes and text, and elaborately illustrated.

The Oxford University Press has published *Sir Walter Raleigh: Selections from his "History of the World", Letters and Other Writings*, with notes and an introduction by G. E. Hadon.

The Cambridge University Press has published an essay on *The Navy of the Restoration*, by Arthur W. Tedder. The volume contains chapters on the Navy before the Restoration, the Stuart Restoration, Administration, the Mediterranean and the Second Dutch War, and an extensive bibliography.

The Scottish History Society has published volume II. of its second series, *Origins of the 'Forty-Five*, edited by Dr. Walter B. Laikie, and containing a great variety of papers relating to that rising, derived from Scottish manuscripts and from the archives of Paris and Rome.

*The War Diary of a London Scot, 1796-1797*, edited by W. C. Mackenzie (London, A. Gardner), recounts the daily life in London of G. M. Macaulay, a cousin of Lord Macaulay and a successful city merchant at the time this journal was written.

In *The Sequel to Catholic Emancipation* Monsignor Bernard Ward brings his history of English Catholicism down to the year 1850 in the same excellent manner as that in which the work on the earlier volumes, *The Dawn of the Catholic Revival* and *The Euc of Catholic Emancipation*, was done.

Mr. John Murray announces as forthcoming *Parliamentary Reminiscences and Reflections, 1868-1885*, by Lord George Hamilton; the fifth and concluding volume of Messrs. Monypenny and Buckle's *Life of Benjamin Disraeli* (to be published in New York by Macmillan); the *Life of the Right Honorable Sir Charles Dilke*, in two volumes, edited by Miss Gertrude Tuckwell; and *The Public Life of the First Marquis of Ripon*, edited by Lucien Wolf.

*The Life and Letters of Sir John Henniker Heaton, Bart.*, by his daughter, Mrs. Adrian Porter, has been published by Mr. John Lane.

*Forty Years' Reminiscences of the Cotton Market: the American War Time and After*, by P. E. J. Hemelryk, one of the oldest members of the Liverpool Cotton Association, consists of a lecture delivered in 1899.

Dr. Samuel Daiches's *Lord Kitchener and his Work in Palestine* (London, Luzac and Company, 1915, pp. 88) aims to study not so much the archaeological importance of the work done in Palestine in the four years in which Kitchener had charge of it as the character of the man who was doing it, and the qualities displayed thus early in his career.

*The Irish Orators*, by Mr. Claude G. Bowers (Bobbs-Merrill Company), consists of studies of the careers of nine of Ireland's political leaders, from 1759 to the time of Parnell. John Howard Parnell, a brother of Charles, has also written a study of the career of his brother which has been published by Messrs. Constable.

Two accounts of the recent Irish rebellion which have already appeared are, *The Irish Rebellion, What Happened and Why*, by F. A. McKenzie (London, Pearson), and *The Irish Rebellion of 1916*, by John F. Boyle (Constable). A still more popular account is that of Mrs. Hamilton Norway, wife of the secretary of the post-office in Ireland, entitled *The Sinn Fein Rebellion as I saw it* (Smith, Elder).

The Macmillan Company is issuing, in a fourth, revised and enlarged edition (third in the case of volume III.), the first three volumes of Dr. George McCall Theal's *History of South Africa from 1795 to 1872*, to be completed in five volumes.

British government publications: *Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III.*, 1242-1247; *Calendar of the Charter Rolls*, vol. V., 15 Edward III.-5 Henry V., 1341-1417; *Calendar of State Papers, Venice*, vol. XXI., 1628-1629, ed. A. B. Hinds; *Calendar of Treasury Books*, vol. VII., parts I., II., III., 1681-1685, ed. William A. Shaw; *Calendar of the Stuart Papers*, vol. VI., March 1-June 3, 1718 (Historical Manuscripts Commission); *Historical Records of Australia*, Series I., *Governor's Despatches to and from England*, vol. VI., Aug., 1806-Dec., 1808.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Constant, *L'Histoire Religieuse d'Angleterre depuis le Schisme jusqu'à nos Jours*, II., *L'Angleterre après la Réforme* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXIX. 5); Susan M. Lough, *Trade and Industry in Ireland in the Sixteenth Century* (Journal of Political Economy, July); R. C. Wilton, *Letters of a Jesuit Father in the Reign of George I.* (Dublin Review, April); R. H. Murray, *Humbert's Invasion of Ireland in 1798*, II. (Nineteenth Century and After, July); H. J. Laski, *The Political Theory of the Disruption* [Scotland, 1843] (American Political Science Review, August); Lord Cromer, *Disraeli* (Edinburgh Review, July); H. J. Fleure and T. C. James, *Geographical Distribution of Anthropological Types in Wales* (Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, January).

## FRANCE

General review: H. Froidevaux, *Histoire Coloniale de la France depuis l'Époque de Napoléon I<sup>er</sup>* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, May).

A new volume of the *Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire de France* contains the *Commentaires de la Faculté de Médecine de l'Université de Paris, 1395-1516, publiés avec Introduction et Notes* (Paris, Leroux, 1915, pp. xcvi, 571) by Dr. Ernest Wickersheimer, the librarian of the Académie de Médecine.

*The Century of the Renaissance* (London, Heinemann, 1916, pp. xxvii, 428) by Louis Batiffol, translated by Elsie F. Buckley, is the second in order but the first published of six volumes entitled *The National History of France*, edited by F. Funck-Brentano. The volume on the Middle Ages is to be written by M. Funck-Brentano; on the seventeenth century by J. Boulenger; on the eighteenth century by C. Stryjenski; and the two on the Revolutionary and Napoleonic periods by Louis Madelin.

A volume of *Notes du Premier Président Pellot sur la Normandie—Clergé, Gentilhommes, Officiers de Justice, 1670-1683* (Paris, Picard, 1915, pp. xxxiv, 400) throws some interesting light on provincial life and administration under Louis XIV. Other phases are shown in *La Vie Temporelle des Communautés de Femmes à Rennes au XVII<sup>e</sup> et au XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècles* (Paris, Champion, 1916), by B. Pocquet du Haut-Jussé.

Dr. André Blum has recently presented at the Sorbonne two interesting theses: *L'Estampe Satirique en France pendant les Guerres de Religion, Essai sur les Origines de la Caricature Politique* (Paris, Giard and Brière, 1916, pp. 365), and *Le Caricature Révolutionnaire, 1789 à 1795* (Paris, Jouve, 1916, pp. 233). The volumes are no doubt incomplete, and perhaps open to criticism in their method, but they are praiseworthy efforts to deal with neglected fields of study.

A definitive edition of *The Political Writings of Jean Jacques Rousseau, edited from the Original Manuscripts and Authentic Editions with Introduction and Notes* (Cambridge University Press, 1915, 2 vols., pp. xix, 516, 577) has been published by C. E. Vaughan. *La Religion de J.-J. Rousseau* (Paris, Hachette, 1916), by P. M. Masson, consists of three volumes, *La Formation Religieuse de Rousseau*, *La "Profession de Foi" de Jean-Jacques*, and *Rousseau et la Restauration Religieuse*. This work had been prepared for presentation as a doctoral thesis at the Sorbonne, but the author was killed in battle before he could obtain leave for the purpose. The unusual action was taken by the authorities of the Sorbonne, a few weeks after the author's death, of formally conducting the exercise of "sustaining" the thesis and voting the degree with honor. Professor Masson had held the chair of French literature in the University of Fribourg, Switzerland.



Among recent volumes on the local history of France at the close of the eighteenth century are: M. Bernard, *La Municipalité de Brest de 1750 à 1790* (Paris, Champion, 1915, pp. 368); Abbé J. B. Branchereau, *La Paroisse de Bouguenais [Loire-Inférieure] pendant la Révolution, 1790-1800* (Vannes, Lafolye, 1916, pp. 346); and H. Labroue, *La Société Populaire de Bergerac* (Paris, Rieder, 1916), the latest volume of the publications of the Société de l'Histoire de la Révolution Française.

The Commission de Recherche et de Publication des Documents relatifs à la Vie Économique de la Révolution has issued *Les Contributions Directes, Instruction, Recueil de Textes, et Notes* (Paris, Leroux, 1915, pp. 1178). The volume has apparently been edited by Camille Bloch. The instructions for editors adopted by the commission fill fourteen pages, and about forty pages are devoted to an introductory survey of the legislation and administration, but the bulk of the volume is occupied by the texts of all important laws and decrees on direct taxes from June 17, 1789, to September 15, 1807, and a calendar of the less important measures, a total of 787 items. The volume is obviously of great usefulness for the study of the finances of the Revolution and the early Napoleonic period.

An account of the French national anthem and of its author is furnished in a competent manner by J. Tiersot in his *Histoire de la Marseillaise* (Paris, Delagrave, 1916, pp. 152).

M. Édouard Driault has outlined one of the critical problems of French foreign relations in *La République et le Rhin* (Paris, Tenin, 1916). He has still more recently published *Les Traditions Politiques de la France et les Conditions de la Paix* (Paris, Alcan, 1916). On the question of the Rhine frontier there is also a highly interesting pamphlet by Professor C. Jullian on *Le Rhin Gaulois* (Paris, Attinger, 1916, pp. 52) in which the author disclaims any contemporary motive.

A study of *Napoleon und Morcau in ihren Plänen für den Feldzug von 1800* (Berlin, Trenkel, 1915) is by Mette.

The volume of *Essais Historiques et Biographiques* (Paris, Plon, 1916, pp. x, 316) by L. de Lanza de Laborie contains essays on the year 1814 and on Frédéric Ozanam, Falloux, Amédée Madelin, Albert Sorel, and Paul Thureau-Dangin.

Some account of *L'Administration des Départements Envahis en 1870-1871* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1916) has been prepared by Dr. E. Chantriot.

Théodore Reinach has published two volumes entitled *Au Parlement, 1906-1914: Discours, Propositions de Loi, Rapports Parlementaires* (Paris, Hachette, 1916), of which the first deals with fiscal and budgetary matters, and the second with education, electoral reform, and social and miscellaneous questions.

Judith Cladel has written a biographical account of the late defender of Paris and minister of war, *Le Général Gallieni* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1916, pp. xii, 134). While special interest attaches to his high offices and brilliant services during his last two years, it should be remembered that the great work of Gallieni was done in the Sudan, in Tonkin, and especially in Madagascar. The present French premier, Aristide Briand, is the subject of a biographical study under the curious title *L'Apaisement* (Paris, Grasset, 1916).

Vicomte Maurice de Lestrangé has issued three volumes of documents on *La Question Religieuse en France pendant la Guerre de 1914-1915* of which the latest (Paris, Lethielleux, 1915, pp. 187) covers the first three months of 1915.

Interesting phases of the French activities in Morocco are revealed in *Vingt-six Mois au Maroc, Historique de la 7<sup>e</sup> Compagnie du 1<sup>er</sup> Régiment de Tirailleurs Algériens du Mois de Novembre 1907 au Mois de Novembre 1913* (Paris, Charles-Lavauzelle, 1916, pp. 146), by Commandant Pierrat.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. Lot, *La Loire, l'Aquitaine, et la Seine de 862 à 866, Robert le Fort* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, November); L. Bréhier, *L'Histoire de France à la Façade de la Cathédrale de Reims* (Revue Historique, July); F. Aubert, *Nouvelles Recherches sur le Parlement de Paris, Période d'Organisation, 1250-1350*, I. (Nouvelle Revue Historique de Droit Français et Étranger, January); J. Flach, *Le Retour de l'Alsace à la France sous Louis XIV.* (Revue Hebdomadaire, May 6); F. Brunot, *La Langue Française en Alsace après l'Annexion à la France* (Revue de Paris, June 1); J. Régéné, *Les Prodomes de la Révolution dans l'Ardèche et le Gard: une Relation Inédite de la Révolte des Masques Armés dans le Bas-Vivarais pendant les Années 1782-1783* (Revue Historique de la Révolution Française et de l'Empire, October, 1915); G. Rouanet, *Les Débuts du Parlementarisme Français* (Annales Révolutionnaires, March); A. Mathiez, *Sur la Formation de la Légende Dantonienne, Documents Inédits* (Revue Historique, July); A. Mathiez, *Fabre d'Eglantine, Inventeur de la Conspiration de l'Étranger* (Annales Révolutionnaires, May); *id.*, *Danton, Talon, Pitt, et la Mort de Louis XVI.* (*ibid.*); L. Gauthier, *Les Municipalités Cantonales et la Tradition Révolutionnaire* (La Révolution Française, May); A. Blanqui, *Souvenirs d'un Lycéen de 1814*, II. (Revue de Paris, May 1); P. Gaffarel, *La Terreur Blanche à Marseille dans les Derniers Mois de 1815* (Revue Historique, July); G. Weill, *L'Alsace de 1848 à 1870* (Revue de Paris, July 15); A. Thiers, *Plan de Mise en État de Défense de Paris, 2 Septembre 1870* (*ibid.*); *La Correspondance de M. Thiers pendant la Guerre de 1870-1871*, I.-II. (Revue des Deux Mondes, June 15, July 1); P. Vidal de la Blache, *Exode et Immigration en Alsace-Lorraine* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, June 15).

## ITALY AND SPAIN

General review: C. Rinaudo, *Risorgimento Italiano, 1815-1916* (Rivista Storica Italiana, July).

Among recent documentary publications in Italian history the following may be enumerated: P. Fournier, *Un Groupe de Recueils Canoniques Italiens des X<sup>e</sup> et XI<sup>e</sup> Siècles* (Paris, Imp. Nationale, 1915, pp. 123); A. Solmi, *Le Leggi più Antiche del Comune di Piacenza* (Florence, Tip. Galileiana, 1916, pp. 81); G. Cimorelli, *Gli Antichi Statuti della Città di Venafro* (Campobasso, Colitti, 1916, pp. 136); P. Cenci, *Carte e Diplomi di Gubbio, 900-1200* (Perugia, Tip. Coop. Unione, 1915, pp. 394); V. Balzano, *Documenti per la Storia di Castel di Sangro* (Città di Castello, Lapi, 1915, pt. I., pp. 123); the third volume of the *Chartularium Studii Bononiensis*; *Documenti per la Storia della Università di Bologna* (Imola, Galeati, 1916, pp. 318); and the seventh volume of the *Corpus Nummorum Italicorum* (Rome, Accademia dei Lincei, 1915, pp. 583), which relates to the Veneto.

The British Museum has completed part 4 of its *Catalogue of Books printed in the Fifteenth Century now in the British Museum*, dealing with Italy. The volume contains an introduction by Mr. Alfred W. Pollard and has been prepared under his supervision.

F. Savio has prepared a monograph on *Saluzzo, Marchesato e Diocesi nel Secolo XVII*. (Saluzzo, Lobetti-Bodoni, 1915, pp. 255).

P. L. Levati, who has published several works on Genoa in the eighteenth century, has issued the third volume of *I Dogi di Genova e Vita Genovese* (Genoa, Tip. della Gioventù, 1915). The first and second volumes related to the years 1699-1746; the present one relates to the years 1746-1771. The work is divided into two parts, biographical accounts of the doges and descriptions of Genoese affairs and conditions.

A volume entitled *L'Archivio Storico Italiano e l'Opera Cinquantenaria della Regia Diputazione Toscana di Storia Patria* (Bologna, Zanichelli, 1916, pp. iv, 377) contains accounts of this review and of this commission by F. Baldasseroni and A. Panella respectively, and of G. P. Vieusseux, the originator of both, by G. Rondoni. There is also a volume commemorating *Il Primo Cinquantenario della R. Diputazione di Storia Patria per le Provincie di Romagna, 1860-1910* (Bologna, Stab. Poligr. Emiliano, 1916, pp. viii, 228).

Interesting personal reminiscences of the Garibaldian campaign of 1866 are given by G. Mariani in *Sulle Balze del Tirolo: Storia aneddotica illustrata del 2 Battaglione Bersaglieri Volontari durante la Campagna del 1866* (Lugano, Veladini, 1915). Several of the battle-scenes bear the names of those of 1915-1916, for the Italians have been reconquering to-day territory which they had already won in 1866 and which a premature peace then forced them to restore to Austria.

The *Almanacco Italiano del 1916* (Florence, Bemporad, 1916, pp. 593, xxii) contains an account of the events of 1915, lists of Italian officials, and a wealth of other useful information regarding present-day Italy.

Among the pamphlets published with the purpose of arousing Italy to intervention the most important series was that issued under the general title, *Problemi Italiani* (Milan, Ravà e C.). They relate to Italy's unredeemed territory, to her interests in the Adriatic and the Mediterranean, to the war of 1866, etc., and have been written by well-known authorities: Professor Gaetano Salvemini, Ugo Ojetti, G. A. Borghese, Mario Alberti, and others. The publication was announced as weekly, the first number appearing on January 2, 1915, and the twenty-fourth and last on July 19, 1915. Another important collection was that issued semi-monthly by *L'Ora Presente* (Turin) under the title *I Problemi Attuali*, of which the first number appeared on December 5, 1914, and the twelfth and last on May 10, 1915. This collection relates exclusively to unredeemed Italian territory held by Austria. In opposition to these publications, a group of neutralists, several of whom had German or Austrian wives and family connections, edited another series entitled *La Guerra e l'Italia*, which appeared weekly in ten numbers from February 25 to April 29, 1915. This latter series included among its contributors such distinguished writers as Benedetto Croce, Domenico Gnoli, Giacomo Barzellotti, and Alessandro Chiappelli. All the pamphlets in these three series were sold for two cents (ten centimes) a number; they are purely Italian in character and their publication was untainted by foreign subsidies or foreign influence.

The volume of *Correspondencia Diplomática entre Granada y Fez, Siglo XIV., extractos de la "Raihana Alcuttab" de Lisanceddi Abenal-jatib El-Andalosi* (Granada, *El Defensor*, 1916, pp. xiii, 444) contains the Arab text with Spanish translation by M. G. Remiro.

E. Díaz Jiménez y Molleda has written a *Historia de los Comuncros de León y de su Influencia en el Movimiento General de Castilla* (Madrid, *Clásica Española*, 1916, pp. 240).

M. Pascual de Quinto has compiled *La Nobleza de Aragón, Historia de la Real Maestranza de Caballería de Zaragoza* (Saragossa, Carra, 1916, pp. 1170).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Baguenault de Puchesse, *Un Diplomat Florentin au Temps de Machiavel, François Vettori, 1474-1539* (*Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique*, XXIX. 5); M. Scherillo, *Gli Ultimi Anni di Niccolò Machiavelli* (*Nuova Antologia*, May 1); A. Favaro, *La Condanna di Galileo e le sue Conseguenze per il Progresso degli Studi* (*Scientia*, July); . . . *Il Governo Provisorio degli Stati Pontificii nell' Anno 1815 e lo Statuto del 1816* (*Civiltà Cattolica*, May 20); S. Piat, *La Crise Nationale Italienne de la Neutralité à l'Ultima-*

tum, Août 1914-Mai 1915 (Revue des Sciences Politiques, June 15); J. Alazard, *La Crise Italienne, Août 1914-Mai 1915* (Revue de Paris, May); L. Bertrand, *L'Italie après un An de Guerre*, I. (Revue des Deux Mondes, July 1); J. Alazard, *Les Socialistes Italiens et la Guerre* (Revue Hebdomadaire, June 17); E. Ciccotti, *Le Parti Socialiste Officiel Italien et la Guerre* (Revue des Nations Latines, June 1); A. Mousset, *L'Espagne et la Guerre: la Politique du Comte Romanones* (Revue des Nations Latines, May 1).

#### GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Sir Adolphus William Ward, Master of Peterhouse, has published in the *Cambridge Historical Series* the first volume (1815-1852), of a history of *Germany, 1815-1890* (Cambridge University Press, pp. 591), which we must expect to be of the highest merit.

Ernest Daudet has published a volume on Bismarck (Paris, Attinger, 1915, pp. 288) as the first of three on *Les Auteurs de la Guerre de 1914*, which, taken together, are intended to furnish a carefully documented account of recent European history. Professor Henri Hauser has issued a revised third edition of *Les Méthodes Allemandes d'Expansion Économique* (Paris, Colin, 1916).

The German writer, Hermann Fernau, has supplemented and followed up the famous anonymous publication *J'Accuse*, with *Précisément parce que Je suis Allemand* (Paris, Payot, 1916), of which the original edition was published in Zürich. The volume deals especially with the proofs of Teutonic aggression as the cause of the present war.

The records of the University of Padua from 1264 to 1864 are used in the first volume of *Matricula et Acta Hungarorum in Universitatibus Italiae Studentium* (Vienna, Hölder, 1915), edited by A. Veress.

The history of the Czechs is depicted in *Détruisez l'Autriche-Hongrie* by Edward Benes (Delagrave), in presenting an appeal for the dismemberment of Austro-Hungary.

The *Storia di Trieste dell' Epoca Romana alla Guerra di Rivendicazione* (Florence, Bemporad, 1916, pp. 115) by G. Senizza; and *Trieste durante l'Ultimo Periodo di Dominazione Austriaca, dal 24 Maggio 1914 al 24 Maggio 1915* (Rome, Tip. Romana, 1916, pp. 124) by A. Minutillo, are evidences of current Italian interest and ambition with regard to that city.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Commandant Weil, *La Morale Politique du Grand Frédéric d'après sa Correspondance*, I. (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXX. 1); E. Müsebeck, *E. M. Arndt in den Politischen Strömungen nach den Freiheitskriegen* (Deutsche Rundschau, March); J. Krauter, *Die Politik Oesterreichs im Griechischen Freiheitskampfe, 1822-1820, nach den Briefen des Hofrates von Gentz an Franz Freiherrn von Ottenfels* (ibid., March); E. Laloy, *De Clause-*

witz à Hindenburg: *Étude sur le Développement des Doctrines Stratégiques et Tactiques dans l'Armée Prussienne et sur la Préparation de la Guerre de 1914-1916* (Mercure de France, June 16); W. D. Green, *The German Colonial Empire: its Rise and Fall* (National Review, July); T. F. A. Smith, *German War Literature* (Contemporary Review, May); J. Chopin, *La Préméditation Austro-Hongroise* (Mercure de France, June 16).

#### NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

The Historisch Genootschap of Utrecht expects to issue before the end of the present year, as one of its series of *Werken*, a journal kept by the Grand-Duke Cosimo III. of Tuscany during his travels in the Netherlands in 1666 and 1667, with accompanying reports, notes, and letters by members of his suite, the whole edited by Dr. G. J. Hoogewerff, secretary of the Dutch Historical Institute in Rome. In course of time this is to be followed by the correspondence of Margaret of Parma, ed. Dr. J. S. Theissen, that of the De Witts, ed. Dr. N. Japikse, the minutes of the synod of the cloth-finishers, ed. Dr. N. W. Posthumus, and the acts of the Kerkeraad of Holland, 1560-1563, ed. Dr. A. A. van Schelven.

The Century Company will publish this month *The Golden Book of the Dutch Navigators*, by Dr. Hendrik Willem van Loon of Cornell University, illustrated.

*La Belgique Monumentale* (the Hague, Nijhoff, 1916) is a low-priced edition of one hundred of the best plates selected from the extended and expensive works on Belgian art and architecture by Sluyterman and van Ysendyck.

The story of the process by which Antwerp gained its commercial importance of the sixteenth century is carefully told by Jervis Wegg in *Antwerp, 1477-1559, from the Battle of Nancy to the Treaty of Catcau Cambrésis* (Methuen).

The Belgian government has published *Le Troisième Livre Gris Belge, Réponse au Livre Blanc Allemand du 10 Mai 1915* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1916, pp. 525).

Under the title *Ceux qui Arrêtèrent les Barbares* (Paris, Lethielleux, 1915, pp. 396), Xavier Roux has published a volume of biographical sketches of King Albert, Cardinal Mercier, M. de Broqueville, M. Carton de Wiart, and M. Vandervelde.

The anonymous author of *La Belgique sous la Griffé Allemande* has continued his indictment of the German occupation in *Les Prussiens en Belgique* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1916). A similar work by a Belgian scholar who remained in Belgium for a year collecting evidence and then succeeded in escaping across the frontier with his materials is *Comment les Belges résistent à la Domination Allemande* (Paris, Payot,

1916) by Jean Massart. An English translation has been published under the title *Belgians under the German Eagle*. Commandant de Gerlache is the author of *La Belgique et les Belges pendant la Guerre* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1916), and J. Boubée of *La Belgique Loyale, Héroïque, et Malheureuse* (Paris, Plon, 1915), and of *Dans la Belgique Envahie, parmi les Blessés Allemands, Août-Décembre, 1914* (*ibid.*, 1916).

Albert Fuglister, a Swiss who spent several months in Belgium, has published *Louvain, Ville Martyre* (Paris, Delandre, 1916), which is fortified with documents and photographs. *Le Supplice de Louvain* (Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1915) by R. Narsy contains a brief bibliography of the subject. *The Truth about Louvain* (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1915, pp. 95) is by R. Chambry.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. S. Unger, *De Hollandsche Graanhandel en Graanhandelpolitiek in de Middelenaven*, III. [concl.] (*De Economist*, June 15); A. Soulange-Bodin, *L'Avant-Guerre en Belgique* (*Revue de Paris*, May 15); E. de Keyser, *L'Armée Belge et la Neutralité de la Belgique* (*Mercure de France*, May 1).

#### NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

In 1904, excavation of a mound at Oseberg on the Christiania Fjord disclosed the burial-place of a Vestfold queen of the middle of the ninth century, interred in her ship and surrounded by her attendants and by a wonderful variety of objects of furniture and art, so that the find has amounted to a museum of Norse culture in the heathen period. The Norwegian state now publishes the results in three handsomely illustrated volumes, *Osebergfundet*, edited by Professors A. W. Brøgger, Hj. Falk, and Haakon Schetelig.

*A Storia della Polonia e delle sue Relazioni con l'Italia* (Milan, Treves, 1916, pp. 352) is by F. Giannini.

Volume I. of S. M. Dubnow's *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland* has been translated by I. Friedlaender and published by the Jewish Publication Society.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Lindroth, *Studier öfver Ort-namnen på -lösa* (*Fornvännen*, 1915); E. Bull, *Formation de la Nationalité Norvégienne* (*Revue des Études Napoléoniennes*, July); Leo Wiener, *Peter Dobell, an American Citizen in Russian Service* (*Russian Review*, August); M. Lauwick, *La Réforme Financière en Russie* (*Journal des Économistes*, April 15); Mme. B. de Bibikoff, *Nicolas II. dans l'Intimité* (*Revue Hebdomadaire*, June 17); Leo Pasvol'sky, *M. M. Kovalevsky* (*Russian Review*, June); H. Freiherrn von Egloffstein, *Erinnerungen an den Bulgarischen Hof* (*Deutsche Rundschau*, March); J. L. Sergent, *Trois Mois aux Dardanelles* (*Revue de Paris*, May 1, 15); J. Vassal, *Lettres de Serbie* (*ibid.*); G. Suchet, *Gli Attuali Teatri di*

*Guerra Balcanici e la Campagna di Giulio Cesare nell' Anno 48 A. C.* (Nuova Antologia, June 16); J. de Morgan, *Les Arméniens* (Revue de Paris, May 1).

#### THE FAR EAST AND INDIA

*The Log-Book of William Adams, 1614-1619*, preserved in the Bodleian Library, has been for the first time published, along with the journal of Edward Saris and other documents relating to the first English settlement in Japan under Iyéyasu, in volume XIII. of the *Transactions* of the Japan Society of London, and separately (pp. 343), with an introduction and notes by Mr. C. J. Purnell.

Professor H. G. Rawlinson has published a general monograph on *Intercourse between India and the Western World from the Earliest Times to the Fall of Rome* (Cambridge University Press, pp. 204).

Messrs. Smith, Elder, and Company have issued a volume by Sir Edward Thackeray, V. C., entitled *Reminiscences of the Indian Mutiny and Afghanistan*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Bellessort, *L'Apôtre des Indes et du Japon, François de Xavier*, III.-IV. (Revue des Deux Mondes, May 1, July 15); Nadaillac, *Le Japon Moderne d'après son Récent Historien* [Marquis de la Mazelière] (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXIX. 5); A. Gérard, *L'Évolution de l'Asie Orientale et l'Alliance Japonaise, 1894-1915* (Revue des Deux Mondes, May 15); S. Millot, *Excursions Rapides en Chine*, VIII. *Pékin et ses Palais en Avril 1901* (Bulletin de l'Association Amicale Franco-Chinoise, October, 1915); F. Farjenel, *Yuen Chekai* (Revue de Paris, July 1); Sir Guilford Molesworth, *The Common Origin of the Religions of India* (Asiatic Review, May); Commandant Davin, *L'Angleterre dans le Golfe Persique, Koweït et Mascate* (Revue de Paris, July 15).

#### AMERICA

##### GENERAL ITEMS

In the preparation of the Carnegie Institution's atlas of the historical geography of the United States, Dr. Paullin has practically completed the section relating to the history of our international boundaries and of disputes relating to them; Dr. J. A. Robertson has completed the plans for the section devoted to reproductions of old maps, to illustrate the development of geographical knowledge respecting America. The index to Professor Hill's *Descriptive Catalogue of the Papeles de Cuba* is in press, and that of Professor Golder's *Guide to the Materials for American History in Russian Archives* is nearly completed, so that both books may be expected to be issued before long.

The Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress has recently acquired the papers of Samuel F. B. Morse, presented by his son, Edward L. Morse; a body of the legal papers and personal letters of



Alexander Hamilton; the records of the Geneva Arbitration kept by the late J. C. Bancroft Davis, agent of the United States, the gift of Mrs. Bancroft Davis; the account-book of the executors of the estate of Thomas Lord Fairfax, 1781-1798; and a letter-book found in Florida and containing correspondence of governors of West Florida, 1770-1774, with the British Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Messrs. Longmans have brought out an *Introduction to American History*, by Professors J. A. Woodburn and T. F. Moran. The work is designed to present the European history which the pupil needs as a background for the study of American history.

The success of the series of small volumes entitled *The Chronicles of Canada*, presenting the history of that nation in fresh and attractive form, has led the publishers, Messrs. Glasgow, Brook, and Company, of Toronto, in conjunction with the Yale University Press, to undertake a similar series for American history, entitled *The Chronicles of America*, in which an attempt will be made, in 49 small volumes of narrative (followed by a general index), to realize the ideals of historical narration and of the description of social evolution held forth in the address delivered by Colonel Roosevelt in 1912 as president of the American Historical Association. The series is being prepared under the editorial supervision of Professor Allen Johnson. Some notion of its plan and tendencies may be obtained from the list of titles of volumes proposed: The Red Man's Continent, The Spaniard in America, English Sea-Dogs on the Coasts of America, The Crusaders of New France, The Virginians and their Neighbors, The Puritan Colonies, The Dutch on the Hudson, The Quaker Colonies, Folkways of Colonial America, The Fight with France, The Eve of the Revolution, Lexington to Yorktown, The Fathers of the Republic, Washington and his Colleagues, The Age of Jefferson, The Work of John Marshall, The War with England, Pioneers of the Old Southwest, The Old Northwest, The Reign of Andrew Jackson, The Ways of Inland Commerce, The Merchant Marine: a Glory Departed, Pioneer Life in the Mississippi Valley, The Age of Invention, The Founders of American Education, The American People in Literature, The Adventurers of Oregon, Texas and the Mexican War, The Forty-Niners, The Old South, The Anti-Slavery Crusade, The Day of Abraham Lincoln, The Day of the Confederacy, Battlefields of the Union, Battlefields of the Confederacy, The Sequel of Appomattox, The Passing of the Frontier, The Railroad Builders, The Farmers' Movement, The New South, The Age of Big Business, The Cleveland Era, The Foreigners, The Boss and the Machine, The Masters of Capital, The Path of Empire, Theodore Roosevelt and his Times, The Canadian Dominion, The Latin-American Republics. For nearly all these volumes, competent writers have already been engaged.

Messrs. Longmans have brought out *Readings in the Economic History of the United States*, compiled and edited by E. L. Bogart and C. M. Thompson.

The *Twenty-Ninth Annual Report* of the Bureau of American Ethnology, the volume for 1907-1908 (Washington, 1916, pp. 636), is almost entirely occupied with a minute study of the Ethnogeography of the Tewa Indians, by John R. Harrington, in which cosmography, meteorology, and especially place-names are presented in great detail. The *Thirtieth Annual Report* (for 1908-1909) presents two main papers, one on the Ethnobotany of the Zuñi Indians, by Mrs. M. C. Stevenson, the other an inquiry into the Animism and Folklore of the Guiana Indians, by Walter E. Roth.

The United States Bureau of Education, which a generation ago produced a series of monographs on the history of higher education in the several states, edited by Professor H. B. Adams, has now begun a new series of *Bulletins* on the history of public school education, to be prepared by Dr. Stephen B. Weeks of the Bureau. The first two, for Alabama and Arkansas (pp. 209, 131), have already appeared.

The Statute Law Book Company of Washington, D. C., has recently issued facsimiles of the Massachusetts *Resolves* of the November session of 1792, of which the original is very rare; of the South Carolina *Acts, Reports, and Resolutions* of the general session of 1808; and of the *Journal* (embracing some acts) of the Missouri senate during an extra session of the Confederate legislature held at Neosho in October, 1861. The last item was printed in considerable numbers in 1866, but is now very rare.

The *German-American Annals* for May-August continues Mr. Brede's history of the German Drama in English on the Philadelphia Stage, and also has an article on Johann Heinrich Miller, the printer, by Mr. C. F. Dapp.

In the July number of the *Catholic Historical Review* Bishop Corrigan continues his valuable articles on the Episcopal Succession in the United States by an installment treating of the provinces of New Orleans and New York. Rev. Dr. Edwin Ryan presents an article on Diocesan Organization in the Spanish Colonies, covering however only the earliest period and lacking completeness in some particulars, apparently from not knowing of the third volume of Eubel's *Hierarchia Catholica*. Rev. Dr. J. B. Culemans urges a reevaluation of early Peruvian history, in the sense of a revision of the opinions derived from Prescott. Rev. Gerardo Decorme, S. J., follows with an article on Catholic Education in Mexico. Among other interesting documents printed appear a group, dated in 1790, relating to the proposed bishopric of Gallipolis, and extracts from the letters of Archbishop Maréchal to the Propaganda.

The principal paper in the June number of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* is entitled Father Peter de Smet, Mighty Sower (1801-1873), and is by Rev. Joseph M. Corrigan.

In the *Magazine of History* for March George S. Rowell gives a sketch of Benjamin Vaughan, Grace Ellis Taft a study of the Seneca Law, D. M. Wilcox describes an Episode of Shays' Rebellion, and Joel N. Eno presents a first paper on New York County Names. The last article is continued in April and May. In the latter issues also appear the first two of a series of papers by George S. Rowell, on John Baker, the Hero of Madawaska, and in the April number a reprint of Mr. George Haven Putnam's article on the London *Times* and the American Civil War, published some years ago in *Putnam's Magazine*.

The *Magazine of History Extra*, no. 43, comprises E. B. Washburne's *Abraham Lincoln*, E. J. Young's *The Lesson of the Hour*, and Robert D. Owen's *Looking Backward across the War-Gulf*. No. 44 of the same series includes John Law's *Address on Old Vincennes* and William Cobbett's *French Arrogance*. No. 45 of the series contains Richard Edwards's *Life and Character of Abraham Lincoln*, Erastus E. Holt's *Abraham Lincoln, his "Illusion" of 1860*, and some other Lincoln items. No. 46 of the same series includes Andros's *Old Jersey Captive*, Captain Baynton's *Authentic Memoirs of William Augustus Bowles*, and De Witt Clinton's *Memoir of the Antiquities of the Western Part of the State of New York* (Tarrytown, Abbott).

*The Negro Year-Book* for 1916-1917, edited by Mr. Monroe N. Work and published at the Tuskegee Institute, contains in handy form for reference much useful historical and bibliographical information.

#### ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Rev. Mariano Cuevas, S. J., has just published in Seville (Díaz, 1915, pp. vii, 355) and in Mexico, in a small edition, forty-two original documents of Cortés, *Cartas y Otros Documentos de Hernán Cortés, novisimamente descubiertos en el Archivo General de las Indias*.

The attention of students of American church history should be called to a paper by Professor Frederick J. Zwierlein on "Les Nominations Épiscopales aux Premiers Temps de l'Épiscopat Américain" in *Mélanges d'Histoire offerts à Charles Moeller* (1914).

The Naval History Society has just published the *Papers of Rear-Admiral Graves*, edited by Rear-Admiral F. E. Chadwick. It has acquired the papers and journals of Francis G. Dallas, 1840-1856, who served in the American and Prussian navies; some 100 volumes of log-books, 1808-1840, chiefly of the period of the War of 1812; and a fine collection of the magazines and newspapers published on board the ships of the United States navy.

Though few copies of the work are available, since it has been printed solely for the members of the Roxburghe Club, students of Loyalist history should know of the existence of *The Royal Commission on the Losses and Services of American Loyalists, 1783 to 1785, being the*

*Notes of Mr. Daniel Parker Coke, M. P., one of the Commissioners during that Period*, edited by Professor Hugh E. Egerton of Oxford. The original notes, in seven manuscript volumes, have been presented to the New York Public Library by Mrs. Whitelaw Reid.

Houghton Mifflin Company announces that the first two volumes of Hon. Albert J. Beveridge's *Life of John Marshall* will issue from the press this autumn.

The fourth number of the *Smith College Studies in History* (pp. 165-220) combines a paper by Professor Edward R. Turner on Woman Suffrage in New Jersey, 1794-1807, and a body of documents on the Cherokee Negotiations of 1822 and 1823, edited by Professor Annie H. Abel of Smith College.

A considerable number of extracts from the unpublished correspondence of Gen. William J. Worth illustrative of the Mexican War were printed in the *New York Times Magazine* of July 16.

Another volume has been added to the works on Lincoln, by Mr. Henry B. Rankin in *Personal Recollections of Abraham Lincoln* (Putnam). Mr. Rankin was for a number of years a student in the law office of Lincoln and Herndon.

The Chicago Historical Society has published, as a pamphlet, *The Convention that Nominated Lincoln* (University Press, pp. 38), an interesting address by Professor P. Orman Ray of Northwestern University, on the outward and local aspects of the convention of 1860.

The London *Spectator* of June 3 and 10 prints "Reminiscences of the American Civil War" by Lord Cromer. This is an account of the trench-fighting before Petersburg based on Cromer's recollection of his visit to the front when he was in America in 1864 (as Lieut. Evelyn Baring).

*The Long Arm of Lee: or the History of the Artillery of the Army of Northern Virginia; with a brief Account of the Confederate Bureau of Ordnance*, is the title of a work in two volumes by J. C. Wise (Lynchburg, Bell).

Dr. Bernard C. Steiner has brought out through the J. Murphy Company of Baltimore a *Life of Henry Winter Davis* (1817-1865). The book includes an autobiographic sketch of Davis's early years.

*The Autobiography and Letters of Matthew Vassar*, the founder of Vassar College, edited by Eliza H. Haight, is published by the Oxford University Press.

Cardinal Farley is understood to be occupied with a volume of the *Life and Letters of Cardinal McCloskey*; Professor Frederick J. Zwierlein, of St. Bernard's Seminary, Rochester, with a *Life and Letters of Bishop McQuade*, of that diocese.

A supplement to the July number of the *American Journal of International Law* (pp. v, 121-225) consists of official documents on "Regulations governing the Visits of Men-of-War to Foreign Ports" and "Correspondence between Mexico and the United States regarding the American Punitive Expedition, 1916".

#### LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

The Maine Historical Society has recently acquired a volume of records of the proprietors of Phillipstown (now Sanford), containing entries running from 1661 to 1826.

A *History of Maine State College and the University of Maine*, by Professor M. C. Fernald, has been published by the University of Maine.

The next volume of *Collections* of the Massachusetts Historical Society will consist of the correspondence between John Adams and James Warren during the War for Independence. The society expects also to issue a volume of documents, chiefly from British sources, on Capt. William Phips's search for treasure in the Bahamas. It has reproduced by the photostat its unique file of the *Georgia Gazette*, 1763-1773. The reproduction of the *Boston News-Letter*, which at the time of the annual report in April had been carried to the end of 1714, will during the coming year be carried to the end of 1726. The serial of *Proceedings* for April includes a paper by Professor M. M. Bigelow on the Early History of the English Jury. That for May includes a paper by Winslow Warren on Contemporaneous Opinion and one by Harold Murdock entitled Historic Doubts on the Battle of Lexington. The June serial prints from the original manuscript the journal of Josiah Quincy, jr., concerning a journey to South Carolina, Pennsylvania, and New York in 1773, printed already in 1825 and in 1874, but now presented without omissions.

*Governor John Endecot's Humble Petition and Address of the General Court at Boston to Charles the Second* has been included in *Heartman's Historical Series* (New York, C. F. Heartman).

The main contribution to the July number of the *Essex Institute Historical Collections* is a full and valuable history of the Eastern Railroad, by F. B. C. Bradlee.

The Club for Colonial Reprints will soon issue, at Providence (68 Waterman Street), as its sixth publication, Edward Winslow's *Hypocrisy Unmasked*, reprinted, for the first time, from the original edition printed in London in 1647, and with an introduction by Mr. Howard M. Chapin. Seventy-five copies are offered for sale.

Under the title *Museum illustrating the History of the State*, the Rhode Island Historical Society has printed in a pamphlet of 32 pages, with many interesting illustrations, an account of its museum, prepared by the librarian, Mr. Howard M. Chapin.

Under the title *Documentary History of Yale University* (Yale University Press), Professor Franklin B. Dexter has produced a compilation of the more important documents relating to the history of the institution, from its beginnings to the charter of May, 1745. The same press also publishes *The Beginnings of Yale*, by Edwin B. Oviatt.

*A History of the State of New York*, by C. F. Horne, with an introduction by J. A. Holden, has been published by Messrs. Heath.

The *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library for May contains a Checklist of Eulogies and Funeral Orations on the Death of George Washington, by Margaret B. Stillwell. The July and August numbers begin a history of the library (thus far, of the Astor Library) by Mr. H. M. Lydenberg.

The oldest records of an ancient, and in modern times famous, township, are printed in *Oyster Bay Town Records*, vol. I., 1653-1690 (New York, Tobias A. Wright), annotated and otherwise edited by John Cox, jr., with an historical sketch by George W. Cocks.

A valuable contribution to local history is Mr. Charles W. Dahlinger's *Pittsburgh: a Sketch of its Early Social Life*, published by G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The Daughters of the American Revolution of Allegheny County, Pa., have brought out a booklet entitled *Fort Duquesne and Fort Pitt*.

*Allegheny: a Century of Education, 1815-1915*, by Professor E. A. Smith of Allegheny College, is published in Meadville, Pennsylvania (Allegheny College History Company).

The Maryland Historical Society has acquired as a deposit the papers of David B. Warden (1778-1845), for forty years United States consul in Paris.

The September number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* concludes David B. Warden's journal of a voyage to Cherbourg in the *Constitution* in 1811, continues (without giving any year-date) the journal of Uria Brown respecting westward surveys, continues from December 29, 1775, to April 11, 1776, the journal of the Frederick County Committee of Observation, and prints some correspondence of 1752 between the youthful Charles Carroll and his father.

In the June number of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* are printed a number of hitherto unpublished letters (1683-1685) of the first William Byrd; others will appear in later issues. These letters are from a letter-book of William Byrd, from which selections were printed in volumes I. and II. of the *Virginia Historical Register* and in the first number of this journal. The Report of the Journey of Franz Ludwig Michel from Bern, Switzerland, to Virginia (1701-1702), translated and edited by Professor William J. Hinke, is concluded in this number.

The *Richmond College Historical Papers*, vol. I, no. 2 (June), embodies four valuable studies: Virginia Loyalists, 1775-1783, by J. A. George; the Presidential Election of 1860 in Virginia, by Margaret K. Monteiro; Andrew Stevenson (1784-1857), by Eugene N. Gardner; and the Campaign of 1855 in Virginia and the Fall of the Know-Nothing Party, by Constance M. Gay. There is also a selection of Petitions and Letters to the Convention, Governor, or House of Delegates, 1775-1783.

The Macmillan Company has published a *History of Education in Virginia*, by C. J. Heatwole, professor in the State Normal School.

A *History of Monroe County, West Virginia*, by O. F. Morton, has been brought out in Staunton, Va. (McClure Company).

The state of South Carolina has published the *Journals of the Commons House of Assembly of South Carolina*, for the two sessions of 1698, edited by A. S. Salley, jr., secretary of the Historical Commission of the state (Columbia, 1914, pp. 40).

In the April number of the *South Carolina Historical Magazine* the most important portions are the continuation of letters from the papers of General Greene and of the order-book of J. F. Grimké. The July number contains a brief journal of recruiting in June and July, 1775, by Capt. Bernard Elliott, and a letter of Mrs. Charles Pinckney, 1785, on her introduction of indigo into the colony.

A *History of the University of South Carolina*, by E. L. Green, has been issued in Columbia by the State Publishing Company.

The *Fifth Biennial Report* (1914-1915) of the board of curators of the Louisiana State Museum includes some account of the records of the superior council of Louisiana, in the possession of the museum. For a considerable part of the French period (namely, 1717-1743 and 1763-1769) the records have been indexed by Mr. William Price, although unfortunately the work of indexing has been brought to a close for lack of funds. The museum has received by transfer from the city archives twenty volumes of *cabildo* documents. These are both Spanish and American and date principally from about 1770 to 1835.

Volume 8 of the *Publications* of the Louisiana Historical Society (New Orleans, 1916, pp. 124) includes an account of the indexing of the above-named papers, by Mr. Price; an article on the "Black Code" by J. J. McLoughlin; an account of Bienville's Difficulties in the Founding of New Orleans, by Mrs. S. B. Elder; and of Louisiana Contributions to Medical Science, by Dr. Edmond Souchon.

The June number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* presents four valuable articles: one upon the French on the Tennessee, entitled The Tennessee River as a Road to Carolina: Beginnings of Exploration and Trade, by Mr. V. W. Crane; Virginia and the West, an Interpretation, by Professor C. W. Alvord; the Economic History

of American Agriculture as a Field for Study, a paper read at the last meeting of the American Historical Association, by Professor L. B. Schmidt; and a general survey of Historical Activities in the Old Northwest during the last few years, by Professor A. C. Cole. A note by Mr. C. S. Larzelere gives the history of the disputed boundary between Iowa and Missouri.

The tenth annual meeting of the Ohio Valley Historical Association will be held at Indianapolis, October 4 and 5, and will take on a special character by reason of its association with the state centennial celebration of Indiana, which fills the days from October 2 to October 15 and has many other notable features of historical interest. Among the papers to be read before the Ohio Valley society we note, besides the presidential address of Professor Harlow Lindley, the following: Land Speculations in the Thirties, by Professor R. C. McGrane; The New Purchase, by Professor J. A. Woodburn; A Lost Opportunity—Internal Improvements, by Worthington C. Ford; and five papers on important subjects in Indiana history.

The entire content of the July number of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* is an account, by William C. Mills, of the exploration of the Tremper mound, near Portsmouth, Ohio. The article is illustrated with cuts of the many artifacts found in the mound.

The May number of the *Ohio History Teachers' Journal* is occupied with Suggestions for the Teaching of English History in the High School, by W. C. Harris.

The June number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* contains a paper, by Ora Ellen Cox, on the Socialist Party in Indiana, one by Elmore Barce on Tecumseh's Confederacy, a discussion, by J. P. Dunn, of the question Who was our Sieur de Vincennes? and an account, by Maurice Murphy, of Some Features in the History of Parke County.

Hubert M. Skinner has brought out a *Centennial History of Indiana* for schools and teachers' institutes (Chicago, Atkinson), while Messrs. Putnam have brought out a centennial edition, revised and enlarged, of Julia H. Levering's *Historic Indiana*.

The volumes, by the publication of which the state of Illinois will celebrate in 1918 the centennial of its admission to the Union, will be five in number. They are being prepared under the general editorship of Professor Clarence W. Alvord. As a preliminary (and probably in 1917) Dr. Solon J. Buck, now of Minnesota, will bring out a special volume surveying conditions in Illinois in 1818. The five volumes of the centennial history will be entitled as follows: *Province and Territory, 1673-1818*, by Professor Alvord; *The Frontier State, 1818-1848*, by Dr. Theodore C. Pease; *The Era of Transition, 1848-1870*, by Professor Arthur C. Cole; *The Industrial State, 1870-1893*, by Professor Ernest L. Bogart and Dr. Pease; and *The Modern Commonwealth, 1893-1918*, by Professor Bogart and Mr. John M. Mathews.



Among the papers in the *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society* for the year 1914 (Publication no. 20 of the Illinois State Historical Library) are: the Early Courts of Chicago and Cook County, by Orrin N. Carter; the Life and Services of Shelby M. Cullom, by H. A. Converse; the Methodist Episcopal Church and Reconstruction, by Professor W. W. Sweet; the Destruction of Kaskaskia by the Mississippi River, by J. H. Burnham; the Great Whig Convention at Springfield, June 3 to 4, 1840, by Isabel Jamison; Northern Illinois and Southern Illinois in the same convention, by Edith P. Kelly and Martha M. Davidson, respectively; and a further discussion of the Destruction of a Branch of the Fox Tribe of Indians, by John F. Steward. In the *Transactions* for 1915 (Publication no. 21) are found the following: Life of Adlai E. Stevenson, by John W. Cook; Indian Treaties affecting Lands in the present State of Illinois, by Frank R. Grover; and Gen. James Shields of Illinois, an address delivered by Francis O'Shaughnessy at the dedication, November 12, 1914, of a monument to General Shields at Carrollton, Missouri.

In the series of *University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences*, Miss Frances M. Moorehouse has published a detailed life (pp. 129) of Jesse W. Fell (1808-1887), an able and public-spirited politician of Illinois, now chiefly remembered as founder of the normal school which has grown into the State Normal University.

*The Development of Chicago, 1674-1914: shown in a Series of Contemporary Original Narratives*, compiled and edited by M. M. Quaife, has been brought out in Chicago by the Caxton Club.

*The Life and Adventures of Colonel Daniel Boone*, written by himself, together with the added narrative of his later life, has been included in *Heartman's Historical Series* (New York, C. F. Heartman).

Among the contents of the May number of the *Register* of the Kentucky State Historical Society are a Biographical Sketch of Major Henry T. Stanton, Poet and Journalist, of Kentucky, by J. Stoddard Johnston, and a Sketch of the Life and Times of General Benjamin Logan, by Bessie T. Conkwright. The society intends before long to publish a collection of the editorials written by George D. Prentice, of the *Louisville Journal*, during the campaign of 1860, with a general introduction and annotations by Miss Mary Scrugham.

*A History of Fentress County, Tennessee* (which claims the distinction of being the old home of Mark Twain's ancestors), by A. R. Hogue, has been brought out in Nashville (Williams).

The May number of the *Minnesota History Bulletin* is chiefly occupied by an illustrated article on the admirable new building erected for the society by the state. The most noteworthy article in the August number is that by Franklin F. Holbrook, entitled the Neill Papers in the Manuscript Collection of the Minnesota Historical Society. These pa-

pers, in large part the property of the society since 1909, comprise about 3000 documents and cover the years from 1836 to 1893. They have but recently been so arranged as to be easily accessible and Mr. Holbrook's excellent description, both of the career of Mr. Neill and of the contents of the papers, will be a valuable aid to all students using them.

In the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for July Jacob Van der Zee recounts some Episodes in the Early History of the Des Moines Valley and Ruth A. Gardner offers the third of her series of articles on the Indian agent, namely, Agents among the Sacs and Foxes. The *Journal* reprints, under the title Arguments in Favor of the Admission of Iowa into the Union, an article which appeared in the *Iowa Capitol Reporter* of July 23, 1842. To this Dan E. Clark supplies a brief introduction.

The Nebraska State Historical Society has an additional volume of *Proceedings* now in the printer's hands.

The Missouri Historical Society has just received the deposit of newspaper files of the *St. Louis Republic* covering the period from 1808 to 1911, and the gift of odd volumes of the *Globe-Democrat* and *Post-Dispatch*. The *Missouri Gazette*, the first predecessor of the *Republic*, was the first paper published west of the Mississippi River.

The State Historical Society of Missouri has constituted a committee of five to formulate plans for the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the admission of Missouri into the Union.

In the July issue of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* M. J. Atwood discusses the Sources of the Mexican Acta Constitutiva, Adalbert Regenbrecht gives some account of the German Settlers of Millheim, Texas, before the Civil War, A. E. Wilkinson writes concerning the Author of the Texas Homestead Exemption Law (Louis P. Cooke), and Owen C. Coy relates briefly the story of the Last Expedition of Josiah Gregg, an expedition in 1850 from the mines on Trinity River in Northern California to Humboldt Bay and thence southward to Clear Lake. Miss Clara M. Love's History of the Cattle Industry in the Southwest is continued.

*The Book of Texas* (historical, statistical, patriotic, etc.), by John A. Lomax and H. Y. Benedict of the University of Texas, has recently been put forth by Doubleday, Page, and Company.

*The Memorial of Fray Alonso de Benavides, 1630*, translated by Mrs. E. E. Ayer and annotated by F. W. Hodge, is privately printed but can be obtained from Lowdermilk in Washington, D. C.

The *Washington Historical Quarterly* for July contains an account of the Sinclair Party: an Emigration Overland along the Old Hudson Bay Company Route from Manitoba to the Spokane Country in 1854, prepared by William S. Lewis from a series of letters written to him by

John V. Cambell of Lilloett, British Columbia; an article entitled Alaska under the Russians: Baranof the Builder, by C. L. Andrews; one concerning Fort Hall on the Saptin River, by Miles Cannon; and another on Mining in Alaska before 1867, by Professor F. A. Golder. In this number of the *Quarterly* appears also the first installment of a diary kept by Col. and Mrs. I. N. Ebey, who took up their residence on Whidbey Island in Puget Sound, about 1850. The diary begins in 1852. It is edited for the *Quarterly* by Victor J. Farrar.

An historical society has been organized at Spokane under the title of the Spokane Historical Society, with Mr. N. W. Durham as president and Mr. William S. Lewis as corresponding secretary.

*Early Days in Old Oregon*, by Miss Katharine B. Judson, is especially intended for children (Chicago, McClurg).

*California Place-Names of Indian Origin*, by Professor A. L. Kroeber, is a recent publication of the University of California.

Dr. Charles E. Chapman's *The Founding of Spanish California*, recently published by Macmillan, is based on long-continued researches in the Archives of the Indies at Seville, and on thorough study of other materials.

At the annual meeting of the Ontario Historical Society in June the presidential address, by Mr. Clarence M. Warner, was on Candian History as a Hobby. Sir Edmund Walker was elected president for the next year, and Mr. J. Ross Robertson and Miss Janet Carnochan vice-presidents.

The Champlain Society has recently published *David Thompson's Narrative of his Explorations in Western America, 1784-1812*, edited by J. B. Tyrrell, who a number of years ago wrote a *Brief Narrative of the Journeys of David Thompson*.

*The Story of the Canadian Pacific Railway*, published recently by William Stevens, is the work of Mr. Keith Morris.

A history of an important branch of recent industrial development is Frederick M. Halsey's *Railway Expansion in Latin-America* (New York, Moody Magazine and Book Company).

Mrs. Edith Coues O'Shaughnessy, wife of Nelson O'Shaughnessy, chargé d'affaires of the United States in Mexico during the Huerta régime, has published, under the title *A Diplomat's Wife in Mexico*, a series of her letters written from the city of Mexico between October 8, 1913, and April 23, 1914. The book also includes an account of the occupation of Vera Cruz (Harper).

Mr. Thomas A. Joyce, assistant in the department of ethnology at the British Museum, has produced, under the title *Central American and West Indian Archaeology*, an introductory account of the archaeology

of Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama, and the West Indies (London, Lee Warner, 1916, pp. 286, with illustrations). This summary of the religions, customs, arts, and crafts of the early inhabitants of these regions forms a link in the series between one on Mexico and the Maya Region, which deals also with Honduras and Guatemala, and another on South America.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. N. Wardle, *The Ancients of the Bow of the Tennessee* (Harper's Monthly, September); L. M. Sears, *The Puritan and his Indian Ward* (American Journal of Sociology, July); C. M. Andrews, *Captain Henry Wilkinson* (South Atlantic Quarterly, July); R. L. Schuyler, *Agreement in the Federal Convention* (Political Science Quarterly, June); R. G. Usher, *Washington and "Entangling Alliances"* (North American Review, July); Gaillard Hunt, *The Department of State* (Harper's Monthly, September); D. E. Smith, *The Development of the American Arithmetic* (Educational Review, September); Major Thomas Rowland, C.S.A., *Letters of a Virginia Cadet at West Point, 1859-1861*, V. (South Atlantic Quarterly, July); W. M. Fullerton, *The Monroe Doctrine and the War* (World's Work, July); William H. Taft, *Economic and Political Summary of the Generation just Closing* (Journal of the National Institute of Social Sciences, vol. I, no. 1); Father Alexis, *De la Manière d'écrire l'Histoire au Canada*, I.-III. (La Nouvelle France, May, June, July); M. Albéric, *Les Capucins en Acadie, 1632-1654* [concl.] (*ibid.*, January); P. G. Roy, *Crime et Peines sous le Régime Français*, I. (Revue Canadienne, July); J. Boyd, *Thomas Storrow Brown et le Soulèvement de 1837 dans le Bas-Canada* (*ibid.*, July, August); F. Ortiz, *Origen de los Afro-Cubanos* (Cuba Contemporánea, July); C. H. Cunningham, *The Origin of the Friar Lands Question in the Philippines* (American Political Science Review, August).

The  
American Historical Review

THE FREEDOM OF HISTORY<sup>1</sup>

WHEN, in my college days, our old professor of philosophy added to his course on the history of philosophy a course on the philosophy of history the boys averred that that was easy enough: he had only to read his old lectures backward. Perhaps, before I am through, it may be as easy to guess why one who has long been a student of the history of freedom now takes for his theme the freedom of history. Not the freedom of the historian. Far be it from me, in this presence, to discuss the liberties taken by historians, or even the liberties sometimes taken with historians. It is of history in her own proper person that I wish to speak.

To a student of the history of freedom it might appear, I admit, on a first glance through the literature of his subject, that the powers which hamper liberty must for long have troubled themselves little about history. But, though her place in the earliest annals of repression is small as compared, say, with that of philosophy, it needs but a moment's thought to be sure that not one of the sorts of authority—tribal, political, theological, social—among which Sir Frederick Pollock has divided the responsibility for persecution can ever have been indifferent to the study of the past. And, as the inquirer takes up one by one those rude beginnings of record which shed dim light on early human affairs, it presently dawns on him that whatever in them savors of freedom comes not from tolerance, but from monopoly. Soon, too, it dawns on him that, even if in that old day official tradition could have found a rival, that rival could by no means have been history. For, as one studies method and spirit of those old jottings, priestly or royal, rhapsodic or epic, one grows to understand how large a liberty must first come to human thought before the thing we now call history could be born,

<sup>1</sup> Presidential address read before the American Historical Association, at Cincinnati, December 28, 1916.

and why it was no accident that that birth, when at last it came, came only in the freest of ancient commonwealths at the very acme of its freedom.

The historians of Greek civilization have not failed, indeed, to point out the many steps by which even there that advent was prepared: how the Homeric poems paved the way by their free handling of the gods and of their share in the affairs of men—how Hesiod by his daring to reduce to system myth and legend—how the Ionian philosophers by their new teaching as to the nature and the worth of truth—how Hecataeus by his bold assertion of the right of criticism. But from these to history was yet a mighty stride. Even Hecataeus used free hand only to reject. Topic and matter tradition still supplied him. His story began still with the gods; and from them, unwincing, he traced his own descent.

Then, in the Athens of Pericles, there rose the father of History. Father of the name, he was, as of the thing; and surely seldom, in this world where all things pass by shades into each other, was new departure conceived more clearly or more vividly defined than then was history by Herodotus. Such is just now our emphasis on continuity, which is the condition of all science, that we are in danger of forgetting change, which is the condition of history; and you will pardon me if I pause for a moment on what may seem so tiresomely familiar. "Of the history of Herodotus the Halicarnasian", so began the pregnant opening sentence that stood to him for preface and introduction, "this is a setting forth". That word History (*ιστορία*), which now replaced the verb of simple narration that had still contented Hecataeus, was chosen with care. Set in the forefront like a title and thereby destined to become the current name not only of the book of Herodotus but of the new study it opened, that word was no strange word to his readers. It was only, as we all know, the noun of the familiar verb that meant "to inquire". What Herodotus meant by it we still call "research". What he thus emphasized as marking off his book from others was not his subject, but his method. Hecataeus had asserted his freedom of judgment; but that judgment was subjective. Herodotus asserts his freedom of initiative: what he offers is truth sought out and verified. In the land, in the city, where above all is honored the *ποιητής*, the creator, the artist who can invent and adorn—at Athens, where all things are measured by the standard of "the fair and the good"—Herodotus will set up the new ideal of objective truth, of plodding inquiry. But, if method thus take the foreground, his next words define as clearly the field and the purpose of his book:

“Of the research of Herodotus this is a setting forth”, he wrote, “in order that the doings of men may not be obscured by time, nor their achievements, great and wonderful, whether by Greeks or by barbarians wrought, fail of renown”. With research he will enter a field heretofore sacred to religion and to poetry; yet he will concern himself not with the gods, but with the affairs of men. He will narrate great deeds; but not those of his own ancestors, his own city—not those of Athens, the home of his exile—not those of the Greeks, his race and that of his readers. “Whether by Greeks or by barbarians wrought”: he believes in the worth of great deeds for their own sake, and impartially told. Here forsooth is something new. But he has more to say. His is no vague chronicle, beginning and ending nowhere and wandering at the author’s will. As, like a man of science, he has put first his method—as, like a philosopher, he has defined his general aim—so now, like an artist, he seizes him a specific theme, with unity and action of its own. Disdaining all prelude, he launches on the story of that great Graeco-Persian world-struggle he will make central, refusing, even for that, all causes older than the human ones he can himself investigate.

Do we grasp the full significance of his pronouncement? That deed of Herodotus was itself one of the achievements great and wonderful that must not fail of its renown. In all the progress of human thought I know but one transition to match in significance that emancipation of history from poetry: the step, centuries later, by which what we now call natural science turned from the high company of theology and her handmaid philosophy to the humbler but surer path of observation and experiment. In the East, even before Herodotus, the national genius of the Jews had developed, in the study of the past, beginnings of rare promise; but to the end that Hebrew chronicling remained only a Jacob’s ladder, with the angels of God ascending and descending between earth and heaven. Only Greece was ripe for the step of Herodotus; and Greece none too ripe. We who measure his work by that which came after, and note how much there was still in him of the love of story-telling, of naïve credulity, of reverence for the gods, forget too often that there were limits to his freedom—that Athens was just passing into the control of the populace, the most conservative of social elements—that, even while he wrote, that populace enacted the law of Diopeithes, which put at the mercy of its juries all who doubted the gods or taught new views—that his friends, an Anaxagoras, a Protagoras, were driven out on that charge.

Herodotus, it is true, was genuinely reverent. The men who

open for their fellows the door to a new era—an Augustine, a Dante—must ever be men of reverence. Only such can gain a hearing. But they are also men of tact. Only such can “put it over”. Yet, if Herodotus revered the gods, he counted their plans unknown alike to all men. If he credited their oracles, he did not overlook how often they are equivocal or misleading. If he listened to dreams, he distrusted their interpreters and knew that oftenest what men dream is but an echo of their waking thoughts. He first among the Greeks showed reverence for the gods of other lands. Strange tales he told, but often to spice them with a doubt; and, even when most naïve, there was shrewd art in his naïveté. Everywhere he asked for evidence, and everywhere made human eyes and ears its test. From first to last his interest was in human affairs and human deeds; and ever, as his work advanced, he wandered less and less from that great central drama he had made his theme.

So did Herodotus educate his readers; and it is the very measure of his achievement that the greater historian who followed him found history free. Thucydides had need no longer to propitiate an audience. He built on the foundations laid by Herodotus; and, if with incomparably more of insight, judgment, self-restraint, he yet but realized the same ideal. For him, too, the field of history was only human affairs, human achievements. He, too, would reach no farther back than the great world-struggle of his yesterday, and even for that would rest at every point upon research. He, too, and even more clearly than Herodotus, aimed at no mere literary success, but at that sternly true discernment and portrayal of human life which should make his work, as he averred, no momentary triumph, but a *κτῆμα ἐς αἰὲν*—a thing of worth forever.

Thus high did Thucydides rate the thing we know as history. True, he did not call it by that name; and even Herodotus, though he used that word not only for his research but for the information it brought him, had not so clearly made it cover his narrative itself. But never was literary form less accident than theirs. “Out of purpose and matter is born the form”, said the great historian who a century ago opened a new day for history.<sup>2</sup> And in that word the Greek public from the first found a name for the new thing as a whole. Though the word might still be used in its old meaning of research in general, it was already to Aristotle, in the next generation, a technical term. Carefully that master of rhetoric discriminates history from poetry. Their difference, he says, is not that

<sup>2</sup> Ranke, in the preface to his own first book, 1824: “Aus Absicht und Stoff entsteht die Form.” (*Werke*, XXXIII.—XXXIV. vii.)



one is prose, the other verse. Herodotus in verse would still be history. But history must relate the things that actually took place, poetry such things as might take place. Poetry's interest is in the universal, history's in the particular.<sup>3</sup>

Truth to fact, interest in the particular: to-day as then that description holds. Already history had won in the republic of letters the citizenship that still is hers. And yet—she went no further. In Thucydides history reached the highest point attained in all antiquity. Though in later Greece and in that Rome which was her pupil there rose many who deserve the historian's name, their best work, as men agree, was but approximation to what Thucydides had done. Why? Was it in any wise from lack of freedom?

Not of religious freedom. The tact of Herodotus, the self-restraint of Thucydides, had their reward. Athens voted the Hali-carnassian not exile but ten talents. It was Socrates the philosopher who went to his death for impiety. But we are growing wiser than to measure the fruits of intolerance by death sentences. The matter is more complex. Even religious intolerance is such, not because religion is so intolerant, but only because intolerance is so religious. The veriest skeptic of us cannot get hot about the collar without dropping into religion for an oath. If we keep our temper, our intolerance, though perhaps as deadly, loses its flavor of piety; and, since now what seems to us shaken is not the pillars of the universe, but only those of society, or perhaps of business, we may substitute for a heresy trial mere starvation through loss of place or of good name. But for the repression of man or of idea there is no need of malice—or of intent. Simple neglect will do as well. And for new ideas there is an attitude more fatal still: kindly inertia. That inertia, I mean, which listens and applauds, but never grasps the point; that inertia which welcomes every new-coined phrase, but uses it not for the new idea, but as a blank check for ideas in general or no idea at all; that inertia which for every new thing must find a place in old categories, though in doing so it trim away its very identity; that inertia which is forever doing the new the honor to lift it into good society by identifying it with something old.

How was it with history among the ancients? A scholar whose special fitness for the task will not be questioned, Hermann Peter, the foremost student of ancient historiography, has devoted a volume to what he deems the cause of that stagnation. He finds the explanation, as have others before him, in the conquest of history by rhetoric. "The general public", he tells us, "found it more delight-

<sup>3</sup> Aristotle, *Poetics*, IX. 3.

ful and convenient to listen to a melodious style, an entertaining narrative, and the historians gladly let themselves be led by this current, since it promised the greater applause."<sup>4</sup> Parting company with philosophy, its fellow in the search for truth, what still called itself history became the tool of the politician, the advocate, the popular lecturer, the literary artist—of all who would win by its means a selfish end. They talked still of research, but it was for rhetorical effect. They took their story as they found it, if only they could delight the popular taste. Herodotus and Thucydides were still admired; but it was for their style or their success. Now and then a bold thinker, such as Polybius, rose again to the great thought of the masters and prized historical truth; but not even such could free themselves from slavery to rhetoric—its demands absorbed their best time and effort. Thus Hermann Peter; and, though his colors are dark, few will question their essential truth who remember the rooted aestheticism of Graeco-Roman culture.

The historian, then, was not yet wholly free. Herodotus and Thucydides had won for history a hearing, and for themselves a fame that tempted imitators. They had not created for it a public; and without a public there could be, for the mass of scholars, no economic freedom. That the bar was economic, at least in great part, is suggested not alone by the gap between ideals and practice—what nobler ideal for the truth of history could there be than that which Cicero declares the accepted one, to dare no falsehood nor conceal a truth nor be suspect of favor or of guile?<sup>5</sup>—but by what we know of the financial fortunes of those who approached most nearly such ideals. Herodotus and Thucydides were men of family and doubtless of estate, able to travel and writing in the leisure and the detachment of exile. So, too, of course, was Polybius, the guest-friend of the Scipios. The statesman Caesar, the courtier Tacitus, the retired officer Ammianus, were, like them, favorites of fortune—or knew how to master fortune. If even for these the tide had grown too strong, where should ordinary men find encouragement or means for the search of documents, the verification of evidence, the patient sifting and weighing? Whence could come the chairs, the endowments, the libraries and archives, the public subsidies, while as yet no public demand existed? The ten talents

<sup>4</sup> Peter, *Wahrheit und Kunst, Geschichtsschreibung und Plagiat im Klassischen Altertum* (Leipzig, 1911), p. 125.

<sup>5</sup> Cicero, *De Oratore*, II. 15: "Quis nescit primam esse historiae legem, ne quid falsi dicere audeat? Deinde ne quid veri non audeat? Ne quae suspicio gratiae sit in scribendo? Ne quae simultatis? Haec scilicet fundamenta nota sunt omnibus."

granted by Athens to Herodotus did not prove a precedent; and even they were doubtless a crowning of the patriot, the artist, rather than the historian.

But, back of all this, *why?* *Why* no public? *Why* no demand? What thus for centuries enslaved and sterilized history was, I am convinced, no set antipathy, no ill will at all. It was mere inertia. No age ever needed history more; but this age had failed to grasp its nature and its worth. The standards of the age were those of art, and it asked only that history be "raised to an art". And one remembers how Guizot ascribes the short life of ancient civilizations to their want of variety in institutions and ideals.

It was Christianity, thinks Hermann Peter, that freed history from rhetoric and restored truth to the throne. Alas, what that new age enthroned was not truth, but *the* Truth. In the field of morals, it is true, the new faith taught sincerity. True, too, its earliest teachers, filled with their message, were impatient of rhetoric and even of grammar, boasting themselves lovers not of words but of things. True, its philosopher apologists, led to the new religion by that search for truth still taught by philosophy, and finding in it the goal of their search, asked for it nothing but freedom and fancied it needed only a hearing to convert the world. True, the imperial convert who at last endowed it with the longed-for freedom based his act on the premise that Heaven itself would have religions free. Moreover, Christianity was an historical religion: its basis not a cosmogony or a priestly code or a series of visions or a metaphysical system, but the story of a life—its prime documents a group of biographies. And these biographies linked the story of the master to the long annals of his people, whose history, like their law, their poetry, and the lofty teaching of their prophets, became the heritage of the younger faith. In that Hebrew literature, which carried them back to the very creation, and in the world-wide outlook of their own aspiring sect, Christian scholars now found inspiration for the first thought of a history truly universal, and with zeal took up the great task of knitting into a single story the chronologies of Orient and Occident.

But—to Christian historians the biographies which were the starting-point of that Christian historiography were the record of no merely human life. That long history which was now their preamble was the sacred story of the chosen people, with its Jacob's ladder forever linking earth to heaven. The central actor was Jehovah, now the God of all the earth. About that story and its culmination in the Gospels all other history must now fall into

place; and from the sacred record—for the record too is sacred—may be learned the plans of the Omnipotent. It was Jerome who now found them in the interpretations and the visions of Daniel—in the image with head of gold and belly of brass, in the four great beasts that came up out of the sea—and from his day on almost to ours the changing empires of earth have been forced to find a place within that scheme. Whatever in non-sacred annals was found in conflict with Holy Writ must be discarded. What was left must be adjusted to its words. Man's career on earth became a fall. Nor might human wit exalt itself: Pythagoras and Plato had learned from Moses, Seneca from Paul.

Yet history was still of moment, and earth was still its scene. But when the religious genius of Augustine, turning with disdain from earthly story, centred all interest on a State of God which filled the universe, and traced from revelation its career, even from the primal counsels of eternity to the ultimate goal of prophecy in the New Jerusalem, leaving to earth and time but a poor midway span—when even in that earthly span man's place was but a puppet's, his impulses the voice of guardian angel or besetting fiend, and all the spheres 'twixt Empyrean and Hell the battleground of God and Satan—when, to the growing exegesis of the Church, not even Holy Writ itself was prized for the poor literal facts of history, but for those deeper meanings, allegorical, moral, anagogical, mystical, to be discerned beneath: then history, like all else, was lost in theology.

The Middle Age did not dissever them. Nay, to forbid it there grew to completeness that consummate preserver of the unity of thought, the procedure against heresy. And to the end of that long age of faith history did not escape the paternal eye. Yet even through that age history lived on. Great was often her freedom in all that lay beyond the line of sacred. Ever and again a biographer or a contemporary historian—an Einhard or a Nithard in the ninth century, a Villehardouin or a Joinville in the thirteenth—showed how vigorous still could be the interest in human affairs and human deeds. All through that age one finds by snatches abundant proof of the same impulse. And long before the ending of that age the clergy's scribbling habit was heaping up materials that should one day prove rich for history. That they did not fruit in history then was due, I am convinced, far less to intolerance than to inertia. Revelation sufficed. "For we Christians", Augustine had said, "stayed by divine authority in the history of our religion, doubt not the utter falsehood of whatever contravenes it, and know that whatever else there be in secular writings, true or

false, is of no moment to our right and blessed living." "Stayed by divine authority": ah, that was what contented the Middle Ages. What room in any soul for interest in human affairs when all the history worth while had been worked out and made a part of the great scheme of salvation? What need of insight or research when history had been "raised to a philosophy"?

Even when the Middle Ages waned, the revived study of the ancients and the rise of a lay republic of letters did not at first, one must confess, greatly advantage the freedom of history. The courtier humanist charged with a biography of his princely patron or a history of his dynasty, the humanist chancellor commissioned by the city fathers to write the history of the town, was perhaps less free to find or tell the truth than had been the churchly chronicler unhampered by hereditary lords or local vanity. The audience, too, was humanist, and the tyranny of rhetoric, never wholly dispelled throughout the Middle Ages, now reasserted itself with double power. It was the humanist historian's very function to make the glories of his prince or of his city a vehicle for the display of the Latin style to which he owed his post. And if history, thus again an art, a branch of literature, dared in a field so secular to shun the mention of ecclesiastical miracle and even to forget the great plan of salvation, it was too often to borrow from the ancients a strange varnish of omen and of prodigy.

But, little by little, the two civilizations thus face to face brought reciprocal emancipation. The scholars forced to trim between the two grew critical of both. A Petrarch sifting for a Luxemburg emperor the Austrian charters, a Valla detecting for Alfonso of Naples the absurdity of the Donation of Constantine, might still reach only the results their lords desired; but they reached them by methods sound and full of startling suggestiveness. And when a Valla, thus accredited, but at no master's beck, found flaws as well in sainted Vulgate and in scarce less sainted Livy, the age of free inquiry had dawned. In that new atmosphere of intellectual alertness, there came now to the helm in Church and State men of keen vision and of open mind. For three-quarters of a century there ripened in Italy and spread through Europe a freedom of thought and speech not reached again till our day. The growing zeal for knowledge found employment for others than dilettanti; and at Rome, where world-wide interests and rich archives offered the scholar yet another freedom, there now dawned once more upon a plodding functionary the great thought of Herodotus. Flavio Biondo was no genius like the Greek; but his honest soul had caught

the meaning of research, and the fruits his years of downright toil wrung from the fallow medieval centuries stirred abler minds to imitation. A humanist pope, himself no mean historian, gave Biondo's labors vogue by an abridgment in more flowing Latin. A humanist librarian of the Vatican used his treasures for a history of the popes which in its chatty frankness forgot both rhetoric and religious awe. And while there thus revived at Rome, and soon beyond the Alps, the spirit of Herodotus, there was born again in free and democratic Florence the spirit of Thucydides. A Machiavelli, a Guicciardini, a Varchi, brought to bear upon the history of earlier days and of their own the trained political experience and social insight gained by touch with practical affairs. And even before such models could exert their charm, the keen eyes of a Philippe de Commynes were busy in France and Burgundy, and Venice was extorting from her diplomats such masterpieces of political alertness as attest how ripe the time was growing.

Nor from that day has history languished. To her freedom there came, indeed, sudden check with the great religious reaction we call the Reformation. Once more human affairs sank into insignificance. Less by far than that of the older church did the theology of Luther or Calvin accord reality or worth to human effort. Luther valued history, it is true, but only as a divine lesson; and Melancthon set himself to trace in it the hand of God, adjusting all its teachings to the need of Protestant dogma. Had either Papist or Lutheran brought unity to Christendom, history again must have become the handmaid of theology. But, while the struggle lasted, both sides had other use for her. And now it came to history's profit that Christianity is an historical religion. Not in the court of metaphysics, but at the bar of sober fact, had Protestant and Catholic to make good their charges and their claims; and by such evidence as should not only quiet the devout but rout opponents and convince the hesitant. At bottom, too, they were honest and earnest men who strove, convinced each of the soundness of his cause and eager to prove it by research. To discomfit the Magdeburg centuriators a Baronius printed wholesale the archives of the Vatican. To rescue what could yet be saved of the prestige of the saints the Bollandists outdid their Calvinist critics in relentless sifting of the legends. Contemporary annalists vied with each other in savage suspicion—and in documentation. Soon on both sides came internal rivalries: Calvinist impeached Lutheran, and Anglican Calvinist—Benedictine rallied to defend against Jesuit his ancient charters. And on all sides this wealth of study brought

keener insight, fairer judgment, deeper interest in human affairs.

Were my theme the freedom, not of history, but of the historian, there would be another tale to tell: how a Christendom divided into camps made travel perilous, hampered research, cut short the intercourse of scholars; how Inquisition was reinforced by Index, and State united with Church for the muzzling of the press; how the civil power, leaned on yet more heavily by Protestant than Catholic, put at the beck of religious party all its means of repression, and how, as religious passion died and religious conviction grew hollow, that civil power made religious pretext serve its own ends and built up for the State a repression more unscrupulous. But, if the works of Guicciardini, left unpublished at his death, could see print only after mutilation, and Varchi's must wait two centuries for print at all—if even old Platina must find place upon the Index—if Giannone atoned for his history of Naples by ending his days in a Savoyard dungeon, or even in Switzerland Johann von Müller must fend off the censor by making Bern read Boston in his imprint—such things as these but muzzled history. In their own way they were, indeed, a tribute to her success and her importance; and, though for a time they made historians cautious and often silent, the time came when such censures were the fortune of a book, and publishers intrigued for them to quicken sales. Under the very shelter of that censorship the churchly scholars worked out the sciences of research and piled up great tomes of sifted record which should one day equip both friend and foe; and in defiance of that censorship unchurchly scholars—Bayle, Montesquieu, Voltaire—shut out from the archives of states and churches, broadened history to the story of civilization and made it teach the experience of mankind. Kings were their disciples; and, however vigorously the “enlightened despots” wielded still the censorship in their own defense, they called historians to university chairs and to the keeping of their libraries and archives.

Even the French Revolution, which swept their work away and would fain wipe all things out to build them new, proved no serious interruption. The problems born of its new freedom, the wider interests bred by its democracy, the sobering lessons taught by its collapse, stirred in its sons an appetite for history to match that of its reactionary foes; and, in its sweep over Europe, it had sequestered everywhere for public use treasures of book and manuscript which now for the first time became accessible to the world of scholars. And in the train of this cataclysm came the great inventions and administrative devices—postal system and steamship, railway and tele-

graph—which have yet more freed the historian from the bonds of time and space. Of what these have made possible in the century behind us I do not need to speak: of the organization of historians, the great enterprises, national and international, the subsidies of governments, the aid from institutions of learning—the co-operation of neighbor studies—of the resulting wealth of production, the broadening of history's scope, the democratizing of all her interests. The new friends brought, indeed, new perils. How Napoleon dealt with history and historians is a commonplace. The "Göttingen seven" may remind us of the temper of the Reaction. '48 had too its martyrs, among them Mommsen. What indignant religion still could do is suggested by the academic careers of Strauss and Renan—to come no nearer. State endowments and state professorships have brought the state new power to reward or punish. Prizes, orders, decorations, social preferment, have proved an influence sometimes more seductive—and not unused. The Roman Index still persists, revised and rejuvenated at the opening of the twentieth century by the same pope who opened to scholars the treasures of the Vatican; and only last year saw placed upon it the latest volume of the most scholarly of church historians. Nor is all clear sailing ahead. The *Polizeistaat* of present-day Europe is no Elysium of intellectual freedom, as we shall know when some day it is safe to tell its story; nor are the rising theories of collectivism much more reassuring than those of state omnipotence. To any who think our easy-going America is at bottom more tolerant let me commend the essay in which one of our own number has over the shoulders of Kansas laid playful lash on our society as a whole.<sup>6</sup> How fragile is all liberty in time of stress we need just now no reminder; and I trust that the doughty publisher who has given us so fair-minded a history of the censorship of the Church may survive to attempt a study which will more severely test his impartiality—on the censorship of the present war.

But through all this, though historians have suffered, history herself has come unscathed. Her conception of her task has deepened and broadened. The sciences of nature and of mind have relieved her of much that she once thought it hers to explain. The new sciences of society have enriched her with a background and are daily illumining her results by theirs. She herself is learning to ply at need their methods and has thus bridged many a gap. But she is still free to make her central task that of Herodotus and

<sup>6</sup> Carl Becker, "Kansas" (in *Essays in American History dedicated to F. J. Turner*, New York, 1910.)



Thucydides, of Biondo and Guicciardini: her method research, her theme human experience and human effort, her aim to understand and to portray.

Yet no. From the side of our neighbors who are devoted to the method of study which in our day has monopolized the name of science, and from the great and growing public whose intellectual habits have been shaped by this, there has come again and again a demand that history be "raised to a science". It has found spokesmen not only in men of science, but among historians themselves. Sometimes these have been content with refusing to history a scientific rank; but oftener, denying it all worth, they have proposed to assimilate its method to theirs or to adopt its name for their own science. Thus Auguste Comte a century ago would turn it into sociology; and, in like fashion since, the adepts of one and another study. Only the other day a colleague of our own, in a learned and thoughtful booklet, claimed its name for anthropology.<sup>7</sup>

Let it not be thought that I deprecate such discussion. Discussion is above all things to be welcomed, and deep should be our gratitude to those who meet us on its plane. Let us learn from them all we can. What I deprecate is only that inertia which does not take the trouble to think, but is always for whatever seems to make its intellectual labor easy by levelling distinctions. How in antiquity that inertia "raised" history to an art, how in the Middle Age to a philosophy, I have tried to tell you. Even in success the laziness of that inertia showed its cloven foot; for the art imposed on history was not true art, but conventional artifice—the philosophy that smothered history was not free speculation, but veiled authority. From the point of view of art or of philosophy, history, if approached in freedom by thinking men, could well have vindicated her right to be. And to-day it is not against any effort to test her scientific worth that she demurs, but against the imposition upon her, by those who have not waited to understand what she herself is about, of a method born of other needs and meant for other ends—a method itself not free from metaphysical taint, and often, as urged on history, a cloak but too transparent for the yea or nay of dogma.

The rise, among students of these sciences, of such an attitude is not hard to explain. While as yet it was history alone that studied the past her name came to be used, in current speech, not only for all study of the past, but for the past itself; and, when the rising sciences learned too to use "the historical method"—to study things in their becoming as well as in their being—they too in this

<sup>7</sup> Frederick J. Teggart, *Prolegomena to History* (Berkeley, 1916).

sense studied history. As man is of course a child of nature, he too came within the scope of these sciences; and, while biology and anthropology thus studied man's career as animal, the new sciences of society took fruitful cognizance, and by a kindred method, of his development in family and tribe, community and race, and the systematic sciences of mind dealt with all the phases and activities of his intellectual life. What wonder that those devoted to this method of study have found it hard to see what place is left for history? To make that word cover all study of the past would make it inclusive of all sciences; and, recognizing that history has had special connection with things human, they have assumed its narrower field to be the human past and that whatever studies the human past is history. But this is rash. Not so has science grown. The sciences, like the arts, were born of practical needs. Their fields were not cut four-square out of the blue, like a western state or a theme for a doctor's thesis. They did but stumble on them, playing with the tools of the busy arts after the day's work. What justified them then, what justifies them now, is not their fitting into any scheme for the division of knowledge, but the worth of what they seek and their effectiveness in seeking it. The formal sciences, mathematics and logic, deal with all that is; but they do not shut out physics, nor physics chemistry, nor these biology, from a like free range. There is no study that is but may throw light upon the past of man. That for his knowledge of that past man needs physical sciences, biological sciences, social sciences, goes without saying. It nowise follows that these or any of these are history, or that history is not needed too. What history is, what history is for, must be asked of history herself.

But here perhaps our scientific neighbor interrupts: "Of history herself? Ah, you mean historiography." Well, to shelve as historiography what has so long been known as history and then to borrow the ancient name for some new use of her materials, reminds me, I confess, of that old derivation of Middletown from Moses—by dropping -oses and adding -iddletown. But what, then, has that old-fashioned history to say for herself? Why should she still be free? Freedom is not air or sunlight, ample for all. Freedom is elbow-room—and elbow-room in a crowd. Why in this huddled, hustling world should that old history take space or time?

It does not depend on whether that history is a science or an art or a philosophy or mixed of all or apart from all. All these may be ways to truth. Such classifications describe; they do not prescribe. To the logicians themselves their boundaries are shadowy. Benedetto Croce, who seems once to have reckoned history a science, a

dozen years ago pronounced it art, and later has identified it with philosophy. But by a science he did not mean a natural science; when he called it art he added "but without loss of loyalty to fact"; and when he declared it philosophy he explained that this is only when philosophy has become history.<sup>8</sup> These are but a poet's discernings of the underlying unity of truth, and mean to us in practice no more than when his opponent Aliotta tells us that "the severance commonly made between history and philosophy and history and science is a practical device justified by the limited nature of the human mind" and that "to a thought capable of taking in at once all the universal and special determinations in the single fact there would be no such thing as a plurality of sciences, there would be only science, that is to say philosophy, which would also have the concreteness of history".<sup>9</sup> To a philosopher, whose function it is to see existence as a whole and interpret it to his own generation, such vistas matter much; but to us who still toil with our nets in the ocean of truth they are not the lights of port, but only the far glimmer of the dawn.

Yet, in the fruits of our toil, even our neighbors have seen some use. Professor Ritchie has called history the laboratory of politics; and I suppose that all the studies which deal with human affairs would grant to it this lowly task of hewer of wood. More reassuring has been what in these latter days philosophy has learned from studying what history actually is and does. Even Henri Berr, the clever realist who, while the idealists were writing books, founded instead a review,<sup>10</sup> tells us, in the volume in which at the end of a decade he sums up his teachings and urges the substitution of sociology for what has hitherto been called history, that "it cannot be denied that history responds to needs profound and immediate, distinct both from aesthetic curiosity and from the curiosity" which he counts "properly scientific". There is, he says, "a sort of vital instinct", common alike to peoples and to individuals, which interests them in their ancestors and in the past, and which "tends, so to speak, to root and perpetuate their moral being". Wherefore he is inclined to think that, even after his new science has taken shape,

<sup>8</sup> Benedetto Croce, *Il Concetto della Storia* (second ed., Rome, 1896); *Estetica* (Milan, 1902), p. 29 (p. 44 of Douglas Ainslie's English translation, London, 1909); and pp. 213-215 of his chapter on the function of logic in Arnold Ruge's *Encyclopaedie der Philosophischen Wissenschaften*, I. (Tübingen, 1912).

<sup>9</sup> Antonio Aliotta, *The Idealistic Reaction against Science*, translation by Agnes McCaskill (London, 1914), p. 445. This passage is in the pages added for the English edition.

<sup>10</sup> *The Revue de Synthèse Historique* (Paris, 1900 ff.).

"this description of the past, this empirical reconstruction of vanished reality", will not be wholly useless.<sup>11</sup>

Much more encouraging to history are the findings of that new idealism which in its multitudinous forms, on both sides of the Channel and of the Atlantic, has been the most notable movement of present-day thought. Not only do its spokesmen find history fundamental to those "sciences of mind" which they now sharply discriminate in aim and method from the "sciences of nature", but they rate it a science itself, though with a method of its own, and have set themselves at formulating the logic of that method. If some in their zeal have gone too far in restricting its processes to those peculiar to itself, it is much to have recognized these and their worth. But, though they rate high its quest of knowledge, these thinkers discern in history something more. Already in 1883 Dilthey, in his foundation-laying "Introduction to the Sciences of Mind", pointed out that the experience we broaden through history, the life we live in it, is of a piece with our own living, and, like it, not a means, but an end in itself;<sup>12</sup> and others, developing this thought, have shown how only through thus coming into touch with life in all its concrete complexity, with life in process of being lived, can men or peoples enter into fullness of living.<sup>13</sup> And they point out how over and above the dramatic interest, the compelling power, which history shares with the great creations of literature (they too reproductions of life), there is in history another and a special potency because of its reality—the one wholly concrete reality with which human study deals.<sup>14</sup> Thus has the systematic thought of our day seemed to arrive at what was urged a century ago by Wilhelm von Humboldt and a generation ago by the great English historian and teacher of history who taught that history's highest use is in itself, its object not primarily knowledge, but "travel, acquaintance, experience, life".

But to the student of freedom there reveals itself in history another value—a value that makes the freedom of history vital to us all. To point it out is the culmination of my message. It is that on the freedom *in* history—and so, perforce, on the freedom *of* history—all our other freedom rests.

Let me illustrate.

<sup>11</sup> Henri Berr, *La Synthèse en Histoire* (Paris, 1911), pp. 255, 256.

<sup>12</sup> Wilhelm Dilthey, *Einleitung in die Geisteswissenschaften* (Leipzig, 1883), I. 114.

<sup>13</sup> Especially Eduard Spranger, *Die Grundlagen der Geschichtswissenschaft* (Berlin, 1905), pp. 143-145.

<sup>14</sup> E.g., Georg Simmel, *Die Probleme der Geschichtsphilosophie*, 2 Aufl. (Leipzig, 1905), pp. 134-142.

On the altar of her method of study [writes the eloquent sociologist Gumplowicz], sociology sacrifices—man. He, the lord of creation, the author of historical events as the historians think, he who as monarch or as minister guides according to his will the destiny of peoples . . . sinks away, in sociology, to a meaningless *cipher*. In complete contradiction to the portrayals of the historians, even the mightiest statesman is for the point of view of the sociologist only a blind tool in the invisible but all-powerful hand of his social group, which itself in turn only follows an irresistible law of nature.<sup>15</sup>

Now, if this be true and if the method of sociology be all, of what use for even the mightiest statesman to exert himself? Of what use for him to study sociology? Yet even Gumplowicz surely was not writing for the mere joy of utterance. He hoped for readers, and for readers who would act upon his teachings. Even he assumes and builds upon a freedom which for the method of sociology does not exist. For what study does it exist? Only for history. For literature, yes; but only as literature borrows from history—and would grow fantastic if not held forever to the test of history. What Gumplowicz affirms for sociology he would unquestionably affirm for every systematic science, from physics to psychology.

Yet this freedom nobody denies. I am not dealing in metaphysics. I am not talking of what is called "the freedom of the will". I speak of a practical freedom, recognized alike by determinist and indeterminist—nay, it is the determinist who just now is the more strenuous in his insistence on this freedom of action and of choice. Without it there could be, of course, no worth in foresight, no use in education. Without it all other freedom, of voice or pen, would be a mockery. Whatever may explain or lie behind it, who will question that on it rests all purpose, effort, character?

That all those who speak for the sciences of nature and of society are as extreme in statement as Gumplowicz I am far from saying. That some day their sciences, too, will give more thought to the individual I do not doubt. But that their method of study—the method now urged on history—has ignored his freedom is patent. Take the books of even the most strenuous believers in that freedom. Take that eloquent survey of anthropology with which

<sup>15</sup> Ludwig Gumplowicz, *Sociologie und Politik* (Leipzig, 1892), p. 54: "Auf dem Altar ihrer Erkenntnis opfert die Sociologie—den Menschen! Er, der Herr der Schöpfung, der Urheber historischer Ereignisse nach der Meinung der Historiker, der als Monarch oder Minister die Geschehnisse der Völker nach seinem Willen lenkt . . . er sinkt in der Sociologie zu einer bedeutungslosen Null herab. Ganz im Gegensatz zu den Schilderungen der Historiker ist für die Betrachtungsweise des Sociologen auch der mächtigste Staatsmann nur ein blindes Werkzeug in der unsichtbaren aber übermächtigen Hand seiner socialen Gruppe, die selber wieder nur einem unwiderstehlichen socialen Naturgesetze folgt."

Eduard Meyer has prefaced his great history of antiquity, though protesting against any confusion of the two studies and jealously guarding history's point of view. See how in it men and peoples seem mere victims of the great abstractions—how all things do themselves. Then turn and read the pages of his history. But why should not the sciences of law have their own method? How else could they have mastered for us that overwhelming universe of which it was theirs to give us rational conception? In all that universe there is only a single being—man—to whom we need give other thought as well. That for man we need it is not—and herein lies a fundamental misconception of history's critics—because we count him better or other than the rest of nature. It is only because of the accident that we ourselves are men. Were we oysters or cabbages instead, it would be oysterdom or cabbagedom that thus concerned us. But, being men, and having to be men, there is for us in human life a something for which we need and have a special key. It is the sphere of freedom. Measured by bulk, that sphere is small indeed; and science after science—anthropology, sociology, anthropogeography, psychology individual and social—has cut down what we thought its limits. But in exact proportion to this narrowing has risen for us its importance; for, small or great, it measures our significance.

Who does not remember Mark Twain's first diary: "Got up, washed, went to bed,—Got up, washed, went to bed"? Why is it so funnily stupid? It is all true. It is all important—to the anthropologist. A science based on it would answer perfectly the test of Auguste Comte—"knowledge, whence foreknowledge". But why care for foreknowledge? Surely, for science, which is timeless, after-knowledge is as good. Auguste Comte himself makes answer: "knowledge, whence foreknowledge; foreknowledge, whence action."<sup>16</sup> Action? Even to Auguste Comte, then, life is, above all, an art.

And who can question it? How does its every activity win from us that name as soon as it gains its freedom: the art of courtesy, the art of conversation, the art of coquetry, the art of persuasion, the art of diplomacy, the art of leadership. Life—the life that counts, the life of freedom—is made up of such. Life is the sum of all the arts. But life should be yet more. For it must knit and blend all these into a higher art, the art of living, and with finest sense for beauty as for use.

How does one learn an art? One may use science, indeed. For

<sup>16</sup> "Science, d'où prévoyance; prévoyance, d'où action: telle est la formule très-simple qui exprime, d'une manière exacte, la relation générale de la science et de l'art." *Cours de Philosophie Positive* (Paris, 1830), I. 63.

any art one does well to equip one's self with knowledge of its elements and laws. But who would stop—or start—with these? One goes straight to art itself. One shares its work; one lives its life. One learns by imitation; by all that mingled wealth of admiration, repulsion, suggestion, adaptation, that springs from the immediate touch of life with life. But back of this: whence comes creative impulse? Where is freedom born? Long ago that question was answered. "It is life that quickeneth." We, whose craft it is to make men men, know well how before all training must come the vital touch that kindles interest, that stirs endeavor.

In our day again a great French sociologist has set men thinking. To Gabriel Tarde it is imitation that is the substance of our lives. But he does not restrict its action to lives contiguous: "its influence is exerted", he says, "not only from great distances, but over great intervals of time"—"between Lycurgus and a member of the French Convention, between the Roman painter of a Pompeian fresco and the modern decorator whom it inspires." "Imitation", he declares, "is generation at a distance."<sup>17</sup> And back of imitation he finds in life what is yet more important: the source of all imitation—and its goal as well. This he calls "invention".<sup>18</sup> I think we know it better as initiative. And this, whence comes all social change, like imitation, whence comes social order, he traces ever to the individual life. Now, the individual life—private or public, life of individual man or individual group—lives on in history alone. That life of imitation and initiative she alone makes central. Her method partakes of art, not from disloyalty to science, but because this life of freedom is itself an art, and only by art can be interpreted or shared.

But long, long ago, ages before the slow eye of science had begun to espy this, the sound instinct of human kind had found in life itself the school for action. Religion had caught its lessons, and, endowing with man's life and freedom the elemental powers, had written those lessons on the skies. Poetry took up the message, and, first of the arts, wrought out in winged words her visions of how on earth that life, that freedom, had been incarnate in heroes. But, as that freedom ripened, there came a day when on a thoughtful exile, watching how freemen gather experience in a world of fact and how a high-souled statesman moves them to great deeds, there broke another vision. Then, in the Athens of Pericles, there rose the father of History.

GEORGE L. BURR.

<sup>17</sup> *Les Lois de l'Imitation* (Paris, 1890), pp. 37, 38; p. 34 of the English translation (New York, 1903).

<sup>18</sup> "Tout n'est socialement qu' inventions et imitations, et celles-ci sont les feuves dont celles-là sont les montagnes." (*Ibid.*, p. 3.)

## THE WEST INDIA TRADE BEFORE THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

THE subject with which this paper deals has not lacked for treatment within the last few years but the need for more minute study is clearly apparent. The actual mechanism of the trade has not as yet been sufficiently examined. Only vaguely do we know the kind of vessels employed, the routes followed, and the methods of sale, remittance, and insurance. It has been the writer's endeavor to throw some light on these minor points through the study of documents not formerly brought under contribution.<sup>1</sup> But the difficulties in the way of successful presentation are great. One deals with methods of operation so various as almost to defy classification, with statistics notoriously inaccurate,<sup>2</sup> and with weights, measures, and money values of local and changing determination.<sup>3</sup> Some indulgence may then be granted if the picture presented seems unduly intricate and if finality is at times lacking in the conclusions presented.

In the matter of goods actually exchanged and the localities whence they were derived little can be added to the store of information long accessible, and a brief restatement of the main facts will suffice. The needs of the British West Indies for provisions and lumber were met alike by all of the continental colonies; but of the

<sup>1</sup> In particular the Minutes of the Committee of Trade in the Public Record Office, London (cited P. R. O., B. T. 5); the Clifford Papers and the Pemberton Papers in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (cited Clifford Papers and Pemberton Papers); the uncatalogued family papers of Joseph H. Coates, Esq., of Philadelphia (cited Coates Papers); and the collection of commercial correspondence recently published by the Massachusetts Historical Society as *Commerce of Rhode Island*, vols. I, and II. (cited *Com. of R. I.*).

<sup>2</sup> The figures furnished by the few surviving official records are nearly always far below the true ones: report of the former inspector-general of exports and imports in America, Irving, to the Committee of Trade, P. R. O., B. T. 5: 1, p. 135; report of the governor of Jamaica on the trade of the island, P. R. O., C. O. 137: 33. McPherson (*Annals of Commerce*, III. 572, note) also calls attention to this fact.

<sup>3</sup> Thus a "thousand" feet of lumber might represent 1000 or 1200 ft., a barrel of flour might be "lightly" or firmly packed, and a hogshead of sugar might contain 12 cwt. or 14. Finally, the pound sterling was worth anywhere from 28 to 160 shillings in the currencies of the various colonies. *Negotiator's Magazine* (London, 1754), pp. 213, 214.



latter, certain groups largely controlled the export of particular articles. Pennsylvania and New York, with some assistance from Maryland and Virginia, offered virtually the whole amount of flour and bread; New England, through the industry of its citizens and their trade with Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, stood responsible for most of the fish and oil, though large quantities of both reached the islands through the markets of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and New York. Pennsylvania again led in supplying beef, pork, hams, and tongues, but her exports were heavily supplemented by those of Virginia and North Carolina. Corn and peas came from the same colonies with the addition of Maryland, while South Carolina and Georgia made their principal contribution in rice.<sup>4</sup> Lumber was to be had at most of the North American ports, but here again distinctions must be made. The southern colonies led in supplying staves of red oak for sugar hogsheads and of white oak for rum casks. Their planks of oak and yellow pine stood in great demand, and their cypress shingles were much preferred to the white cedar shingles sold by the colonies of the middle group. Only in the export of boards and scantling did the New England colonies hold first place, and even there only in the quantity, not the quality, of the goods supplied.<sup>5</sup> Besides these staples many other articles found place in the cargoes which passed constantly to the tropics: horses and other live stock, minor food-stuffs such as butter, cheese, potatoes, and fruit, or manufactures in the shape of soap, lamp oil, pottery, chintzes, and shoes. A widely varied assortment was usually to be found in a single ship. The return ladings from the islands were more restricted in variety and in bulk. Rum, molasses, and sugar naturally predominated in the order named, but coffee and cotton, ginger and pimento, mahogany and logwood, with hides and indigo all found frequent mention in the bills of lading.

The general dimensions of the trade may be estimated with fair accuracy as regards the southbound cargoes, and in so far as we may rely upon official returns. One year with another, the continental colonies exported to the islands goods to a value in American ports of £500,000 sterling. By the addition of the heavy freight charges which commodities so great in bulk as compared with cost of production necessarily bore, a value of £725,000 sterling in West

<sup>4</sup> P. R. O., B. T. 5: 1, pp. 91, 93, 124; Br. Mus., Add. MSS. 12404. McPherson (*Annals*, III. 572) points out that Pa., Mass., Conn., Va., N. Y., R. I., S. C., N. H., and Md. were the heaviest exporters to the West Indies in the order named.

<sup>5</sup> See note 4, also P. R. O., B. T. 5: 1, pp. 103, 124, 140, 152; Br. Mus., Add. MSS. 22677, f. 69.

Indian ports was reached.<sup>6</sup> The subjoined table<sup>7</sup> will show the quantities in which the principal articles involved were sent to the islands. As regards the northbound cargoes no satisfactory estimates either as to values or as to quantities can be made. The West Indians paid for American provisions and lumber in shipments of their produce to North America, in shipments to England, in cash,<sup>8</sup> and in bills of exchange.<sup>9</sup> The North Americans often secured part or all of their return loadings in the French and Dutch islands, and succeeded in entering large quantities of this foreign produce as goods of British origin. Hence it could not even then be ascertained what returns in the direct shipment of their own produce the British islands were able to make. The most trustworthy of the various contemporary estimates places the value of these shipments at £400,000 sterling in West Indian<sup>10</sup> or £420,000 sterling in North

<sup>6</sup> B. T. 5: 1, pp. 12, 158, 159, 160; *ibid.*, 4, p. 468. Irving estimated that the freight charges on lumber and corn amounted to 100 per cent. of the prime cost, on all articles to 45 per cent. Rates ranged from 35 to 40 shillings per ton. The committee of West India merchants, against whom Irving was testifying, practically agreed to his figures.

<sup>7</sup> This table shows the quantities of American provisions and lumber annually consumed in the British West Indies during the years 1771-1773. It is compiled from three tables furnished by Irving (B. T. 5: 1, pp. 90-102), by Edward Long (Br. Mus., Add. MSS. 12404), and by a copy of a report issued by the London Custom House in March, 1775, and signed by Stanley, the secretary (Br. Mus., Add. MSS. 12431, f. 170).

Bread and flour,	130,000 bbls.
Beef and pork,	15,000 "
Fish,	17,000 hogsheads
	16,000 bbls,
	12,000 quintals
Corn,	400,000 bush.
Rice,	20,000 bbls.
Boards and planks,	21,000 thousand
Staves and heading,	17,000 "
Hoops,	1,900 "
Shingles,	16,000 "

<sup>8</sup> See note 73.

<sup>9</sup> See note 76.

<sup>10</sup> This is the estimate furnished by Irving to the Committee of Trade. The conflicting nature of the evidence both as to the quantities of British West India produce exported to the continental colonies and as to the value of the whole illustrates the difficulty of reaching final conclusions in regard to many phases of colonial trade at this time. Custom-house records even when discoverable are practically worthless. Bryan Edwards (*Thoughts on the Late Proceedings of Government*, London, 1784) points out that many of the bays, creeks, and shipping places in the islands were remote from the ports of entry and that the masters of American vessels, in order to save delay, made manifests and took out

American ports.<sup>11</sup>

In approaching the methods by which this trade was carried on it is best to consider first that part—a part constituting indeed all but a small fraction of the whole—which was completely or principally in American hands. And here at once there becomes necessary a certain mental readjustment. One must commence by discarding all ideas of business corporations, of shipping lines and liners, of fixed routes, of insurance companies—in short, all familiar notions of the present mechanism of commerce. The American merchants of the day traded individually or in loose partnerships. Their largest ventures seldom involved sums of more than a few hundred pounds<sup>12</sup> and the most wealthy and prosperous were not above giving attention to the minutiae of small transactions. Many of their letters to captains and commercial correspondents read like communications between familiar friends. Price schedules and accounts of sales jostle continually with inquiries concerning the health of the recipient and his “dear” family, with announcements of the sending of gifts and with the extending of invitations, all couched in terms of the utmost cordiality. Moreover the business methods

clearances in advance. In his opinion they usually took out more produce than they entered. But clearances were at times granted for empty casks and hogsheads, which were filled in the foreign islands. That officials in continental ports were guilty of permitting the entry of foreign produce as goods of British origin is well known. (See, *e. g.*, G. L. Beer, *British Colonial Policy 1754-1765*, New York, 1907, p. 239.) Nor are the estimates of the best-informed contemporaries of greater value. At the great inquiry held by the Committee of Trade in 1784, while Irving presented the figures given above, the West India merchants claimed that the British islands exported to the continent produce almost equal in value to the provisions and lumber received. But the committee decided that British West India produce was accepted in payment for only one-half the articles sent from the southern colonies, one-quarter of those from the middle group, and one-tenth of those from New England. P. R. O., B. T. 5: 1, pp. 25, 159, 241. Reports of the governors of Jamaica on the trade of that island in 1765 (P. R. O., C. O. 137: 33) and in 1774 (C. O. 137: 69) show the same startling discrepancies. Of contemporary writers Chalmers (*Opinions on Interesting Subjects*, London, 1784) follows Irving; Sheffield (*Observations*, London, 1784) and McPherson (*Annals*, III. 403) seem to accept the Jamaica report of 1765; and Bryan Edwards (*Thoughts on the Late Proceedings of Government*) places the value of British produce exported to the continent at £460,000. Still more futile must be any attempt to state with exactness the quantity in which any one commodity entered into the trade. For rum, *e. g.*, the estimates vary from 2,800,000 to 4,070,000 gallons.

<sup>11</sup> Whether or not this estimate of freight charges is accurate the amount must have been relatively small. The freight from Barbados to Philadelphia on a hogshead of rum, worth approximately £20 (currency), was only 5 per cent. of that sum. Hist. Soc. of Pa., Wharton Papers, Journal of Charles Wharton, p. 534.

<sup>12</sup> Taking the insurance placed upon eleven cargoes we reach an average of £788 sterling. *Com. of R. I.*, I. 120, 148, 149, 185, 239, 249, 474.

of these men were as easy and unconventional as their epistolary style. Not that they lacked keenness of business sense. Rather was it the case that their very alertness, their intentness upon gain, led them to seek profit whenever, wherever, and however it was to be found. Their ships, like the tramp steamers of to-day, frequently wandered, without prearranged plans, from port to port, the ship-captains buying, selling, bartering, or carrying freights as occasion offered.<sup>13</sup> Hence it resulted that the West Indian trade, instead of being a mere exchange of commodities between two groups of colonies, stood as part of a greater system: stood in intimate connection alike with the coasting traffic and with lines of commerce extending to Nova Scotia, Newfoundland,<sup>14</sup> Great Britain, southern Europe, and Africa. Some analysis is required for making this clear. The connection of the West Indian with the coasting trade was twofold. Southbound cargoes of the former were often assembled by the use of coasters at the larger American ports;<sup>15</sup> northbound cargoes were distributed in like manner.<sup>16</sup> But, in what probably constituted a majority of the voyages, the connection was closer still. The assembling and distribution were operated by the same vessels which plied to and from the islands, and operated moreover in conjunction with coastwise traffic of the ordinary sort. On the way south to the Caribbees goods laden in New England might be partially or wholly exchanged for those of the middle and southern colonies; on the way north rum and sugar might gradually be displaced by rice or flour, bread or iron.<sup>17</sup> Again West Indian and coasting trades alike were closely related to the New England fisheries and to the commerce carried on by the "continental" colonies with Nova Scotia and Newfoundland.<sup>18</sup> In this last-men-

<sup>13</sup> See note 21.

<sup>14</sup> Sir Hugh Palliser, governor of Newfoundland 1764-1769, reported that the trade of New England with that island occupied 104 vessels of an aggregate tonnage of 6048. The amount realized from the sale of the northbound cargoes and of the vessels sometimes sold with them averaged more than £100,000 sterling per year. *B. T.* 5: 1, p. 147.

<sup>15</sup> Coates Papers, William Redwood to Samuel Coates, Newport, July 6, 1773.

<sup>16</sup> *Com. of R. I.*, I, 134.

<sup>17</sup> As the colonies of the southern group had little shipping of their own New England vessels sometimes left West Indian produce at southern ports even while sailing southwards on fresh visits to the islands. The same vessels sometimes plied between the islands and the southern colonies without returning north. *B. T.* 5: 1, pp. 103, 104, 125; *Com. of R. I.*, I, 132, 133, 179.

<sup>18</sup> Evidence of Irving and Sir Hugh Palliser before the Committee of Trade, *B. T.* 5: 1, pp. 93, 94, 146-148; *Com. of R. I.*, I, 406, 417, 460. In 1771 the New Englanders purchased 67,000 quintals of dried fish (principally cod and mackerel) at Newfoundland. The rum used was distilled in New England.

tioned commerce, rum, molasses, and sugar on the one hand, and, on the other, fish of the inferior grade consumed by West Indian slaves, seem to have been the articles most frequently exchanged. Vessels which engaged in the fisheries during the summer months turned south on the approach of winter, bartered their wares along the Atlantic coast as far down as Georgia, and at times concluded their voyages in the Caribbean Sea. Less significant, although perhaps more interesting, is the connection of the West Indian trade with American commerce farther afield. Vessels of the larger sort, having discharged their lumber and provisions in the islands, frequently received there cargoes for the British islands or southern Europe.<sup>19</sup> Indeed the master of such a ship reaching Bridgetown or Kingston might not be sure whether London or Philadelphia would be his next port of call.<sup>20</sup> The return voyage might reverse the process. A North American vessel returning home from Great Britain might be ordered to proceed first to the West Indies either directly or via Madeira or Portugal. At the last-named places wine or salt would be added to the British manufactures and Irish provisions of which her original lading was composed.<sup>21</sup> Last of all there is to be noted the connection of the West Indian commerce with the American slave-trade. Slave vessels, loaded and despatched in North American ports, carried slaves from Africa to the West Indies for sale there.<sup>22</sup> From the West Indies they returned home

<sup>19</sup> *Com. of R. I.*, I. 362, 390, 392, 396, 403, 442, 443. The produce taken down would not purchase a cargo for Europe, but additions were bought with bills of exchange. *B. T.* 5: 1, p. 54.

<sup>20</sup> Clifford Papers, V. 178. Whether the vessel went to Europe probably depended upon the freight rates, *i. e.*, the possible profits involved. Coates Papers, Edward Dawers to Israel Pemberton, jr. and Company, Antigua, August 27, 1746. On the other hand some American vessels were regularly assigned to such trade. *Com. of R. I.*, I. 433.

<sup>21</sup> The shipment of Irish produce directly to the colonies was not legal until 1778, 18 Geo. III., c. 55; 20 Geo. III., c. 10. It appears however to have taken place. *Com. of R. I.*, I. 299, 304, 306, 307. An interesting voyage was that of the brig *Charlotte* belonging to Aaron Lopez in 1769-1770. She arrived October 29, 1769, at Bristol with pig-iron, mahogany, and logwood. Finding no freight for the West Indies and being herself unsalable, she carried sugar, rice, iron, and tin plates as freight to Dublin. There she took on 300 barrels of beef for Jamaica and received also the order to pick up 30 pipes of wine at Madeira. She was insured to Jamaica, the Bay of Honduras, and Rhode Island. After having been driven into Whitehaven by bad weather, she arrived at Jamaica in June and at Honduras before September. She reached Charleston with mahogany before December 7, 1770. *Com. of R. I.*, I. 295, 298-301, 304, 307, 308, 309, 316, 335, 336, 354.

<sup>22</sup> Just before the Revolution good adult slaves sold in the West Indies for about £35 sterling per head. *Com. of R. I.*, I. 425, 428, 457.

before commencing a fresh voyage,<sup>23</sup> and there is every reason to suppose that they obtained some share of the carrying trade from the islands to the continent.<sup>24</sup>

As to the shipping employed, the greatest variety is again to be observed. Brigs were in the majority but sloops, schooners, and snows<sup>25</sup> were to be found in great numbers. Vessels which engaged from time to time in transatlantic trade were naturally of different type from those which kept to the western hemisphere. The latter were small, averaging at about forty tons<sup>26</sup> and provided only with single decks, on which much of the cargo was placed. The former were double-decked craft<sup>27</sup> of 100 to 300 tons, the majority falling between 100 and 150.<sup>28</sup> As the "out" cargoes south and east bound were much more bulky than the return ladings either from the West Indies or from Europe, and as shipbuilding was in general cheaper in North America than in Europe,<sup>29</sup> these vessels were often sold in British and West Indian ports.<sup>30</sup> In the matter of owner-

<sup>23</sup> *E. g.*, the *Adventure*. *Com. of R. I.*, I. 397, 428, 473; II. 8.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, I. 456, 461, 462, 467, 468.

<sup>25</sup> A snow was a vessel which carried, besides two principal masts, a small third mast placed behind the main mast and equipped with a trysail.

<sup>26</sup> As to the number and tonnage of the American vessels trading in the British islands the evidence is very conflicting. From the testimony offered by the London committee of West India merchants, by Irving, by William Knox, and others before the Committee of Trade, B. T. 5: 1, pp. 12, 13, 38, 158; from the report in 1774 of the governor of Jamaica, C. O. 137: 69; and from Naval Office Lists, C. O. 142: 16, it has been calculated that some 400 vessels of 40 to 50 tons and something less than half that number with tonnage averaging about three times as much were engaged in the traffic. These vessels, and particularly the smaller ones, made two or three round trips per year. Long points out that the smaller craft enjoyed great advantages in being able to sail over bars and into small streams and ports. Br. Mus., Add. MSS. 12404. Many of them were probably built and operated as co-operative enterprises by groups of persons who were not primarily merchants or shipowners. Letter in the *Morning Chronicle* and *London Advertiser* for January 23, 1784.

<sup>27</sup> Vessels of 100 tons or upwards were nearly always double-decked. Smaller vessels could cross the ocean but could not be insured. B. T. 5: 1, p. 14.

<sup>28</sup> The dimensions of two of these vessels are given as follows. A brigantine of 125 tons burthen—length by the keel 52 ft., beam 20 ft., hold 9½ ft. and between decks 4 ft. *Com. of R. I.*, I. 219. For a larger vessel, length by keel 74 ft., beam 25 ft., hold 12 ft., between decks 4 ft. 8 in. Coates Papers, Elias Bland to John Reynell, London, May 31, 1746. The more perishable part of the cargo was apparently placed between decks. *Com. of R. I.*, I. 441.

<sup>29</sup> James Anderson, who before the American Revolution had been employed by a Glasgow firm as agent for the building of ships at Boston, testified before the Committee of Trade that the best American-built vessels were as costly as British-built craft of the same tonnage but that an inferior type could be constructed more cheaply in America. B. T. 5: 3, p. 486.

<sup>30</sup> B. T. 5: 1, pp. 13, 54; *Com. of R. I.*, I. 6, 104, 118, 144, 147, 151, 152, 160, 191, 219, 357, 401. The prices realized ranged from £250 sterling to £900 sterling. Vessels in good condition brought £500 sterling or more.

ship, fixed rules were again wanting. While in numerous cases merchants or captains appeared as sole owners, joint proprietorship seems to have been the rule.<sup>31</sup> In the smaller vessels North American merchants and captains frequently held joint "risks", and West Indian merchants sometimes acquired interests of one-quarter or one-half. In similar fashion European traders stood as co-owners of ships going to their ports. The system was probably useful, not only in decreasing the risks of the individual owner but in producing among captains and oversea merchants more personal and vital interest in the success of the voyages undertaken. A similar pooling of interests is observable in the manner of placing insurance. Groups of merchants in the larger British or American ports<sup>32</sup> underwrote the insurance demanded on vessels and cargoes, taking individual risks to an amount in most cases of £50 to £100.<sup>33</sup> Insurance was made for each voyage or section of a voyage and rates varied according to the distance covered, the dangers likely to be encountered, and the season of the year.<sup>34</sup> For voyages between any two of the three groups of ports represented by Great Britain, North America, and the West Indies two per cent. to three per cent. was usually paid.<sup>35</sup> Thus a vessel going from Rhode Island to Bristol via Jamaica was insured for the whole trip at four per cent. to six per cent.<sup>36</sup> A word may be added concerning the captains and crews. Of the skippers some were men of education and social

<sup>31</sup> Pemberton Papers, XXI, 79; XXV, 110; Coates Papers, Elias Bland to John Reynell, London, May 31, 1746; Stevens, Porter, and Company to John Reynell, Madeira, April 10, 1748. William Redwood to Samuel Coates, Newport, July 6, 1773, *Com. of R. I.*, I, 233, 235, 511.

<sup>32</sup> Of the merchants whose papers have been examined those of Philadelphia found underwriters in America while those of Rhode Island placed their insurance in England. New England merchants however sometimes turned to colonial underwriters. Coates Papers, Samuel Briard to John Reynell, Antigua, August 22, 1759. Sometimes a vessel was insured in England and in the colonies at the same time. Coates Papers, John Wendell to John Reynell, Portsmouth (N. H.), July 5, 1759.

<sup>33</sup> *Com. of R. I.*, I, 120, 148, 149, 185, *et al.* In England a policy cost 8 shillings and an agent who placed insurance often charged  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. commission for his trouble.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 119, 166, 221, 253, 254, 296, 397; Clifford Papers, IV, 157; Coates Papers, John Moffat to John Reynell, Portsmouth, August 14, 1758.

<sup>35</sup> *Com. of R. I.*, I, 120, 148, 149, 185.

<sup>36</sup> In time of war rates were of course much higher when the policies covered seizures by war vessels or privateers. Thus in 1757, 1758, and 1759 rates for voyages between the continent and the West Indies were 11 per cent. to 22 per cent., between the continent and Great Britain 15 per cent. to 40 per cent., and between the West Indies and Great Britain 22 per cent. to 40 per cent. Coates Papers, general.

equipment, connected by ties of blood or friendship with the merchants and often entering their ranks after apprenticeship at sea.<sup>37</sup> The majority were hardy seamen, more at home with the wheel than with the pen, yet able to manage the business of the owners under conditions which often presented the greatest difficulties. The practice of allowing to them, in addition to wages and commissions,<sup>38</sup> the privilege of carrying certain amounts of goods on their own account<sup>39</sup> must have quickened their interest. Of their general honesty and ability there seems no question. Of the sailors, whose numbers may be estimated as one for eight tons in the smaller craft and one for twelve in the larger,<sup>40</sup> one hears less. They too would seem to have been well paid<sup>41</sup> and well behaved. About one-third of their number were colored.<sup>42</sup>

So far we have dealt with shipping operated from North America and from the West Indies<sup>43</sup> alone. But it must be remembered that British vessels also were employed in the carrying-trade between the islands and the continent. Of these, two classes are to be distinguished, the "stationed" ships and the "seekers".<sup>44</sup> The stationed ships were vessels assigned definitely to this branch of commerce. They visited successively American, West Indian, and British ports and had the advantage of securing in the last two

<sup>37</sup> A good example of this is found in the Clifford Papers, IV. 144, 145, 149, 157. In one instance we find a former midshipman of the royal navy seeking employment as a merchant captain, *Com. of R. I.*, I. 31. One frequently finds that members of a merchant's family acted as captains of his ships.

<sup>38</sup> In spite of the difficulties in dealing with colonial currencies one may gain the impression that the captains were at least fairly well paid. How general was the practice of allowing to them commissions on sales I have not been able to discover. *Com. of R. I.*, I. 61, 441; II. 45.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>40</sup> This calculation is made in the same manner and on virtually the same evidence as that concerning tonnage, *supra*.

<sup>41</sup> Forty-five shillings per month as compared with 27 shillings paid on British ships. *Parl. Hist.*, XIX. 708; B. T. 5: 1, p. 166. Irving declared that many of them were Britons but this was denied by the West Indian merchants. B. T. 5: 1, pp. 24, 166. At St. Eustatius the rate was \$10 per month. *Com. of R. I.*, I. 354.

<sup>42</sup> Papers printed by the order of the assembly of Jamaica for submission to Parliament, St. Iago, 1784.

<sup>43</sup> In a list of vessels arriving at Jamaica from North America between Christmas, 1766, and Christmas, 1767, only 3 per cent. are listed as West Indian vessels. P. R. O., C. O. 142: 19. Actual examples of the ownership of such vessels by West Indians are found in Pemberton Papers, XXIV. 44; XXV. 110.

<sup>44</sup> I have adopted the terminology employed by persons testifying before the Committee of Trade in 1784.



stages of their voyages at least freights of tempting bulk.<sup>45</sup> Yet they were under a serious handicap in competing with American vessels, and particularly with those of the smaller type. Owing to their large size and the inability of their owners to deal at so great a distance with producers, their operations in America were confined to large ports.<sup>46</sup> The freights which they here took on for the islands had been assembled at some expense and purchased by agents on commission.<sup>47</sup> By build they were unfitted for the carriage of lumber, yet the expenses of operating them were relatively high.<sup>48</sup> Most fatal of all was the fact that a full voyage could not regularly be completed within a year.<sup>49</sup> It is not surprising then to find that few ships were thus stationed for any length of time.<sup>50</sup> The "seekers" were vessels which ran between the islands and the continent in order to fill up time during which they would otherwise have been lying idle in West Indian harbors. Some had left British goods in southern Europe and crossed in ballast to the islands; others were British slavers. All were waiting to carry West Indian produce home. What profit they picked up in the intercolonial trade was merely added gain, for the three months' trip to the continent involved but little extra expense.<sup>51</sup> It would seem, how-

<sup>45</sup> Generally speaking, the bulk of freights carried from Great Britain to North America or the West Indies was small as compared with that of the return ladings. According to Irving the proportion was as 1 to 10. Again the bulk of the southbound greatly exceeded the bulk of the northbound cargoes passing between North America and the West Indies. B. T. 5: 1, pp. 120-122, 132; Coates Papers, Michael Atkins to John Reynell, Bristol, January 15, 1755.

<sup>46</sup> They apparently averaged about 200 tons in burthen, B. T. 5: 1, pp. 14, 64; return of vessels entering Jamaica from North America between Christmas, 1766, and Christmas, 1767, P. R. O., C. O. 142: 19; Br. Mus., Add. MSS. 12404.

<sup>47</sup> The rate for purchasing in North America was 5 per cent. to 6 per cent. in 1755, Coates Papers, Michael Atkins to John Reynell, Bristol, January 15, 1755.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, B. T. 5: 1, pp. 53, 54.

<sup>49</sup> The crop of sugar and rum came on the West India market from January to June. *Com. of R. I.*, I, 20, 225, 443, *et al.* But a vessel would not in many cases receive a full lading before the late spring and for the trip to England anywhere from 6 to 11 weeks were necessary. *Ibid.*, pp. 383, 390, 392, 396, 403, 499. If she arrived in England in July she would not be ready to sail again before late August or September. *Ibid.*, pp. 403, 413; Coates Papers, Michael Atkins to John Reynell, Bristol, January 15, 1755. Yet it was necessary that she should reach North America, discharge her cargo, reload, and arrive at the islands by Christmas time or the beginning of January. *Com. of R. I.*, I, 433; B. T. 5: 1, pp. 13, 14; Coates Papers, Michael Atkins to John Reynell, Bristol, January 15, 1755. That she should succeed in doing this year after year was practically impossible. Atkins to Reynell, *supra*; B. T. 5: 1, p. 13.

<sup>50</sup> Irving's statement to this effect, B. T. 5: 1, p. 121, is borne out by a letter of Elias Bland to John Reynell, August 17, 1756, in the Coates Papers.

<sup>51</sup> Some in fact went merely in return for the promise of a lading for England, others in order to escape hurricanes. B. T. 5: 1, pp. 39, 40, 64.

ever, that their share of the carrying trade, like that of the stationed ships, was comparatively small.<sup>52</sup>

So much for the general outlines of the trade. For the study of details it will be convenient to confine our attention to the simple and typical case of a small ship, owned and despatched by a North American merchant, carrying no supercargo, and engaging for the time in no other branch of commerce. The cargo of such a vessel, taken on at one or at several ports,<sup>53</sup> was usually the property of a number of persons. Besides the large share of the merchant principally concerned, various small lots of goods, representing the remittances and "ventures"<sup>54</sup> of North Americans or goods purchased on the orders of West Indians,<sup>55</sup> were taken as freight. On the deck were placed piles of lumber,<sup>56</sup> live stock,<sup>57</sup> and casks of salt provisions;<sup>58</sup> below were stored more perishable goods. But deck and hold were both well filled, for lumber, which on an average voyage filled two-thirds of all the space,<sup>59</sup> was used to fill all gaps.<sup>60</sup> The cargo safely stowed and bonds given for its delivery at destinations legally permissible,<sup>61</sup> the sailing orders<sup>62</sup> were opened. In the framing of these orders careful consideration had probably been given to the nature and amounts of shipments which had recently left

<sup>52</sup> B. T. 5: 1, pp. 48, 53, 54. According to the report of the governor of Jamaica in 1774 very few British ships carried American produce to that island. C. O. 137: 69. The return of vessels arriving at Jamaica from North America between Christmas, 1766, and Christmas, 1767, shows that the tonnage of the British vessels amounted to only 17 per cent. of the whole. C. O. 142: 19. It will be remembered that the trade of Jamaica amounted to nearly half that of all the British islands combined.

<sup>53</sup> Excellent specimens of the old warehouses occupied by the West Indian merchants are still to be found on the Delaware waterfront at Philadelphia.

<sup>54</sup> A "venture" consisted of any consignment of goods sent as a matter of speculation to be sold for whatever they would bring. It might comprise no more than a single barrel of hams despatched by some thrifty housewife. Pemberton Papers, XXI. 79; Clifford Papers, IV. 114; Coates Papers, Joshua Howell to John Reynell, Barbados, August 3, 1748.

<sup>55</sup> Some West Indian merchants probably contracted for fixed annual supplies of North American goods. *Com. of R. I.*, I. 176.

<sup>56</sup> Evidence of Brook Watson before the Committee of Trade, March 20, 1784. *Com. of R. I.*, I. 257, 490. The practice was not however without its disadvantages. B. T. 5: 1, p. 54; *Com. of R. I.*, I. 450, 451.

<sup>57</sup> *Com. of R. I.*, I. 261.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 257.

<sup>59</sup> According at least to Irving's estimate, B. T. 5: 1, p. 158.

<sup>60</sup> Clifford Papers, V. 121; *Com. of R. I.*, I. 257.

<sup>61</sup> Specimens of the various kinds of bonds and certificates then in use are preserved in the collection of the Hist. Soc. of Pa., Custom House Papers, Philadelphia, I.

<sup>62</sup> E. g., *Com. of R. I.*, I. 60, 64, 96, 162.

North America for particular West India islands and to the direction of the prevailing winds.<sup>63</sup> On conclusions arrived at from these facts, and because agreements had been made for the delivery of goods at certain ports, the routes to be followed on both the outward and the home voyages were perhaps laid down. But more likely was the captain to discover that the owners expected him to search out the places where the highest prices were to be obtained in the disposal of his out-cargo and the lowest in the purchase of the return lading.<sup>64</sup> Supposing that he received orders so loosely framed, his route was largely predetermined by the direction of the winds. By searching first the Windward Islands, then the Leeward, and finally Jamaica he found through most of the year winds which favored him at every stage.<sup>65</sup> The voyage from the last continental to the first island port occupied, in ordinary weather, from three to four weeks.<sup>66</sup>

Having arrived in the islands the captain had at once to set about disposing of his goods. Disposal of at least a part had probably been prearranged. Some parcels had been sent as remittances to creditors, others consigned to commission agents who undertook sale and collection at a rate of ten or twelve per cent.<sup>67</sup> Regarding the disposition of the remainder a choice of methods offered. The captain delivered them to commission agents,<sup>68</sup> personally sold them to merchants and planters in considerable lots,<sup>69</sup> or, as a last resort, retailed them from a shop rented for the purpose.<sup>70</sup> In any case his difficulties were great. West Indian merchants and planters alike enjoyed but small repute in business affairs,<sup>71</sup> and, irrespective of

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 257, 258.

<sup>64</sup> It is possible that the merchants of Philadelphia issued orders of this sort more frequently than those of Rhode Island. Such a conclusion might be drawn from such papers as have been examined. But in Rhode Island the practice was not unknown. *Com. of R. I.*, I, 15.

<sup>65</sup> The reason for this becomes apparent on the examination of any chart showing the direction of the prevailing winds. Particularly good instances of such voyages are found in the Clifford Papers, IV, 96, 114.

<sup>66</sup> *Com. of R. I.*, I, 35, 41, 82, 133, 134, 167, 192, 216, 255, 263, *et al.*

<sup>67</sup> Clifford Papers, V, 175, 178; Coates Papers, David Togo to John Reynell, Antigua, May 31, 1756. This was the rate in 1770. It appears to have been 15 per cent. some years earlier.

<sup>68</sup> This was the method followed in what probably constituted a great majority of cases.

<sup>69</sup> Pemberton Papers, XXIV, 21; *Com. of R. I.*, I, 255. In some cases at least the captain in making such sales was paid at about the usual commission rate. *Ibid.*, p. 61.

<sup>70</sup> This method was probably adopted only in rare cases after the middle of the century and then with little success. Clifford Papers, IV, 144, 145.

<sup>71</sup> The North Americans constantly accused them of being generally negligent, reckless in contracting debts and slow in offering payment. Sometimes we

the characters of the persons engaged, the keenest bargaining was required in every deal. Thanks to the smallness of the islands and their extreme dependence on outside supplies, any kind of American produce was apt to command very different prices in any two of them at the same time. For the same reasons prices fell and rose sharply with the arrival of fresh consignments or the non-appearance of those expected.<sup>72</sup> Again, the price agreed upon in any particular bargain was arrived at with reference to the method of payment. On account of the scarcity of currency,<sup>73</sup> the difficulty in the collection of debts,<sup>74</sup> and the superior opportunities for purchase of West Indian produce offered by the foreign islands,<sup>75</sup> cash and bills of exchange<sup>76</sup> were in great demand. Hence North American goods were disposed of at a much lower rate where money was offered than where credit had to be given<sup>77</sup> or local produce accepted in ex-

find charges of deliberate dishonesty. Pemberton Papers, XXIV. 21, 44; XXVI. 147; *Com. of R. I.*, I. 174, 175, 269, 297, 373. A young merchant of Philadelphia, Ezekiel Edwards, thus describes them: "A person cannot be too cautious how he connects himself with a Barbados merchant, for many of them keep no books and if they can procure money enough to furnish their tables every day with barbacue, fish and sangree [*sic*] they are entirely regardless how their accounts run on . . . and most of them will bear running for years together without any marks of shame and perhaps promise ten times a day, if you can meet them so often, that they will pay in an hour." Pemberton Papers, XXIV. 44.

<sup>72</sup> *E. g.*, *Com. of R. I.*, I. 211.

<sup>73</sup> The British West Indies had no currency of their own and received very little from the mother-country. They were forced to depend mainly upon the small amounts obtained through commerce with the foreign islands, and much of this foreign currency was drained off by the North American trade. Constant but ineffectual appeals were made to the home government. See, *e. g.*, the address of the assembly of Jamaica, December 18, 1778, C. O. 137: 73, and *An Inquiry concerning the Trade Commerce and Policy of the Island of Jamaica* (St. Iago, 1757). For denominations and values of the Spanish coins in use, see Clifford Papers, IV. 119; *Com. of R. I.*, I. 467.

<sup>74</sup> See note 71.

<sup>75</sup> Sugar and indigo as well as molasses and taffia could be obtained at a considerably lower rate. This was especially true of the French islands. Thus we find that one American captain was ordered to sell for cash at St. Eustatius the British West India produce received in exchange for his lumber and provisions, and to use the cash so obtained in the purchase of molasses, sugar, and indigo at Hispaniola. *Com. of R. I.*, I. 61. Sometimes remittance was made by West India merchants in the form of produce shipped on order of the latter from a foreign island. Pemberton Papers, XX. 128.

<sup>76</sup> Bills of exchange, which were usually drawn on British merchants, were as acceptable as cash but could seldom be obtained except for cash. *Com. of R. I.*, I. 262; Coates Papers, David Togo to John Reynell, Antigua, July 5, 1756. Numerous examples in the Coates Papers show that exchange on London was usually at 55 per cent. to 67½ per cent. This rate is in part accounted for by the fact that the pound sterling was worth 28 shillings in Jamaica currency.

<sup>77</sup> Clifford Papers, V. 175.

change.<sup>78</sup> In the last-mentioned case, *i. e.*, where barter took place,<sup>79</sup> the matter was still further complicated by the fact that the prices of the articles received in payment were scarcely less variable than those of the commodities offered for sale.<sup>80</sup> In any case the captain was confronted with innumerable difficulties and delays. Weeks or even months probably elapsed before the whole of the cargo was sold and terms of payment arranged.<sup>81</sup> In the meantime something had probably been accomplished in the matter of securing the home freight.

In preparing for the return trip the captain probably received the assistance of local agents.<sup>82</sup> Of assistance he could make good use, for now he met the difficulties of lading which he experienced on the continent combined with the difficulties of bargaining which he had just encountered in the islands. Some parcels of goods came as remittance to his owner on earlier debts,<sup>83</sup> some as payment for produce just sold,<sup>84</sup> some for sale by his owner on commission,<sup>85</sup> and others still (probably in answer to advertisement) as casual freights.<sup>86</sup> Finally, purchases were to be made with cash which he now had in hand. Such purchases probably necessitated visits to foreign islands,<sup>87</sup> but, no matter where the bargaining was done, in-

<sup>78</sup> Report of the Committee of Trade, B. T. 5: 1, p. 215; *Com. of R. I.*, I. 34, 224; Clifford Papers, IV. 33; V. 175.

<sup>79</sup> *Com. of R. I.*, I. 178, 224, 320.

<sup>80</sup> Sugar varied in value according to its fineness of grain and its color, rum according to its strength or "proof". A common test was that rum should "sink oil". Variations are to be found even in the case of molasses. Moreover special prices were commanded by the rum and sugar of certain islands, *e. g.*, Jamaica rum and St. Kitts sugar. The price of course also varied according to demand and supply. Thus American captains feared to push their purchases lest by so doing they might advance the prices. In general prices were low in the spring when the new produce came in and high in the autumn. Thus rum sold from January to July at 23 pence to 33 pence per gallon, and from August to December at 23 pence to 48 pence. Clifford Papers, IV. 114, 145, 230, 233; Coates Papers; *Com. of R. I.*, I. 45, 51; 81, 84, 168, 179, 198, 225, 229, 296, 312, 325, 371, 373; Hist. Soc. of Pa., Wharton Papers, Journal of Charles Wharton, pp. 490, 495.

<sup>81</sup> *Com. of R. I.*, I. 36, 360, 366.

<sup>82</sup> *E. g.*, *ibid.*, pp. 196, 225, 244.

<sup>83</sup> Pemberton Papers, XX. 128; *Com. of R. I.*, I. 6.

<sup>84</sup> Thus a commission agent sometimes undertook to remit by return voyage West Indian goods in part payment for the North American produce sent down. Pemberton Papers, XX. 128.

<sup>85</sup> The commission rate in Philadelphia was 10 per cent. Clifford Papers, V. 178.

<sup>86</sup> Pemberton Papers, XIX. 29; XXIV. 21. Some of these casual freights were also for sale on commission.

<sup>87</sup> Of these the French portion of Santo Domingo was the favorite. Here was produced more than one-half of all the molasses and taffia made in the

numerable variations of price, arising again from conditions of supply and demand, from differences in the qualities and values of the goods, and from methods of payment had to be taken into account. Since the first installments of the crops were often sold in advance<sup>88</sup> he had perhaps to consider himself fortunate that purchases could be made at all. And even when all negotiations were completed, serious difficulties were encountered in the actual assembling of the goods. The produce of the sugar plantations came gradually to market from February to June,<sup>89</sup> while bad weather sometimes prevented for weeks the operation of the primitive horse-driven mills in which the cane was ground.<sup>90</sup> So dilatory were the planters in carrying their produce to the shipping ports that purchasers had often to sail around the islands and invade the plantations in order to secure their goods.<sup>91</sup> Thus the captain had again to encounter endless delays before he could announce to an impatient owner that the ship was ready to clear for home.<sup>92</sup>

Viewed thus in detail, the trade seems almost a trivial thing. In reality it constituted a vital part of the greatest commercial system

French islands. Before 1767 trade with the British North Americans was carried on mainly through the port of Monte Christi, a Spanish boundary port notorious as existing almost solely for this purpose. During the Seven Years' War "flags of truce" were employed and at its close the removal of Acadians to Santo Domingo was used to screen much of this commerce. In 1767 the French government in order to secure to itself the regulation and profits of this trade opened St. Nicholas Mole to foreign vessels of 100 tons or more and allowed the importation there of wood, tar, live stock, and hides. The restriction as to tonnage was seemingly not enforced and the importation of fish was permitted shortly afterwards. According to an official report 465,000 gallons of molasses were sold at St. Nicholas for 23 sous (currency) per gal. from July to September, 1774. Archives du Ministère des Colonies, St. Domingue, first ser., nos. 128, 129, 130, 135; second ser., no. 24; C. O. 137: 59; C. O. 5: 38; *Gazette de France* for 1767, p. 611.

<sup>88</sup> *Com. of R. I.*, I, 231, 243.

<sup>89</sup> B. T. 5: 1, p. 19; *Com. of R. I.*, I, 20, 225, 265, 433. The harvest on the north side of Jamaica began in March, on the south side in February. In some parts of the island sugar was made throughout most of the year.

<sup>90</sup> *Com. of R. I.*, I, 36, 432.

<sup>91</sup> Clifford Papers, IV, 157, 159; *Com. of R. I.*, I, 192, 196.

<sup>92</sup> "Vessels from North America think nothing of lying four, five or six months". Clifford Papers, IV, 159, Harper to Clifford, Grenada, March 10, 1765. Perhaps American captains and merchants did not always find these delays especially onerous. We learn that Captain Zacha. Hutchins of Philadelphia gambled away "several hundred pounds in specie—also his brig valued at £750" at Barbados in 1770. Pemberton Papers, XXI, 79. On the other hand, Benjamin Birkett is able to announce that his friend and travelling companion Ezekiel Edwards is "the same in every instance as when he left Philadelphia, not corrupted by the vices of the island". Coates Papers, Benjamin Birkett to Samuel Coates, Barbados, October 10, 1772.

of the century.<sup>93</sup> To the West Indian its continuance was an essential condition of his prosperity, almost of his existence. Lumber and provisions produced in the islands or brought from Europe were high in price and irregular in supply. Reliance upon them must have made serious if not fatal inroads both on the planter's profits and on the productive power of the islands. Nor would the loss consequent on interruption of trade with North America have ended there, for molasses and rum could not even in greatly reduced quantities have maintained their prices if offered in the European market alone. As for the continental colonies, trade as they might with the foreign islands, the severance of relations with the British-owned group would have hindered their development to a marked degree. Farmers, fishermen, and lumbermen, from the Kennebec to the Savannah, would have sought in vain sufficient outlets for their goods. Merchants of New England and the middle colonies would have been hard pressed to find the means of liquidating their debts for British goods and the means of purchasing furs, fish, and slaves. By inference it may be seen how vitally important was the success of this intercolonial commerce for the interests of the mother-country herself. Since the economic decline of either group of colonies must have affected her industry, her commerce, her shipping, and her revenues, hers was a double interest in the trade. It is not fanciful to trace connection between the sawmills of the Kennebec and the sugar refineries of the Thames Valley or to state that the amounts of hardware and textiles which went either to Philadelphia or to Kingston were in no small degree determined by the quantities of flour and rum which passed between those two ports. Nor was it only love of liberty which in 1774 united Whigs of England, of America, and of Jamaica<sup>94</sup> in opposition to the Intolerable Acts.

HERBERT C. BELL.

<sup>93</sup> I have discussed the importance of the trade from the West Indian and from the British points of view in my paper on "British Commercial Policy in the West Indies, 1783-1793", published in the *English Historical Review* for July, 1916. Its importance from the American point of view is so well known that detailed discussion is unnecessary.

<sup>94</sup> The assembly of Jamaica, December 23, 1774, petitioned the king in behalf of the continental colonies. The petition after expressing alarm at "the approaching horrors of an unnatural contest between Great Britain and her colonies in which the most dreadful calamities to this island and the inevitable destruction of the small sugar colonies are involved", boldly asserts the principle that "no one part of Your Majesty's English subjects ever can or ever could legislate for another part". It protests against "a plan almost carried into execution for enslaving the colonies founded . . . on a claim of Parliament to bind the colonists in all cases whatsoever", against the illegal grant of colonial property to the crown, and against the encouragement of the "murder" of colonists. It implores the king to protect the colonists by mediating between them and his "European subjects". P. R. O., C. O. 137: 69.

## CENSORSHIP AND LITERATURE UNDER NAPOLEON I.

THE Napoleonic régime was largely occupied with the elaboration of a system competent to curb the unbridled individualism that the Revolution had evoked, and of which the great Corsican was himself the chief exponent. Such a system could be but slowly elaborated, and it is not strange that it was never fully applied; the parts of it that were concerned with the moral and intellectual conditions of individual life and with the development and expression of public spirit were still largely in a state of experimentation when the Empire passed away. It was only in 1810 that the educational machine was fully set up with the organization of the University, and it was in the same year that the control of publication through a formal censorship was provided for by the establishment, as a bureau of the Ministry of the Interior, of the Direction Générale de l'Imprimerie et de la Librairie.

In the following pages I propose to examine closely the principles and practice of this Direction Générale as disclosed in its weekly reports through the period 1810-1814. The bureau however cannot be represented as constituting the complete censorship of the period, even with regard to the press, for the police supervision that up to 1810 had been all-powerful over all agencies of public expression and intercourse, was limited by the establishment of the formal censorship only with respect to non-periodic publications. And even here the censorship frequently found itself impeded by the police; there had been a bitter contest between the Ministries of Police and of the Interior all through the working out of the imperial decree of February 5, 1810, by which the Direction Générale had been established, and both Fouché and Savary continued to resent the curtailing of police jurisdiction that the decree represented. The present article therefore is not a full exposition of censorship under the later Empire, but a study of one branch of it, from the point of view chiefly of the administrative attitude toward literature and *esprit public*.<sup>1</sup> It is based on the authoritative and detailed account of the operations of the censorship that is preserved

<sup>1</sup> The substantial monograph of M. Henri Welschinger, *La Censure sous le Premier Empire* (Paris, 1887), aims to cover the whole field and does so with considerable success. The author, however, has passed over the bulletins of the Direction Générale somewhat hastily, and has occupied himself rather with the



for us in the weekly bulletins of the Director General to the Minister of the Interior, who was supposed to lay them before the Emperor. These extend with some breaks from April, 1810, to January, 1814. They were prepared by the Director General on the basis of the reports of the censors and inspectors (for the departments, of the préfets also), and no doubt often incorporated the ideas and even the language of the individual readers, though in general the form of statement implies the director's own examination and conviction. At times the director is requested by the minister to undertake a personal reading and report; aggrieved authors had the right of appeal to the minister, but this seems to have been but rarely exercised (I find but one instance of the manuscript being sent to another censor, who reversed the decision of the first). It is clear that the minister gave close attention to the bulletins and we find him not infrequently ordering or suggesting changes. It is impossible to say how far they came under the eye of the Emperor or how far the minister's interventions were thus caused. As in January, 1813, the latter asserted that he had long sought to impose leniency on the bureau, it is fair to assume that his attitude would date back to the strong expressions of dissatisfaction with the censorship used by Napoleon in the Council toward the end of 1811.<sup>2</sup> But the Emperor's earlier interventions were spasmodic and were probably not followed up. He did not like the censorship, for he was very sensitive as to the suspicion that he was afraid to let people say what they thought; but, as with the police tyranny, he could not dispense with it. It is clear however that he finally interposed decisively in the interests of leniency, the permanent results being evident from the statistics of censorship operation given in the subjoined note.<sup>2</sup> In 1811 more than thirty per cent. of the manu-

fortunes of the more noted writers than with the general attitude and influence of the bureau. The extracts from the bulletins given here and by M. Welschinger may be usefully supplemented by the citations from those of 1810 published in 1870-1871 by M. Charles Thurot in the *Revue Critique d'Histoire et de Littérature*. I have used these bulletins in two different manuscripts of the Archives Nationales, indexed as "AF IV. 1049. Rapports du Ministère de l'Intérieur", and "AF IV. 1254. Pièces Ministérielles"; there are 159 in all, blanks existing for June, July, August, and September, of 1810, and for July and August of 1812.

<sup>2</sup> Bulletin statistics, 1810-1814:

Date.	No. bulletins.	No. MSS.	No. corrections.	No. prohibitions.
1810	15	422	64	3
1811	48	669	163	76
1812	41	571	43	21
1813	51	585	2	14
1814	3	15	0	2
	<u>158</u>	<u>2,262</u>	<u>272</u>	<u>116</u>

scripts examined were corrected or prohibited, but in 1813 only somewhat less than three per cent. We should of course take into

Welschinger it is true asserts that the imperial interventions "ne produisit aucun effet utile et l'arbitraire continua" (p. 46), but it is evident that he had not examined the bulletins closely enough, and was probably basing his statement upon general literary complaints such as that quoted by him from Villemain. I have not found the document from which Welschinger quotes the Instructions issued by M. de Pommereul to the censors, December 22, 1812, in pursuance of the new orders; according to this the following principles were now laid down: "Lorsqu'un ouvrage vous est soumis, qu'il soit bien ou mal écrit, spirituel ou non, contenant des idées sages ou déraisonnables, ce ne sont point là des motifs pour proposer d'en suspendre ou arrêter la publication. L'ouvrage est-il obscène? Sa publicité serait-elle contraire aux réglemens de police municipale? Alors a-t-il pour but de réveiller des passions, de former des factions, de semer du trouble dans l'intérieur? Le danger qu'il présente avertit assez de réclamer la défense de sa publication. L'intention libérale de Sa Majesté est que, à ces exceptions près, la presse jouisse d'une entière liberté." Welschinger admits that these new directions were followed by "une certaine détente dans la répression", but declares that it did not last. So far as the records show it lasted through the rest of the period. The cases of the two manuscripts set down as prohibited in January, 1814 (though only 15 had been submitted to the censors), will be found on examination to bear out this conclusion; both were reported by the director as being markedly of an objectionable political tendency, and yet in both instances the minister disapproved the action and ordered reconsideration (of the final outcome we have no information). As a matter of fact the milder régime had set in earlier than is indicated above, and quite suddenly, showing that some external pressure had been applied; for the months of January, February, and March, 1812, with 185 manuscripts examined, there were 10 prohibitions and 39 corrections, while for the months of April, May, June, September, October, November, and December (there were no bulletins for July and August), with 386 manuscripts there were only 4 corrections and 11 prohibitions. The activity in correction of the year 1811 and of the first three months of 1812 is even more striking than the prohibitions; it was in January, 1811, that Portalis was replaced by de Pommereul, and but for the proverbial activity of the "new broom" we should not have expected this result. Portalis had been very vigorous in his plans for corrections, and it may be that these plans came to the stage of application only after his removal. The manuscripts "corrigés" were for the most part simply mutilated. This activity naturally aroused much complaint, and to this doubtless were due the strong expressions employed by the Emperor in the Council of State, December 13, 1811 (Loché, *Discussion sur la Liberté de la Presse*, etc., Paris, 1819, p. 296 ff.), though they seem also to have been caused in part by his irritation at the demand of the bureau for larger appropriations. He intimated that it might be necessary to abolish the Direction Générale, and declared that "Il est nécessaire que la direction de l'imprimerie prenne des idées plus libérales. On sent maintenant tous les abus de cette institution. . . . Elle devrait savoir que la censure n'est établie que contre les libelles qui provoquent à la révolte; qu'elle laisse parler librement sur le reste; qu'elle souffre les caprices de la presse. Il est fort égal à l'État qu'un extravagant vienne dire par exemple: que c'est Louis XI qui a fait la révolution. . . . On réglemente beaucoup trop. Il est beaucoup de choses qu'un gouvernement sage abandonne à leur cours naturel. L'amour du mieux n'enfante pas tou-

account the presumed efficacy of the censorship, the effects of the making known of its principles and prejudices to authors and publishers; but the examination of the bulletins of the director shows that there was a real and forced relaxing of the earlier activity, and that this leniency was distasteful both to the individual censors and to M. de Pommereul. After the inauguration of the milder régime the bulletins of the Director General change in tone, and are devoted mainly to descriptive statements and to more or less jocular and trivial criticism. It is clear that the bureau was no longer taking itself very seriously; there is no further reference to the early educational campaign, and we get on the whole the impression that the worthy M. de Pommereul and his censors are more or less marking time.

The direct activity of the censorship proper seems to have been confined almost entirely to Paris and its vicinity, for in the provinces it is probable that the change brought about by the establishment of the new bureau amounted to but little more than a change of address of the prefectural reports from the Ministry of the Police to the Ministry of the Interior. No doubt throughout the Empire as in Paris the surveillance of the police continued as before, but their activity was now detached from that of the *préfets* acting as agents of the formal censorship which existed as a bureau of the Ministry of the Interior.<sup>3</sup> I shall not delay on this provincial censorial activity, for it is of minor importance, and is represented but slightly in the bulletins of the Director General; the provincial press had virtually ceased to exist as a medium or factor in public opinion, and the publication provincially of a new book had become a rare event. The activity of the censorship in Paris had of course reference very largely to the reading public of the provinces, though from

*jours le bien; et les innovations sont rarement heureuses*". It will be remembered that Napoleon's interventions in administration were frequently not followed up, and that they often occurred under such circumstances as justified the impression that they did not proceed from clear conviction and settled policy and consequently could not be safely regarded as laying down rules of action. But in this case there is no reason to doubt that his attitude continued consistent and that the censorship began to respond to it by the spring of 1812.

<sup>3</sup> Reference is frequently made in the bulletins to information furnished by the *préfets* in pursuance of the instructions "données à MM. les *Préfets* par le Directeur Général de la Librairie". Inspectors of the censorship were employed in the surveillance of distribution through local booksellers and through *colporteurs* throughout France, but it is not clear whether they reported directly or through the *préfets*, or what their relations were to the similar agents of the police. The large range of this surveillance as compared with that of the police is probably indicated in the reference of the bulletins to efforts of its agents to furnish extended information as a basis for a policy of improving popular reading.

points of view which seem to become less prominent as time passed. It is the provinces mainly that are in view when the censorship planned most aggressively, took itself most seriously; the first director, Count Joseph Portalis, a strenuous and pedagogic bureaucrat, entered upon his work with much enthusiasm as to the opportunity offered to direct popular reading and thus mould public opinion. His second report as Director General, dated May 31, 1810, addressed to the Emperor direct, was prefaced by some general considerations.

J'ai recueilli [he says] des renseignements sur l'état de l'imprimerie et de la librairie dans toutes les Parties de l'Empire, sur le nombre et l'espèce des livres qui s'impriment et qui se vendent, sur le nombre et l'espèce de ceux qui s'importent, sur l'esprit des journaux étrangers et leur Tendance générale. En France dans les Départements on n'imprime que des livres de Piété, des livres élémentaires ou classiques. La Publication d'un nouvel Ouvrage y est un Phénomène, et la Réimpression de quelques anciens livres importants n'y est pas moins rare. Néanmoins ça et là on remarque quelques compilations de jurisprudence et quelques nouvelles éditions des écrivains du siècle de Louis XIV. C'est la Librairie qui doit fixer là toute mon attention. Les Libraires vendent peu et louent beaucoup leurs livres. Cet Usage est peu favorable au Progrès des Connoissances utiles. Il popularise les livres frivoles et favorise l'oisiveté. Plusieurs Préfets, beaucoup d'Évêques, quelques Libraires même se plaignent de la Circulation presque ouverte dans leurs Départements d'un grand nombre d'Ouvrages qui à force d'outrager les Mœurs, les Lois et les Bienséances sociales, outragent la Nature même. . . . J'ai recueilli les titres de trente-cinq ouvrages contre les Mœurs qui circulent, malgré les efforts de la Police.

After pointing out the insufficiency of the means at the disposal of the censorship he concluded:

Sire, la Direction Générale de l'Imprimerie ne doit pas se borner à réprimer seulement, son plus beau Ministère sera d'inspirer. Si Votre Majesté daigne agréer mes vues en recueillant par Degrés la Statistique personnelle de la France savante et littéraire, je parviendrai à connoître nos ressources et à les rendre disponibles.

It is no doubt the views and probably the language of Portalis that we find in a circular issued from the Ministry of the Interior to the préfets October 9, 1810,<sup>4</sup> and apparently referred to in

<sup>4</sup> The policy here expounded by Portalis can be traced back in considerable degree to Bonaparte's earlier counsellors in the Consulate. The state papers of Étienne Portalis, father of Joseph, one of the leading administrative spirits of the Consulate, will be found to outline it to some extent; in 1802 we find Roederer, conseiller d'état, charged provisionally with the conduct of public instruction, reporting to the Minister of the Interior how he had judged it "très utile de faire faire pour l'an XI un Almanach populaire qui fasse connaître à Deux Cents mille Paysans leur premier Magistrat et beaucoup de choses utiles", and how only the

later reports of the préfets as Instructions of the Director General. This document is of much interest with respect both to the censorship and to the literary and intellectual conditions of the time.

Il est [it asserts] une multitude de petits écrits que nos presses reproduisent chaque année en grand nombre, et qui sont la bibliothèque des pauvres et les premiers livres de l'enfance; il est impossible qu'il ne fixe pas l'attention d'une sage administration: ils ont une influence directe sur l'esprit du peuple des villes et des campagnes; il leur doit toutes ses connaissances acquises. Ses opinions, ses préjugés, ses affections en dépendent plus ou moins. Il croit y reconnaître les conseils de la philosophie du siècle, les vérités démontrées par une expérience universelle, l'opinion des hommes éclairés, le ton et les usages des hommes polis, le langage du jour, et la peinture des moeurs du temps. On s'étonne quelquefois du progrès universel de certaines opinions nuisibles, qui frappe trop tard les regards de l'autorité; mais on en aurait prévenu les effets, si l'on avait, dès l'origine, empêché la circulation de quelques écrits obscurs qu'on a méprisés autant qu'ils paraissaient méprisables. De ce nombre sont les almanachs, les calendriers, les annuaires, les recueils de contes, d'anecdotes, de chansons, de pronostics, de cantiques, de complaintes, les rélations des événements récents, les jugemens des cours criminelles, les abécédaires, croix de par Dieu, et autres menus ouvrages. Leur nombre, cependant, est tellement multiplié, et leur apparition si journalière, qu'il est impossible de les soumettre à l'examen de MM. les Censeurs Impériaux; dès-lors, j'ai cru devoir éveiller sur ce point votre sollicitude, et vous inviter à les faire examiner avec soin.

Directions follow as to this surveillance, especially with regard to the necessity of removing

tout ce qui peut inquiéter les esprits faibles et crédules, tout ce qui tend à fortifier des préjugés superstitieux ou à les faire naître, enfin toutes limited means at his disposal prevented him from doing "cent choses semblables" (AF IV, 1050). The circular of 1810 was responded to very promptly by some of the préfets: the préfet of the Bas-Rhin writes in the same month that he "a fait disparaître de plusieurs almanachs soumis à son examen par ordre du Directeur de la Librairie, des chansons" and other material, while from the Department of the Po it is soon announced that good results are already following from these steps. A bulletin of this period refers to these popular publications as appearing in "des millions d'exemplaires". They were spread abroad mainly by colporteurs; the director's bulletin of December 29, 1810, describes one of the manuscripts listed as passed without change as "un de ces opuscules qui composent la Bibliothèque du Peuple et la Pacotille des Colporteurs. On travaille à les épurer et le Directeur Général de la Librairie se propose de les remplacer peu à peu avec l'aide et le concours de MM. les Préfets par des écrits dignes des Lumières du Siècle et propres à entretenir dans les Ames ou à y allumer des Sentimens d'Amour et de fidélité pour les Souverains, l'esprit d'Honneur, de Bravoure, et de Générosité qui doivent former parmi nous le véritable esprit national". A bulletin of the previous month had expressed the intention of undertaking a similar supervision of text-books: "Ce serait le seul moyen de rendre leur travail non seulement sans danger, mais d'une utilité incontestable, et cette méthode aurait encore l'avantage de doubler leur mérite comme auteurs en leur imprimant ce caractère d'originalité qui leur manque".

les prédictions politiques qui intéresseraient la tranquillité de l'État, inspireraient des craintes sur la stabilité de nos institutions, ou exciteraient des inquiétudes pour l'avenir.

The *chansons et contes* are to be revised in the interests of decency and morality, though "il faut se souvenir dans quel pays et dans quel siècle nous vivons, et se garder de confondre l'enjouement et la gaieté avec la licence et le vice". Better things were to be inculcated by substituting

des faits glorieux tirés de l'histoire de l'Empire et de nos armées, des maximes de morale, des actes de courage, des exemples d'humanité. On propagerait ainsi ces sentiments d'honneur, de franchise, de loyauté, d'amour pour le souverain, qui doivent caractériser la nation française; on nourrirait son enthousiasme pour le Fondateur de l'Empire; on la familiariserait avec nos institutions nationales et la pratique de tous les devoirs.

It is evident that a policy of this sort would be subject to fluctuations dependent largely on personal and other fleeting elements. It may be conjectured that no field of administration could be more in need of elucidation from the personal side than that of censorship; in most cases however the necessary information is almost unattainable. The two quite commonplace officials who were at the head of the bureau during the period were of very different origins and characteristics. The general outlines of those of the first occupant of the post, Count Joseph Portalis, will perhaps have been already indicated; the son of one of the most remarkable of the early Napoleonic statesmen, he had been caught early by the great machine, was laborious and pedantic, a born bureaucrat, with little of the father's great talent and personality. His career was short, for early in 1811 he came under suspicion of lukewarmness in the crusade against papal emissaries. His successor, the Baron de Pommereul, who had been one of the young Bonaparte's examiners on his passage from military school to active service, was older and more pliable, and kept the place to the end. As it was his business to make enemies and as the enemies he made were more or less addicted to personalities through practice in the profession of letters, we perhaps may discount the statements that come down to us about him from aggrieved authors; it is clear however that he was not misled by the enthusiasms that had fired his predecessor, that he sailed close to the wind, that the desires of the man higher up found in him no damaging resistance. As to the ten or twelve obscure readers whose work lies behind the bulletins we know little more than the names; they were styled imperial censors to distinguish

them from those attached to the Ministry of Police, and had retaining fees of one thousand two hundred francs yearly with additional pay for work done. In addition to the general utility men the list included a learned antiquary, whose function it was to nose out plagiarists in the interest of the revenue (a tax being imposed on all reproductions), a sound Gallican theologian, and a couple of representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Relations.

My illustrations of the spirit and operation of the censorship by extracts from the director's weekly bulletins will necessarily be too limited to show its scope fully. It will be convenient to group the material under three main heads, political, educational, literary.

Works in the field of politics or government were of course abandoned without defense to the vigilance of the censor, sure to greet them with suspicion. General attacks on the existing order were naturally prohibited, and there was also a steady endeavor to prevent criticism or even discussion of any of the new institutions. This is easily explainable and not unreasonable; it is for the most part in line with one of the most steadily applied principles of the Napoleonic administration (a principle, by the way, not steadily applied by the older absolutism), *viz.*, that of preventing any expressions of public opinion with regard to the principles or acts of established authorities. No official act more surely evoked the imperial displeasure than a resort to the public press in the case of collision between authorities or between authorities and the public. Public opinion was not openly recognized; that an official should publicly assume that there was a public opinion or that it could express itself on current public questions, was to show himself as harking back to the evil revolutionary days and thoroughly unfitted for his post. It was again one of the most thoroughly established principles of the censorship that any public recalling of the memory of the revolutionary or Bourbon pre-revolutionary days should be frowned on, should be presumed to indicate questionable motives or incapacity for good citizenship; disparaging comparisons were not to be tolerated and people with inconveniently long memories were sufficiently a nuisance to be classed with criminals.

In applying these general positions the censorship found itself at times more or less embarrassed and not infrequently seems guilty of inconsistency. It was hard to draw the line between preventing unwelcome references and completely ignoring the recent past; history was being made so rapidly that it was difficult to keep up. More than once the censor was obliged to interfere with otherwise

quite harmless geographical books because they referred to states that had but recently passed away and might be supposed to be still regretted; the tabooing of the name of Bourbon presented difficulties in the historical instruction of youth. One enterprising educator found himself deprived at one stroke of two hundred pages of his work, "qui n'étaient pas en harmonie avec les principes de notre gouvernement", while the manuscript of another was entirely suppressed because it did not seem fitting to let him entertain the public with his fancies as to the future relations of France and Austria. The prohibition of M. Debrai's *Essai sur la Force, la Puissance, et la Richesse Nationale* was probably due mainly to the author's unwise praises of the English commercial system in his advocacy of such "pensées triviales" as that governments ought to admit without taxation all raw material not indigenous, and that the foreign policy of a country should be based on its commercial interests.

It was to be expected that the censorship should show a constant zeal in guarding the sacred person of His Majesty, a zeal that was not always appreciated. Napoleon would have homage, but he wanted it to be in good taste and to have at least the appearance of spontaneity; it always irritated him to have this spontaneity too closely associated with official pressure. One of the chief ways in which we find the bureau exhibiting tenderness for the imperial susceptibilities is in its watchfulness over references to individuals who had lost imperial favor; the tactless author who concluded his article on General Kléber in an *Histoire des Généraux Français* with "un éloge démesuré que la malveillance ou la sottise auraient pu faire envisager comme un trait lancé d'une main impuissante contre une gloire et une renommée au dessus de toutes les gloires", found that "cet éloge a disparu". A later appearance of the Egyptian theme seems to have occasioned more embarrassment to M. de Pommereul. In 1812 he prohibited the *Egyptiad*, an heroic poem on the Bonapartist conquest, because the author had not risen to the height of his theme. "Ce n'est point par un ouvrage si inférieur que Sa Majesté doit être louée. Il lui faut un Homère. Alexandre ne voulait être peint que par Apelles." But an additional objection was conveyed in the carefully worded query, "l'Empereur n'ayant pas conservé l'Égypte, conviendrait-il de faire une grande épopée de sa conquête?" The minister to whom the report was made passed over this delicate point, and remarked that, while any unfitting allusions were to be suppressed, he did not think the poem should be prohibited simply because of its mediocrity. The clemency here suggested was extended with evident regret in the case of an *Histoire*



*de Bonaparte* (a title which, by the way, was ordered changed to that of *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de Napoléon le Grand*), where however there were suppressed "quelques détails sur les premières années de la vie du héros et différens discours mis dans sa bouche".

Il est trop difficile [remarks M. Portalis] de traiter un pareil sujet dignement pour qu'on soit étonné de l'imperfection de tant d'ouvrages enterpris sur un thème si beau et si fécond. On souffre de voir travestir, ou rendre en mauvais termes ce qui est grand et beau de sa nature . . . mais il faut compatir à l'empressement du public . . . et à la bonne intention des écrivains.

That, however, there were limits to the censor's receptivity of the Emperor's praises is shown by the suppression in a drama of a eulogy of His Majesty on the ground that it had been put in the mouth of one of the rogues of the piece.

Any presentations of the recent history of France or of Europe would necessarily involve the very delicate matter of the revolutionary origins of the existing régime; it can occasion no surprise to find the censorship very sensitive in regard to such references and on the whole decidedly averse to having the period dealt with at all. This is in line with the whole spirit of the administration, anxious, not necessarily to deny its origin or its earlier principles, but to leave unstirred all dangerous questions and events, and to continue quietly with its task of reconciling all interests and classes to the new institutions and to one another. This is well illustrated by the corrections and remarks concerning a production entitled *Les Tombeaux du Dix-Huitième Siècle*. "L'auteur", we are told, "passe en revue tous les hommes remarquables de cette centurie dont il feint de visiter les tombeaux. . . . Le Directeur de la Librairie pense qu'il était au moins inutile d'évoquer de pareilles ombres. Il ordonne la suppression de tous les tombeaux révolutionnaires à commencer par celui de Louis XVI". It was not often indeed that any commendatory references to the men either of the Old Régime or of the Revolution escaped a jealous pruning. An educational treatise on the model of Rousseau's *Émile* was subjected to correction because the central figure was described as a noble of the Old Régime forced by the Revolution to emigrate. "On a fait disparaître cette indication", says the director, "on n'a pas besoin d'avoir émigré pour donner une éducation chrétienne à ses enfans". The recalling of the Bourbon past was perhaps even more frowned upon than references to revolutionary days; and when during the Emperor's absence in Russia the bureau became aware that manu-

scripts in favor of the old dynasty were being passed from hand to hand the nervousness became extreme. A *Vie du Général Monck* was prohibited because of the suspicion that only an adherent of the exiled Bourbons could have any interest in calling attention to the restorer of the House of Stuart; an *Histoire du Bourbonnais*, it is intimated, would have been suppressed if the author had not had the good judgment to stop "au moment où la race des anciens seigneurs de ce nom s'éteint".

This vigilance was no doubt very discouraging to historical research, but though quite a number of brief histories of France appear only to be sadly mutilated, we do not seem on the whole to have lost much that we cannot do without. We should like indeed to have had preserved the work which aimed to present a study of the statements as to local conditions and instructions sent up with the deputies to the États Généraux of 1789; it was rejected because it was constantly harping on the vague idea of popular power and sovereignty, and because it presumed to propose reforms in the Napoleonic laws. No such regret perhaps will be extended to a Dutch publication entitled *Delicia Poetica*, proscribed because "une très grande partie de ce recueil a son origine dans les opinions exaltées de 1792 et 1793". The differences presented by these earlier eras are strongly insisted on in a critical reference to the appearance of a new edition of De Flassan's *Histoire de la Diplomatie Française*; although the work is not proscribed, objection is expressed to the disclosures it makes of the diplomatic secrets of the old French state.

Mais l'ouvrage est déjà publié; l'ancienne diplomatie, même celle du règne de Louis XVI., est aussi vieillie que si elle avait deux mille ans. Tout est changé autour de nous. Il ne s'agit pas seulement d'une nouvelle dynastie, ce sont les temps qui ne sont plus les mêmes. L'Empereur a commencé une nouvelle ère pour le monde politique, même l'ordre social, même l'art de gouverner comme celle de vaincre et de combattre sont renouvelés en entier.

It is perhaps surprising that the prejudice against publications relating to the French Revolution was not also extended to those that dealt with the preceding American one; on the contrary, in 1813 we find an approving notice of a translation from the Italian of Botta's *Histoire de la Guerre de l'Indépendance des États-Unis*. This was probably due to the part taken by France in that struggle, especially since France was again at war with England. It certainly would not seem to be explainable by any tenderness toward the contemporary United States, if we may judge by a reference to a work unfortunately not approved because objected to by the Minister

of Foreign Relations as inopportune. This was entitled *Aperçu des États-Unis au 19<sup>e</sup> Siècle jusqu'en 1810*, by M. Félix Beaujour: "Les Anglo-Américains", remarks the director, "ne se sont pas encore présentés devant un miroir plus fidèle. Ils seraient bien connus en France si cet ouvrage peu étendu mais plein et substantiel pourrait voir le jour". We may I think assume that the reflection in this mirror was not complimentary. This intervention of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs recalls an important limitation of the bureau's freedom of action. It was not only constantly interfered with by the police, but it was obliged to refer to various departments of the administration such projected publications as were likely to be of particular interest to them—a reference that was especially important for manuscripts in the province of the *Ministre des Cultes*. One of the interventions from the diplomatic side is of interest as displaying one of the embarrassing sides of the censorial system; it is with regard to the prohibition of a volume entitled *Versailles, Paris, et Londres*, described by the director as not ill-intentioned but very stupid. "Mais dans un pays", he explains, "où le public croit que les ouvrages politiques sont faites par ordre du Gouvernement ou publiés sous sa censure, il est impossible de laisser paraître de telles rhapsodies". This leads to the reflection that manifestly an active censorship would proceed very easily from corrections to suggestion. There are many instances of such suggestions, as in the case of the text-book on geography to which the Foreign Office insisted on adding some maps, or of the translation of Costigan's *Letters on the Government, Manners and Customs of Portugal*, to which the translator was required to add various remarks on the duplicity of the English conduct in that country, and on the great improvement effected by the short sojourn of the French.

This last instance represents an attitude which we find the censorship frequently exhibiting; for the number of manuscripts on English affairs or containing references to England that were submitted was surprisingly large. In spite of the war and of the Napoleonic commercial policy the intellectual relations between the countries continued to subsist in a large degree, and evidences of the fact have a good deal of interest. The reception of English thought in France was still such as frequently to disturb the censorship, which lost no opportunity of discrediting it. This inhospitality does not it is true often extend to purely literary productions, the frequent translations in this field being seldom interfered with. But in all other ways every opportunity is taken of working against "cette Anglomanie que nos écrivains du siècle dernier nous ont si imprudemment

inoculés et dont ceux du siècle présent auront quelques peines à nous guérir". Every occasion is seized to revile British institutions; even trial by jury (almost the only part of the revolutionary innovations in judicial procedure that Napoleon had let live) was referred to as "n'offrant aucun avantage au degré de civilisation où nous sommes parvenus". Eulogies of the British constitution received short shrift; a book entitled *Anecdotes Anglaises et Américaines* was in 1813 strongly approved of as disclosing the vices of the British system, showing (to use the language of the bulletin) "que la constitution anglaise ne donne au peuple qu'elle régit ni la garantie ni les droits ni les libertés dont on prétend qu'il lui est redevable; que si les Anglais ont une moralité, leur gouvernement dans ses rapports publics n'en reconnaît et n'en pratique aucune". One instance of these attacks is of interest in more than one way; it is in connection with the passing of a book concerning Lord Elgin's antiquarian activities in the Levant in 1799.

Les anglais [the bulletin proceeds] qui n'ont pas le sentiment des beaux arts, qui n'ont encore produit aucun grand peintre, aucun grand sculpteur, aucun grand musicien, ont heureusement beaucoup d'or et non moins d'orgueil; ils y joignent une jalousie nationale qui les excite à se montrer toujours nos rivales. M. de Choiseul-Gouffier a illustré son ambassade par son beau voyage de la Grèce. Le Lord Elgin a voulu l'imiter et faire aussi son voyage pittoresque. . . . Elgin obtint de la Porte la permission de faire des fouilles à Athènes et on sait qu'il en a abusé au dernier point. Les magnifiques bas-reliefs du temple de Thésée ont été brisés et mutilés pour en ravir quelques fragments, et l'insouciance Ottomane a été moins fatale aux restes d'Athènes que la cupidité et la barbarie de cet Anglais.

The attitude of the censorship toward educational books and problems can perhaps be regarded as of even more interest than the manner in which it carried out the policy imposed upon it in the field of political authorship. The importance of the training of the young was now being realized in a new sense; while the freedom of the eighteenth century was still demanded by some defiant spirits, the vast majority had fallen in with the declared policy of the new government of entrenching Society and the State behind the old religious and moral bulwarks, and developing anew a sense of discipline and a respect for authority that would harmonize with and be a secure prop for the restored monarchical system. The gropings of the Revolutionary and early Napoleonic years toward the setting up of educational machinery had now at length produced a system that seemed a marvel of centralization; the new University of France, embracing all stages and conditions of the educational process, was organized and operating. It was organized, as was the

ensorship, as a section of the Ministry of the Interior, and the Director General in this first period seems animated by the ambition of being really a co-ordinate educational force, if not of developing a superior educational control. Count Joseph Portalis was a very serious young man, and (as has been shown in part above) he lost no time in magniloquently enunciating extended plans for influence through his office in general education, as well as for the direction of the adult spirit. His first general bulletin set forth this programme explicitly; after dwelling upon the unsatisfactory character of popular publications, he proceeds:

Il me semble que ce n'est que par le Décret du 5 février [establishing the censorship], que Votre Majesté a achevé de ressaisir la plénitude du Pouvoir souverain. La Philosophie moderne avait dépouillé le Sacerdoce de l'Empire absolu qu'il prétendait sur les âmes, mais elle ne l'avait point restitué à la Puissance Civile. L'Enseignement public restait en des mains indépendants et cette indépendance n'était pas moins contraire à un bon ordre et à l'intérêt de l'État que l'asservissement de cet enseignement à des Corps étrangers à l'État. Le grand Principe de l'unité était violé. Aujourd'hui l'Université Impériale ou le Corps enseignant, la Direction Générale de l'Imprimerie ou la Censure, et le Ministère des Cultes, forment un Ensemble complet, Oeuvre prodigieuse de Votre génie et par lequel Votre Majesté s'est remise en possession de cette Souveraineté des esprits et des Mœurs que les Législateurs anciens avaient si précieusement maintenue et que dans les siècles malheureux les ignorants dominateurs des nations avaient laissé échapper. Ce qui importe, Sire, c'est que ces grands Principes de Droit public, ces belles et fécondes Maximes de Gouvernement soient développés.

In later bulletins of the year Portalis followed this up by pointing out the measures he had taken or was meditating for reinforcing the work of the schools in popular education; some of these I have already referred to. With such aims text-books were sure of being regarded critically, and I have shown above how this care was applied in the field of recent history. The historical texts however seem to have remained quite unequal to the aims of the director.

Pourquoi ne remarquerait-on pas [he cries] combien à ce sujet il serait désirable qu'on put distinguer au milieu de tant de productions indigentes qui paraissent sur l'histoire de notre temps, deux cents pages éloquentes, riches de faits non encore exposés et appuyés sur les témoignages les plus authentiques, qui retraçassent la gloire de la Patrie et de son auguste Chef sous des couleurs vives et nobles, et qui pussent familiariser les élèves des Lycées avec les hauts faits du Fondateur de l'Empire, comme ils le sont avec ceux des héros de l'antiquité; qui gravassent dans leurs mémoires les noms des batailles d'Jéna et de Friedland comme le sont ceux des batailles d'Arbèles et Marathon, et qui leur fit connaître au moins aussi bien l'origine du Code Napoléon que celle des douze tables. Un des torts de notre éducation moderne a toujours été de nourrir exclusivement la jeunesse de souvenirs étrangers.

On another occasion after dwelling again on this defect the director announces his intention of entering upon a reform by compilations for the use of young children, as it was of special importance to apply the improvement at a tender age.

The taste of the Baron de Pommereul in text-books was apparently not so exacting as that of his predecessor. In January, 1813, he approved, though with doubt as to the title, an *Alphabet du Roi de Rome*, "qui se compose de 24 leçons sur les vertus nécessaires à un chef de gouvernement, suivies chacun d'un trait de la vie de l'Empereur qui offre l'exemple et l'application de cette vertu". He was however as dissatisfied as Portalis with the quality of the historical texts, and grudgingly passed a new *Instruction sur l'Histoire de France* with the remark, "Voilà depuis peu d'années à peu près le cinquantième qu'on publie, et tout mauvais et insignifiants qu'ils soient on les achète. C'est véritablement distribuer les poisons. Cet abrégiateur s'est jetté dans l'histoire des Gaulois, et nous a mené jusqu'à la bataille d'Austerlitz." A *Biographie des Jeunes Gens*, which is described as a bookseller's speculation, leads the director to complain that "il est bien fâcheux que l'Université, faite pour donner une direction à l'enseignement, n'ait pas occupé son nombreux et opulent état major à refaire tous les livres d'enseignement, qu'elle aurait rempli d'un autre esprit que celui qu'y peuvent mettre tant de ridicules et ignorans compilateurs, de celui en fin qui serait en harmonie avec nos moeurs, nos lois, et notre gouvernement". M. de Pommereul returns to this demand on the University on another occasion, attacking its inactivity in spite of its "grand état major de conseillers, d'inspecteurs, de recteurs, de proviseurs", etc. But in the field of historical research he found on one occasion more activity than he could approve of, when with grave distrust he passed M. Serlet's *Histoire Critique des Révolutions Romaines depuis Romulus jusqu'à Auguste*.

Nous avons longtemps lu l'histoire Romaine [remarks the bulletin] avec une admiration presque superstitieuse. . . . Les temps sont extrêmement changés. Ce n'est plus un doute raisonnable qu'on essaie d'inspirer, c'est une satire qu'on en veut faire. Tous les récits sont des fables. Nos docteurs modernes dans leurs leçons publiques nient que Régulus se soit immolé à sa patrie, comme si cet acte de dévouement, vrai ou faux, n'était pas toujours une admirable leçon à donner aux élèves. . . . qu'y a-t-il donc à gagner pour nos descendants à vouloir leur persuader que tant d'actes d'héroïsme et de vertu n'ont point eu lieu? Cette critique indiscreète et trop facile me paraît un des plus grands travers de l'esprit de nos nouveaux pédagogues.

For my present purpose the exercise of the censorship in the interests of religion and morality may be classed as educational.

But it is a large additional field of activity, evoking frequent interventions, and can only be glanced at. Here the censorship cannot be accused of bigoted or devotional tendencies, its spirit being rather the secularizing spirit of the eighteenth century, tempered by the conditions established through Bonaparte's restoration of the Church. Harmony between the new Charlemagne and his pope had indeed long since departed, but the State for statesmanlike reasons continued to demand respect for the Church, and to uphold its place as one of the chief props of society and government. In the field of morals the austere and pedagogical Portalis was much more severe than his older and more military successor; both the minister and the Emperor however seem to have intervened in the later period against a policy that was charged with being Puritanic. As we should expect, it is M. Portalis who is particularly concerned to uphold the Church as the basis of morality and an indispensable prop to Society and the State. He even enters on the Herculean labor of keeping the novel of the day in line with decency and safe theology. "Les romans", he says, "sont la bibliothèque des anti-chambres, et si elle est infestée de déclamations contre la croyance salutaire d'une Providence divine, ses lecteurs pauvres et violents et sûrs de l'impunité, seront des sots, comme le dit très bien Voltaire, s'ils n'assassinent pas leurs maîtres pour voler leur argent". Seizures and confiscations of obscene books and prints are frequently referred to. A manuscript is reported as shorn of "quelques détails obscènes", while in another the author is required to cast a veil "sur des nudités trop révoltantes" (the veil which one ingenious writer attempted to furnish by writing only the first letters of his objectionable words was not regarded by M. Portalis as sufficiently opaque). Another romance is prohibited on the ground of immorality in allowing the adventures of two rogues to be wound up by a happy and prosperous marriage; "Le roman n'est précisément obscène, mais il est au moins d'une très mauvaise moralité. C'est le vice menant à un état prospère."

The learned M. Lenoir in his *Histoire des Arts en France*, too engrossed in his researches to have noticed that the revolutionary tone was no longer in fashion, had permitted himself to make slighting references to divinity as "une invention de l'ignorance", as also to the great legislators of mankind.

On l'a prié de modifier ces locutions qui attaquent l'existence de Dieu, l'immortalité de l'âme, et le respect du législateur. On peut dans un ouvrage de philosophie disputer les points les plus importants de la religion naturelle, mais il ne faut pas dans un livre pour ainsi dire populaire glisser des maximes contraires à des dogmes qui n'appartiennent pas moins à la sociabilité qu'à la religion.

The criticism of manuscripts in the fields of dogma or religious philosophy was furnished by an ecclesiastic of decided Gallican convictions, and he was instructed to hold an even course between maintaining respect for religious things and encouraging mysticism or excessive piety. The frequently expressed apprehension as to mysticism (we might also say as to undue piety) is perhaps peculiarly French; a religious revival was however making headway, and there were good political reasons for not encouraging it. The *Souvenirs Continuels de l'Éternité* by M. Lasausse, described by the Director General as an "espèce de missionnaire à l'imagination bouillante", was suppressed because the author had addressed himself *con amore* to the task of terrifying the frivolous and was thought likely to have much success. Another and more philosophical book on the same subject was passed with the contemptuous remark, "Lira qui pourra". A theological work in support of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception is prohibited with the wish that "ces jongleries du 14<sup>e</sup> siècle" might be relegated to the age which had produced them; this particular decision the minister did not accept, but forwarded the manuscript to the *Ministre des Cultes*. A treatise on Divine Love is rejected because containing "des germes de quiétisme qui ne me paraissent propres qu'à entretenir l'illusion de quelques faibles imaginations"; in this case also the minister orders a new report. *Les Anges Gardiens des Hommes* is in the Dutch language and the censor records the fact with satisfaction, for in his opinion it is a homily, "la plus triste, la plus froide, la plus ennuyieuse dont on ait pu s'aviser".

It was to the field of belles-lettres that most of the attention of the censors was directed, and their literary criticisms are often of very considerable interest, more especially perhaps with regard to the origins of French romanticism. Of the 116 manuscripts submitted to the censorship in the month of April, 1812, seventy-six were literary; we may probably regard this as a representative proportion. Even when not considered objectionable these productions were described in the bulletins, and the descriptions were frequently accompanied by reflections as to the literary conditions and tendencies of the day. The student of public spirit in France will find here much information concerning popular reading and the intellectual tastes and habits of the period; there are valuable indications also in the field of comparative literature. If space permitted it would be of interest to present references to and decisions concerning the light literature of the day in a sufficient degree to show not only its characteristics, but something of the literary fashions of the



time, and of the conditions under which the literary artist was working. Of the few notable books of these four years Mme. de Staël's *L'Allemagne* is practically the only one dealt with in these bulletins; as the tribulations of Mme. de Staël are well known and as the formal censorship played only a subordinate rôle I will not linger on the episode.<sup>5</sup> The production of the period was for the most part unimportant, and this dearth of notable authorship was naturally associated with a strong tendency to translation and with popular support of translations. One of the most interesting instances is that of Scott's *Lady of the Lake*, examined by the censorship in two independent versions of the early part of 1813 (the original had appeared in 1810). M. de Pommereul does not attempt corrections, but solemnly informing the minister that the poem deals with everything that is marvellous in a world of knights and fairies, adds, "L'imagination dans ce champ si vaste serait trop malheureuse si elle n'y trouvait pas de quoi intéresser"; in which we may assume that he was not voicing national feeling but was simply exhibiting a lack of sympathy with the romantic school. In the following month there is recorded the submission of a translation from Schlegel of what is entitled *Cours de Littérature Dramatique*, the original of which had appeared in Germany about two years before. We are surprised to find the book passed without change, in view of Schlegel's close association with Mme. de Staël and of the severe comments now made on the work by the Director General.

Composition tout-à-fait germanique, des longueurs, du vague, une métaphysique obscure, des niaiseries de pédant. Au travers de cette bigarrure des observations fines, une érudition rare. . . . Schlegel paraît peu connaître nos tragiques français, et dans ses éloges ou ses censures n'en dit rien de neuf ou de saillant, mais il dénigre Molière avec un mépris, une bêtise et une ignorance, dont l'excès va jusqu'au ridicule. Le Ciel pour le punir de cette impertinence semble lui avoir ôté le jugement lorsqu'il traite du théâtre anglais. Son idolâtrie pour Shakspears est poussé jusqu'au délire; aussi admire-t-il beaucoup Calderon qui lui paraît un petit Shakespeare. M. Schlegel ne gâte pas ses Allemands. Il peint assez naïvement les vacillations de leur théâtre, livré tour-à-tour à des plats imitateurs ou à des rêveurs incertains et chimériques.

The leniency here shown to Herr Schlegel was extended a little later to a young author who "paraît un élève de l'école allemande très-peu favorable à notre théâtre"; this was Guizot, then in his twenty-sixth year, and the *Vie de Corneille* which we see thus emerging from the jaws of death was perhaps his entry into the world of authorship.

<sup>5</sup> Mme. de Staël's clashes with the censorship and the police will be found detailed by Welschinger, together with the fortunes of some other notable authors.

In the variegated array of minor literary productions that the bulletins bring before us the leading place was taken by efforts in the field of romance. And it is to these romances that the critical and corrective labors of the censorship were mainly directed; Portalis in particular we have seen strongly impressed with the necessity of regulating this "reading of the antechamber". It is interesting to find that most of these romances are either translations or imitations of the English, and that the species advancing most rapidly in favor is the historical. This species however was decidedly not in favor with either M. Portalis or M. de Pommereul. In November, 1810, the former laboriously describes the demerits of a work of imagination which was masquerading under the title of *Le Pessimisme ou le Fin du 18me Siècle*; it is, he declares, in turn critical, philosophical, moral, historical, and lewd, but particularly objectionable because of its travesty of history. "On a pensé . . . qu'il n'appartient à personne de mêler des noms connus à des récits chimériques, et que les malheurs des pères devaient être pour leurs enfans de sérieuses leçons et non l'objet d'un vain amusement". At a later period M. de Pommereul impolitely refers to a romance as "de l'espèce bâtarde qui n'est ni l'histoire ni le roman et qu'on dit historique". Translation from and imitations of Mrs. Radcliffe, Miss Edgeworth, and other British story-tellers frequently appear, and the originals are usually referred to with respect. There is some translation from the German, but it is usually into Dutch for consumption in Holland. Such a book is *Le Chevalier de la Vérité*, described as "très plat mais sans danger"; the director adds, "Il paraît que la Hollande fourmille de traducteurs qui pillent toutes les littératures voisines, et qu'elle fournit peu d'écrivains dans sa langue qui sachent tirer leurs ouvrages de leur propre fond". The romances of German origin are evidently too heavy to be used in the original, but they seem to be making headway in adaptations or imitations. A propos of *L'Anneau Lumineux ou les Mistères de l'Orient*, the bulletin remarks, "Des noirceurs et des monstrosités Anglaises, notre légèreté nous fait passer à la mélancholie allemande". To this melancholy category probably belonged the romance by Mme. de Rome, the most of which was taken up by the heroine's recital of her misfortunes to the daughter of her jailor, and the only admirable feature of which in the censor's opinion is the patience exhibited by the jailor's daughter. The last bulletin of the series, of January, 1814, refers to *Sindall et Annesly ou le Faux Ami*, as a "roman traduit de l'allemand. Sans vraisemblance comme sans intérêt, rempli jusqu'à satiété de maximes triviales et de ces détails insipides

que les Allemands sont habitués à prendre pour du naturel et que nos écrivains, je ne dis pas nos auteurs, s'empressent de copier faute de talent et d'imagination. La traduction est devenue un métier, et celui qui nuit la plus au maintien du goût." M. de Pommereul seems to the last unconscious that there may be any connection between this deplorable condition of things and the activity of the office over which he was presiding.

Among the literary fashions of the period that are indicated in the bulletins is, we are surprised to learn, a demand for books on Mme. de Maintenon; "Il est", we are told, "à la mode d'en parler et de la vanter". The output of poetry seems slight and the director's remarks about specimens submitted are usually disrespectful. M. Cantalou would publish *Oeuvres Poétiques et Lyriques*; he is allowed to, but the censor crossly remarks that he has made a mistake in the title for there is nothing in the book remotely resembling a poem or a lyric. A producer of *Pensées Tristes* is described as a poet who has lost his mistress and been thrown thereby into a melancholy that he labors to make interesting and profitable; "mais les grandes et véritables douleurs sont muets". A translation of selections from Pope is received with an amiability that is exceptional, and with some remarks on the literary connections between France and England that are of interest. "Voltaire est le premier qui ait fait connaître Pope en France. Depuis ce temps Le Tourneur nous familiarisa avec Young et Shakspeare comme Prévot nous avait fait goûter Richardson, mais c'est l'émigration pendant la révolution et le retour des émigrés qui a surtout fait parmi nous la fortune de la littérature anglaise".

I have perhaps yielded somewhat to a natural tendency to dwell disproportionately on the trivialities and illiberalities of these reports. A more extended survey would reveal much sound sense. But it is not necessary to moralize on this episode in the history of censorship. As censorships go it was perhaps on the whole not a very bad one, and it may be doubted whether the literature and learning of the First Empire would have been distinguished under any conditions. Sober thought and modest worth were not in fashion; the imaginative faculties were dulled or satiated amidst the engrossing marvels of every-day fact. Literature will be trivial when men think it such, and public spirit cannot endure without ideals. France under Napoleon had lost the sense of proportion, and France paid the penalty in various ways.

It was in May, 1813, between two German battle-days, that Count Beugnot, falling into conversation with the Emperor on these

matters, suddenly found himself violently reproached with being one of those "ideologues" who would have freedom of the press and other such excesses of revolutionary days. And putting his hand to the hilt of his sword, Napoleon cried, "Tant que celle-là pendra à mon côté, et puisse-t-elle y pendre encore longtemps, vous n'aurez aucune des libertés après lesquelles vous soupirez". That sword was broken within the year, and on April 3, 1814, the Senate which had accepted all the tyrannies of the régime and which had never once dared to use the defenses of freedom that the Constitution had pretended to endow it with, passed solemnly an Act of Deposition which in its recital of these tyrannies declared that Napoleon had "constamment soumise à la censure arbitraire de la police, la liberté de la presse, établie et consacrée comme l'un des droits de la nation". It was not an accurate statement, and the Senate had no right to utter a reproach; before the end of the year these same senators had joined in the setting-up of the censorship of the Restoration.

VICTOR COFFIN.

## SOCIAL RELIEF IN THE NORTHWEST DURING THE CIVIL WAR

THE outbreak of the Great War in 1914 probably sent tumbling more individual philosophies of life than any other event in history, in so short a time. Millions who did not know that they had a philosophy of life, suddenly found that their whole way of viewing their relationships to outside things had been changed in a night. In America two fundamental conceptions, the capacity of human nature for progressive improvement and the efficiency of democratic government, were emphatically challenged. The small minority who had denied them claimed recognition as prophets, many of those who had doubted joined them, and the majority became doubters. The era of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars, which hung in the popular imagination as the greatest of world calamities, was instantly surpassed by the scope and the intensity of the new struggle. The material advances of a hundred years served only to intensify the horror, and the increased efficiency of governmental organization had made it possible to wring the last ounce of strength from every individual, and seemed to have hardened the heart of the combatants to endure and to inflict injuries which the world supposed it had outgrown.

A minute comparison of the two great war epochs, however, brings out certain significant differences, which are in the direction of what is commonly called progress. The treatment of sick and wounded has improved more in the last hundred years than in all previous history; and this has quite obviously been due, not only to the increase of medical skill, but also to the amount of attention devoted to them. Napoleon recognized that an army "marches on its belly", but the wars of his period show nothing of the absorption of the world's mind by the "boys in the trenches", which has for two years busied the leisured classes in neutral as well as belligerent countries. Still more modern is the love and care lavished upon non-combatants. Nearly all the belligerent countries have provided maintenance allowances, and in addition have raised great funds by subscription for their relief, while neutral countries have poured out millions for the refugees of all nations and have extended their care to such non-essential but significant details as Christmas gifts for the children.

The motives for these changes are as varied and even contradictory as are the forces underlying any other great historic change. Not love of humanity alone but also economic insistence upon the necessity of conserving national resources, has given the impulse, and the result is not due entirely to change of heart but in large measure to the white light of publicity which makes even wilful blindness to conditions almost impossible. But whatever the process, the fact remains that the internal history of the two war cycles reveals sufficient advance in democratic regard for the welfare of the individual, and sufficient flooding of national boundaries by the spirit of humanity, to constitute if not an epoch, at least the difference between the opening and the middle of an epoch.

Midway between the two came the Crimean War and our own Civil War. During the first Florence Nightingale caught the attention of the world for the sufferings of the soldiers and exhibited an organizing ability that gave a solid basis to her dreams. In the second the best talent of our own country took up the problem. The Sanitary Commission, independent of the government but acting in co-operation with it, not only gave incalculable comfort to the men in the ranks, but made it impossible for any government in the future to neglect them. Out of their labors arose the Red Cross and since then countless provisions, national and international, have represented a world-wide effort to reduce the horrors of the battlefield to a minimum.

The less sensational, but not less real, wretchedness of those who remained at home, when the breadwinners and chief counsellors of countless families were called to war, naturally attracted less prompt and less intense attention. The soldiers' pay was never large enough to supply their necessities, and while they were seldom left to starve, they were merged in the general mass of poor. Where bounties were granted for enlistment, as in the Revolution and the War of 1812, they served to stave off distress, but their purpose seems to have been purely that of securing recruits. They merely showed that under the volunteer system, the individual could coerce the community into doing something for him: they were determined by supply and demand, by the need for men not the needs of the men. Some may remember that the problem was dealt with by committees during the Spanish War, but most persons would date the first general consciousness of its existence to Kipling's *Absent-Minded Beggar* during the Boer War. Nevertheless it had been handled in a large and systematic manner forty years before.

Promptly, and without important discussion, the attitude toward

the dependents of the soldiers changed on the outbreak of our Civil War. Or rather it was recognized that it had changed. The general trend of thought and political action had been such that, when the old situation recurred, it was at once realized that it could not be met in the old way; that the families of our volunteer soldiers must not be left without care, that the dependents of those who gave up their time and strength and risked their lives for the general good, must not be treated as at one with those who were unable to maintain themselves in the ordinary times of peace.

Everywhere the states took up the problem; not only the states of East<sup>1</sup> and West, but also the separated states of the South,<sup>2</sup> where impoverished South Carolina in 1863 and 1864, the financial system failing, provided a tax in kind, two and then three per cent. of the harvest of wheat, corn, and many other products. In cases where a state lagged behind its fellows their example was used to prick it on, but, in the main, action was due to simultaneous impulse from within, rather than to interaction. This is shown by the independence of their measures, each employing the machinery ready to its hand. The various plans show none of that slavish copying of one state by another, which so often characterized legislation even before the days of state reference bureaus and governors' conferences. As the war wore on there developed some degree of similarity in the results aimed at, but, on the whole, the period was one of experiment; our federal system was working according to its genius.

In taking Wisconsin as a centre from which to study this movement, the leading motive was the accessibility of a mass of manuscript material,<sup>3</sup> which made it possible to study it intimately. This is an advantage that Wisconsin will continue to enjoy over most states, for the administration was more centralized and this meant centralization of material. For purposes of comparison I have extended the study to the other four states of the Old Northwest. The results would not have shown any striking differences if the Trans-Mississippi had been included, but the East would show some

<sup>1</sup> The Eastern States deserve special study, as some methods quite different from those noted here were employed.

<sup>2</sup> The provisions by the Southern States began somewhat later but were conceived on a most generous scale. Of their execution I know nothing.

<sup>3</sup> War Papers, Governors' Correspondence, Relief. This material is very extensive, but is not yet arranged, and there exists at present no method of reference. It was all examined for this subject and all the letters noted later, except those specified, are to be found in it. The dates given will afford means of reference later, as it will be chronologically arranged.

interesting divergencies and the South, by choice and necessity, used methods quite its own.

To begin with the least direct relief, the system of moratorium, which was resorted to in 1914, finds some counterpart in 1861. In an effort to ameliorate the effect upon the currency of the overthrow of the credit of the Southern States, upon whose bonds it rested, Wisconsin, on April 17, provided that all actions against banks or banking institutions to compel specie payment be deferred until December 1, 1861, that the state laws with regard to the same subject be not enforced, nor any bank-note be protested by a state officer until the same date. Ohio, on January 16, 1862, authorized banks to suspend specie payments until fifteen days after the governor should proclaim that actual resumption had been carried into effect "by a majority of the regular and legally authorized banks of issue in the City of New York".

More specifically affecting soldiers was the Wisconsin law of April 17, 1861, exempting "from all civil process . . . such persons as may enroll themselves in the service of the country". This was modified on May 25 to exclude actions for the foreclosure of mortgages and to enforce mechanics' liens, and on March 15, 1862, to exclude actions in trusteeship and joint indebtedness. On March 22, 1862, the legislature provided that in the case of volunteers all sales of state lands on credit be held *in statu quo* until three months after their discharge, and on April 5, 1862, it was ordered that a stay be granted in all mortgage foreclosure proceedings. On March 31, 1863, volunteers were allowed until April 1, 1865, to redeem "all lands" sold for taxes.<sup>4</sup> Michigan provided in 1862 that all volunteers be exempt from arrest except for "treason, felony, or breach of the peace", that their separate property be exempt "from all process by way of attachment", and that they forfeit no right to land belonging to the trust funds of the state until a year after discharge. Ohio took action practically similar, by laws of May 1, 1861, and March 10 and April 10, 1862. Illinois briefly declared on May 3, 1861, that proof of enlistment was sufficient cause for "the continuance of any suit".

The volunteer had good ground for the belief that relief would not be limited to such negative action. The blazing posters which those seeking recruits plastered along the city streets and spread broadcast over the countryside, dwelt not only on the generous pay offered by the United States, and its land bounties and pensions, but

<sup>4</sup> This still left the war-widow unprotected in her indebted property. See letter of December 22, 1863.



very frequently on the care that would be taken of those at home.<sup>5</sup> The orators at the enrollment meetings asserted that the citizens who remained behind would never allow those dependent on the soldiers to feel the pinch of want. A Wisconsin woman writing to the governor, November 29, 1863, said: "My husband in speaking to the recruiting officer said he had nothing to leave his family provided he should never come back again. The officer told him his family should never suffer." A careful man wrote the governor August 10, 1864, that he and a son had enlisted, leaving a wife and seven children, that he had received two hundred dollars bounty, and that he counted on sending fifteen dollars a month from his own pay, the same amount from that of his son, and on five dollars a month state aid, which would be sufficient for them.

Wisconsin was the only state of this group which undertook to handle the subject through the central administration. On May 25, 1861, it was voted that "non-commissioned officers, musicians and privates mustered into the service of the United States or of this state . . . receive . . . in addition to the pay provided . . . the sum of five dollars a month to all volunteers having families dependent on them for their support". The execution of the law was placed in the hands of the secretary of state,<sup>6</sup> and he was to authorize payments only while the soldier was in actual service as evinced by monthly reports from the regimental officers,<sup>7</sup> or, after April 4, 1864, from hospital authorities. The operation of the law was gradually extended to all Wisconsin volunteers, but never included those entering the regular United States service and consequently excluded the navy. Soldier and family must be residents of the state. The term family was ambiguous. It was defined March 22, 1862, as: "Wife living, and actually dependent", or, there being no wife, children under fourteen, or no children, "infirm or indigent parent or parents, actually dependent upon the labor of said volunteer". By a law of April 4, 1864, in the case of children who

<sup>5</sup> See Fish, "The Raising of the Wisconsin Volunteers", *Military Historian and Economist*, July, 1916.

<sup>6</sup> From this it is obvious that the governor's correspondence which was used does not tell the whole story. Nevertheless the habit of appealing to the governor was very strong, and correspondence sufficient in extent and distribution to warrant general conclusions is to be found in his file. The letters were often endorsed with a reference to the secretary of state including an instruction, and then returned to the governor's file. There is also a mass of material in the office of the state treasurer.

<sup>7</sup> This created great injustice as the reports were by no means regular and often the reporting officers careless. More complaints were due to this provision than to any other.

had lost their mother by death or desertion, the money was to go to "the person having such child or children in charge". No family was to receive more than five dollars a month, but by the law of March 3, 1863, a family having more than one breadwinner in the ranks could transfer its claim in case the one in whose name they received the extra pay should die. A law of April 2, 1863, evinced some delicacy of feeling by allowing the state officials to omit the names of recipients from their annual reports.

Michigan did not provide for state relief, but by laws of May 10, 1861, and January 17, 1862, made it the duty of the board of supervision of each organized county "whenever necessary, to make adequate provision for all requisite relief and support of the families" of volunteers, "separate from, and independent of, the relief, temporary or otherwise, afforded to poor persons under existing laws". In the first law the families of officers were included with those of the men, but the second followed the general practice and excluded them. Relief was not to exceed fifteen dollars a month for each family; the soldier in behalf of whom it was drawn must be in actual service, and in 1864 it was provided<sup>8</sup> that the family must have been resident in the state at the time of enlistment, and the responsibility was to fall upon the county to which the enlistment was credited. March 20, 1863, drafted men and substitutes were granted the benefit of the law, but not drafted men who furnished substitutes.

Ohio stood midway between Wisconsin and Michigan. It left the relief work to the counties, but the legislature made sure that they should have funds, by levying a state tax. The growing seriousness of the problem is indicated by the fact that in 1861 this was not to exceed one-half mill,<sup>9</sup> in 1862 it was fixed at three-fifths of a mill,<sup>10</sup> in 1863<sup>11</sup> at one mill, and in 1864<sup>12</sup> and 1865 at two mills. The grant to the family was to be "as their necessities shall require", and the family was defined as wife, minor children, or dependent parents. Ohio was generous in her comprehension, as the families of officers were not excluded; by law of February 13, 1862, "soldiers enlisted since April 1, 1861, in the regular army of the United States" were included, and by that of March 21, 1863, the families of "marines". The governor announced in his message of 1865 that five thousand dollars had been used from his contingent

<sup>8</sup> Joint resolution no. 5.

<sup>9</sup> Ohio, *Session Laws*, May 10, 1861.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, February 13, 1862.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, March 21, 1863.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, February 25, 1864.

fund to relieve the dependents of members of the National Guard who had been employed for a short time.

Indiana made no state provision until March 4, 1865. It then levied two mills "for the purpose of supporting soldiers' families, and sick and wounded Indiana soldiers in hospitals". It included "soldiers, seamen, and marines", but narrowed the definition of family to include merely wife, children under twelve or insane, or dependent mother. Wife or mother was to receive eight dollars a month, with two dollars for each child.

Illinois made no state provision. Even without this exception it is evident that the subject demands study of the activities of counties, cities, towns, and villages. In Wisconsin the state aid was inadequate of itself, and elsewhere the local units had full charge of administration.

In Wisconsin, laws of May 15, 1861, and September 25, 1862, granted the local government authorities the power of taxing "for the support of the families . . . of volunteers". One indication of the frequent exercise of this right is the great number of laws legalizing such taxes in cases where some irregularity of form occurred. Other laws permitted in individual cases the different wards of various cities to tax themselves for the same purpose.<sup>13</sup> For the most part this local relief was voted by the towns, cities, and villages, their total contributions for war expenses amounting to \$7,134,341.12, as compared with \$618,164.55 paid by the counties.<sup>14</sup> Twenty-six counties taxed themselves while thirty-two did not, but in only three was there a complete absence of town and county relief. Rock County was perhaps the most generous, giving at one period ten dollars in winter and a little less in summer.<sup>15</sup> In most cases some smaller sum was given to a wife, with additional allowance for minor children.<sup>16</sup>

I have no record of the Michigan counties. As we have seen, they were all required by state law to take adequate relief measures, but they were the judges of what was adequate, except that no family was to receive over fifteen dollars. State and county relief were therefore identified. Not so in Ohio. The law of May 10, 1861, was really a permissive law for counties. The law of March 21, 1863, allowed the counties to levy half a mill in addition to the

<sup>13</sup> Wisconsin, *Session Laws*, March 10, 1863, allowed the city council of Watertown to tax the fifth and sixth wards not over three dollars a month for each wife, and fifty cents for each child, etc.

<sup>14</sup> *Annual Report of secretary of state*, 1865, app., pp. 132-133.

<sup>15</sup> Letter of Ogden Barrett, November 4, 1862, etc.

<sup>16</sup> It seems, however, to have been the Wisconsin practice to vote a definite sum, whereas Michigan and Ohio tried to meet particular needs.

state tax for the purpose, and that of February 26, 1864, one mill. The governor in his message of 1865 stated that fifteen of twenty-five counties reporting had made such additional levies. Indiana relied for four years wholly on the voluntary action of the counties. By law of May 11, 1861, however, it authorized the local government authorities to levy a special tax "for the protection and maintenance of the families of volunteers in the army of the United States and the state of Indiana". I have not been able to make a study of the action of many Indiana counties, but if we may judge from the experience of Illinois, it was probably dictated in large measure by political proclivities and there must have been unrelieved suffering in many places.

Illinois as a state did nothing on the subject either by state aid or by general instruction or even authorization to the local governing boards. Governor Yates, in his message of 1863, referred to the fact that many of the soldiers were "very poor and have large and helpless families". He recommended that the state refund bounties granted by the counties and that the legislature request Congress to increase soldiers' pay. Neither of these measures, both of which ignored the varying needs of individuals, was adopted. Many counties, however, without special authorization, voted money. I have not been able to differentiate the portion of grants paid for relief from that paid for bounties and general war expenses. It is significant, however, that thirty counties made no grants.<sup>17</sup> Of these only Jo Daviess was in the north. Champaign and DeWitt stood next in latitude, and of those south of this line, twenty-seven made no grant and twenty-six made grants.

Bounties have several times been mentioned in connection with relief. Properly they belong to another classification. They were not proportioned according to the needs of those receiving them, and the motive for granting them was primarily different from that impelling relief measures. Nevertheless they served to allay the anxiety of those enlisting for their families, and during and after 1863 they played a large part in the support of soldiers' families. This close connection is illustrated by a Wisconsin law of March 2, 1865, allowing Oshkosh to levy a "special volunteer tax" for bounties, the payment of which, in the case of married men, could be made in monthly installments.

State and local relief was not the sole reliance of those left at home. The pay of the soldier was not sufficient to provide for maintenance but was an item in the support of his family. The

<sup>17</sup> John Moses, *Illinois*, II, 735-737.

problem, however, was to get the money from the soldier to the family, and sometimes it was not easy to persuade the soldier to send home as much as it was felt he should.<sup>18</sup> This situation led to the development of the allotment service. This was organized on a somewhat peculiar basis, in that the officers employed in it held United States commissions but were appointed and paid by the states, which also managed the funds collected. Wisconsin on April 3, 1862, provided for allotment commissioners, with salaries fixed by the governor but not to exceed one thousand dollars each, or three thousand dollars in all. The state treasurer was to receive and distribute the money. Michigan authorized the payment of the travelling expenses of commissioners.<sup>19</sup> Ohio, on April 14, 1862, authorized the appointment of not over six, to receive expenses and two dollars a day while in service; this number was reduced on April 2, 1863, to three. A law of February 4, 1862, provided that the money be received into the state treasury, but paid over to the counties for distribution. Indiana took no state action on the subject, but the energetic Governor Morton saw to it that there were commissioners, and the Indiana system seems to have been effective.<sup>20</sup> Governor Yates of Illinois, in his message of 1863, protested the demand that the states pay for the allotment commissioners, but announced that two men had entered upon the service and recommended that they be paid.

The United States government was so strongly committed to the payment of pensions, that the Northern States deemed it unnecessary to devise any permanent plans for the future, but there was an opportunity for real suffering during the period between the death of the volunteer and the obtaining of the pension, while the securing of the latter was often a matter not of time alone, but also of money and knowledge.<sup>21</sup> Wisconsin, on April 2, 1863, provided that the state aid continue six months after the death of the principal, unless

<sup>18</sup> Governors' Correspondence, Organization, letter of allotment commissioner, Robert T. Fraser, July 28, 1862: "Found considerable reluctance. . . . I fear we will find it so with all the old Regiments, and I would earnestly but respectfully suggest that the allotments of the Regiments now being raised be taken *before they leave the state, and while the home feeling is strong.*"

<sup>19</sup> Michigan, *Session Laws*, extra sess., 1862, joint resolution, no. 13.

<sup>20</sup> Dunn, *Greater Indianapolis* (Chicago, 1910), I. 226.

<sup>21</sup> Mrs. S. E. Vaughn wrote, November 15, 1863, that she had received no state aid as her husband had been a commissioned officer, but she wished aid in getting a pension. Mrs. M. A. Sewall wrote, December 3, 1863, asking why it cost so much to collect back money, bounty, and to get a pension. This letter is endorsed: "Will be called to attention of legislature to appoint a state agent to do it." See also *Messages and Proclamations of the Wisconsin War Governors*, Wisconsin History Commission, Reprints, no. 2.

the pension begin before. This act created an injustice in that it applied only to those who died after the act was passed. Some of the local relief, however, was extended without regard to this provision.<sup>22</sup> Michigan<sup>23</sup> and Ohio<sup>24</sup> from the beginning extended the relief until one year after death. The appointment of agents to assist the applicant in getting the pension was frequently urged, but the military claims agents appointed by Ohio under the law of April 14, 1863, seem not to have had these functions.<sup>25</sup> The only agents who seem to have been authorized to attend to such business were those of Illinois, appointed under the act of February 16, 1865.

In addition to these public resources, private charity, organized and unorganized, naturally assisted the necessitous in their own communities, as has doubtless been the case from the beginning of organized society. A letter to the governor of Wisconsin from the relief committee of Kenosha, June 13, 1861, asked how the state aid was to be distributed, "as it is important for us in our operations to know the facts in relation to the sources of supply for relief purposes". In many cases employers offered to continue pay to those enlisting.<sup>26</sup> A letter of June 23, 1864, from a woman with a husband and three sons in the army, but who by a technicality could not draw state aid, complained of being left "a subject for the aid society". The governor replied: "The local authorities or citizens should do something for you." In many cases subscriptions were made for this purpose in the flush of enthusiasm that were disregarded later on, and a Wisconsin law of April 2, 1863, enabled the town or city treasurer to bring suit to enforce such obligations. A wife writing to the governor, July 31, 1862, says that she is "depending upon the *few* loyal men there are left",<sup>27</sup> they

<sup>22</sup> Letter from Mrs. Laura Jones, May 22, 1862: "I send you a few lines begging you to extend the five dollars to those that have been dead the longest, why not to those that suffer the most my husband died in December but I am very destitute I draw from the city of Fond du Lac three dollars per month. Now I am destitute of a good husband and nothing to do with."

<sup>23</sup> Michigan, *Session Laws*, 1861, May 10.

<sup>24</sup> Ohio, *Session Laws*, 1861, May 10.

<sup>25</sup> "It shall be the duty of said agents to investigate, give advise and take such other action as will enable the discharged Ohio soldier speedily to obtain free of charge the money due him from the general government." February 17, 1865, a bureau for this purpose was established at Columbus.

<sup>26</sup> Butterfield, *History of Dane County*, p. 625 (August, 1862). See also Isaac Stephenson's *Recollections of a Long Life*. In the absence of evidence it is not probable that such promises were often kept for the four years of the war. They were made for the most part when it was supposed to be a three months' affair.

<sup>27</sup> The Cyrus Woodman Papers, manuscripts in the library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, contain references to such cases.

are poor but they do what they can; she hopes there will be a draft to take the men who ought to go; she doesn't know whether they fail to enlist because they are disloyal or "because the families of those that went at the *first call* have been so neglected by the state and general governments"; the county no longer gives assistance because it was claimed that some of those who received aid were "getting rich". Of course the women's own work was another resource. In the East particularly much was done by way of securing them an opportunity of work on soldiers' clothing—though they were seldom paid a real economic return for their work. On the farms they naturally extended their already busy hours and saved many a homestead for their families. In the small towns there was little opportunity, as one woman wrote the governor, July 25, 1864: "there are so many now left as I am that we scarce can find enough to do to keep want from our doors". She asks a postmastership, thus connecting the question of provision for the soldier's family with that for the soldier himself after the war. A joint resolution of the Wisconsin legislature of February 23, 1865, ran: "That it is the desire of the people of Wisconsin, that the post-offices and other federal offices within the state, be given, first, to disabled soldiers who may be competent, and, next, to other veteran soldiers."

The total amount of aid thus granted or secured in the five states was probably between thirty-five and forty-five millions. State aid cost Wisconsin \$5333, to October, 1861; \$283,614.71, the year following; \$604,991.42, in 1863; \$615,693.68, in 1864; and \$1,030,537.36, in 1865, or \$2,545,873.78 in all.<sup>28</sup> It is impossible to separate the proportion of the local aid which was given for family relief from that for bounties; I estimate one-third,<sup>29</sup> or \$2,580,000. Private contributions must have brought this local total to at least three million. The total soldiers' pay that passed through the hands of the state was \$1,051,519.89, reaching its height in 1863 when \$451,269.16 was distributed and declining to \$215,159.77 in 1865.<sup>30</sup> The probable total from these sources for Wisconsin was, therefore, about six and a half millions.

<sup>28</sup> Wisconsin, *Treasurer's Report*, 1862-1865. Of course this does not add up right, as is so frequently the case in financial reports of the Civil War period. The total figure is the more apt to be correct.

<sup>29</sup> This estimate is based upon the weighing and comparison of a large amount of material. It is doubtful if the material exists for an approximately exact statement.

<sup>30</sup> Wisconsin, *Treasurer's Report*, 1862-1865. Governor Solomon stated in his message of 1863 that up to December 15, 1862, \$1,783,705.92 had been allotted. The cause of this discrepancy I have not been able to discover, but the amounts collected for Wisconsin and for Ohio are about equal in proportion to their population.

The Ohio state tax actually furnished the needy with \$3,590,-257.<sup>34</sup> The county taxes devoted to this purpose could not be exactly estimated from the data at my disposal. During the war, however, the special county taxes increased over seven million. While much of this was for other than war purposes, it seems reasonable to suppose that two million and a half was for relief work.<sup>32</sup> The allotments of pay amounted to \$5,135,689.03,<sup>33</sup> and this makes a total of over eleven million for Ohio.

For Michigan I suppose a per capita expenditure half-way between that of Ohio and Wisconsin, and reach \$4,800,000.<sup>34</sup> By somewhat complicated calculations I reach an estimate of \$6,600,000 for Indiana, and \$8,400,000 for Illinois. Such figures may be very far from the truth, but I am very confident that they represent the minimum.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Ohio, *Auditor's Reports*, 1862-1866. The assessment of 1865 was not all needed, and \$800,000 was turned over to the sinking fund and \$75,000 to a soldiers' home. The figure given is that of money actually paid the counties. There is room for discrepancies in the various accounts and the figure might be varied somewhat either way. The report of 1864 gives some estimates of distribution, but they chiefly show how few data the state government possessed.

<sup>32</sup> "Other special taxes" amounted in 1862, to \$279,743.04; in 1863, to \$1,292,266.60; in 1864, to \$3,975,698.07; in 1865, to \$2,735,107.84. Ohio, *Auditor's Reports*, 1862-1866.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> This is merely an arbitrary estimate. I am, however, confident that it does not overstate what Michigan did.

<sup>35</sup> I based this upon the finding that over considerable areas the amount of aid per family, where it was granted, tended to be much the same. Consequently the Michigan average was applied to Illinois, but the thirty counties not making grants were deducted. Over two millions must have come from soldier allotments, which leaves a little less than \$6,500,000 to be accounted for. J. S. Currey, *Chicago: its History and its Builders*, II. 148, gives \$2,801,239 for the war expenses of Cook County and Chicago. Moses, *Illinois*, II. 737, gives \$15,307,074 for all the counties (see also Davidson and Stuvé, *A Complete History of Illinois*, pp. 741-742). Taking one-third of this state total as probably for home relief, gives about five million. This leaves \$1,500,000 for town and private relief. Owing to the local organization of Illinois, the town of course gave much less than in Wisconsin, though the system in the northern tiers of counties was not dissimilar. The arbitrary estimate thus checked seems reasonably probable, with a tendency to under, rather than over, statement.

In the case of Indiana the actual figures for counties are very scattering. The arbitrary estimate is made on the same basis as that for Illinois, an equivalent number of counties being deducted.

It is to be noticed that the number of counties making no provision is not so great as the number controlled by the Democrats, though it was the Democratic area that failed to contribute. This is not surprising, as in no case where the voters were intimately consulted did the full Democratic strength support the extreme anti-war measures of the party leaders. In connection with soldiers'



These were very large sums for the people of that day to distribute, and the lack of attention which they received was due, of course, to the vastly greater drain of actual military expenditures and the more picturesque calls of the sick and wounded soldiery. Naturally so much was not spent without controversy and without suspicion of fraud, and probably actual fraud. In Wisconsin the payment of the state aid was sometimes suspended and often endangered because of lack of funds.<sup>36</sup> As early as November 11, 1861, Governor Randall of Wisconsin was informed that "gross frauds have been perpetrated by soldiers, through the agency of Justice . . . and others in Milwaukee in procuring the bounty given to families", and, in his message of 1863, Governor Lewis recommended a law to punish those who improperly sought relief. The governor of Ohio in his message of 1865 referred to complaints made of township officials. The raising of such sums, moreover, was no mean burden upon communities so heavily taxed and subjected to the high cost of living brought about by the war. In Wisconsin an ingrained dislike of public borrowing, although it did not altogether prevent loans, nevertheless stimulated the effort to meet the expense by taxation. This proved to be impossible, and the result in this case, as in others, was that a firm insistence upon an economic system too rigid for a state of its frontier condition, forced resort to the dangerous expedient of paper. The state paid in real money but many localities issued promises to pay, scrip of various kinds and denominations. On February 2, 1864, Beaver Dam was authorized to collect a tax to redeem such scrip, and similar action was frequently taken. On March 28, 1864, however, the local authorities were authorized to issue bonds.

Michigan authorized borrowing from the beginning, but in 1863 legalized "certain volunteer family relief orders". Ohio allowed temporary borrowing, but not Indiana. In Illinois the counties seem to have pursued an independent course, which occasionally required special legislation by the legislature. January 14, 1863, Boone County was ordered to levy a tax to repay orders which had been

pay it must be remembered that such pay reached the families in large amounts, even where there was no allotment system. In fact the special provision for the families may have somewhat diminished the sense of responsibility on the part of the soldier. It is probable that states with good systems succeeded in directing a somewhat greater proportion to the families, but the difference was probably hardly as great as might be supposed. I have somewhat lowered the Wisconsin and Ohio averages in estimating it for Indiana and Illinois, and do not believe the result is greater than the amount actually secured.

<sup>36</sup> *Messages and Proclamations of the Wisconsin War Governors*, pp. 104-109, 144. For a long time the financial provision was a hand-to-mouth affair.

issued, and on February 12, Bureau County was authorized to borrow money "for the benefit of volunteers, and in aid of the families of soldiers", and to issue county orders.

No such provision had ever before been made for the families of those fighting for their country. In spite of defects of system and irregularities of operation their actual needs were better attended to than in any previous war, and most notable was the general, almost universal, sentiment that such provision was not an ordinary charity, but was to be granted and accepted as a due. For one must remember that in the sixties ordinary charity was still upon the basis of sentiment rather than of social obligation. In the case of neither did the sense of social solidarity and conservation of native resources play any part. The noble words of the Indiana statute: "for the protection and maintenance of the families of volunteers",<sup>37</sup> are to be taken purely with their apparent meaning.

The spirit of the time is probably better illustrated in the correspondence of the successive governors of Wisconsin than anywhere else. One almost feels that the governor was regarded as the family counsellor in the absence of the husband. Always respectful, the letters are as intimate as to a father. A maiden writing "on her knees" pours out four pages of supplication that she be allowed to accompany her soon-to-be husband to the front—and obtained the favor, one can imagine with what result in stimulating the profanity of the officers.<sup>38</sup> A young wife writes that her husband's "fokes will keep him from doing anything for her".<sup>39</sup> Another admonishes the governor: "Now don't forget to get him discharged for i can't get a long without him he is a good man and i don't want him to die down there for i have my hands ful and heart full."<sup>40</sup> A young lady rather pertly states, "As I have been teaching school for a long time past and have grown rather sick of the business I thought that I would turn my attention another way"—nursing.<sup>41</sup> An anxious writer wishes the governor to assist him in finding out about "a young brother who" does not write—"never was any hand to write".<sup>42</sup> A wife writes: "He is a kind man to his family and he is near sited and he has kidney complaint and he is forty-four years old and he can't be good for much there." One

<sup>37</sup> See above, p. 316.

<sup>38</sup> February 26, 1864.

<sup>39</sup> August 1, 1863. Her husband had been transferred to the Regulars: "i hav to eat and ware clothes the same as though he staid in his old regiment."

<sup>40</sup> September 17, 1863.

<sup>41</sup> July 20, 1863.

<sup>42</sup> September 10, 1861.

wife with four children asks the governor for a pass to Cincinnati where her mother is thought to be dying;<sup>43</sup> a sister writes: "Oh for the *love of mercy do dear Governor* grant me a pass. *Do answer by return of mail.*"<sup>44</sup> A young lady about to go South to distribute articles for the soldiers in behalf of the local ladies' aid society asks the governor to facilitate her going by giving her "a Wet-Nurse commission or some other instrument in writing".<sup>45</sup> A soldier wants to know how his family is provided: "For I cannot be of much service to my country and had rather di in trying to go to their relief than stay hear and know as I do that they are left destitute by those who have promised to provide for them".<sup>46</sup>

Patriotism blazed from the letter-heads, and there is much denunciation of Copperheads. One felt that the rich were not doing enough. She was a mother with four children. When her husband left he expected "the county money" which had since been stopped. "Perhaps you might devise some means by which the rich may help support the poor in this time of need. When you think that the most of our soldiers are composed of poor men and they must do the fighting while the rich speculate if you think of this I think you will do Something."<sup>47</sup> Most of the families were left with a home, and often with some land about it; their need was for food and clothing; the number of children was frequently very large. A mother with a small daughter writes: "My son told me I would be provided for; for means had been provided, to supply every mother who had sent a son, as a volunteer through the term of the war, and every wife who had sent a husband . . . we are very lonely, and being destitute makes us down-hearted. I have a good home, but can't sell at all. If there was business here, so I could have boarders I would not ask assistance."<sup>48</sup> There was comparatively little complaint as to the amount of aid, but much because the system left many unprovided for. One wrote to know: "Whether my old and infirm parents in Europe, depending on me their sole sustainer, for the necessities of life, can draw those five dollars a month our noble state has granted".<sup>49</sup> A step-mother needed assistance.<sup>50</sup> The

<sup>43</sup> July 19, 1864.

<sup>44</sup> December 29, 1862. Many such requests were made for passes in cases of sickness. A receipt to Governor Lewis for "the sum of three dollars from soldiers' relief fund to enable me to visit my sick family at Waukesha", is one of the several evidences that they were occasionally granted.

<sup>45</sup> March 5, 1863.

<sup>46</sup> August 5, 1861.

<sup>47</sup> June 4, 1862.

<sup>48</sup> May 22, 1861.

<sup>49</sup> April 26, 1862.

<sup>50</sup> September 17, 1861.

failure of some of the states to provide for those whose sustainers had entered the regular army or navy, based, of course, upon a sound theory, nevertheless caused real hardship and doubtless contributed to the difficulty of securing recruits for those branches. The refusal of all the states to provide for non-residents in a time and a region where migration was an incident in the lives of so large a proportion of the population, left many without provision. The somewhat numerous cases where the chain of obligation had been interrupted by unsuccessful remarriages, though some may have been deserving, excite less sympathy;<sup>51</sup> marriages after the enlistment of the soldier created a more appealing problem.

Such cases arose without cessation throughout the war, if anything they increased as it went on. Their handling demanded more than efficiency, in fact they demanded great-heartedness rather than efficiency. In such a spirit they seem to have been dealt with. Successive governors not only returned gentle answers which turned away wrath, but, although the blank form letter was in wide use between officials and the army, gave to these applicants personal attention and often accompanied their replies with some pertinent suggestion. In their conduct we see the soil out of which Lincoln's qualities of head and heart grew. There is no evidence of the socialized state, though many things were being done which seem to characterize the socialized state. It was the neighborliness of a big and kindly community, democratic in its ideals and with a general similarity of conditions which produced general understanding of conditions. Historically the broadened conception of the responsibilities of a community at war for those suffering from the war was the product, not of economic theory nor of enlightened intelligence, but of the feeling and appreciation of its own necessities by a people really and inherently democratic.

C. R. FISH.

<sup>51</sup> See interesting letter of October 1, 1862, etc.

## NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

### THE OXFORD MEETING OF 1213

IN the last number of this *Review*<sup>1</sup> Mr. Edward Jenks offers a new explanation of the well-known November summons to a central assembly in 1213, in which he casts doubt upon the force of the enrollment words.

The crux of the interpretation [he says] appears to be in the final words, not of the writ, but of the enrollment. In later times, no doubt, the words, *codem modo scribitur omnibus vicecomitibus*, would mean that similar writs, with the sole alteration of the address, had been sent to the sheriffs of all the other counties. But can we be sure that, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, the practice had been firmly settled? In other words, can we be quite sure that the writ of November 7, 1213, to the sheriff of Buckingham did not bid him assemble his knights at Buckingham, that to the sheriff of Bedford, at Bedford, and so on?

In substance, Mr. Jenks believes that county meetings were summoned instead of one central assembly at Oxford.

This would mean that it was the practice of the scribe, when he had a number of writs to enroll—alike in substance, but varying slightly to make them appropriate to the several people or localities to which they were to be sent—to follow the sample writ with the simple *codem modo scribitur* clause and the list of addressees, and keep no record of the variations which the several writs contained. But can it be thus lightly concluded that, after a decade or more of experience, scribes were keeping a roll which was so far from being a complete and informing record? Why do it at all if important entries were to be treated in so slipshod a manner? One cannot read far in the rolls, however, without becoming convinced that, with but very few exceptions, the *codem modo* clauses must have meant just what they said. The scribes were evidently expected to be literal and painstaking.<sup>2</sup> This resulted, naturally, in

<sup>1</sup> Vol. XXII., pp. 87-90.

<sup>2</sup> Occasionally, to be sure, a case will be found in which the necessary variations are so entirely self-evident from the names and locations of the addressees that the scribe followed the dictates of common sense and refrained from vain repetitions. A good illustration of this is the writ sent to the reeve and bailiffs of Bristol. *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, I. 177-178.

two classes of *eodem modo* clauses: one, like that in the writ under discussion, in which there is no indication of different words in the other writs; the other, almost as numerous, in which, after the *eodem modo scribitur*, record is made, either before or after the names of the addressees, of the one or more variations. Picking up the first volume of the *Close Rolls* which came to hand, that for the years 1231-1234, four of the latter class were found in the first thirty pages.<sup>3</sup> And that is probably a fair average. But lest this should be thought to belong to the "later times", examination has been made of the *Close Rolls* for the year 1213 itself, and also for 1212 and 1214. This has revealed at least three *eodem modo* clauses with variations for 1212,<sup>4</sup> five for 1213,<sup>5</sup> and five for 1214.<sup>6</sup> While most of these involved the writing of but few words, nearly all seem necessary to make the enrollment accurate and usable. Many of them, as would naturally be the case, are proper names.

Of course this evidence does not prove that the scribe did his work thoroughly in every individual case; and in the case under consideration there is no outside evidence by which to check him. But it does appear to establish such a rule of care and precision as entirely to invalidate Mr. Jenks's main argument.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore his suggestion was possible only because the sample writ which the scribe entered on the roll happened to be the one sent to Oxford-

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 8, 19, 21, 27. The brevity of some of the variations which the scribe yet troubled himself to record is well illustrated by the last of these: *Eodem modo scribitur vicecomiti Sussex, hoc verbo 'teneri' excepto.*

<sup>4</sup> *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, I. 116 (*bis*), 123. One of these (p. 116) contains merely a change of one place name.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 135, 137 (*bis*), 146, 154.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 142, 162 (*bis*), 166, 202.

<sup>7</sup> If the scribe, in November, 1213, had had before him a bundle of similar writs of summons designating a variety of meeting-places, he would probably have managed his *eodem modo* clause in somewhat the same way as the scribe in 1235 who had to record the summoning writs, sent through the sheriffs, to the non-feudal abbots and priors of thirty-one counties, and who were to meet at various places and times. *Close Rolls*, 1234-1237, pp. 187-188. The sample writ enrolled was to the sheriff of Oxford and summoned the abbots and priors of that county to Woodstock for a certain day. Then follow these enrollment words: "Eodem modo scribitur vicecomitibus Heref', Glouc', Wigornie, apud Glouc' die Veneris proximo sequente; Dors' et Sumers', apud Bathoniam in festo Sancti Petri ad Vincula; Wilt' et Suht', apud Merleberg' Dominica proximo sequente; Berk' et Buk', apud Rading' in octabis Sancti Petri ad Vincula; In crastino Assumptionis apud Lond', Kancie, Sussex, Midd', Essex' et Hertf', Surr', Norf' et Suff'; Norht', Cantebrigie, Hunt', Bed', et Buk', apud Norhampt', die Martis post festum Sancti Bartholomei; Notingh' et Derb', War' et Leic', Staff' et Salopie, Lincoln', Eboraci, apud Noting' die Dominica in Nativitate Beate Marie." This rather complex enrollment problem seems successfully handled by the scribe, and with no waste of words.

shire, and Oxford was the place set for the meeting. But the scribe did not always choose his sample writ thus. Take the following—also from the year 1213:

Rex Vicecomiti Lond' et Middelsex' etc. Precipimus vobis quod scire faciatis omnibus clericis et viris religiosis de Ballivis vestris qui summoniti fuerunt venire coram nobis apud Norhamt' a die Sancte Trinitatis in XV. dies quod ad diem illum illuc non veniant quia eis ad presens parcimus. Ita quod ibi sint eodem modo in crastino Sancti Petri ad Vincula. Teste me ipso apud Lameh', XV. die Maii. Eodem modo scribitur omnibus Vicecomitibus Anglie.<sup>8</sup>

Here the sample writ is to Middlesex, but the place of meeting was Northampton. The *eodem modo* clause at the end forces the conclusion that some kind of assembly of clergy from all the shires was expected to take place at Northampton. This is but one among other proofs that concentration, on either a large or a small scale, was a well-understood royal device for transacting business at this time. And it is necessary in this connection to point out the error of Mr. Jenks's statement, "that the alleged council at Oxford, if it ever took place in the representative form suggested by Dr. Stubbs, would have been an anticipation, by forty years, of the first representative assembly of which we have actual records". Not by forty years, but by fourteen, if indisputable summoning writs be deemed "actual records", for in 1227, not 1254, was summoned the first representative central assembly.<sup>9</sup>

The next point raised, the shortness of time between the sending of the writs and the day of meeting, constitutes a real difficulty. But it seems to be fairly well met in the discussions and references in Miss Levett's recent article on this same writ.<sup>10</sup> To these, indeed, Mr. Jenks refers; but they do not appear to satisfy him, though he does not elaborate the point.

A further reason for questioning a central-assembly intent in this instance lies in the fact that no record of the meeting is to be found in the chronicles—"it seems somewhat unlikely that a Council, of the novelty assumed, should be passed over in silence by the chroniclers". But contemporaries would not have spelled this council—or perhaps any other—with a capital. Is there in Mr. Jenks's comment here a hint of the old attribution of prophetic insight to the men of the thirteenth century? It is so hard to think that they did not know that Parliament was being made. But the

<sup>8</sup> *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, I. 129-130.

<sup>9</sup> For a discussion of this and other early cases of concentration, see *American Historical Review*, XIX. 735-750.

<sup>10</sup> *English Historical Review*, XXXI. 85-90.

only thing they saw, if the November meeting were actually held, was concentration at the king's bidding and to do the king's business. And such concentration was not new, even in 1213. No chronicle recorded the central representative assembly of 1227, yet there is no possibility of doubting, in this case, that such an assembly was intended and summoned. And the "novelty" in Simon de Montfort's famous parliament appears to have been mentioned in but one of the many chronicles of that time<sup>11</sup>—there, incompletely, incorrectly, and as of no special interest, the reason being that the novelty was not great and the potentialities of this and other beginnings unguessed. But even the belief that the 1213 meeting was not held is no good reason for concluding that it was not summoned, especially in that disordered and capricious reign. Has there not been, in fact, a traditional doubt among scholars as to its actual assembling which has carried with it little or no doubt about the summons? A summons, recorded at the time, upon the official roll is a hard thing to get around.

In speaking of the military part of the writ, Mr. Jenks frankly admits at the end of his article that "an army dispersed among thirty-seven different centres is not of much military value". This is very true and seems a sufficient argument, taken by itself, to overthrow his thesis. The suggestion follows that "John may well have hesitated, in view of his quarrel with the barons, to summon the whole feudal force of the country to a single spot". Well and good—then he might have cancelled his summons as he had done before, or not have sent it in the first place. The suggestion does not make it seem any more probable that, because he feared to summon them all to one place, he summoned thirty-seven separate and wholly useless musters. But let it be remembered also that the "whole feudal force" was not to be there *with arms*. The barons were to be there without arms and also the groups of four knights. What body of knights, then, could it have been that was to come armed? In all probability the minor tenants-in-chief; and, if so, the four knights coming for the county *ad loquendum*, etc., were sub-tenants. This is roughly analogous to the well-known summons of 1254, in which the whole body of tenants-in-chief, *cum equis et armis parati*, was to be at London three weeks after Easter, while the two representative knights of each county, who must needs have been sub-tenants, were to be at Westminster two weeks after Easter. What took place, then, in the fall of 1213 would seem to have been this: Some time before November 7 the king had sent to the sheriffs writs order-

<sup>11</sup> *Liber de Antiquis Legibus*, p. 71.



ing a military muster of the minor tenants-in-chief—no unusual thing. This was followed by the supplementary writ under discussion, which summoned for the same date a meeting of the great council (*corpora vero baronum sine armis similiter*), and also four knights from each shire. These last must have been expected to furnish local information, as so often later; or possibly they were to be instructed in some local job. But for many years it had been the custom of small groups of appointed or elected knights to act for the shires in various capacities, and this always at the king's instance; also the device of concentration had been used. Hence for the king to summon four knights from each shire (four was the number in 1227) to meet at one place is no matter of surprise. Indeed there is nothing along this line to explain away. The writ makes good sense (now that Miss Levett has pointed out that knights and not "men" were summoned), and fits in with the known ideas and practices of the time if it be taken just as it stands and its language interpreted in the most natural way.

It is interesting to notice that the king was at Oxford on the day set for this meeting and on the two days following, November 15-17.<sup>12</sup> Was this chance or was there something of special importance happening at Oxford on these days, something more than a county meeting? An examination of John's itinerary throughout the reign shows that Oxford was far from being a favorite stopping place.

ALBERT BEEBE WHITE.

#### CIPHERS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD

DURING the Revolutionary period cipher was employed extensively not only in public correspondence where secrecy was especially important but in the private correspondence of public men as well. It is true that most of the letters written in cipher that have come down to us are accompanied by some form of translation, oftenest an interlinear decipherment by the recipient; yet the quantity of writing that has remained undeciphered is in the aggregate considerable. There are, for instance, numerous undeciphered passages in the published writings of Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, as well as in letters of theirs that have not been printed.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>12</sup> See Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy's "Itinerary of King John" prefixed to the *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium*.

<sup>1</sup> This note is not to be understood as in any sense a complete exposition of the use of cipher in the Revolutionary period, some of the examples referred to being indeed merely incidents of an investigation which has had, naturally, considerable ramifications.

Of ciphers used in the period under consideration five different types have been encountered: first, a mere transposition of the alphabet; second, a dictionary or book cipher; third, a sentence or longer passage used as a key, the letters being numbered in the order in which they occur; fourth, a columnar table of alphabets built upon a key-word; and, fifth, a collection of words, syllables, and letters more or less arbitrarily arranged and numbered. The transposition of the alphabet, a mere substitution of one letter for another, was not apparently much used.<sup>2</sup>

The book cipher was employed rather extensively, particularly in the earlier part of the period.<sup>3</sup> In its simplest form its use required only the possession, by each of the correspondents, of the same edition of a dictionary. A notable instance of a dictionary cipher is found in the correspondence of Arthur, Richard Henry, and William Lee in the years 1777-1779. As used by them an arabic numeral designates the page, an *a* or a *b* the column, and a roman numeral the line. The book was probably Entick's *New Spelling Dictionary*, edition of 1777.<sup>4</sup> As no copy of the edition used could be found the process of solution by the present writer consisted in, first, the identification of certain ciphers from the context,<sup>5</sup> next, locating these words in the edition of 1782 (the nearest to 1777 obtainable), and then, by a process of approximation, determining other words.<sup>6</sup>

Of the third sort of cipher mentioned the principal example come upon is that used by C. W. F. Dumas. It is evidently this code that

<sup>2</sup> See however the *Letters of William Lee* (ed. Ford), II. 417, 666; also the letter of Jay to Morris mentioned in note 6 below.

<sup>3</sup> In a letter of June 3, 1776, to the committee of secret correspondence, Arthur Lee proposed the use of a dictionary for cipher correspondence. (See Force, *Am. Arch.*, 4th ser., VI. 686, and Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, II. 95.) The original of the paragraph concerning the cipher, written upon the fly-leaf of a small book and bearing an endorsement by James Lovell, is preserved in the Bureau of Rolls and Library (Pap. Cont. Cong., no. 83, I. 21).

<sup>4</sup> Arthur Lee sent a copy of the book to his brother, Richard Henry Lee, in the autumn of 1777. See his letter of November 25, 1777, *Life of Arthur Lee*, II. 117. In this work the *b* of these ciphers is usually printed as 6. Concerning this and other ciphers used by William Lee, see an editorial note in the *Letters of William Lee*, II. 417, and *passim*.

<sup>5</sup> There could be no question, for instance, that 115 *b* xxxviii stood for "Deane".

<sup>6</sup> Instances of a different method of employing a dictionary cipher are found in letters of William Carmichael and John Jay in 1780 and 1781, and in a few letters of Jefferson and Madison in January and February, 1783. In a letter to Robert Morris, November 19, 1780 (N. Y. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, Revolutionary Papers, I. 451), Jay suggests the use of Entick's dictionary paged backwards, to be supplemented by the use of a transposed alphabet.

is found in the Franklin Papers in the American Philosophical Society.<sup>7</sup> The key is a long passage in French running to 682 letters, numbered consecutively. In such a cipher each letter has several numbers corresponding to it, which may be used indifferently.<sup>8</sup>

The fourth form of cipher is made by taking a key-word and constructing columns of alphabets beginning with the letters of the word in the order of their occurrence and numbered from 1 to 26 or 27 (when 27 letters are used the character & follows Z). In writing in this cipher the letters are sought in the columns successively and the corresponding numbers are used. This form of cipher seems to have been introduced by James Lovell when he was a member of the Committee of Foreign Affairs, and was used by him in letters to John Adams, Mrs. Abigail Adams, and others.<sup>9</sup> Livingston, when he became secretary for foreign affairs, used the same cipher in his first correspondence with Adams,<sup>10</sup> and Jefferson used such a cipher in some earlier correspondence with William Short.<sup>11</sup>

The most noteworthy series of letters in a cipher of this sort were written by Madison to Edmund Randolph in the summer and autumn of 1782.<sup>12</sup> These letters have never hitherto been deciphered. In fact Randolph himself was never able to decipher them, owing partly, no doubt, to certain errors which Madison made in writing the cipher. Although these errors occasioned some difficulties the solution was accomplished through the successful guessing of the

<sup>7</sup> Franklin Papers, L (i), 24. There is another cipher code in the same collection of Franklin Papers (LXI. 1), which consists merely of a collection of words alphabetically arranged and numbered.

<sup>8</sup> A cipher similar to that of Dumas was proposed to Franklin by Barbé Dubourg, June 10, 1776. See Force, *Am. Arch.*, 4th ser., VI. 782.

<sup>9</sup> Letters in which it is used are found in the Adams Manuscripts, June to December, 1781. The key, as suggested by Lovell, was "the first sixth part of that family name where you and I spent our last Evening with your Lady before we sat out on our Journey hither." The key turns out to be "C R". The name was probably Cranch. A letter from Lovell to General Gates, March 1, 1779 (N. Y. Hist. Soc., Gates Papers), uses the key-word "James".

<sup>10</sup> It seems however that Adams did not quite understand the cipher. See Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, V. 73, 192, 459.

<sup>11</sup> See *Southern Bivouac*, new series, II. 425. The alphabetical table used by Jefferson, with the key-word "Nicholas", is given, *ibid.*, II. 427.

<sup>12</sup> Some of Madison's letters to Randolph at this time were written in the type of cipher next described, others partly in the one and partly in the other. Randolph himself had suggested that they use "the cypher which we were taught by Mr. Lovell. Let the keyword be the name of the negro boy who used to wait on our common friend Mr. Jas. Madison." In a foot-note to the letter Madison says: "probably *Cupid*". Randolph to Madison, July 5, 1782, Library of Congress, Ac. 1081.

cipher for "commission", from which the alphabetical table was reconstructed.<sup>13</sup>

It was the fifth type of cipher that came to be most generally employed. Such a cipher might consist of only a comparatively few numbers for persons, places, etc., or it might run to hundreds of items. While some ciphers of this type were sent abroad by Charles Thomson and Robert Morris in 1780 and 1781, not many examples of its use have been found prior to the autumn of 1781, when Robert R. Livingston became secretary for foreign affairs, after which individuals of the type were rapidly multiplied both for public and for private use. Livingston had some forms printed, having on one side of the sheet the numbers from 1 to 1700, on the other the alphabetical list of words, syllables, etc. These forms were a convenient basis on which correspondents could prepare their identical codes.<sup>14</sup>

The earliest of these numerical codes which the writer has come upon is that used by the Virginia delegates to Congress in 1782 in their official correspondence with the governor. It is not on a printed form and runs to only 846 numbers.<sup>15</sup> Madison and Randolph used this code to a considerable extent in their private correspondence also in that year.<sup>16</sup> The several ciphers used by Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe from 1783 on require some explication. In January and February, 1783, Jefferson and Madison used a dictionary cipher.<sup>17</sup> From April, 1783, to May, 1785, they used a numerical cipher, the key to which has not been found. Of some of these letters however there is a decipherment or translation (they are chiefly Madison's), and from these a code has been reconstructed

<sup>13</sup> Madison's foot-note giving the key (see note 12, above) was found subsequently.

<sup>14</sup> A good many ciphered passages in the diplomatic correspondence of the period remain undeciphered. In particular may be mentioned the letters of Livingston to Jay from November 1, 1781, to April 16, 1782. See Wharton, *Rev. Dipl. Corr.*, IV. 716, 814; V. 29, 44, 144, 149, 150, 374, 404. Livingston's letter of April 16, almost wholly in cipher, has not been printed. It is in the Bureau of Rolls and Library, Pap. Cont. Cong., no. 79, vol. I.

<sup>15</sup> The code is found among the Executive Papers in Richmond.

<sup>16</sup> See *ante*, note 12. Beginning with Madison's letter of December 30, 1782, they adopted a new code of the same kind.

<sup>17</sup> Only a limited effort has been made to identify the dictionary used, but by the process of approximation used in the case of the Lee correspondence the undeciphered ciphers may, with at least a high degree of probability, be solved. For instance, in Jefferson's *Writings* (ed. Ford), III. 310, a word is "lacking". The cipher is 369.9 and doubtless means "frivolous".

by which the others have been deciphered.<sup>18</sup> In the same period Monroe used in a few letters to Madison a numerical code of very limited extent, of which most of the ciphers used are interpreted in the texts of the letters. From May, 1785, to May, 1786, however, Madison and Monroe used a cipher for which no code has been found. In this case also it has been possible, by means of such decipherments as exist, to decipher (with the possible exception of occasional words) those letters for which there is no translation. The correspondence of Jefferson and Monroe from May, 1784, to March, 1785, offers some difficulties, but as the codes by which these letters were written are in existence<sup>19</sup> a careful attention to the several explanations of the writers enables one to overcome these difficulties. In the spring of 1785 Jefferson prepared a new and more extensive code on the printed forms referred to above, which was thenceforward used in his correspondence with both Madison and Monroe and in theirs with him.<sup>20</sup>

One incidental discovery, although somewhat afield from this particular investigation, deserves nevertheless to be recorded here. A short while ago a professor in a western university sent to the Department of Historical Research a body of letters from President Jackson to a diplomatic agent, of the year 1832, written in cipher, and asked whether some means might not be found of deciphering them. The department happened to have a cipher code, constructed on one of the printed forms heretofore referred to, found among the Monroe Papers in the New York Public Library, without date, and merely endorsed: "Mr. Monroe's cypher". It was found upon

<sup>18</sup> In the *Writings of Jefferson* (ed. Ford) some attempts toward decipherment have been made, but with indifferent success. Not to speak of erroneous renderings of ciphers, some mistaken editorial interpretations call for correction. A foot-note to Jefferson's letter to Madison, March 18, 1785 (*Writings*, IV. 35), suggests that the paragraph relates to Patrick Henry. Jefferson is actually speaking of Lafayette. In his letter of August 11, 1793 (VI. 367), he says: "Just as I had finished so far, 812.15 called on me." A foot-note says: "Edmund Randolph". The cipher means, "the President", that is, Washington. In the letter of April 25, 1784 (III. 470) several wrong renderings give quite erroneous suggestions.

<sup>19</sup> In the Jefferson Papers, 2d ser., vol. LVII., fol. 17a, are three codes, one marked "1st cypher", another "2d cypher", and a third endorsed: "Cypher sent in Col. Monroe's Ire of April 12, 1785". In fact, the latter is a copy of a cipher sent to Jefferson by Monroe July 20, 1784. At the same place is found the alphabetical part of the "2d cypher".

<sup>20</sup> One copy of this code is in the Jefferson Papers, 5th ser., vol. XI., fol. 35, and another in the Monroe Papers, vol. XXII., fol. 2926. See Jefferson to Monroe, March 18, 1785, and to Madison, May 11. Jefferson was still using this cipher with Madison in 1793.

test that the Jackson letters were written in this code. It was further discovered that the same code was used by James A. Bayard when he was one of the commissioners for negotiating the Treaty of Ghent. It has since been learned that Monroe used this code in 1805 when he was minister to England. It was evidently therefore an official cipher.

EDMUND C. BURNETT.

THE EARL OF CARLISLE AND THE BOARD OF TRADE, 1779

IN November, 1779, the office of president of the Board of Trade and Plantations, which had been absorbed in the secretaryship of state for America in July, 1768, was revived, and the close connection which had existed between the Board and the American department for eleven years was destroyed. This was not an illogical step: the American war had destroyed the larger part of the *plantation* business of the Board, and its activities were now centred on *trade*, especially the African trade; the Secretary of State for America, on the other hand, had become primarily a war secretary, directing the British campaign against the rebellious colonists. The reasons, therefore, which had operated to make the Board of Trade an annex to the American department were no longer valid. It is the purpose of this note, however, to show that it was not on grounds of logical organization and efficient administration that the office of First Lord Commissioner for Trade and Plantations was re-established.

From the time of the first commission to the Board of Trade in 1696 until July, 1768, the great officers of state were named as members, but were excused from attendance at Board meetings; eight others, not holding any of the principal offices, were also named, and these eight constituted the working Board. The one first named was looked upon as president or First Lord and received a salary larger than that of his seven colleagues. In July, 1768, a new commission was issued in the same form as before, except that (1) a new great office, a secretaryship for America, had been evolved from the secretariat, and the Earl of Hillsborough, secretary of state for America since the creation of this new department in January, was named as a member of the Board along with the other principal officers; (2) seven rather than eight men were named as the active Board; (3) the usual clause excusing the principal officers from attendance was not extended to Hillsborough, who was expressly

ordered to attend Board meetings. The president of the Board had been Robert Nugent, later Viscount Clare; it was his name that was left out of the new commission, without, it would appear, due notice having been given him of his official decapitation.<sup>1</sup> Hillsborough thereupon took his seat at the head of the Board July 14, 1768,<sup>2</sup> and his successors, the Earl of Dartmouth and Lord George Germain, continued so to act until 1779. That the secretary for America was the official successor of the First Lord and a *bona fide* member of the Board was questioned but once during this period, but the decision was clear and definitive.<sup>3</sup>

By the summer of 1779 the plan to remove Germain from the Board was well under way, and he had lost, as well, the support of the king. He was, in fact, growing weary of attendance in the House of Commons and wished to obtain a peerage. To North's proposal on this head the king replied that "It would be an endless repetition to state my objections to decorating Lord Geo. Germain with a Peerage; he has not been of use in his department, and nothing but the most meritorious services could have wiped off his former misfortunes."<sup>4</sup> In spite of this poor opinion of Germain's abilities and in spite of his constant complaint of not being consulted on matters affecting his department, both the king and North were anxious that he should retain the American seals. The immediate cause of his removal from the Board, however, was not concerned with the personal fortunes of Lord George, except in so far as North and the king did not feel it necessary to court his favor. It had to do rather with the problems that beset Mariner North, whose crew was mutinous and whose ship was foundering.

Without obscuring the main point it is not possible, nor is it necessary, to take up the details of the political complexities of the year 1779. Suffice it to say that in the early spring Lord Suffolk, secretary of state for the Southern Department, threatened to resign; the remnant of the Bedford party, headed by Gower, lord president, and Weymouth, secretary of state for the Northern Department, were discontented; Wedderburn, as always, was deep in intrigue.<sup>5</sup> A new danger arose, in addition, in the person of Lord Carlisle,

<sup>1</sup> Smyth, *The Life and Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, V. 148, Franklin to Galloway, July 2, 1768.

<sup>2</sup> Journal, Board of Trade, LXXV., minute under July 14.

<sup>3</sup> In a matter of the nominating of clerks. Journal, Board of Trade, LXXXVI. 139.

<sup>4</sup> Donne, *The Correspondence of George III. with Lord North*, II. 256, June 15, 1779.

<sup>5</sup> On Wedderburn, British Museum, Add. MSS. 37384, f. 74, Robinson to George III., May 11, 1779.

lately returned from America, whither he had gone as one of the three commissioners bearing a sprig of olive to the rebellious colonists. Now out of a job, he was restless, and North was worried lest he declare war on the government.<sup>6</sup> Carlisle, moreover, was the son-in-law of Gower, and as early as 1775 Gower had promised to use his influence to obtain for Carlisle a place that would be agreeable to him.<sup>7</sup> This relationship between Gower and Carlisle, which was both personal and political, furnishes the key to our problem.

With the ministry in this unsettled state, the king was naturally anxious and distraught. He deplored the policy of drift pursued by North and unbosomed his discontent to John Robinson, secretary to the treasury, and thus secretary to North, famous for his manipulation of the secret service money in the great cause of parliamentary corruption and control. He especially deplored the fact that North was constantly lacking in civility to Gower, who was to be placated at all costs.<sup>8</sup> Not only did the king urge Robinson to prevail upon North to modify his attitude toward Gower, he also put the question directly to North and even indicated the method of approach. The resulting action may best be followed in the correspondence of the king, Robinson, North, and Germain.

In April the resignation of Suffolk seemed imminent, and Lord Hillsborough was proposed as his successor; this was acceptable to the king, "but before Lord North arranges this", he wrote to North, "he must somehow see Lord Carlisle is not offended. I fear Lord North's language to him will give rise to this, unless he is somehow satisfied; and the disobliging Lord Gower ought certainly to be avoided. By this I do not mean that Lord Carlisle ought to be Secretary in preference to Lord Hillsborough, but that a[n] office of business of a secondary kind ought to be found for him."<sup>9</sup>

Suffolk's death took place before his resignation, but no immediate step was taken to fill his place, Weymouth taking charge of both the Northern and Southern departments. Hillsborough was still the favored candidate, but Lord North's "frequent changes of opinion . . . stop all business", wrote the king to Robinson.

I told Lord North [he continued] that Lord Gower will certainly resign if Lord Hillsborough gets the Seals unless some provision is

<sup>6</sup> Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 34416, f. 264 and following; correspondence between North and Eden, February 10-14, 1779. Hist. MSS. Comm., *Report XV*, Appendix, part VI., *Carlisle MSS.*, p. 419, North to Carlisle, February 14, 1779.

<sup>7</sup> Hist. MSS. Comm., *Carlisle MSS.*, p. 303, Gower to Carlisle, November 25, 1775.

<sup>8</sup> Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 37284, ff. 93-170 *passim*.

<sup>9</sup> Donne, *op. cit.*, II. 244, April 6, 1779.



made for Lord Carlisle. Lord North then reverted to separating the First Lord of Trade from the Seals, but Lord George Germain will certainly never consent to that. . . . Lord North, if he will take a decided part, is sure of my support and consequently may easily bring things into tone: but I fear his irresolution is only equalled by a certain vanity of wanting to ape the Prime Minister without any of the requisite qualities; if he will take a clear line and get as vacancies occur the properest men the circumstances will permit and content himself with being acquainted with whatever is going forward and confine himself to the finance branch, he may still be a very useful minister and may gain real reputation, but he must fill up the vacant offices and get the Irish affairs into some trim.<sup>10</sup>

The necessity of forming as "strong a system of administration as we can against the ensuing session of Parliament" and of giving "at the same time every satisfaction possible to Lord Gower and his friends"<sup>11</sup> moved North to approach Germain, but not before the king had read and modified his letter.<sup>12</sup>

No system can, in my opinion, be firm and desirable [wrote North to Germain] which leaves uneasiness in the minds of any part of the ministry. I believe that Lord Gower has it in mind to introduce Lord Carlisle into public business, and no way of doing it seems to me so proper and convenient as the separation of the Board of Trade from the American Seals, and the appointment of Lord Carlisle to be First Commissioner of Trade.

The successful issue of this business depended on the good will of Germain, "whose emolument, credit, power, or dignity" would in no wise be diminished, while government would be strengthened.<sup>13</sup> Lord George professed no surprise at this suggestion, knowing that "it had been thought upon many months ago by those who have the honour of being consulted by you". (A nasty fling!) He was willing, however, to submit to His Majesty's pleasure, degrading though it might be, but he would prefer to retire entirely and fully to gratify Lord Gower and Lord Carlisle by allowing Lord Carlisle to have the "Seals with the Board of Trade".<sup>14</sup> This letter was shown to the king, who wrote North:

I would advise that, after mentioning my approbation of Lord George's conduct on this occasion, yet that I differ with him in opinion as its being a degrading of his office; that I look upon it as very differ-

<sup>10</sup> Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 37384, f. 133, August 13, 1779.

<sup>11</sup> Hist. MSS. Comm., *Report IX.*, Appendix, part III., Stopford-Sackville MSS., p. 97, North to Germain, September 10, 1779; also in *Report on the Stopford-Sackville Manuscripts* (1910), II. 138.

<sup>12</sup> Donne, *op. cit.*, II. 282, king to North, September 10, 1779.

<sup>13</sup> See note 11.

<sup>14</sup> Stopford-Sackville MSS., *loc. cit.*, Germain to North, September 13, 1779.

ent, it placing him in every respect on the same line as the two antient Secretaries, and that it will place Lord Carlisle in an executive office, not one of direction of measures, (in) which it might not have been right to place the signer of the proclamation of last year as far as regards America.<sup>15</sup>

North followed this line in a letter to Germain, whereupon Lord George asked only that the king grant him an interview.<sup>16</sup>

Negotiations were prolonged for some weeks longer: Sandwich was worried as late as October 16 because North had gone out of town without writing to Carlisle,<sup>17</sup> but on October 19 North sent a letter to Carlisle through Robinson, as well as one to Gower to be sent at Robinson's discretion.<sup>18</sup> By October 27 the affair was settled. "I am glad to find by Lord North's note", wrote the king to Robinson, "that Lord Carlisle has accepted the office of First Lord of Trade." But the underlying reason for his appointment was not forgotten; the king continued, "Am I by the step Lord Carlisle takes to expect any change in the sentiments of Lord Gower?"<sup>19</sup> To make the office more attractive and to win the more active support of Carlisle and Gower, the salary which Carlisle received was double that of previous first lords, £2000 rather than £1000.<sup>20</sup> The new commission was dated November 15; it provided once more for eight members other than the great officers, and in the clause excusing the great officers from attendance the secretary for the American Department was included.<sup>21</sup> The Earl of Carlisle took his seat at the Board on November 17,<sup>22</sup> but he was soon made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, being succeeded at the Board by Lord Grant-ham. The separation of the Board from the American department continued until 1782, when both were abolished.

The whole episode is no less instructive than interesting. North and his royal master were grasping at straws which might carry them "well through our [their] embarrassed situation". Policy was subservient to politics, administration to jobbery. The grand strategy underlying the removal of the American secretary from the Board of Trade and the re-establishment of the office of First

<sup>15</sup> Donne, *op. cit.*, II. 283, September 27, 1779.

<sup>16</sup> Stopford-Sackville MSS., *loc. cit.*, p. 98, North to Germain, September 29, 1779; Germain to North, October 1, 1779.

<sup>17</sup> Hist. MSS. Comm., *Report X.*, Appendix, part VI., *Abergavenny MSS.*, p. 26, Sandwich to Robinson, October 16, 1779.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27, North to Robinson, October 19, 1779.

<sup>19</sup> Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 37384, f. 170, king to Robinson, October 27.

<sup>20</sup> C. O. 389: 39, p. 137.

<sup>21</sup> Patent Roll 3777, 20 George III., part 1, mem. 17.

<sup>22</sup> Journal, Board of Trade, LXXXVII. 225.

Lord, the object of which was to gain the continuance of Gower's support by giving his son-in-law a lucrative office, failed; Gower would not consent to remain in office and, along with Weymouth, resigned in November. The ministry of Lord North was breaking up: this was but a prelude to his own resignation and to the failure of personal royal government.

ARTHUR HERBERT BASYE.

## DOCUMENTS

### *The Senate Debate on the Breckinridge Bill for the Government of Louisiana, 1804*

SOON after the ratification of the treaty by which Louisiana was acquired from France, steps were taken to provide a government for that territory. The request of Jefferson that Congress make "such temporary provisions for the preservation, in the meanwhile, of order and tranquillity in the country, as the case may require",<sup>1</sup> led to the passage of a bill, which became law October 31, 1803, placing the administration of the territory, until further action by Congress, in the hands of the President.

This was recognized to be a temporary measure. On December 30, 1803, Breckinridge, from a committee appointed to draw up a scheme for the territorial government of Louisiana, reported the bill which bears his name. By this bill the territory was divided into two parts, that north of the thirty-third parallel to be called "Louisiana", and connected, for purposes of government, with the Territory of Indiana. The name "Territory of Orleans" was applied to the southern area. For this region the bill provided a governor, appointed by the President for a term of three years; a secretary, similarly appointed, for four years; and a legislative council of thirteen members, appointed annually by the President. The governor was given power to convene and prorogue the council at will. The judicial officers were to be appointed by the President for a term of four years. The right of trial by jury was granted in capital cases in criminal prosecutions; and in all cases, criminal and civil, in the superior court, if either party required it. The slave-trade was restricted to slaves from states of the Union, carried into the territory by American citizens going there to settle, and being at the time *bona fide* owners of such slaves. Slaves imported from abroad, and those imported since May 1, 1798, were barred.<sup>2</sup>

Discussing the Breckinridge Bill, Henry Adams says, "The debate which followed its introduction into the Senate was not reported. . . . Few gaps in the parliamentary history of the Union left

<sup>1</sup> Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, I. 363.

<sup>2</sup> Act approved March 26, 1804. *Statutes at Large*, II. 283.

so serious a want as was caused by the failure to report the Senate debate on this bill; but the report of the House debate partly supplied the loss, for the bill became there a target for attack from every quarter."<sup>3</sup>

This statement has been generally accepted. A rather full report of this debate does however exist, although up to this time it has not appeared in print. It is to be found in a private journal kept by Senator William Plumer of New Hampshire. On May 2, 1805, Plumer wrote:

At the last two sessions of Congress I noted several facts as they occurred, and stated my opinion on several subjects. Should I attend another session I intend to pursue the same course. It will be a mean of preserving facts and opinions, which with the changes and revolution of time and parties are rapidly hastening to oblivion. . . . I write not for posterity—not for others but for myself only. I write in much haste—the facts are correct—but not the style.

The resolution here made was carried out and a record of events from May 2, 1805, to April 21, 1807, followed. The first volume of Plumer's manuscript journal is called: "Memorandum of the proceedings of Congress, Particularly of the Senate, from October 17, 1803, to March 27, 1804." It and the later one mentioned above are in the Library of Congress; it was acquired in the year 1912-1913. According to Plumer's own statement, there was another for the session of Congress from November, 1804, to March, 1805. This was found in the State Library of New Hampshire, thus completing the record of the four sessions of the Senate from October, 1803, to April, 1807.

The first of these volumes contains the report of the debate in the Senate on the Breckinridge Bill. Curiously enough, when this bill was part of the day's procedure in the Senate, Plumer reported little else. There are a few days on which he does not mention the Louisiana affair, but, in the main, the principal points were well covered. This was particularly true of the question of allowing the Territory of Orleans a delegate in Congress, and of the importation of slaves into that territory. What Plumer himself thought of these matters must be gleaned from the record of the ayes and noes, and from occasional letters, for he rarely took part in debates of any sort.

The newspapers of the day contain little information of the debate in the Senate on the Breckinridge Bill. One exception must be

<sup>3</sup> *History of the United States*, II, 122-123. See also F. A. Ogg, *The Opening of the Mississippi*, p. 571, and C. M. Geer, *The Louisiana Purchase*, p. 242.

made. In the *Aurora* of January 27, 1804, is a rather extended summary, sent from Washington, of the debate of January 23. This is all the more important as Plumer has no mention of the Louisiana discussion in his entry of that date. A careful search through the files of other leading newspapers failed to discover any more such reports.<sup>4</sup>

William Plumer, junior, in his *Life of William Plumer* does not discuss this particular debate. One short quotation from a speech of Senator Hillhouse, delivered January 26, is found (p. 284). With regard to the Senate debates in general, the younger Plumer's attitude is that they "belong to the history of the country rather than of the individual, and are therefore not mentioned here".<sup>5</sup>

Seemingly the only known extensive record of the important Senate debate on the bill providing for the government of the newly acquired territory, Plumer's journal is a valuable one. Only the entries which have a direct bearing on this question are here given. The first entry is for January 16, the last February 18, when the bill passed the Senate.

EVERETT S. BROWN.

1804, Monday, Jany. 16th.

*The bill erecting Louisiana into two territories.*

*Mr. Worthington.*<sup>6</sup> Moved to amend the 4th section so as that the Legislative Council should be authorized to elect a delegate to Congress with the right to debate but not vote.<sup>7</sup>

*Mr. Brackenridge.*<sup>8</sup> I approve of the motion—it will be the means of conveying useful knowledge to Congress.

*Mr. Saml. Smith.*<sup>9</sup> This is going as far as we can at present to satisfy the third article of the treaty.<sup>10</sup> This will be placing that country

<sup>4</sup> This statement does not refer to editorial comment on the text of the bill as passed, of which much was written; for example, see the *Boston Repertory*, March 6, 1804, a copy appearing in the *Massachusetts Spy*, Wednesday, March 14, 1804. The *Aurora* report is printed after Plumer's.

<sup>5</sup> Plumer, *Life of William Plumer*, pp. 338-339.

<sup>6</sup> Thomas Worthington, senator from Ohio.

<sup>7</sup> The fourth section of the bill was that providing as to the appointment and powers of the legislative council. It is quoted in the *Journal of the Senate* for this day (III. 340 of the reprint of 1821). It is in almost every particular identical with the fourth section of the act as finally passed. The act made no provision for a territorial delegate.

<sup>8</sup> John Breckinridge, senator from Kentucky.

<sup>9</sup> Samuel Smith, senator from Maryland.

<sup>10</sup> The third article of the Louisiana Treaty provided that the inhabitants of the ceded territory should be incorporated in the Union of the United States and admitted as soon as possible to the enjoyment of the privileges of citizenship, and that in the meantime they should be protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and religion.

on the same footing as the other territorial governments<sup>11</sup>—and from this delegate we shall derive much information.

*Mr. Dayton.*<sup>12</sup> I am opposed. The legislative Council itself will be better able by their memorials to represent the actual state and wants of that country than their agent.

*Mr. Jn. Smith.*<sup>13</sup> I think the amendment is necessary and important.

*Mr. Pickering.*<sup>14</sup> No man will undertake to say, Louisiana is incorporated into the Union, it is therefore absurd to admit a delegate from that country to debate in our national councils. That is a purchased province, and as such we must govern it.

*Mr. White.*<sup>15</sup> I cannot consider that territory as a part of the Union. The legislative council are to be created by the President, and shall they be vested with the power of choosing a delegate to Congress, and who will in fact be the representative of the President. 'Tis wrong.

*Mr. Jackson.*<sup>16</sup> I am opposed to the motion. The people of that country ought not to be represented in Congress. It is too soon.

*Mr. Anderson.*<sup>17</sup> If this amendment does not obtain, I must vote agt. the section. What, tax that people without their being represented!

*Mr. Worthington.* What danger can arise from this measure—the delegate can only debate not vote.

*Mr. Bradley.*<sup>18</sup> This delegate will be the representative of your President not of that people. I am surprised to find an advocate for such doctrine. Is the Executive to be represented in the other House? If he can have one delegate to represent him, why not fifty?

*Mr. Dayton.* The motion is unconstitutional. The constitution has provided only for the representation of States, and no man will pretend that Louisiana is a State. It is true by the confederation<sup>19</sup> provision was made for delegates from territories—and our constitution has provided that all contracts and engagements entered into before its adoption shall be valid (Art. 6th) but no man will have the hardihood to say that Louisiana was included in that engagement.

*Mr. Adams.*<sup>20</sup> I was pleased with this motion—but the objections arising from the Constitution, and from the Delegate's being the representative of the Executive and not of that people—compels me *reluctantly* to decide against it.

*Mr. Cocke.*<sup>21</sup> Gentlemen confound things—this man will not be a representative but a delegate. The government of Louisiana has been compared to other territorial governments, as Mississippi—but this is

<sup>11</sup> At this time there was statutory provision for delegates from the Mississippi and Indiana territories.

<sup>12</sup> Jonathan Dayton, senator from New Jersey.

<sup>13</sup> John Smith, senator from Ohio.

<sup>14</sup> Timothy Pickering, senator from Massachusetts.

<sup>15</sup> Samuel White, senator from Delaware.

<sup>16</sup> James Jackson, senator from Georgia.

<sup>17</sup> Joseph Anderson, senator from Tennessee.

<sup>18</sup> Stephen R. Bradley, senator from Vermont.

<sup>19</sup> Rather, by the ordinance for the government of the Northwest Territory, sect. 12.

<sup>20</sup> John Quincy Adams, senator from Massachusetts. Some account of the proceedings and debates upon this bill will be found in his *Memoirs*. I. 290-295.

<sup>21</sup> William Cocke, senator from Tennessee.

wrong. This is an original system, founded on new principles—it is unlike anything in Heaven, in earth or under it—we must therefore reason from itself and not compare it with others—for myself I admire it. What part of the Constitution shall we violate by this amendment—none. This delegate will not be a constitutional representative, the objection therefore is not solid. I know *that* people are ignorant, but ignorant people will always elect learned and wise men to represent them, they know the necessity of it. I love and venerate these people—they live in the west.

*Mr. Brackenridge.* This amendment is no infringement of the constitution. This officer will not be a representative, for he cannot vote—he will be a delegate, and can only deliberate. He will have no legislative power.

*Mr. S. Smith.* There is nothing in the constitution that precludes the senate from admitting delegates on this floor from the old territories and what is there that can restrain us from admitting Louisiana to send a delegate to the other House? There can be no danger that the delegate will mislead or impose upon the House.

The motion failed yeas 12 nays 18.

1804, Tuesday, Jany. 17th.

The motion to extend the trial by jury in all criminal prosecutions in that territory<sup>22</sup> was lost yeas 11, nays 16.

1804, Tuesday, 24th. Jany.

*The bill for the government of Louisiana.*

*Mr. Jackson.* The inhabitants of Louisiana are not citizens of the United States—they are now in a state of probation. They are too ignorant to elect a legislature<sup>23</sup>—they would consider jurors as a curse to them.

*Mr. McClay.*<sup>24</sup> Those people are men and capable of happiness—they ought to elect a legislature and have jurors.

*Mr. Saml Smith.* Those people are absolutely incapable of governing themselves, of electing their rulers or appointing jurors. As soon as they are capable and fit to enjoy liberty and a free government I shall be for giving it to them.

*Mr. Cocke.* The people of that country are free—let them have liberty and a free government. This bill I hope will not pass—it is tyrannical.

*Mr. Nicholas.*<sup>25</sup> I approve of the bill as it is. I am opposed to giving them the rights of election, or the power of having jurors. We ought not yet to give that people *self-government*. As soon as it is necessary I will give my assent to that Country's being admitted as a state into the Union.'

*Mr. Anderson.* Several gentlemen of the Senate, I am sorry to say it, appear to have no regard for the third article of the treaty—they

<sup>22</sup> The bill provided for trial by jury "in all cases which are capital"; the motion was to strike out the words "which are capital". *Journal*, III. 343-344.

<sup>23</sup> The amendment under discussion provided for popular election of the legislative council.

<sup>24</sup> Samuel Maclay, senator from Pennsylvania.

<sup>25</sup> William Cary Nicholas, senator from Virginia.



seem opposed to freedom. This bill has not a single feature of our government in it—it is a system of tyranny, destructive of elective rights. We are bound by treaty, and must give that people, a free elective government.

*Mr. Pickering.* That people are incapable of performing the duties or enjoying the blessings of a free government. They are too ignorant to elect suitable men.

*Mr. Jackson.*<sup>26</sup> Slaves must be admitted into that territory, it cannot be cultivated without them.

*Mr. Brackenridge.* I am against slavery. I hope the time is not far distant when not a slave will exist in this Union. I fear our slaves in the south will produce another St. Domingo.

*Mr. Franklin.*<sup>27</sup> I am wholly opposed to slavery.

*Mr. Dayton.* Slavery must be tolerated, it must be established in that country, or it can never be inhabited. White people cannot cultivate it—your men cannot bear the burning sun and the damp dews of that country—I have traversed a large portion of it. If you permit slaves to go there only from your States, you will soon find there the very worst species of slaves. The slave holders in the United States will collect and send into that country their slaves of the worst description.

*Mr. John Smith.* I know that country. I have spent considerable time there—white men can cultivate it. And if you introduce slaves from foreign Countries into that territory, they will soon become so numerous as to endanger the government and ruin that country. I wish slaves may be admitted there from the United States. I wish our negroes were scattered more equally, not only through the United States, but through our territories—that their power might be lost. I can never too much admire the deep policy of New England in excluding slavery. I thank god we have no slaves in Ohio.

*Mr. Franklin.* Slavery is in every respect an evil to the States in the south and in the west, it will, I fear, soon become a dreadful one—negro insurrections have already been frequent—they are alarming. Look in the laws of Virginia and North Carolina made for the purpose of guarding against and suppressing these rebellions, and you will learn our dangers,<sup>28</sup>

1804, Wednesday, Jany. 25.

*Bill for the government of Louisiana.  
Question relative to slavery.*

*Mr. Bradley.* I am in favor of extending slavery to that country, because it is a right they claim, and by the treaty we are bound to grant

<sup>26</sup> Comparison of the original bill, amendments, and amended bills preserved in the Senate files shows that the Senate at this point began the consideration of an amendment which extended to the new territory the act of February 28, 1803, forbidding importation of slaves into states which prohibited their importation.

<sup>27</sup> Jesse Franklin, senator from North Carolina.

<sup>28</sup> Here Senator Plumer gives a summary of a letter of Governor Claiborne, describing conditions in New Orleans, which the Senate at this point received from President Jefferson, covered by his brief message of this date, given in the *Journal* and in Richardson, I. 367.

it to them—but I think that in this bill we had better say nothing on that subject.

*Mr. Hillhouse.*<sup>29</sup> Negroes are rapidly increasing in this country—there increase for the ten years ending with the last census was near two hundred thousand. I consider slavery as a serious evil, and wish to check it wherever I have authority. Will not your slaves, even in the southern states, in case of a war, endanger the peace and security of those states? Encrease the number of slaves in Louisiana, they will in due time rebel—their numbers in the district of Orleans, are now equal to the whites<sup>30</sup>—why add fuel to this tinder box, which when it takes fire will assuredly extend to some of your states. Why encrease the evil at a distant part of your territory—which must necessarily require a standing army to protect it? If that country cannot be cultivated without slaves, it will instead of being a paradise prove a curse to this country, particularly to some of the states in its vicinity.

*Mr. Bradley.* I am in favor of establishing a form of a general, not particular, government—we ought not to descend to particulars. We are incompetent to that—they are too distant from us, and we are ignorant of their wants, their habits and manners. Congress is an improper body to make municipal laws—we have abundant proof of this in our legislation for this district in which we sit—our laws here are very imperfect and insufficient.

*Mr. Adams.* Slavery in a moral sense is an evil; but as connected with commerce it has important uses. The regulations offered to prevent slavery are insufficient, I shall therefore vote against them.

*Mr. Dayton.* I do not wonder at the sentiments of the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. Hillhouse), for he has been opposed to every thing that relates to Louisiana—he appears to me to wish to render this bill as bad as possible; but I am surprised that gentlemen who are friendly to that country, wish to prohibit slavery—it will barr the cultivation and improvement of that extensive territory. The lives of white people are shorter there than in any of our states, and the labour of slaves more necessary. An elective government and trial by jury would be a curse to that people; but slavery is essential to their existence.

*Mr. Hillhouse.* I do not understand the doctrine nor censures of the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. Dayton). The constitution is by him winked out of sight—that admits of a republican government and no other. We must apply the constitution to that people in all cases or in none. We must consider that country as being within the Union or without it—there is no alternative. I think myself they are not a part or parcel of the United States.

*Mr. John Smith.* I have traversed many of the settlements in that country. I know that white men labour there—they are capable of cultivating it. Slaves ought not to be permitted to set their feet there. Introduce slaves there, and they will rebel. That country is full of swamps—negroes can retire to them after they have slain their masters. This was in fact the case not eighteen years since—they rose, slew

<sup>29</sup> James Hillhouse, senator from Connecticut.

<sup>30</sup> Hillhouse probably meant the district consisting of the island of New Orleans with its immediate dependencies. In that case the numbers, according to the statistics which had been furnished by Jefferson (*American State Papers, Miscellaneous, I. 384*), were, 25,000 whites, 25,000 blacks.

many, and fled to the morasses.<sup>31</sup> Will you encrease there number, and lay the necessary foundation for the horrors of another St. Domingo? If slaves are admitted there, I fear, we shall have cause to lament the acquisition of that country—it will prove a curse.

*Mr. Jackson.* The treaty forbids this regulation. It will depreciate your lands there fifty per cent. I am a Rice-planter—my negroes tend three acres each per man—I never work them hard, they finish their stint by one or two o'clock, and then make three shillings per diem to themselves. I know that a white man cannot cultivate three acres of rice, and yet Georgia is not so warm as Louisiana. You cannot prevent slavery—neither laws moral or human can do it. Men will be governed by their interest, not the law. We must keep the third article of the treaty always in view.

*Mr. Anderson.* On the ground of the interest of the western states, the admission of slaves into Louisiana ought to be opposed—it will prove a curse to us. By the constitution slavery is criminal. All the States, except South Carolina, have passed laws against the importation of Slaves.<sup>32</sup>

*Mr. White.* I think it unfortunate that whenever this question is stirred, feelings should be excited that are calculated to lead us astray. I have entertained the hope that Congress would on all occasions avail themselves of every mean in their power to prevent this disgraceful traffick in *human flesh*. There is nothing in the treaty that guarantees to the people of that Country the *power*, I will not say *right*, of holding slaves. 'Tis our duty to prevent, as far as possible, the horrid evil of slavery—and thereby avoid the fate of St. Domingo. Nothing but the interposition of Heaven, an unusual thunder-storm, prevented the slaves, only two years since, from destroying Richmond in Virginia.<sup>33</sup> That, and other states are obliged annually to make many severe and expensive provisions to protect and guard the lives of the masters and their families against the violence of the slaves.

It is said that Louisiana cannot be cultivated by *white men*. May not this proceed from the very circumstance of their having slaves. Let white men be accustomed to the culture of that country, and they will, I believe, find they are able to bear the fatigue of it. We may by use, by long habit, be brought to bear heat and fatigue as well as blacks. We boast of liberty and yet in the very bosom of our Country, establish slavery by law. Examine the state of this Union. In the Eastern states where slavery is not suffered, their lands are highly cultivated—their buildings neat, useful and elegant—and the people are strong, powerful and wealthy. But as you travel south, the instant you arrive to where slavery is, you find the lands uncultivated, the building decaying and falling into ruins and the people poor, weak and feeble. This is not the effect of climate—for our southern climates are more favorable than the eastern and the northern.

*Mr. Bradley.* I am opposed to slavery in the eastern states; but the

<sup>31</sup> Possibly the reference is to the abortive attempt at insurrection in Pointe Coupée parish in 1795, eight years before.

<sup>32</sup> By successive enactments, from 1787 to 1803, South Carolina had, like the other states, forbidden the importation of slaves, but these laws had just been repealed, December 17, 1803, and the trade reopened.

<sup>33</sup> The reference is to Gabriel's Insurrection, September, 1800.

resolution under consideration admits the principle of slavery, and therefore I shall vote against it.

*Mr. White.* I shall vote for it not because I wholly approve of it, but because I think it as favorable toward people of colour as any thing we can now obtain.

*Mr. Saml Smith.* I am at a loss to know why the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Adams) has so often considered and declared himself as the exclusive advocate for constitutional rights. I am against this motion. The people of that country wish for African slaves, and we ought to let them have a supply—we have a constitutional right to prohibit slavery in that country, but I doubt as to the policy of it—I shall vote against the motion. We are bound to provide for the support of the clergy of that country.

*Mr. Hillhouse.* The gentleman from Vermont (Mr. Bradley) is opposed to slavery. To prove his opposition he declares he will vote against this resolution, which is designed to limit slavery to those who are in the country—and if he prevails in his opposition, the consequence will be that the people of Louisiana will have the liberty of importing slaves not only from the United States, *but also directly from Africa.* If that country cannot be cultivated without slaves, let slaves hold it—or let it remain a wilderness forever. Those are the real friends of liberty who extend it to others, as well as to themselves.

*Mr. Israel Smith.*<sup>34</sup> The provision proposed, is insufficient—it will rather encrease than prevent slavery. I am opposed to slavery but as Congress cannot prohibit it effectually till 1808—and as there are many slaves in Louisiana I think the change proposed will be too sudden—that it will operate as an encouragement to South Carolina to import slaves.<sup>35</sup> I am therefore opposed to doing anything upon the subject at the present.

No vote taken on the subject.

1804, Thursday, Jany. 26.

*Government of Louisiana—Slavery.*

*Mr. Hillhouse.* I have been accused of being unfriendly to this territory—and of having made the motion now under discussion not from a regard to that country or its inhabitants but to embarrass the measures of government. I was opposed to the ratification of the treaty, but as that is past, I am bound to act in relation to that country upon such principles as to me appear correct and calculated to promote the general interest of the Nation. And I hope I shall never find it necessary to adduce evidence to prove the sincerity of my disposition or the truth of my declaration. It has been said on this floor that I am an *Eastern-man*. I am so, but *while* I am the representative of a State which is *yet* a member of the *Union*, I hope I shall have as much influence as if I was a *southern man*, I did not expect *so soon* to hear on this floor the distinction of *eastern and northern, and southern, men*. Has it indeed come to this—are we to be designated by a *geographical* line!

The question was on the following motion, to wit.

“That it shall not be lawful for any person or persons, to import or

<sup>34</sup> Israel Smith, senator from Vermont.

<sup>35</sup> See note 32 above.

bring into the said territory, from any port or place without the limits of the United States, or to cause or procure to be so imported or brought, or knowingly to aid or assist in so importing or bringing, any slave or slaves; and every person so offending and being thereof convicted, before any court within the said territory, having competent jurisdiction, shall forfeit and pay, for each and every slave, so imported or brought the sum of . . . . . dollars, one moiety for the use of the United States, and the other moiety, for the use of the person or persons who shall sue for the same; and every slave so imported or brought, shall thereupon become entitled to and receive his or her freedom."

Note, This amendment was presented by Mr. Hillhouse.<sup>36</sup>

*Mr. Jackson.* Slavery must be established in that country or it must be abandoned. Without the aid of slaves neither coffee or cotton can be raised. My interest is to prevent slavery in that country, because that will prevent its settlement, and thereby raise the value of estates in Georgia—but my duty is in this opposed to my interest, and that of my State.

I think it would be for the real interest of the United States to have an end to slavery in this country; but we cannot get rid of them.

I am against the prohibition—let those people judge for themselves—the treaty is obligatory upon us.

I dislike the traffic in human flesh—but we must decide not on the morality but policy of the case.

The present time is an improper time to prohibit the importation of slaves into that country—our government is not yet established there.

Slaves in America are generally well fed clothed and taken care of—our interest obliges us to do it—they live better than if they were free—they are incapable of liberty.

*Mr. Dayton.* These very debates will encrease the *hopes* of slaves. You are about to prohibit African slaves from that country—and to admit the worst of slaves—such as the southern planters wish to sell:—I say admit slaves for slaves must cultivate Louisiana—white people cannot subsist there without them.

The faith of the nation, is by the treaty, pledged to that people, that their rights shall be secured to them—one of their rights is slavery.

It is of importance that we should raise our own sugar—that we can do if we have slaves.

*Mr. Bradley.* The prohibiting slaves in that territory from Africa, and admitting them from the States, will encrease, not lessen, slavery. Each State can till 1808 import slaves from Africa, and by this law the slave states may send their vicious slaves to Louisiana.

*Mr. Breckinridge.* I have no hesitation in saying, That the treaty does not in the smallest degree authorize that people to hold slaves—much less does it pledge the faith of the Union to support this unjust, unnatural traffic. When I look at the Census, I am alarmed at the encrease of slaves in the southern states. I consider slavery as an evil—and am for confining it within as small a compass as possible.

*Mr. Bradley.* I am against slavery—but this provision is insufficient, and I shall vote against it. If the States holding slaves, require it, I will go as far as they wish in abolishing slavery, for I am an enemy to

<sup>36</sup> This amendment of Hillhouse, preserved in manuscript in the Senate files, is that which appears in the printed *Journal*, III. 345.

it. But that time is not yet come—the public mind is not ready for it—and I think we had now better do nothing upon the subject.

*Mr. Samuel Smith.* I am sorry this proposition is brought before the Senate—I am against slavery—but I shall vote against this proposition—and I fear it will thereby appear that I am in favor of slavery. Yet let it be remembered, that although I am a slave holder, I declare I disapprove of slavery.

*Mr. Franklin.* My wish is to prohibit slaves altogether from that country, except those carried thither by actual settlers from the United States—but I despair of obtaining such a vote in Senate—I will vote for such a prohibition as I can obtain.

I have no objection to sending a frigate to Charlestown to prevent the landing of slaves from Africa imported by South Carolina—and *frittering those nefarious traders to pieces.*

*Mr. Jackson.* Gentlemen from the north and the east do not know that *white men* cannot indure the heat of a vertical sun—they cannot cultivate and raise a crop of rice—negroes are necessary for that country. It is as impossible to prevent the importation of them into that country as to move the sun into the moon. Human power and invention cannot prevent it. Within less than a year 10,000 slaves have against law been imported into South Carolina and Georgia.<sup>37</sup> 'Tis in vain to make laws upon this subject. Slaves directly from Africa are preferable to those who have been long in this country or even to those born here. I am sorry that the constitution of Georgia prohibits slavery.<sup>38</sup>

*Mr. Pickering.* When this subject was first brought up I was favorably inclined to the admission of slavery in that territory—but the discussion has convinced me that it will be bad policy indeed to admit slaves there—that it will entail upon their posterity a burthen they will be unable to bear or remove—and that slaves are unnecessary there—white people can cultivate it. I therefore approve of the resolution.

*Mr. Bradley.* This resolution supports slavery. I shall therefore vote against it, although it is bro't forward by those who wish to destroy slavery. The Constitution of Vermont declares all men free—I have sworn to support it, and I will.

*Mr. Israel Smith.* I am opposed to this resolution, because it will not prevent slavery—I am opposed to slavery; but I think no law can prevent or destroy it—the law will be useless and therefore I shall vote against it. If a law was made to prohibit the use of cyder in New England, where it is now used in every family, could you carry it into effect. This is the case of slaves in that country. We cannot till 1808 pass any effectual law against slavery. South Carolina has opened its ports for the importation of slaves from Africa, and this she has a *right* to do.

The people of Louisiana ought not to be subject to much change in government, laws, or habits at present. They are not yet bound to us

<sup>37</sup> See the statements of Lowndes of South Carolina and Mitchell of New York in the House debate of February 14, 1804. *Annals of Congress*, 8 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 992, 1000.

<sup>38</sup> The constitution of Georgia, 1798, art. IV., sect. 11, prohibited, not slavery, but the future importation of slaves into that state from Africa or any foreign place.

by any ties. This resolution will estrange them from us—it will oppress them. It cannot be carried into effect. It will give encouragement to the States in 1808 to resist any laws that we may then constitutionally make to abolish slavery. I therefore hope we shall *now* do nothing relative to slavery.

*Mr. Samuel Smith.* I wish I could prevent the taking of the yeas and nays when the Senate are sitting in Committee of the whole—I dislike it—it is absurd.<sup>39</sup>

*Mr. Jackson.* It is now more than half past three P.M. and I move for an adjournment. Refused. He then said, It is unfair for a majority thus to press the subject.

The question was then taken on the amendment (page 316.)<sup>40</sup> and prevailed, yeas 21 nays 6.

*Mr. Bradley.* As tomorrow is to be a day of festivity on account of the acquisition of Louisiana,<sup>41</sup> I move that the Senate adjourn to monday next.

Negatived.

After the Senate was adjourned, he said, with great passion that he would not on the morrow either attend the Senate or the feast. He kept his word.

*1804, Monday, Jany. 30.*

*Mr. Hillhouse* moved the following amendment, to the Louisiana bill.

“That no male person bro't into said territory of Louisiana, from any part of the United States, or territories thereof, or from any province or colony in America belonging to any foreign prince or state, after the . . . . . day of . . . . . next, ought or can be holden by law to serve for more than the term of one year, any person as a servant, slave, or apprentice, after he attains the age of 21 years; nor female in like manner, after she attains the age of 18 years, unless they are bound by their own voluntary act, after they arrive to such age, or bound by law for the payment of debts, damages, fines, or costs. *Provided*, that no person held to service or labor in either of the States or territories aforesaid, under the laws thereof, escaping into said territory of Louisiana, shall by anything contained herein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up in the manner prescribed by law.”<sup>42</sup>

*Mr. Hillhouse.* I am in favor of excluding slavery from that Country altogether. Every slave increases the necessity of a standing army. Every slave weakens the power of the militia. The *distance* from the States encreases the necessity of excluding slavery there.

*Mr. Bradley,* made a few observations in support of the amendment. It was rejected yeas 11, nays 17.

*Mr. Hillhouse* then offered the following amendment,

“That it shall not be lawful for any person or persons, to import or bring into the said territory, from any port or place within the limits of the United States, or cause to, or procure to be so imported or bro't, or knowingly to aid or assist in so importing or bringing, any slave or

<sup>39</sup> See J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, I. 292-293.

<sup>40</sup> Of the manuscript. Hillhouse's amendment, see note 36.

<sup>41</sup> J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, I. 293.

<sup>42</sup> *Journal*, III. 346-347.

slaves, which shall have been imported, since the day . . . . . into any port or place within the limits of the United States, from any port or place without the limits of the United States; and every person so offending and being thereof convicted, before any court within the said territory, having competent jurisdiction, shall forfeit and pay for each and every such slave, so imported or bro't, the sum of . . . . . dollars: one moiety for the use of the person or persons who shall sue for the same."<sup>43</sup>

*Mr. Hillhouse*, observed this was but a part of the system necessary to be adopted.

*Mr. Dayton*. South Carolina has now a constitutional right to import slaves from Africa—she is in the exercise of that right—and this amendment impairs it.

*Mr. Hillhouse*. It does, and justly.

*Mr. Jackson*. It is unfortunate that we have slaves; but having them we cannot with safety or policy free them. A very few *free negroes* in Louisiana would revolutionize that country. In Georgia we prohibit men from manumitting their slaves<sup>44</sup>—one free negro is more dangerous where there are slaves than a 100 slaves. I will join to *export* all the slaves.

*Mr. Hillhouse*. I believe slavery is a real evil; but I am sensible we must extinguish it by degrees. It will not do to attempt to manumit all the slaves at once. Such a measure would be attended with serious evils. These slaves are men—they have the passions and feelings of men. And I believe if we were slaves, we should not be more docile, more submissive, or virtuous than the negroes are.

*Mr. Nicholas*. Free men of colour have a very ill effect upon slaves—they do much more mischief than strangers conceive of.

*Mr. Adams*. The general complaint against gentlemen from the eastern States has been that they have discovered too much opposition to slavery. I am opposed to slavery; but I have in this bill voted against the provisions introduced to prohibit and lessen it. I have done this upon two principles, 1. That I am opposed to legislating at all for that country. 2. I think we are proceeding with too much haste on such an important question.

*Mr. Bradley*. I abhor slavery. I am opposed to it in every shape. *He that steals a man and sells him ought to die.*<sup>45</sup> I will on every occasion vote against slavery. I am very sorry the question is *now* called up. I have done every thing I could to prevent it—but since gentlemen, (and many of them from Slave States) will stir the question, I am prepared and will on all occasions vote against slavery.

The amendment was adopted, yeas 21. nays 7.

1804, Tuesday, Jany. 31.

*Bill relating to Louisiana.*

Motion to strike out the following words, from the amendment to the bill.

<sup>43</sup> The amendment presented at this time by Hillhouse (*Journal*, III. 347) embraces both this text and that which appears at the beginning of the next day's proceedings in this record, and of p. 353.

<sup>44</sup> A Georgia act of 1801 made manumission illegal unless accomplished by act of the legislature. Cobb, *Digest*, p. 983.

<sup>45</sup> Exodus xxi. 16.



“And no slave or slaves shall directly or indirectly be introduced into said territory, except by a person or persons removing into said territory for actual settlement, and being at the same time of such removal *bona fide* owner of such slave or slaves; and every slave imported or bro't into the said territory, contrary to the provisions of this act, shall thereupon be entitled to, and receive his or her freedom.”<sup>46</sup>

*Mr. Bradley.* I am opposed to this paragraph, because it admits the doctrine of slavery to be just—it is like a law regulating theft or any other crime, I shall therefore vote to expunge it. I really consider slavery as a moral evil—as a violation of the laws of God—of nature—of Vermont.

*Mr. Nicholas.* The gentleman from Vermont (Mr. Bradley) has surprised me by his extraordinary conduct—for several days he spoke and voted with his friends who advocated slavery—but yesterday and today he has avowed other sentiments and changed his vote. He is now become vociferous for emancipation. Is he apprehensive the restriction will prevail. Is he afraid of finding his name on the journal against the vote. Why this unaccountable change?

*Mr. Bradley.* I have not changed my sentiments. I was unwilling to have the question stirred. I was desirous of shutting my eyes against the subject—but since I am compelled to act, I will vote in favor of *liberty*.

*Mr. Jackson.* If this law with these amendments passes you destroy that country—you render it useless—you will excite alarms in the mind of Frenchmen—you will render a standing army necessary. I again say that country cannot be cultivated without slaves—it never will.

*Mr. John Smith.* I am willing to admit slaves into that country from the U. S., because slaves are already there, but I am unwilling to admit them from Africa. You cannot prevent slaves going there from the United States. I know this is an evil, but it is an evil they will have.

*Mr. Saml Smith.* When the prohibition of slavery was first introduced into this bill I was much alarmed. I foresaw it would take up time—that it would create alarm and even endanger the peace and security of these States holding slaves—especially when the subject is debated in the other House—and those debates published in Newspapers. God knows that I am not friendly to slavery, although I own slaves and live in a state where slavery is established by law. I am unwilling to think much less to speak on this subject. This bill if passed into a law cannot be carried into effect—the people of that country will not submit to it. It will render a standing army necessary. In the year 1808 we may then effectually legislate on the subject—the constitution will then admit of it, and our navy will then enable us to carry it into effect. American slaves carried to Louisiana will prove adders that will sting that people to the heart. The report of your debate in this Senate on this subject will reach that country in twelve days, and I fear will produce a rebellion—our troops there are few and feeble, and will be unable to prevent it.

*Mr. John Smith.* If the slaves now in the southern States continue to increase in 20 or 30 years those States will be compelled to call on the eastern and western states to aid them against their rebellious slaves.

<sup>46</sup> See note 43 above. The motion also provided a substitute with slight modifications. *Journal*, I. 348.

*Mr. Franklin.* We cannot wink this subject out of sight—if we leave it, it will follow us. We must make laws against slavery, unless we mean to aid the destruction of our southern States, by laying the foundation for another St. Domingo. Slavery is a dreadful evil—we *feel* it in North Carolina—we can emancipate. I am for restraining foreign importation, but to proceed no further.

*Mr. Brackenridge.* We can make laws to prevent slaves, and we can carry those laws into effect—if we cannot do this our power is too feeble to govern this nation. We must not despair—we must act. We are legislating for a great country—for an important section of the nation. In doing this I will not for a moment attend to its immediate effects, whether it will lessen or encrease sugar, or other articles. No Sir, I extend my views to posterity. It is of importance that our first acts of Legislation should be correct. Can it be right to extend and foister slavery into that country?

I think it good policy to permit slaves to be sent there from the United States. This will disperse and weaken that race—and free the southern states from a part of its black population, and of its danger. If you do not permit slaves from the United States to go there, you will thereby prohibit men of wealth from the southern States going to settle in that country.

It has been said by the gentleman from Vermont (Mr. Bradley) that *liberty cannot exist with slavery*. This is not correct—it exists in these states who have slaves. Our constitution recognizes *slavery*—it does more—it expressly *protects* it.

*Mr. Nicholas.* One State only, South Carolina, can now import Slaves—and that is a *right* derived not from Congress, but from the constitution—it is a mere temporary right. The people of Louisiana cannot therefore complain of partiality in Congress because we deny them the liberty of importing foreign slaves. It is no more than what we long since denied to the Mississippi and Ohio territories. We are now making a form of government for Louisiana, not establishing a common and ordinary law. I am for prohibiting the people of that country from importing slaves from foreign countries, and leave it optional with the government of Louisiana, when they have one, to prohibit it from the United States also, if they should think best.

*Mr. Adams.* I do not like either of the amendments that have been offered, but if I must vote for either it will be to retain the word moved to be struck out. If I must vote it will be in favor of liberty. The Constitution does not recognize *slavery*—it contains no such *word*—a great circumlocution of words is used merely to avoid the term *slaves*.

*Mr. Venable.*<sup>47</sup> I know the constitution does not contain the *word* slave—but it admits the *thing* and protects it—and Congress have uniformly acted accordingly.

The question for striking out was lost, yeas 13, nays 15.\*

\* It is obvious that the zeal displayed by the Senators from the Slave States, to prohibit the foreign importation of Slaves into Louisiana, proceeds from the motive to raise the price of their own slaves in the market—and to encrease the means of dispersing of those who are most turbulent and dangerous to them.

<sup>47</sup> Abraham B. Venable, senator from Virginia.

1804, Wednesday, Feby. 1.

Bill for the government of Louisiana.

It was moved by *Mr. Hillhouse* to amend it by adding the following,—

“And no slave or slaves shall directly or indirectly be introduced into the said territory, except by a citizen of the United States,<sup>48</sup> removing into said territory, for actual settlement, and being at the time of such removal *bona fide* owner of such slave or slaves; and every slave imported or brought into the said territory, contrary to the provisions of this act, shall thereupon be entitled to, and receive his or her freedom.”

*Mr. Jackson.* I move to postpone the further consideration of this amendment to September.

*Mr. Hillhouse.* This being an amendment to a bill it cannot be postponed unless the bill is postponed with it.

*The President.*<sup>49</sup> The motion is not in order—it cannot be recd.

*Mr. Wright.*<sup>50</sup> The owners of land in that country who do not live there ought to have liberty of sending their slaves to cultivate their own land but not to sell their slaves there.

It is wrong to reproach us with the *immorality of slavery*—that is a crime we must answer at the bar of God—we ought not therefore to answer it here—for it would be unjust that we should be punished twice for the same offence.

I am against admitting *foreign slaves*, because the State of Maryland has declared it *wrong*.<sup>51</sup>

*Mr. Jackson.* This amendment does not authorize foreigners who may go to settle in that country to carry their slaves with them, I am therefore on this ground opposed to the amendment. The great object we should have in view should be the settlement of that country. Our interest is to admit Englishmen there as soon and as fast as possible.

*Mr. Hillhouse.* I hope foreigners will not be permitted to settle in that distant country. It is seldom, that any but the *worst* of men leave their own to settle in a foreign country.

*Mr. Jackson.* I am not afraid of such evils. The *friends of liberty only will come*—let us encourage the settlement of that country as much as possible. It is dangerous to exclude foreigners. The very best of men will flee from Europe—for liberty exists only in this country. Bad men are afraid to come here—they are encouraged to stay at home. I trust the *present Congress are not apprehensive of having too many Jacobins in this country*. The government and the Congress were five years ago afraid of Jacobins—I hope we are not like them.

*Mr. Pickering.* I am very willing that foreigners should be admitted to settle in that country—for I believe before we purchased that we had territory in the United States sufficient for *us* and *our* posterity to the thousandth generation. I am willing that in Louisiana oppressed humanity should find an assylum, and that the patriots of no country

<sup>48</sup> The words which Plumer has underlined are the new matter, substituted for “person or persons”, as is shown by the amendments in the Senate files, as well as by the *Journal*.

<sup>49</sup> On January 23, Vice-President Burr being absent on account of illness, Senator John Brown of Kentucky had been chosen president of the Senate *pro tempore*.

<sup>50</sup> Robert Wright, senator from Maryland.

<sup>51</sup> Maryland act of 1796, c. 67.

should there find a country in which no restraints should be imposed upon them.

It was then moved to strike out of the amendment the words *citizen of the United States* and insert *person*.

The motion was lost yeas 13 nays 14.<sup>52</sup>

The question was then carried on the amendment, yeas 18, nays 11.

*Mr. Jackson.* If you establish a regular government there, you will destroy the western States, by the strong inducements you will hold out to people to settle Louisiana. The cession will prove a curse—why invite people to settle it now—it is too soon—50 or 100 years hence will be soon enough. By exposing these immense tracts of uncultivated lands to sale you will encourage bribery. I was offered half a million of acres to hold my tongue in the Georgia speculation. I had *virtue* to resist the temptation.<sup>53</sup>

The settlement of Louisiana will destroy the value of our lands. It will effect what I very much deprecate, a *seperation* of this Union.

How great, how powerful, was Spain before she acquired South America. Her wealth has debased and enervated her strength. If you establish a regular government in Louisiana, that will be settled—you cannot then prevent it—and if settled, such is the enterprizing spirit and avaricious disposition of Americans that they will then soon conquer South America, and the rich mines of that country will prove our ruin. A military government ought to be established in upper Louisiana—that would prevent settlement. I would pay those Americans who are now there for their lands if they would quit them.

*Mr. Cocke.* I am glad Georgia has one uncorrupt man, and I rejoice that he is a senator. I trust we have many such in the nation. I am ready to vote. The debate on this bill has been so long that I have already lost the benefit of much of it, for I have really forgotten it. I can throw no new light. I call for the question. We must give that people a rational government.

*Mr. Worthington.* The government contemplated by this bill is a military despotism, and I am surprised that it finds an advocate in this enlightened Senate. The gentleman from Georgia (Mr. Jackson) talks of a *seperation*—Sir, the *western states* will not *seperate* unless the *eastern States* by their conduct render it absolutely *necessary*.

1804, Thursday, Feby. 2nd.

*Government of Louisiana. Motion to strike out the 8th section of the bill.*<sup>54</sup>

*Mr. Hillhouse.* I am against the establishment of an arbitrary government in that country. It has been said it is best to establish such a government in that country as will prevent its settlement. I wish gentle-

<sup>52</sup> This motion does not appear in the *Journal*.

<sup>53</sup> In 1796 Jackson was the leader of the "Anti-Yazoo Party" in the Georgia house of representatives, having resigned his seat in the United States Senate in order to conduct the contest.

<sup>54</sup> The eighth section of the original bill, with slight modifications, is quoted in the *Journal*, III. 349. It relates to the government of the portion of the Louisiana cession north of the territory of Orleans, and provides for rule by a governor having the executive and judicial powers ("paramount powers" in the original bill) exercised by the former governors of the province.

men to consider, that by the treaty the rights of the inhabitants of that country are guaranteed to them. Look at documents now on your tables, by them it appears that much of those vacant or uncultivated lands are granted to Spaniards. And you must give to them such a government as they can live under, or you will not protect them in the enjoyment of their rights as you have by your treaty stipulated. You must give that people a practical government—not like our own, for they are unacquainted with it—a military government would be too arbitrary. I would not give them a trial by jury, because they are not used to it—but I would give them the liberty of having trials by jury whenever they are able to express their desire of it by their own legis[la]ture and to make laws regulating that mode of trial.

*Mr. John Smith.* The establishment of a military government is at war with the third article of the treaty—with the letter and spirit of your constitution—which knows no other government than that of republicanism. That country is now ours—and it will be utterly impossible, by any law you can pass, to prevent people from emigrating to and settling in that country. Reference is frequently made to the documents that the President has sent us respecting that country. Those documents are incorrect. I know of three large settlements in that country that are not even named in these papers. We know but little of that Country.

*Mr. Cocks.* Give that country a Jury. I know we can prevent its settlement. I would not give them a *good* government. I prefer a *bad* one to a good one *for them*—because a bad one will make them contented, they have been used to it. The only way to govern that country safely is to govern it justly. Let them have their old laws and ancient customs, except a trial by jury and that they *should have*. Too much wisdom is painful—it conjures up too many evils. I fear we are too wise to do good. Our way is plain, it is the old way—but I am really afraid we are fond of projects—novelties. Our fears are chimerical. We should be bold and resolute. Tell that people you shall have justice, but you shall obey the laws. I have taken up much of your time, but coming from the westward, I have frequently been urged to tell my opinion—no arbitrary—no military government will do—we must give them a free government. We talk too much of the ignorance of that people they know more than what you think they do—they are not so plagay ignorant.

*Mr. Jackson.* Rome flourished while she confined herself within proper bounds—but she extended her limits too far—when she gratified her insatiable thirst for lands—the northern hordes overwhelmed and destroyed her. I fear this will be our case in the *south*. I never wish to see our people go beyond the Mississippi. We ought not to give them such a government as will afford them protection in their settlements. If you permit the settlement of that country, you will depreciate the value of your public lands and destroy the western states. I know the President approves of this eight[h] section.

*Mr. Anderson.* This 8th. section is a military despotism—its unconstitutional—its opposed to the spirit and genius of our constitution. The only power we have to legislate for that country is derived from the constitution—and we must give them a republican government—we can give them no other.

There never existed on earth a free Republican Government untill the

present government of the United States.

This section establishes the former laws and government of Spain in that Country—and what those are we know not.

I know the settlement of Louisiana will materially injure Tennessee—it will injure all the western states—still we must give them a constitutional government. I am for preventing the settlement of that country by law, and I think our laws may be executed.

There is now about 8000 inhabitants in upper Louisiana—more than two thirds of them are Americans—most of them have emigrated from Virginia. They understand and will demand their rights.

If the President of the United States now approves of this 8th section—and should it be adopted, I will venture to say he will soon have cause to repent of it.

*Mr. Dayton.* I ask the gentleman (Mr. Anderson) where, and in what part of the Constitution does he find any authority to legislate for that Country. The constitution gives us no authority on the subject. We derive our power and right from the nature of government. That Country is a purchased territory and we may govern it as a conquered one.

A military government is the best and the only government you can prudently and safely establish in Upper Louisiana. A strong efficient government is essential. I hope we shall prevent the settlement of Upper Louisiana, not only for the present, but forever. If that country is settled, the people will separate from us—they will form a new empire—and become our enemies.

I believe we may induce the Indians on this side to remove to the other side of the Mississippi—and this will be a great and useful thing to us.<sup>55</sup>

This section of the bill is important and will I hope be retained.

*Mr. Wright.* I am in favor of the section. The constitution requires that the governments of States should be republican, but not so of territorial governments. The Territorial governments in this Country are not, or is it necessary they should be, republican—none of them have the power to elect representatives. To extend the trial by jury to that country would be a denial of Justice—they live too remote from each other to derive any benefit from it.

*Mr. Samuel Smith.* This 8th section embraces a country in which there are settlements 800 miles distant from each other. A governor and three Judges cannot regulate their affairs. This section of the bill is in principle republican—we ourselves are their Legislators and the Commandants are only our agents.

*Mr. Pickering.* I think we are in an error in applying the Constitution to that country—it does not extend there. But we are bound by the treaty to extend protection to the people of that country, and secure to them their rights and privileges. We must consider and govern them as a colony.

Laws will never be sufficient to prevent the settlement of that country. If people find their interest in settling it, your prohibitions will prove unavailing.

<sup>55</sup> See Miss Abel in *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association for 1906, I. 241–249. Sect. 9 of the original bill in Breckinridge's manuscript provides for exchange of land by Indian tribes.

*Mr. Brackenridge.* I do not feel any constitutional difficulty as to the form of government. I am for giving them such a system as to me appears best. The provisions contained in this 8th section are arbitrary. There is no legislative authority given to that people. I am opposed to the section.

*Mr. Nicholas.* I am glad the section gives no legislative authority—that country needs none. I am inimical to change. Do as little for that people as possible. Let them have and enjoy their old laws and customs.

*Mr. Wright.* I would have such a despotic government in the territory of Upper Louisiana as should absolutely prevent people from settling it. I would remove those who are now settled there, if I could—but at all events I would let no more go there.

*Mr. Cocke.* I will always give a good government when I can. I will not do evil merely because I have the power of doing so. The question.

The question was then taken and the 8th section was struck out—yeas 16. nays 9.

*See Journal of Senate p. 174.<sup>56</sup>*

1804, Friday, Feby. 3d.

*The bill for the government of Louisiana under consideration.<sup>57</sup>*

*Mr. Jackson.* I have high authority for saying it is the intention of our government to take effectual measures to induce all the Indians on this side of the Mississippi to exchange their lands for lands in upper Louisiana.<sup>58</sup> I think it a prudent and practicable measure—and that is one reason why I wish to prevent the establishment of a civil government in that territory. In the name of God have we not land enough for a settlement without this! I would buy up the title of those who have already gone there. The Indians would have gone there before this had not the Spaniards have prevented them. The Indian wars have cost us millions of dollars—and much blood. They are bad dangerous neighbors. There are already many Indians there—if you establish a civil government—if you permit settlers—you will find the expense of that government immense—it will render the purchase a curse.

*Mr. Worthington.* The Indiana Territory is as good soil and situation as Upper Louisiana. There has been settlers in the former for 100 years, and a civil government established for sometime—that government has not encreased settlers—and in *all* the Indiana Territory there are not now more 7000 souls.

*Mr. Nicholas.* I hope the Upper Louisiana will not for many, very many years, be admitted as a State or States—New Orleans, perhaps must soon be admitted as such.

*Mr. Jackson.* I move to annex Upper Louisiana to the Indiana Territory.

*Mr. Brackenridge.* I have little objections to this.

<sup>56</sup> Page 174 of the original edition; p. 349 of vol. III. of the reprint of 1821.

<sup>57</sup> Debate was apparently on an amendment not mentioned in the *Journal* but preserved in manuscript in the Senate files, giving Upper Louisiana a territorial government of the simplest form, with its own governor, secretary, and judges, and with legislative power vested in the governor and judges. This amendment is endorsed "Breckinridge".

<sup>58</sup> For Jefferson's course in this matter see Miss Abel, *loc. cit.*

*Mr. Hillhouse.* The government, laws, customs, manners and habits of the two countries are in direct opposition to each other. The regulations of the one cannot be established in the other. You cannot immediately effect such a change.

*Mr. Saml Smith.* I approve of the measure. It will lessen the number of offices and of course expence. I know it will estop slavery there, and to that I agree.

*Mr. Wright.* This is a new proposition, but I am in favor of it—it will lessen expence. I would unite the two territories governmentally but not territorially.

*Mr. Hillhouse.* Both of those Countries have seperate *rights*, and by this regulation you will impair them both. The ordinance establishing the Indiana Territory created certain rights which are vested in the inhabitants of that territory. The people in Louisiana have their *rights* and we have by treaty guaranteed to them the enjoyment of those rights. If these territories are united who will legislate for them—must they be governed by different laws. This union will make one of the territories a mere colony to the other.

*Mr. Wright.* They must be governed by different laws.

*Mr. John Smith.* I cannot wholly approve of the motion. I think there is weight in the argument of the gentleman from Connecticut (*Mr. Hillhouse*). But I will accord with the majority. I should be better pleased if a part of Upper Louisiana was annexed to the Mississippi Territory.

*Mr. Venable.* I approve of the principle, but wish it modified. It is not yet settled that Louisiana is a part of the United States. I would not therefore annex the two territories together; but I would extend the authority of the government of the Indiana territory to the territory of Upper Louisiana.

1804, Tuesday, Feby. 7th

*The bill for the government of Louisiana.*

The debate on this bill was principally confined to the question whether people of *colour* should be necessarily disqualified and excluded from serving on juries. Excluded. Democrats in general voted in favor of exclusion.

1804, Wednesday, Feby. 8th.

*Same Bill.*

The amendment to annex the upper Territory of Louisiana to Indiana, was withdrawn. *Mr. Nicholas* offered an amendment authorizing the officers of the Indiana Territory to govern the Upper District of Louisiana—and establishing the existing laws of Louisiana in that district.<sup>59</sup> Adopted. Act as amended ordered to be printed.

The democratic senators held a Caucus last evening in which they settled the principles of the bill—and agreed to the same in the Senate without any debate.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>59</sup> This amendment, in manuscript, is in the Senate files, and also appears in the bill as amended (and in the statute) as sect. 12.

<sup>60</sup> Some amendments offered on subsequent days appear in the *Journal*, but *Plumer* records no debates respecting them.



1804, Thursday, Feby. 16.

Louisiana bill. Salaries to the officers.

Governor Orleans

Mr. Jackson, Mr. Dayton	} reasoned in favor of \$8000 pr annum—7 only voted for it.
Mr. Saml Smith and Mr. Logan <sup>61</sup>	

Mr. Brackenridge and John Smith for \$6000. 12 voted for it.  
Mr. Olcott,<sup>62</sup> Franklin and Cocke for \$5000. 18 voted for it—  
carried.

The salary to the Secretary .....	\$2000
Three Judges each .....	2000
District Judge .....	2000
Attorney .....	600
Marshall .....	200

The members of the Legislative Council each to have four dollars  
pr diem while attending the Council.

In the course of this debate, Jackson and Samuel Smith observed  
“That the people must be governed more by pomp, parade and shew  
than by reason—that splendid retinue and armed men are more con-  
vincing than arguments.

1804, Friday, Feby. 17.

Louisiana bill.

Mr. Stone.<sup>63</sup> There are near 900,000 slaves in the U. S. and they  
are worth \$200,000,000. Slaves are property. The rights of property  
are by the Constitution guaranteed and why should the holders of this  
kind of property be prohibited from sending and selling their slaves in  
Louisiana?

Mr. McClay. That country was purchased to serve as an outlet for  
the U S.—to admit slaves there will defeat that object.

Mr. Jackson. It has been proposed to prohibit South Carolina from  
sending slaves into Louisiana, because she imports slaves from Africa.  
She has a right to do it. If you pass this prohibition you will offend  
that State—and I will venture to say very serious consequences will  
follow. I will speak plain—offend her and she will reject the amend-  
ment to the Constitution—and if she rejects it, it will never be ratified.

Some people laugh at the provision that the bill contains authorizing  
the President to make an exchange of lands in Louisiana with the  
Indians for their lands on this side of the Mississippi. Let me tell such,  
That this is a favorite measure of the President's—he has assured me  
so. He has, this week, informed me that sixteen of the Cherokee Chiefs  
have already agreed to pass over to Louisiana and relinquish their lands  
on this side of the Mississippi.

<sup>61</sup> George Logan, senator from Pennsylvania.  
<sup>62</sup> Simeon Olcott, senator from New Hampshire.  
<sup>63</sup> David Stone, senator from North Carolina.

1804, Saturday, Feby. 18th.

*Bill for the government of Louisiana.*

*Mr. Adams.* This bill is to establish a form of government for the extensive country of Louisiana. I have from the beginning been opposed to it—and I still am. It is forming a government for that people without their consent and against their will.

All power in a republican government is derived from the *people*. We sit here under their authority.

The people of that country have given no power or authority to us to legislate for them. The people of the United States could give us none, because they had none themselves. The treaty has given us none, for they were not parties to it—it was made without their knowledge. To pass this bill is an encroachment on their rights—its a commencement of assumed power—its establishing a precedent for after Congresses destructive of the essential principles of genuine liberty.

The first territorial ordinance under the Confederation was made by the then Congress without any legal authority—but the Constitution afterwards sanctioned it.

This bill contains arbitrary principles—principles repugnant to our Constitution. The legislative Council are to be appointed by the Governor, who is a creature of the President's—not elected by the people.

The judges are to legislate—make laws and expound them—this is of the essence of tyranny.

In the other territorial governments, even in the departure from liberty, there is a reverence for it—for it provides that when its inhabitants are increased to a certain number they shall elect a representative.

This bill provides that the officers shall be appointed by the President *alone* in the recess of the Senate—why this departure from the Constitution.

The Judicial officers are to be appointed for a term of years only, and yet the bill is not limited. The constitutional tenure for judicial officers *is during good behavior*.

The first thing Congress ought to have done in relation to that Country, should have been to propose an amendment to the Constitution, to the several States to authorize Congress to receive that Country into the Union—we ought to have applied to the inhabitants of Louisiana to recognize our right to govern them. This we ought to have done, and there is no doubt that the States and that territory would have given the authority before the next session.

The 3d article of the treaty pledges the faith of the Nation to the inhabitants of that country that we will protect their persons, religion property and rights; but we have taken no measures to ascertain there numbers, religion or rights.

We have not the necessary information to pass a law containing the great fundamental principles of government. We know little of that people or Country. In thus passing this bill we commit an act of practical tyranny.

The bill contains incongruous articles—establishment of courts—juries—numerous laws—prohibition of slavery etc. This is a Colonial system of government. It is the first the United States have established. It is a bad precedent—the U. S. in time will have many colonies—precedents are therefore important.

The governor's appointing and proroguing the Council is an act of tyranny.

'Tis too soon to extend the trial by jury to that Country. There are serious inconveniences attending this mode of trial—and those people have not laws, customs or habits to correct those evils. Extending juries to them in their present condition, will, I fear, excite opposition to the institution itself. There present mode of trial is *summary*—no jury—a single judge decides. Trial by jury and delay are synonymous—by introducing it you establish new principles. What is meant by *vicinage* in that country? In law books it has a definite and precise meaning—it is confined to a County. There you have no Counties. Is it to extend thro' the whole country. Will it not give too much power to the judge—and will it not be burthensome and even oppressive to compel people from distant parts of that extended world (for such I may call it) to attend Courts of law as grand and petit jurors! The District court is to sit once in three months, and the Supreme Court once every month—the call for jurors will therefore be frequent.

The governor and judges of the Indiana territory are to govern Louisiana—will they not govern it in an arbitrary manner,—will they not consider it as a colony to them?

The bill passed yeas 20 nays 5.

*Aurora, Friday, Jan'y 27, 1804.*

*From Washington*  
*Jan. 23, 1804*

The senate were this day engaged on the bill concerning the Louisiana government, upon which there had been considerable discussion before I arrived. The principal points of contention appear to be how much of the operative part of our political institutions they can carry into direct effect—and the mode by which the whole of their spirit and principles may be most effectually introduced. I heard general S. Smith, Mr. Venable, general Jackson, Mr. Maclay, Mr. Franklin, and Mr. Breckenridge only—and as I have not heard the whole I shall give you merely a hasty sketch of the immediate course and scope of the debate.

The discussion was upon a motion to strike out a part of what related to the legislative council—which it was urged ought to be chosen in the first instance by the governor from the most fit and respectable settlers of the different parts of the country, who should be capable of giving information as to its state, interests, wants, and capacities; that the governor having a power to dissolve them at discretion would be a check upon factious dispositions; and being chosen annually by the governor who has to be responsible for the choice, no injury could arise; and information could be acquired of the state of things so as to introduce the representative element of our government gradually and progressively. It was urged that this mode was in the first instance necessary and expedient, as well from our want of full information as to the local dispositions of the Louisianians, as from the actual state of their minds from their long subjection to a mode of government so very different from our own; that if elections were to be made in the present state of things, as large districts are composed of persons who know nothing of our language much less of our institutions, some

Spanish, some French, a number of persons might be so chosen as would be from want of our language and information in our principles of government incapable of proceeding upon legislation and government.

On the other side it was contended that the districts of Louisiana in all parts possessed capable and well informed men, and many Americans, that these and the Acadians who had migrated to Louisiana from Nova Scotia were an intelligent people, and well acquainted with principles of government and law somewhat resembling our own; that the French could not be supposed ignorant or indifferent to subjects of civil liberty which so much agitated them in all parts of the world for several years, and that even the Spaniards themselves could not be supposed so barbarous as not to know the difference between liberty and despotism.

It was further contended on the same side, that, admitting the people of Louisiana to be next to a state of nature, it was not consistent with the 3d article of the treaty which possessed us of that country to let them remain so, having guaranteed to them in due time equal rights and laws with ourselves; that this was the first step to effect that extension of civil and political liberty to them; and that to withhold it would only be to perpetuate their ignorance. That ignorance is the great source of human enslavement, and that to remove that ignorance from a people you can never begin too soon; because even the experience of errors in their first efforts produces the best kind of knowledge that of experience; and that it was better they should begin to acquire this knowledge while few and young, than when numerous, and when their errors arising from ignorance might be more extensive and dangerous.—That we best understood what is fit and what will be good or acceptable in the eyes of others by placing ourselves in their situation and that if we were in their situation now we should hardly complain or object to the conduct of those who should proffer to us the same means of happiness, freedom and prosperity which had rendered our benefactors the admiration of mankind.

These were the leading points of arguments.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

### GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

*Nationalism, War, and Society: a Study of Nationalism and its Concomitant, War, in their Relation to Civilization; and of the Fundamentals and the Progress of the Opposition to War.* By EDWARD KREHBIEL, Ph.D., Professor of Modern History in Leland Stanford Junior University. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1916. Pp. xxxv, 276.)

PROFESSOR KREHBIEL'S book is as "timely" as it is original in plan and method. Norman Angell in his vigorous introduction to the volume is surely right in regarding the present moment as "auspicious", not only for the full and frank discussion of warfare and the warrior-state in all their bearings—biological, sociological, and historical; but also for studying the lessons of the present conflict as it proceeds and preparing for the solution of the inevitable problems which will arise at its close.

The author has delivered his message in the form of a reference syllabus. The result is a unique demonstration of the advantages of the analytical method of discussion. It is not a mere outline of headings and subheadings. On the contrary, the analysis is so thoroughly logical and so full where expansion is needed that a readable and lucid text has been produced. The argument grips the attention and sticks in the memory. In small space is handled a many-sided subject, which under conventional literary treatment might well fill a bulky volume. Moreover, without direct use of dates or epochs, the unfoldment of the subject in its various phases is such as in reality to constitute an historical treatment.

The work has thirty chapters or topics grouped in three parts. The first part in twelve chapters considers Nationalism, its Character, Fallacies, and Faults. The subject of the first chapter is Nationalism; and here as in some other places typical writers are permitted to speak for themselves. "The Great War has resulted in attempts to distinguish between German, British and American conceptions of sovereignty." Thus "Germany is said to regard sovereignty as absolute, and seeks to make the facts tally with this conception: a sovereign state admits no obligations to other states"; while "Great Britain is said to regard absolute sovereignty as a theory only, which must be and is modified to meet the practical requirements of international intercourse: each state

must recognize certain rights of others in the present condition of things, no matter what the theory of sovereignty is". Accordingly by current philosophy—American, German, or British—the nation is accepted as the "best and highest development". Bernhardt's dictum that the state alone "gives the individual the highest degree of life", is balanced by Roosevelt's assertion that "we must bring to the solution of every problem an intense and fervid Americanism", or Mahan's fear that the elimination of competition among nationalities would destroy European civilization, it "having lost the fighting energy which heretofore has been inherent in its composition".

The following chapters of this part—all rich in suggestions for the study of topics of vital present interest—deal with the Corollaries of Nationalism; the Case for Nationalism and the War System; the Faults of Nationalism and the War System; the Great Illusion; the Armed Peace and its Fruits; the Economic Consequences of War; Public Debts; War and Sociology; War and Biology; War and the State; Political Aspects of War and Militarism; Nationalism and Morals.

"Modern Political and Social Changes and their Reaction on National Rivalry" is the theme of the second part. In three short chapters are considered the Rôle of Force, involving progress from force through law to justice and peace; the Change in the Institution of Warfare; and Modern Communication and Internationalism.

Interest culminates in the elaborate analysis of the "Progressive Forces which seek to overcome the Faults of Nationalism and establish an Order of Things in Agreement with the Evolution of Society", constituting the third part. In its fifteen chapters Professor Krehbiel has clearly revealed the evolution of the peace movement as an essential element in the general process of human socialization. First he takes up the Fundamentals of the Opposition to War; Deductive or Idealist Pacifism, to 1789 and since 1789; and Inductive or Practical Pacifism, that is, International Political Engineering. Then come six chapters dealing with Peace through Diplomacy: Nationalism Retained; followed by five chapters completing the text and devoted to Peace through Co-operation: Nationalism Abandoned.

This work is the best aid for understanding the complex problems of war and peace, militarism and pacifism, which has yet appeared. Clearly it is the result of much reading and careful thought. It is provided with many full and well-chosen reference lists; and it would serve admirably as a manual for an extended course of study.

GEORGE ELLIOTT HOWARD.

*Rest Days: a Study in Early Law and Morality.* By HUTTON WEBSTER, Ph.D., Professor of Social Anthropology in the University of Nebraska. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1916. Pp. xiv, 325.)

THIS book is an important contribution to the history of culture. It is a scholarly work, covering a very large field with remarkable care and

thoroughness and presenting a mass of data in the simplest form. The field it covers lies in that rich borderland between anthropology and history in which may be found the clues to many difficult problems in both subjects, but where one works with two tools of analysis—the comparative and the historical—one is doubly liable to fail. Recently we have been warned against attempting any such correlation in our research. Anthropologists, like Professor Boas, who show that institutions or beliefs *may* have arisen in any of a half-dozen different ways, point to the fallacies of Spencer or Frazer or the risky theories of a Durkheim to discourage synthetic attempts at generalizing about primitive culture. Historians on the other hand, aware of the fact that the institutions or beliefs *have* arisen in some or one of these ways, have concentrated upon the local data and so failed to benefit from a consideration of the subject as a whole. Such mutual suspicion or aloofness is bringing loss to both, and a book like this shows how serious that loss really is. For Professor Webster handles both anthropological and historical data with equal competence.

At first glance one might think that the old Spencerian fallacy dominated plan and substance; that there was nothing but a mass of anthropological citations or references dealing with isolated instances of local customs, in which the context was lost sight of, or omitted, so that the items could fit more easily into a prearranged scheme. This impression is due to the extraordinary scope of the survey, which is a practically all-inclusive statement of the celebration of taboo or market days by peoples of low culture the world over, as well as in antiquity. But further examination shows not only a discriminating sense in the choice of courses but a scholarly self-restraint in their use. Moreover the subject is one in which the comparative method has fewer perils than in the analysis of more complex institutions. The facts as to what days are sacred and under what circumstances they are so regarded are not difficult to establish. It is rather in the historical aspects of the problem that the difficulty lies. How did the calendar, as we know it, grow out of these early sacred days? Here the astrology and astronomy of Egypt and Babylon must be taken up, and the story of the diffusion of the Semitic time-reckoning is an extremely obscure one. Professor Webster furnishes an admirable guide to the best scholarship on this subject, avoiding the pitfalls of Pan-Babylonianism, and proceeds to elaborate the theory of the week as a tally of the moon's phases, thus accounting for the emphasis on the number seven as loosely making one-fourth of the month. If this is so, would one expect to find a seven-day cycle that cuts through the lunar cycle and with brave indifference makes a career for itself? Is it not possible that there is more in the luck of numbers themselves than is indicated here? And yet the absence of reference to the week as such in early Babylonian texts lends color to Professor Webster's theory.

The book is arranged so as to have the astronomical chapters follow

those on more variable data. The earlier part is therefore more distinctively anthropological. The first chapter takes up the tabooed days at critical epochs and offers a fund of material on what is also the very basis of religion. In the second chapter death ceremonies are dealt with, and related practices. The next chapter is devoted to holy days of a somewhat miscellaneous character, and the fourth deals with market days. Then follow four chapters on the lunar superstitions and the growth of the calendar. Chapter IX. again reverts to unlucky days; and general results are summed up in the conclusion. There seems to be room for some betterment in this arrangement, by interchanging chapters IV. and IX. This would have brought the lucky and unlucky days together and caused the book to conclude with the economic data.

The bearing of such a work upon history proper is not clear at first sight; for chronology has been but little studied by historians outside of those specializing in archaeology. This indifference was the case in antiquity as well, where historians were content to talk of the past in terms of "generations" and to leave such instruments of precision as the canon of Ptolemy for Alexandrian astronomers. And yet the measurement of Time is more than the description of the pattern upon which history is written, it is a statement of Time itself. This very weakness in chronology was responsible for the weakness of antique historiography. Surely it is of interest to historians to have the pattern itself deciphered in order to see things as the old masters saw them! In any case it is a matter of importance to offer the philosophic mind some new data as to the conditions under which the social memory could at last become historical, through the mathematics of religion and of economic routine.

J. T. SHOTWELL.

*Miscellaneous Inscriptions in the Yale Babylonian Collection.* By ALBERT T. CLAY. [Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts, vol. I.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1915. Pp. ix, 108, lv plates.)

WHEN the late J. Pierpont Morgan established in Yale University the William M. Laffan professorship of Assyriology and Babylonian Literature, he endowed it with a sum sufficient not only to pay the incumbent's salary but with a surplus of annual income to be used in the purchase of antiquities for the making of a museum—a characteristic exhibition of business judgment applied to the furtherance of science. To this chair the trustees invited Professor Albert T. Clay, then of the University of Pennsylvania, and already known as the best copyist of cuneiform in America, who displayed in his new post a business acumen little to be expected among scholars. By purchase only, and without costly exploration or excavation, Professor Clay has



brought together in New Haven a small collection of Assyrian and Babylonian antiquities in which are happily associated museum pieces of great beauty and unpublished original texts of the highest importance. The first installment of these is now made accessible in a volume sumptuously executed and "published from the fund given to the University in memory of Mary Stevens Hammond". The texts are autographed in Clay's beautiful hand, not "cabin'd, cribb'd, confined" as were those which he made, under editorial direction, when publishing the tablets of the University of Pennsylvania, yet not so broad, open, and striking as in the work of King at the British Museum.

The collection now published is rich beyond all the hopes of those who may not have seen the originals in New Haven. It represents literature of almost every kind from the rudest archaic of the most remote period to a building inscription of the Seleucid era, dated in the month of Nisan of the 68th year of Seleucus II. (244 B. C.). Here are texts of shadowy personalities like Galu-shagga and Libit Ishtar and of historic personages such as Hammurapi, Esarhaddon, Ashurbanipal, Nebuchadrezzar, and Nabonidus. There are votive texts belonging to the religious category as also fragments concerning the Babylonian Sabbath; legal documents such as a very important piece of the Sumerian prototype of the Hammurapi code; property plans and building texts, and all are in some way valuable, the usual filling of weak and worthless lists of offerings or other dateless impossibilities being wholly wanting.

To make distinctions as to relative importance among such documents may seem invidious, but I must direct special attention to two. The first of these belongs on the philological side and is a large syllabary, which "contains more than a hundred different signs, gives in the first column the Sumerian values; in the second, the sign to be explained; in the third, the name of the sign; and in the fourth, the Semitic value corresponding to the Sumerian value in the first column". For students of history its importance might not appear on first glance, but one cannot read Sumerian or Babylonian historical documents without a knowledge of the meanings of the signs, and in this syllabary above threescore signs appear for the first time, while several hundred new values for signs previously in our possession are here furnished. The most striking new contribution is the discovery that in the Sumerian period the god whose name is written *NIN-IB* was pronounced *Urta*. Clay proceeds to argue learnedly that this supports his contention that *NIN-IB* is to be identified with *MAR-TU* and to draw other deductions. This may perhaps be true, but I have too much doubt of it to accept it at once.

Of indisputable historical value is the Larsa Dynastic List containing the names of fourteen rulers, of the dynasty of Larsa, followed by Hammurapi and Sin-muballit. Nothing that I could now write would be likely to exaggerate the importance which I attach to this

list. Its securing for the Yale museum is a master-stroke of Clay's business ability, and its publication is worthy of its quality. According to my chronological calculations these kings ruled approximately in the period 2364-2099 B. C. Clay, of course, raises, in his discussion, the burning question concerning Arioeh (Gen. xiv. 1) whom many of us have identified with Arad-Sin, Clay himself having been of the number. The new list however shows that Aradsin was not a contemporary of Hammurapi, who seems quite certainly to have been the Amraphel of Genesis. Clay, therefore, determined to uphold the chronological as well as the historical character of the fourteenth chapter of Genesis, now abandons the equation Arad-Sin = Arioeh, though admitting still that it has a sound philological basis, and returns to Sayce's equation Rim-Sin = Arioeh. I find it quite impossible to follow him in this, being unwilling to depart from an equation founded on sound philological principles merely to sustain the Genesis passage and being rather willing either to wait some other explanation not yet brought forward, or frankly to accept the explication of the passage as containing a legendary mistake. However this dispute may issue, I recommend to historical students to study in Clay's excellent introduction, well supplied with adequate translations, these valuable collections of tablets now published for the first time.

ROBERT W. ROGERS.

*Archaeology and the Bible.* By GEORGE A. BARTON, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of Biblical Literature and Semitic Languages in Bryn Mawr College. (Philadelphia: American Sunday-School Union. 1916. Pp. xiii, 461, 114 plates.)

In this volume Professor Barton has aimed to gather all the facts bearing upon the interpretation of both Old and New Testament that have been discovered by archaeology during the last century. He has done his work thoroughly. Scientific journals and reports of excavators have been ransacked with painstaking completeness, and the result is that the student is here presented with the most complete manual on the subject that exists in any language. The author is an accomplished Semitic philologist, so that all translations of inscriptions are made from the originals and represent the most advanced stage of modern linguistic science. He is also an historical critic of sober judgment and long training, so that he knows how to use his materials with discretion. In this work he has avoided the common vice of writing in an apologetic vein, and seeking to find in every discovery of archaeology a "confirmation" of the Bible; and also the no less dangerous vice of the modern German "Pan-Babylonian" school, of building fantastic theories on unsubstantial archaeological foundations, and of endeavoring with these to undermine the general historical character of the Bible.

The method of treating the subject is a combination of the topical and the historical. The nations of the ancient Orient, Egypt, Babylonia and Assyria, the Hittites, and Palestine, are taken up successively, and under each head the following topics are considered: the land, the preservation of antiquities, the discovery of antiquities, the decipherment of the inscriptions, chronology, outline of the history, and discoveries which bear on the Bible. The translations of texts are all given together in the second part. This method has the advantage of allowing an easy classification of facts whose chronological determination is difficult, it also makes it possible to avoid the historical fixing of some of the Biblical traditions, and so to escape theological and critical controversy—an obvious desideratum in a book published by the Sunday-School Union and designed for the use of Sunday-School teachers and scholars.

For the student of history, however, this method has grave disadvantages. If one wishes to know what was happening in the ancient world in any given period of its history, one must go for the documents to the second part, and for the archaeological facts to every one of the preceding chapters. For instance, suppose that one wishes to know about the age of Abram. On page 294 one finds that Hammurapi may be the same as Amraphel of Genesis xiv., the contemporary of Abram. For the reign of Hammurapi one is compelled to go to chapter II. on Babylonia, where one learns on page 47 of the discovery of the Code of Hammurapi, and to page 53, where the reign of Hammurapi is described. The Code of Hammurapi is not given until chapter XIII. of part II. The contemporary history of the Twelfth Dynasty in Egypt is given in the first chapter, page 27 f., and the contemporary history of Palestine in chapter V., page 108. The story of Sinuhe, which belongs to this period, is not given until chapter XI. of part II. This method is most inconvenient for historical purposes. The histories of the ancient Oriental peoples interlock closely, and we want to know what was happening to all of them in any given period. A much more convenient method of treating the facts would be to divide the history into as brief periods as possible, *e. g.*, the Sumerian, the Akkadian, the Amorite, the Hittite-Hyksos, the Egyptian, etc., and under each of these periods to group in chronological order all the documents and all the facts archaeological and biblical. The lack of this method makes this work a source-book for historians rather than a history.

LEWIS BAYLES PATON.

## BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN HISTORY

*Shakespeare's England: an Account of the Life and Manners of his Age.* In two volumes. (London: Oxford University Press. 1916. Pp. xxiv, 546; x, 610.)

AMONG the numberless memorials of the tercentenary of the death of the great dramatist this handsome and learned work is by no means one of the least worthy, and it may well prove to be one of the most permanent. Two sumptuous volumes published by one of the great universities and embodying investigations into all phases of the period of Shakespeare by some forty of England's leading writers in history, literature, and archaeology form certainly an interesting tribute to the poet and his times. It is professedly a memorial work. It is permeated through and through with Shakespeare. There is no aspect of the life of the English people in the last two decades of Elizabeth and the first of James for the elucidation or illumination of which some phrase from his works is not utilized. Indeed it may be confessed by even an appreciative critic that this perpetual remembrance and ingenious use of quotations becomes at times almost wearisome, and verges on that "damnable iteration" which even the dramatist himself deprecates. More than two thousand passages from Shakespeare's works are cited in the two volumes and the references are duly gathered, classified, and indexed at the close of the work. It is a striking indication of the infinite variety of the great poet that there are extremely few instances in which the same quotation is used on more than one occasion. It is also a proof of the extent to which the Elizabethan drama mirrored its time that something is to be found in Shakespeare or contemporary dramatists illustrative of every one of the varied subjects treated in these volumes.

The ode by the poet laureate which opens the work is a sombre reflection of this period of war rather than of the less heavily clouded period to which it refers: its yearning for peace, its effort to forget the desolation of the present in its theme of the past with its recurrent note of return to the things of to-day make it essentially a memorial poem of the year 1916. Sir Walter Raleigh's introductory essay on the "Age of Elizabeth", on the other hand, opens as spiritedly as the period to which it refers, though it soon drops from great names and conceptions to a description of the smaller antiquities of custom and costume of the time. The fact is, no single essay can give the characteristics of an age, certainly not of the Elizabethan age. It is only by a cumulative process that a real and correct impression can be given; and those who have had charge of this work have done well to seek this result in the chapters which follow without much regard to order or unity.

The essay on religion is preoccupied with Shakespeare's religion,

though it contains much interesting material concerning the established church as well as the reactionary Catholicism and the militant Puritanism of the time. There is a full and picturesque description of the queen's court by Mr. Chambers, the author of works on the medieval and later drama, followed by chapters on the army and navy, exploration by sea and travel by land, educational and intellectual interests, commerce and coinage, agriculture, medicine and natural history, by equally well-known specialists. There is an interesting and original chapter on a little considered subject, that of sixteenth-century handwriting, by Sir Edward Maunde Thompson, librarian of the British Museum, illuminated by ten or twelve facsimile pages and followed by a minute and technical study of Shakespeare's autograph signatures. The chapter on the Courts and the Law, perhaps from the inherent difficulties of the subject, is not quite up to the general level. It is incoherent, somewhat perfunctory, and in many points inaccurate. The unpopularity of the Court of Star Chamber is antedated and exaggerated, its independence of law and precedent misrepresented, and the familiar misstatement that it made use of torture in its procedure repeated. Peacham, whose prosecution the writer gives as an instance, was tried before the Court of High Commission, examined by the Privy Council, and put to torture before commissioners of the Council, not the Court of Star Chamber. He was finally tried and convicted at the assizes in Somerset; but neither he nor any other culprit was ever "interrogated on the rack before the Star Chamber".

The order of subjects is, as already stated, somewhat irregular. As successive chapters in the second volume on music, architecture, painting, and similar subjects lead on to Authors and their Patrons, Booksellers and Printers, Actors, the Playhouse, and the Masque, it would seem that the work was to find its natural culmination in the drama and allied subjects; but there follow upon these still other chapters on horsemanship, dancing, games, rogues and vagabonds. The work closes however in a more literary spirit with chapters on "Ballads and Broad-sides" and on "Shakespeare's English".

Attention must be called to the excellent illustrations, of which there are more than two hundred, all contemporary and almost all apposite. The problem of finding a satisfactory clue to the contents of a work of such varied character is as difficult as it is important. It has been well solved by a group of three excellent indexes, the one already mentioned—of the quotations from Shakespeare's works, an index of proper names, and a general index. The bibliographies of the various subjects are suggestive though hardly adequate. Altogether this is a notable and excellent work, a highly creditable contribution to English *Kulturgeschichte*, if a German technical word may be applied to an English literary production without offense. Its learning is solid, and, varied as are its contents, unity is to be found in their connection with the works of a great writer in a great age.

*The Life of Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield.* By GEORGE EARLE BUCKLE, in succession to W. F. MONYPENNY. Volume IV., 1855-1868. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1916. Pp. x, 610.)

FOUR volumes of the Monypenny-Buckle *Life of Disraeli* have now been issued. A fifth volume is in the press. As a complete work it will be the longest and most detailed biography of any English statesman. It is not conceivable, however, that there will be much criticism of its length. Its fascination will carry its great volume and its personal and political detail. Its fascination, in fact, will be abiding; for since the office of prime minister was first developed in the British constitution, it has never been held by any man to whom a greater or more continuing interest attached than attaches to the man whom the English-speaking world likes to recall as Disraeli rather than as the Earl of Beaconsfield.

In bringing about legislation, or pre-eminent service in carrying the country through a great crisis, there are three or four premiers of the nineteenth century to whom much more must be credited than can even be claimed for Disraeli. Grey, Peel, and Gladstone all left a much greater impress on the statute book. The same can be said of Pitt, especially as regards his Irish legislation and the union of Ireland with Great Britain. Pitt also confronted a world crisis as great as that of 1914-1916. Should Mr. Asquith continue as premier to the end of the war, his services both as regards epoch-making legislation and guiding the empire through a great crisis, will be incomparably greater than those of Disraeli—the first Conservative premier who was drawn neither from the territorial governing class nor from the Inns of Court.

Only two great statutes—the parliamentary reform act of 1867 and the statute in which is embodied the democratic constitution of the Dominion of Canada—stand to the credit of Derby and Disraeli and the Conservative party in the period from the Peelite division of 1846 to the end of Derby's administration in February, 1868. Nor can much more legislation of first-class importance be credited to Disraeli during his second premiership from 1874 to 1880. Disraeli's outstanding service—the service to England on which his fame must rest—was, in fact, not in the realm of legislation, although he will always be remembered for his success in persuading a Conservative cabinet to accept household suffrage as the basis of the reform act of 1867; for his active and conspicuous part in carrying the reform bill through the House of Commons; and for ensuring it the support of the Conservatives in the House of Lords. His pre-eminent service to a country with parliamentary institutions, worked on party principles, was in rehabilitating, reorganizing, and greatly widening the base of the Conservative party, and giving it a national character—lifting it out of the disorganization and impotency which had characterized it from the end of the Wellington administra-

tion in 1828 to the incoming of the third Derby administration in June, 1866.

Mr. Buckle's new volume covers the years from 1855 to 1868—from the incoming of Palmerston's administration in February, 1855, to the resignation as premier of the Earl of Derby in February, 1868, and Disraeli's succession to that office. Each of the three earlier volumes—I. and II. written by the late Mr. Monypenny, and volume III. by Mr. Buckle—has its own peculiar interest; for there was no monotony or uniformity in the first thirty years of Disraeli's public career. His early life was quite unlike the earlier career of any other man who achieved fame at Westminster in the first seventy-five years of the nineteenth century; for Disraeli was of no university; his only source of income was his pen; and unlike Pitt or Gladstone he never had a patron who could help him to a seat in the House of Commons.

Each of the preceding volumes, as has been said, has its peculiar interest, because of the period of Disraeli's variegated career that it unfolds. But were a student of English political history, or a lover of biography, starting on a vacation, and desirous to take with him a single volume of this detailed biography, his choice would assuredly fall on volume IV. It would fall on this volume because it covers the period of Disraeli's greatest achievement.

Half-way through this period—certainly by 1861—Queen Victoria had quite overcome the prejudices she had once entertained against Disraeli, due to some boulder-like episodes, political and social, in his earlier career. "A better knowledge of Disraeli's character", writes Mr. Buckle, in commenting on the fact that in January, 1861, both Disraeli and his wife, although Disraeli was then in opposition in the House of Commons, had been invited to Windsor, "had overcome the distrust of the Court before the Prince's death; but it was the sympathetic and appreciative manner in which Disraeli treated that tragic event that converted the Queen's somewhat negative feeling towards him into friendly interest, which was ultimately to develop, during his great ministry, into unbounded and even affectionate confidence." Disraeli, all through his life, always served out flattery adroitly and in overflowing measure. He once told Stanley, Derby's eldest son, that he was convinced that he would "turn out a regular Chatham", and he also told Stafford Northcote that he was a Hyde. The correspondence in this volume is often stamped with this characteristic; but in none of the letters is the strain of flattery more continuous or more obvious than in his letters to Queen Victoria. It is an oft-told story that the queen stood aloof from Gladstone, because he treated her as an institution; while she was friendly to Disraeli because he treated her as a woman. Queen Victoria's own letters, as published in 1907, show that she could be as sentimental as any middle-class matron of her era. Disraeli's letters to the queen of 1855-1868, as well as those of an earlier period, make it certain that he fully realized this trait in the queen's character, and turned the realization to account.

But no one will criticize Disraeli over-much for his use of flattery with the queen and elsewhere. From 1846 to 1868 he was confronted with the most stupendous task that was ever the lot of the leader of a political party at Westminster; and this task—that of galvanizing the Conservative party into life and rendering it such as could serve the country efficiently, either in opposition or in office—was all the more difficult because of the political and social obstacles, peculiar to him, that he had to overcome. In the history of English political parties there is no chapter that is quite so interesting as Disraeli's struggle to this end from 1846 to 1868. Even the chapter in the history of the Liberal party from 1886 to 1906—the chapter that extends from the defeat of Gladstone and the home rule Liberals in 1886 to the triumphant sweep of the constituencies by the Liberals under Campbell-Bannerman, Asquith, and Lloyd George in 1906—does not exceed in vividness and continuity of interest the chapter in the history of the Conservative party from the division of the party over Peel's fiscal policy of 1846 to Disraeli's triumph with the parliamentary reform bill of 1867.

In writing this history from 1855 to 1868 it was not difficult for Mr. Buckle to keep Disraeli in the forefront of the picture. Disraeli was the man who was engineering the upbuilding of the Conservative party; and he was almost the only man really intent on this undertaking. Derby was his colleague in the task. He was his leader; and in these years Disraeli was nearly as deferential to Derby as he was to the queen. As yet there is no adequate biography of Derby; but as he is revealed in Mr. Buckle's pages, it is made evident that, had Disraeli not been his first lieutenant in these twelve or thirteen years, Derby could never have recreated the Conservative party, and thus given the Conservatives their term in office from 1874 to 1880, and again, with a break of only three years, from 1886 to 1905.

Malmesbury, Derby's colleague in the leadership of the Conservative party in the House of Lords, was even less well fitted than Derby for the undertaking for which Disraeli at this time was devoting his life; and from 1855 to 1868, practically from 1846 to 1868, the Conservative party, except for here and there a political lawyer intent on spoils, was more barren of men of ability in the House of Commons than at any period of its history from the reign of George II. to the outbreak of the Great War and the disappearance of party lines in 1914. Disraeli had accomplished his great task just as soon as the royal assent had been given to the act of 1867, which established household suffrage as the basis of the parliamentary franchise. This is the greatest measure with which Disraeli's name is associated. It is his greatest parliamentary achievement. As is appropriate to the part that Disraeli had in its framing and enactment, and to its tremendous influence on the fortunes of the Conservative party, Mr. Buckle goes into much detail concerning the bill, particularly as to the changes it underwent in the House of Commons. He brings out the part that Queen Victoria had in moulding the larger lines



of the measure; what Disraeli contributed to its success; what the bill cost Derby and Disraeli in defections from the ministry; and also what was contributed by the Liberals and the Radicals to the bill from which the modern Conservative party can with appropriateness date its origin.

Mr. Buckle draws on all the memoirs of the statesmen of that era for the material for these chapters. All this material is exceedingly well handled; with the result that the best, most complete, and most informing history of the reform act of 1867—of "the leap in the dark"—is now to be found, not in monographs on parliamentary reform, but in volume IV. of the Disraeli biography.

It must have been comparatively easy for both the late Mr. Monypenny and for Mr. Buckle in preparing the life of Disraeli to write a biography which should stand out among the biographies of English statesmen. Disraeli's origin, his character, and his peculiar and outstanding achievements, made it easily possible to produce such a work. Why the *Disraeli Life* stands out in the enormous library of British political biography has been indicated in this note and in the notes on the earlier volumes. But there is one other reason for its distinction that has yet to be stated. It is more than a life of Disraeli. From 1858 the book tells the story of the life of Mrs. Disraeli; and Mr. Buckle, largely by the extent to which he has drawn upon letters, has given us an admirable picture of the home life of the Disraelis and of Mrs. Disraeli's part in her husband's political career. Mrs. Gladstone is the only wife of an English statesman of front rank who has been as fortunate as Mrs. Disraeli as regards her husband's biographer.

EDWARD PORRITT.

*Delane of the Times.* By Sir EDWARD COOK. [Makers of the Nineteenth Century, edited by Basil Williams.] (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1916. Pp. xi, 319.)

DASENT'S *Life* of Delane and Atkins's biography of William Howard Russell have been, heretofore, the principal works exhibiting the personality and influence of the man who for thirty-six years (1841-1877) was the "great editor" of the *Times*. Undoubtedly a more vivid impression of the man is received from the earlier works, than from the present one, but not so clear a statement and analysis of his position, policies, and influence. Dasent, unintentionally, leaves the impression that Delane was a tuft-hunter. The present author, Sir Edward Cook, shows, rather, that Delane, socially acceptable in the "highest circles", received there the hints which made the *Times* not merely a record, but a forecast of events. Especially was Delane at home in political circles, never permanently allying the *Times* with any party or minister, but usually giving support to the incoming administration, and continuing it until signs of political change manifested themselves—when the *Times* often shifted to attack. Delane saw no inconsistency in this; he held that the *Times* should represent the people of England, and that the

influence and service of the paper were dependent upon a complete freedom from political ties. So powerful was his position that ministers (Lord John Russell excepted), while frequently vexed and privately expressing indignation with Delane's criticisms, paid court to him, gave him advance information, and often sought to discover the line the *Times* would take.

Of all the prime ministers, during the Delane editorship, Palmerston was his favorite; for the two men were of very similar tastes, principles, and outlook. Thus Delane "was not a democrat", and the *Times* was usually on the side of conservatism and tradition. Yet if the handwriting on the wall read that political reform was inevitable the *Times* favored and sought to guide that reform. Naturally conservatives accused Delane (as did Greville) of desiring "a change in the whole system of government, and the substitution of plebeians and new men for leaders of parties and members of aristocratic families" (p. 83). Yet radicals accepted Matthew Arnold's picture of the *Times* as

a gigantic Sancho Panza, following by an attraction he cannot resist that poor, mad, scorned, suffering, sublime enthusiast, the modern spirit; following it, indeed, with constant grumbling, expostulation, and opposition, with airs of protection, of compassionate superiority . . . but still following it (p. 142).

The very warmth of attack upon the *Times*, and from opposite quarters, testifies to Delane's independence and the power of his paper. He never permitted acknowledgment of error, being "an adept in the gentle art of journalistic curvature" (p. 106). Very little writing of leaders was done by Delane himself, but all of importance were outlined by him, their scope and treatment indicated, with many alterations before going to press. The entire issue passed under his supervision but the leading articles were his greatest care. It is important for students to understand, what the author emphasizes, that the first-column leading article of the *Times* furnishes the historical meat of that issue, in relation to both policy and news, for it was here that Delane presented the latest information, or the newest political prophecy. Indeed, the "great news" of the day might not appear at all in the news columns of that issue, and never, of course, with scare-heads to attract attention.

The present work, as a whole, is readable, accurate, and judicial in tone. It seeks to convey a just estimate of Delane's position and political influence, and it leaves one with a sense that a life of Delane very properly appears as the first volume of a new series, *Makers of the Nineteenth Century*.

E. D. ADAMS.

*Un Demi-Siècle de Civilisation Française (1870-1915)*. Par MM. BAILLAUD, BOUTROUX, CHAILLEY, DOUMIC, GÉRARD, LANGLOIS, DE LA SIZERANNE, DE LAUNAY, LECOMTE, LEMOINE, RAPHAËL-GEORGES LÉVY, PAINLEVÉ, PERRIER, PICARD, POINCARÉ, RICHET, SCHNEIDER, STRAUSS, VIGER, WIDOR. (Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1916. Pp. 469.)

THE Third Republic is no longer apologetic; neither is it inclined to be boastful; but it is honestly proud of its achievements. Even before the war it had grown conscious of having done great things quietly. Until a few years ago no one could have been more self-critical than the French. They have admitted a political incapacity—under stress of Teutonic, English, and American criticism—while building up one of the greatest and most successful institutions of representative government the world has seen. They have accepted the strictures of a patronizing world upon their moral character and intellectual fibre—all the while remaining silent as to the weaknesses of their neighbors. The pride was there but it was too vital to risk revelation. Now, however, that France has shown herself to all the world for what she is, when a group of savants have combined to sketch the history, or at least to indicate the scope, of her achievements since the "terrible year", 1870, there is little need of anything but simple, straightforward narrative, such as one finds in the volume under review. It is divided into twenty sections, devoted to such different subjects as Astronomy (by Baillaud), Philosophy (by Boutroux), Colonization (by Chailley), Literature (by Doumic), Metallurgy (by Schneider, "maitre des forges"), etc.

On the face of it, such an enterprise would seem to be of considerable importance. But the present volume suffers from inadequate editorship. Although each section is from the pen of a competent collaborator, there is no scheme of co-ordination, the subjects seem chosen at hazard, and the volume suffers accordingly. Someone should have exercised an editorial control and secured a juster proportion as well as a better arrangement. It can hardly have been due to political exigencies that the only reference to the work done in the Palais Bourbon and the Luxembourg should be devoted to "L'Éloquence Parlementaire". In the eyes of the sterner critics of the republic there had been too much talking. On the other hand why give less space to the achievements of French art than to the development of autos and aeroplanes? The section which is of main interest to students of history happens, also, to be not over eighteen pages long—that on the development of history and historical study in France since 1870. Written by the competent hand of Ch. V. Langlois, director of the National Archives, it reveals at once that cautious attitude which has characterized all his work. "Il est vrai que la Renaissance historique de la seconde moitié du xix<sup>e</sup> siècle, phénomène général, ne s'est pas produite qu'en France. Il est vrai qu'elle s'était accusée en Allemagne avant de s'accuser en France." Yet

the Germans have not had a monopoly of historical criticism, which, after all, is but common sense keenly alert. Langlois is ready to admit that the French are not lacking in this equipment, but he apparently sees little in such a situation to be enthusiastic about. As a matter of fact, he hardly does justice to his theme owing to his preoccupation with works of erudition. Renan is recognized as the greatest historian of the period but the generous attitude toward the literary historian which Gabriel Monod could cherish, in spite of his ideals of exacting, scientific work, is here lacking. This is significant of the weakness in the recent French school of which Langlois is a leader, which attempts an objectivity which is unattainable and brings the energies of the lucid Gallic mind to bear upon the mathematical problem of a reconstruction of data into structures where no life is. There was something more than humor in the situation, when Seignobos attempted to get a purely objective judgment as to who were the great historians, by accepting those who were members of the Institute since this official designation involved bringing them to the attention of the public! After all, history is an art as well as a science.

J. T. SHOTWELL.

#### BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

*Readings in the Economic History of the United States.* By ERNEST LUDLOW BOGART, Ph.D., and CHARLES MANFRED THOMPSON, Ph.D., of the Department of Economics in the University of Illinois. (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1916. Pp. xxvii, 862.)

It is a large task to attempt to present within the compass of a single volume original materials illustrating adequately the various phases in the economic development of our country. This volume of *Readings* gives the impression that the editors have tried to cover too much in a limited space. An unfortunate result has been the unsatisfactory treatment accorded the important economic problems which have arisen since the Civil War. What is particularly needed by teachers of both political and economic history is a collection of sources and secondary material setting forth with liberal detail and appropriate emphasis the circumstances and causes of the origin of our labor problem, the trust problem, the problem of urban concentration and rural depopulation, the problem of the free negro in the South. Such a collection can hardly be contained in six chapters of barely 250 pages, the space allotted to the last half-century of our history in this volume.

These six chapters contain reprints of government publications, mostly excerpts from census reports on agriculture and manufactures, with occasionally more enlightening discussions from the reports of the Industrial Commission of 1898 and the Immigration Commission of 1907. Census statistics are indeed important raw material for the history of our industrial evolution. But such material is too raw to be readily

digested and assimilated by the mental processes of the normal undergraduate. We can hardly expect him to examine these statistics critically and to piece together from them, bit by bit, the puzzle of the causes and results of economic changes. This section of the collection would have been greatly increased in value by the inclusion of generous reprints from the best monographic studies in agricultural history, in tariff history, in the history of the development of specific manufacturing industries, and in the history of industrial combinations. But such treatment of this period would have required a separate volume.

To aid in estimating the value of that part of Bogart and Thompson's *Readings* dealing with the period 1606-1860, one may fairly compare the material it presents with a collection covering practically the same period edited a few years ago by the late Professor G. S. Callender (*Selections from the Economic History of the United States, 1765-1860*, Ginn and Company, 1909). In both collections the treatment of important subjects such as the foreign trade of the colonies and the rise of manufactures is similar. The narrative descriptions of travellers, native and foreign, have been generously utilized in both volumes. In fact a considerable proportion, 76 out of 595 pages, of the documents reprinted in this part of Bogart and Thompson's *Readings* are to be found in substantially identical form in Callender's *Selections*.

The editors of these two collections differed fundamentally, however, in their conception of what economic history ought to be. As far as one can judge from a very brief preface, the aim of Professors Bogart and Thompson was to unfold a "panoramic picture" of "agriculture, manufactures, tariff, commerce, transportation, money and banking, labor and the movement of population", giving each in its turn due emphasis. They have attempted only to illustrate faithfully the various phases of our economic development. Callender's conception of the function of the economic historian was deeper. His view was that the economic historian must interpret the facts of past economic life by the use of the principles of economic science.

The difference in purpose is significant in explaining certain further points of contrast. The editors of the present volume seem to have been influenced more largely by the chronological principle in the arrangement of their material. Consequently the treatment of an important subject such as internal trade sometimes lacks unity and coherence. Why, for example, should there be a chapter entitled Agriculture, Slavery and Internal Trade, 1783-1808?

The documents reprinted by Callender were chosen to emphasize the causes and effects of economic conditions as well as to show simply the facts themselves. In this particular aspect Bogart and Thompson's *Readings* suffers by comparison. For example, it contains no documents showing the important result of slavery in preventing the accumulation of capital in the South. The causal relation between the great

increase in cotton planting in the South and the development of internal trade in the period 1800-1860 is not sufficiently emphasized.

The present volume was designed to provide large college classes with collateral reading in a course on the economic history of the United States and also to assist teachers of United States history in general to present "some phases of our development which do not always find a place in political histories". Both needs would have been better satisfied if the editors had supplied a carefully reasoned introductory essay at the beginning of each chapter. Brief explanatory paragraphs are indeed prefixed to the individual selections, summarizing their contents and generally showing the relation of the particular document to the entire chapter. But such comments are too disjointed to furnish a unified interpretation of the multitude of significant facts presented in this book.

PERCY WELLS BIDWELL.

*History of Domestic and Foreign Commerce of the United States.*

By EMORY R. JOHNSON, T. W. VAN METRE, G. G. HUEBNER, and D. S. HANCHETT. In two volumes. [Contributions to American Economic History from the Department of Economics and Sociology of the Carnegie Institution of Washington.] (Washington: The Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1915. Pp. xv, 363; ix, 398.)

THESE two volumes cover but one division out of twelve in the general plan of the *Contributions to American Economic History*, by the Department of Economics and Sociology of the Carnegie Institution of Washington. Their date of publication (1915) shows a lapse of thirteen years since the work was first outlined in 1902. One naturally expects them, therefore, in such hands to contain the fruitage of patient research in one of the most prolific fields of national interest. They have high merit as records of the progress of this country's economic life. The joint effort of the collaborators with Professor Johnson will, as intimated in Professor Farnam's introduction, be highly appreciated by all who have long wanted a better insight into the evolution of American commerce. At a time in our history when we are taking new soundings for our commercial future, these volumes are especially timely.

Volume I, in three parts, treats of American Commerce to 1789 (part I.), Internal Commerce (part II.), and the Coastwise Trade (part III.). The nine chapters of part I. lay emphasis primarily on questions of policy, but also give lucid exposition of the geographic conditions which have helped to determine the lines and areas of trade. These are traced through the colonial, the revolutionary, and the federation periods from the standpoint of foreign commerce including American fisheries and a concluding sketch of the structure of American commerce in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (pp. 175-189).

Internal Commerce, part II., in seven chapters, by Dr. T. W. Van Metre, describes our internal trade development in its several phases, down to 1910, and gives some account of the financial panic periods. Comparatively little attention is paid to the railway aspect of internal commerce, presumably because transportation is to be treated separately from domestic and foreign commerce in the general plan. Costs per ten-mile by turnpike, canal, or otherwise, are shown at intervals. Omission of the railroads as a feature of trade organization is somewhat compensated for by the four excellent railroad maps. An excellent physical map forms the frontispiece. One misses, for instance, basic maps of an economic character, with regard to the leading products which form the sources and supplies of commodities constituting commerce itself. Brevity of treatment is seen in the fact that internal trade from 1789 to 1910 occupies only 133 pages.

The Coastwise Trade in part III. traces most interestingly the part which the large seaboard cities have had in the country's commercial expansion. In this plan the Atlantic, the Gulf, and the Pacific coasts are made the units, omitting lake trade, which might also be regarded as essentially coastwise in its geographical character (pp. 327-363).

Volume II. deals first with Foreign Trade since 1789, which is disposed of in nine chapters, comprising 156 pages. For so long a period the space allowed is rather inadequate. Yet the salient features are well covered and brevity detracts nothing from the excellence of treatment by Professor G. G. Huebner. But one wonders why eighty-one pages were given to the subject of fisheries, occupying half as much space as the whole theme of foreign trade for 126 years. Dr. T. W. Van Metre's discussion of fisheries in these chapters is valuable also as a contribution to international relations. The concluding portion, part III., dealing with Government Aid and Commercial Policy, by Dr. D. S. Hanchett (chapters XXVII.-XLI.) treats of federal regulation, the consular service, shipping and shipbuilding, rivers and harbors policy, and the tariff, concluding with a valuable bibliography of general references. The index, comprising twelve double-column pages, shows that few, if any, matters of primary interest have not received attention. On the whole the American public is to be congratulated on this contribution. Its positive value to students of the subject will consist in laying the ground-work for specific studies. It will insure balance to specialization far more fully than has hitherto been possible in the prosecution of research on commercial lines. To the business interests it should supply the long-needed perspective, and it is hoped that no one will make more diligent use of these volumes than the members of Congress. American politics, as well as economics, will be all the saner and the more concrete for the work which Professor Johnson and his co-workers have done.

The volumes are sure to serve as an inspiration to further effort along many lines. The publishers have done a highly creditable piece of book-

making and the public interest is whetted with expectation for the other divisions of these contributions in the hope that they may be no less successful. Apart from what might be the wiser division of the space allotted to subjects, the plan and methods of treatment of the *History of Domestic and Foreign Commerce of the United States* should be helpful in making the volumes that are to follow.

JOHN FRANKLIN CROWELL.

*History of Manufactures in the United States, 1607-1860.* By VICTOR S. CLARK. [Contributions to American Economic History from the Department of Economics and Sociology of the Carnegie Institution of Washington.] (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1916. Pp. xii, 675.)

THE volume under review may safely be proclaimed one of the most important and valuable contributions to the economic history of the United States which has appeared in recent years. It also affords a most promising augury of what the resources of the Carnegie Institution, combined with scholarship, may hope to accomplish in this large field of research.

The value of the work is in no small degree to be attributed to the broad interpretation and the method of treatment adopted by the author. To quote his words, he has sought not solely to present

a picture of the past, but to interpret selected historical data as illustrating phases of economic progress. To this end the topical method has been here adopted. No attempt has been made to record the minutiae of manufacturing annals, to fix the exact dates when unimportant factories were established, to describe technical processes and patents, or to enter into other details likely to confuse the purport of essential facts in their relation to general economic movements. The purpose has been to cull what is really significant from the mass of materials at hand, and so to arrange it as to show most clearly the forces that have shaped the development of American manufactures (p. 1).

In carrying out this purpose the author has not been content to rely chiefly on secondary sources but has gone back and made use of a vast mass of material gathered, not only from contemporary accounts in printed form, but also from a considerable number of sources now available only in manuscript. On this broad basis he has admirably carried out his announced purpose. The conclusions drawn are careful and well balanced, the interpretation is keen and illuminating, and the method scholarly throughout. As a result we now have available for the first time a thorough, comprehensive, and really interpretative history of our manufacturing industries down to 1860.

In treating the subject the history of manufactures has been divided into two main periods, the colonial period and that following the attainment of political independence, each period being covered sepa-



rately under topical headings. The author suggests, however, that it is possible to make further subdivisions into: the period up to about 1688, covering the pioneer years of American settlement; the period 1688-1764, during which the colonies as British possessions reached full maturity; the period 1764-1790, marked by rapidly succeeding crises in the economic life, due primarily to international political disturbances, and during which any sound development was impossible; the period 1790-1815, in many respects similar to the preceding, but at the end of which American manufacturing industry had attained a firm foundation; the period 1815-1840, when our staple manufactures began to integrate along lines of production and distribution essential to the needs of the country, though homespun industry still supplied a large part of the nation's consumption; and the period 1840-1860, when the effects of the introduction of railroads and new technical processes began to dominate and manufactures integrated out of commerce.

The headings under which the topical treatment of the two main periods is presented cover such subjects as: domestic and foreign legislation, natural resources, transportation and markets, technology and organization, wages and labor, capital, currency, and prices, and volume and distribution of manufactures. For the latter period special chapters cover the textile and metal industries.

The conclusions which the author draws in the course of this topical treatment appear, in the main, further to substantiate, to broaden, and generously to add to the opinions more commonly accepted to-day rather than to confute them. For the colonial period the author states: that the presumption becomes better defined with every new detail of fact revealed, that upon the whole the industrial development of the colonies was about where it would have been had their economic policies been governed by their own people—natural influences being vastly more important than political policies in determining that development (p. 30); that "during the last century of colonial history a growing market abroad caused primary manufactures in America to expand and multiply; and foreign competition, though it continued to limit, did not seriously encroach upon existing manufactures for home consumption" (p. 122); that "colonial experience afforded no example of either success or failure conspicuous enough to commend any element of its legislation particularly to the Federal Government or to State lawmakers of a later period" (p. 71); that "lack of currency and of a sound system of finance was more influential than lack of capital in checking the growth of colonial manufactures" (p. 124); and that "the relatively high cost of labor was the most marked symptom of the complex of economic conditions that discouraged manufactures in America" (p. 158).

For the period following 1790 the author concludes: that in spite of independence the European background to American industry played as important a part in the development of our manufactures as during the

colonial period, because of the severe economic competition following upon inventions and technical progress (p. 233); that the effect of undeveloped natural resources on production was the dominant force controlling capital, wages, and profits as they separately and collectively affected manufactures (p. 364); that the wages of unskilled labor were one-third or a half higher in America than in Great Britain, the wages of artisans were also high, but in the case of factory labor there was much less difference (p. 390-391); that "the total effect of protection was to encourage manufactures; some early outgrew the benefits of this influence; others continued to be sustained solely by its support; others were more hampered than aided by the complex of conditions with which this legislation surrounded their operations" (p. 312); and finally, that "when our country was founding its economic system, manufacturing everywhere broke away from ancient technical precedents; processes of production were revolutionized, and world forces were set at work that superseded the limited and local conditions of a single nation. To these broader influences, rather than to our great natural advantages or to the genius of our people, must be attributed much of our industrial progress" (p. 578).

In the main the conclusions of the author, backed up as they are by scholarly method and a broader basis of fact than has heretofore been available, will, it is believed, be accepted. Concerning a few of the more general statements the reviewer, however, would be inclined to raise a question. The description of the object of the mercantile system (p. 9) seems too narrow, not sufficiently recognizing its broader state-building objective. The assertion that the scarcity of colonial currency resulted from the tendency of capital to assume fixed forms and not from the lack of wealth (p. 123) is certainly doubtful. The reasons for this scarcity assigned on the following page, plus the poverty of the colonial governments, appear more satisfactory. The conclusion that: "Manufacturing is the phase of production that has modified most our national character and the constitution of society" (p. 578), will scarcely meet with general acceptance. If the term "modified" is used in the sense of bringing about changes rather than fundamentally shaping our character and society it would be less objectionable but even then the reviewer would wish to substitute the present tense for the past. However, these are chiefly questions of relative emphasis, and one feels almost ungracious in raising them at all in the case of a work which contains so much that deserves only the warmest commendation.

The volume is admirably printed with large type on good paper. It includes several maps showing the distribution of different manufactures and a useful appendix, chiefly devoted to price statistics. The index is adequate and the bibliography comprehensive. The New York state censuses, 1825, should have been listed in the latter.

CHESTER W. WRIGHT.

*Manhattan, 1624-1639.* By EDWARD VAN WINKLE. (New York: The Holland Society. 1916. Pp. viii, 47.)

THIRTY years ago, Henry Harrisse acquired three highly interesting maps of New Netherland (1639). As he purchased these in open market, his collector's zeal stimulated by the descriptions given in the catalogue of Frederik Muller and Company of Amsterdam, M. Harrisse conceived a profound contempt for unobserving New York "paleographical wisecracs" who had failed to note the items and had thus allowed to "go begging for a mere song the superb series of New Netherland, Manhattan, and North River *manuscript maps*, magnificently drawn on the spot [the italics are M. Harrisse's] in 1639 (you hear 1639) by Joan Vingboons (Prince of Nassau's cartographer) for the West Indies Company of Holland". Such was the commentary jotted down by the self-satisfied successful student of the catalogue.

Now the map entitled "Manatys" not only shows the island in outline approximating to the true proportions of the land, but it is accompanied by a list of those occupying the farms and plantations, specifically designated by reference numbers. There are fifty items listed, mills, fort, and negro quarters being added to the names of those dwelling on the allotments. It is, thus, an early directory of more than mere antiquarian interest and it is not surprising that the late owner of the document, himself an alien, should have permitted his pen to run away with his emotions of surprise that enlightened amateurs, who often paid a thousand pounds for a printed book of which at least five copies were in existence, had not mustered courage to buy this Manhattan map with its real-estate data, at \$17. These critical sentiments, more vivacious than kindly, were not meant for the public eye. The French historian placed his three cartographical treasures within one cover duly labelled as "drawn on the spot by Joan Vingboons" in 1639. It was to the fly-leaves alone that he confided his private opinion of New Yorkers whose eyes should have discovered a treasure peculiarly appealing to them. The public did not know of the find until 1892, when it was permitted to make part of a Columbian exhibit in Paris, nor of the possessor's comments and critical attitude until requests for more information in its regard led to a partial expression of the same. Upon James Grant Wilson were lavished some very derogatory adjectives, but probably that gentleman never knew how M. Harrisse really felt about his method of writing New York history. Mr. Phelps Stokes seems to have been the first toiler in the field to have inspired a greater confidence and he was allowed, through the eyes of a friend, a vicarious peep at the jealously guarded object. But he, too, had to wait, like the rest of those whose curiosity had been whetted by rumors, for the owner's death, before he could obtain a photograph of the map for the first volume of his *Iconography*. A critical discussion of it and its mate, the Costello, showing nearly the same delineation of Manhattan Island, was reserved for the second volume of this most notable and

reassuring work on New York. The Costello map was, by the way, preserved in a villa near Florence.

Now, in 1916, the valuable little atlas comes to the Library of Congress by special bequest of M. HARRISSE to be at the service of everyone. It is a great gift, far more interesting just as it is, with the late owner's own carping touch upon it, than it can be in any reproduction, even the most faithful.

Mr. Van Winkle's gay blue and orange volume, entitled *Manhattan, 1624-1639*, undoubtedly performs a useful service in making known a new acquisition of the Library of Congress. It is not, however, dedicated exclusively to that, as its name shows. With the evident intention of putting into convenient and accessible form the earliest authentic data concerning the beginnings of the city, he has included under his title some pages from the Van Rensselaer manuscripts now conserved at the Hague, in addition to the Manatys map. The former gives lists of live stock in 1624, the latter of the colonists in 1639. The map is given in a reproduction of reduced size and again in full size, folded, with the list of names in translation. There are also cuts of the city seals and twenty-eight pages of notes on the names. For some reason the editor has chosen to adopt the form *Vingboom* for the cartographer—or at least, the engraver of the map—in preference to *Vingboons*, as the name is written by every editor of reference books wherein the members of the family are mentioned, except by Würzburg in his *Niederländische Künstler-Lexicon*, who gives *Vingboom* as an alternative form. The ground of this choice by Mr. Van Winkle is not mentioned.

In regard to the translation, it would have been better, perhaps, had it gone further than it does. The retention of the *van* in descriptive names of settlers from Holland, or who had come to America by way of Holland, has had a tendency to obscure the facts of true name and origin. Where the *van* obviously means *from* or *of*, its translation would make it evident that at the time of the immigrant's arrival the particle was no part of his name, whatever it may have become in the possession of his posterity. As the notes are wholly in English, the ambiguity might have been entirely avoided in the text of the biographical sketches, especially when the locality of origin is not attached to the name as listed on the map. For instance, the name Claes Cornelisse Swits (p. 7) would seem better as "Claes Cornelissen the Swiss". The son of this man is so plainly designated as "Cornelis the son of Claes" in its Dutch form that there is no doubt as to what was name and what descriptive adjective.

As to the map itself, it is quite possible that time and careful investigation may prove M. HARRISSE to have been over-confident in his conviction that the map was made on the spot by Joan Vingboons and that it was the original that came into his hands from the library of N. Posthumus as catalogued by Frederik Muller. There is some reason

to doubt whether Vingboons touched foot on American soil and again some reason to suspect that, wherever the original was drafted, the Harrisse copy may be nothing more than a transcript; Mr. Stokes even suggests 1660 as the date of its own origin. At the first glance, two items excite curiosity. *Noot Rivier* instead of *Noort* in the lettering is an error that does not seem a probable one from the pen of a Hollander, any more than *Senikant* instead of *Predikant*. That word occurs as follows: "21-B van Senikant", very plainly. The translator's surmise that the word should be *Predikant* is correct beyond a doubt. The reference locates the Bouwerie definitely and it is the place allotted to the first husband of one Anneke Jans and known as the property of her second husband, Everardus Bogardus, a domine or preacher or predikant by the year 1639.

These and other points are, undoubtedly, discussed by Mr. Stokes in his forthcoming volume in connection with the Costello map, which differs from the Manatys map in the spelling of Noort, though apparently not in the second item. At least *nikant* is discernible on the small reproduction given in the *Iconography* and the six letters would imply *Senikant* rather than *Predikant*.

One general observation may be made on the store of information contributed to local history by the map. There was little staying power in the settlers; as more and more reliable documents come to light, it is evident that ownership or leasehold of land shifted continually on Manhattan from the early decades of her civic existence. There was constant change of base as one or another adventurer thought he might be better off up the Hudson River or back at the mouth of the Rhine. Little did they imagine what a service they would have rendered to their descendants, had they held tenaciously to their first easily acquired holdings, so that the family of to-day could read their title clear to the same!

*The Founding of Spanish California: the Northwestward Expansion of New Spain, 1687-1783.* By CHARLES EDWARD CHAPMAN, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History in the University of California. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1916. Pp. xxxii, 485.)

BROADLY speaking there are three classes of books in the field of Spanish California history: the class which traces all important movements to the initiative of the Mission; that which traces such movements to the Spanish royal or vice-royal authorities, but which recognizes in the Mission an influence so vital and constant as to be for the most part controlling; and lastly, that which, putting the Mission in a place distinctly secondary, finds the true source of events in the Spanish government.

The book before us belongs avowedly to the class last named.

Indeed, it may well be characterized as a history of Spanish California on the political and diplomatic side; and as such it is a work of thoroughness and elaboration. Mr. Hubert Howe Bancroft in his monumental *History of California* used a multitude of original sources, but he made no search of the Spanish national archives themselves. This task (a pleasant one evidently) Mr. Chapman has performed with competence and the utmost industry.

Acknowledging, as we should be first to do, the indispensable need of research—minute research often—in historical work, it is yet in its research, or, rather, over-research, aspect that we are constrained to be critical of Mr. Chapman's study. To begin with, the book is much too long; and in the next place it is largely wanting in perspective.

The comparative ignorance of Americans with regard to the development of Spain, politically and institutionally, within the limits of North America, may be fully admitted; and as well the desirability of their enlightenment; but the trouble with books like the present one is that, outside the class room, they do not enlighten as books should. They carry so many facts per line that instead of enlightening the reader—yea, the industrious reader—they tend to suffocate him. He is apt to stop in their perusal half-way through.

It of course should be recognized that it is not to the layman that such books are primarily addressed; but we nevertheless think that books so published as to bespeak attention as works of general interest should observe, in handling masses of facts, the fundamental rules of selection and compression. If, as in Mr. Chapman's study, the documents used are not so much digested as calendared—lengthily abstracted—the resulting manifold is hardly in the true sense a book at all. It is a compilation—a series of doctoral theses—for the sake of which the *ensemble* (and reader) suffer not a little.

But, with this much of general caveat, let us be more precise.

Mr. Chapman's study embraces specifically the years 1687 to 1783. Its theme is the advance, long premeditated and planned, of Spain from Mexico City northwestward along the Pacific Coast, with the object of heading off the approach of rival powers: France by way of New Mexico; England by way of the Pacific Ocean; and Russia by way of the present Alaska. In assuming this task, Spain, as Mr. Chapman points out, was constantly thwarted by Indian revolts and shortage of revenue. The routes followed were three: one by sea from San Blas; one overland from Lower California, and one overland, along the Gila and Colorado rivers, from Sonora. In pursuing these routes there were brought into play the energies of men—Spanish statesmen and soldiers—such as José de Gálvez—inspector-general; Antonio María Bucarely y Ursúa—viceroys; Julián de Arriaga—minister of the Indies; and in New Spain itself Gaspar de Portolá (a character rather mild), whose expedition founded Monterey; and Juan Bautista de Anza (a strong character), who founded San Francisco.

In proving, and not merely stating, or implying, the fact that the occupation of the Upper California Pacific Coast by Spain between 1769 and 1783 was at bottom a political and not a religious proceeding, and in emphasizing the political significance for the United States of the massacre of Spanish colonists on the Colorado River by the Yuma Indians in 1781, our investigator performs a service of value. It is the assumption that this service is worth the detail which, as detail, is marshalled in its discharge, that provokes dissent.

On topics ancillary to the main theme, Mr. Chapman's volume offers much that is useful for the investigator. Coast exploration; the system of the frontier presidio; the Pious Fund; the Spanish colonial system; a once projected Tehuantepec Canal—all, as ancillary topics, are illuminatingly presented. Furthermore, there are half a dozen small but well-executed maps of dates from 1751 to 1778; useful bibliographical notes on printed and manuscript sources; appendixes; and a careful index.

An interesting portrait of Viceroy Bucarely forms a frontispiece to the volume, and Professor H. Morse Stephens contributes a helpful introduction.

IRVING B. RICHMAN.

*Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1706-1708*, June, preserved in the Public Record Office. Edited by CECIL HEADLAM, M.A. (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1916. Pp. lviii, 871.)

THE issue, under the new arrangement, of a second volume of the *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*, within a few months after the appearance of the first is a happy augury for a completion of the work within a reasonable time. If Mr. Headlam and those who may possibly succeed him in the task can prepare two volumes a year, thus advancing the series at the rate of about four years of the eighteenth century to one of the twentieth, we can hope to reach 1763 in fourteen or fifteen years. As the *Journal of the Board of Trade*, now in preparation for the printer, will have been issued long before the calendaring is finished, it seems probable that within a calculable time, a printed collection of the British material for colonial history will be accessible to the student. That such a situation will deeply affect the writing of our history, I confidently believe, for the older insularity of treatment was due quite as much to want of documents as to American patriotic bias. British problems and methods of control and the extent of British influence in America can be ascertained only when all the records of the governing authorities in England are brought into combination, and such grouping of material for student purposes is practically impossible as long as these records remain in manuscript.

In length, the present volume has been exceeded but once in the

series, and in interest and importance has never been surpassed. We see here the British system of management gradually taking shape. The Board of Trade, in co-operation with the Secretary of State, is zealously endeavoring to organize colonial administration and to define the powers of colonial officials. Its correspondence with the governors is full and regular, and its attention is chiefly centred upon the commissions and instructions of the governors, the scope and distribution of their powers, the devolution of authority in case of death, and the functions of both council and assembly. Constitutionally, the most important decision here rendered is that which took from the whole council the right to exercise the governor's powers and placed it squarely and without qualification in the hands of the president. Scarcely less important is the statement, here repeated in a new form, that the assembly had no more right to exercise the privileges of the House of Commons than the council had to exercise those of the House of Lords, a statement which shows that the English authorities never considered the colonial form of government in any sense a copy of that of England. This is further shown in the Board's declaration that the council had as much to do with the granting and raising of money as had the assembly, and that the latter could control its own appropriations and name its own treasurer only in very special and extraordinary cases.

Of lesser moment, but equally indicative of the Board's watchfulness, are the efforts here recorded to systematize the sending of letters from America, to encourage Dummer's packet service to the West Indies, to ensure a more methodical transmission of copies of legislative acts and proceedings, and to obtain a more regular despatch of colonial statistics, such as related to population, commerce, courts, and military defense. The Board was far from disposed to uphold the governors in all their actions, and not only criticized much that they did, but frequently reversed their decisions, particularly in the matter of appointments. In all that related to the royal prerogative, however, the attitude of the Board was inflexible.

The year 1707 saw the passage of two important acts of Parliament—the Act for the Union with Scotland and the Act for ascertaining the Rates of Foreign Coins in the Plantations. Both acts are frequently referred to in this volume. The first settled forever the status of Scotsmen in the colonies, and the second endeavored to control the value of gold and silver coins, in order thereby to render effective the proclamation of 1704. As an earlier volume made it clear that the proclamation was due, in part at least, to Maryland's complaint of the coinage act of Pennsylvania, so we now learn with more certainty than before that the regulation of the rates at which foreign coins were to pass was calculated from the Massachusetts act of 1697. In the debate that took place upon this question, one important decision was reached: an act passed in the colonies and confirmed by the crown had the force of an act of Parliament in England and could not be set aside or contradicted



at a later time even by Parliament itself. In this volume also is a considerable body of evidence of value for a study of the Land Bank Act or Paper Money Act of Barbadoes, a phase of the financial history of the colonies that is little known, but which was in its way as unwise and demoralizing as the corresponding act in Massachusetts later.

We are glad to note that Mr. Headlam has at last discovered the *Pennsylvania Archives* and the *New Jersey Archives*, and we have no doubt but that in time he will discover those of Maryland and North Carolina also. His calendaring is extraordinarily well done, and the opportunities that he gives for criticism are very few. "Mohican" is not the accepted spelling for "Mohegan" and the use of it in both preface and index is the more strange because of the regular appearance of the proper spelling in the text. For the work as a whole we have only the highest praise. Valuable as the earlier volumes of the series have been, it is as we advance into the eighteenth century that the *Calendar* becomes not only informing but positively illuminating. Every added volume from this time on is certain to widen the range of our knowledge of a period not only neglected but largely misunderstood.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

*French Policy and the American Alliance of 1778.* By EDWARD S. CORWIN, Ph.D., Professor of Politics, Princeton University. (Princeton: University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1916. Pp. ix, 430.)

It is a satisfaction to possess within the compass of a single volume a complete exposition of Franco-American relations during the American War of Independence. Such a volume, prepared with conscientious care, Professor Corwin has given us in *French Policy and the American Alliance*, which covers not only the negotiation of the treaties of 1778 and of the treaty of peace but furnishes us with a clear elucidation of the policy of France, considered from the point of view of its genesis, in determining upon a participation in the war.

The sources of information upon this subject are at present not only completely accessible, but for the most part to be found in printed documents; and there is no probability that further exploration of the archives will add anything of importance to the documentation now in hand, with the possible exception of some new light upon the Anglo-Spanish negotiations. Of all this material, of which Doniol has made the most important compilation, Professor Corwin has made a faithful and intelligent use that reflects credit at the same time upon his industry and his sense of proportion.

The result does not in any important particular revolutionize the conceptions formed by the best accredited of the previous writers, but it does appreciably add to our conviction that we are now able to comprehend the aims of the French government, the peculiar limitations of

its freedom of action on account of the relations with Spain, and the substantial loyalty of the king and his ministers to their engagements with the colonies.

Treating as he does solely of official policies and purposes, Professor Corwin makes no attempt to deal with questions of sentiment, either as regards the sympathy of the French people with the American colonists or the appreciation felt by the beneficiaries of French co-operation against Great Britain; and in this he is strictly logical. Great Britain had in 1763 deprived France of her American colonies, had opposed her interests on the Continent, had aided in humiliating her and destroying her prestige as a European Power, and was likely at some time to menace her West Indian possessions. By all the canons of eighteenth-century diplomacy, therefore, it was the policy of the French monarchy to inflict humiliation and loss upon Great Britain; and this was the motive that underlay the influence which the Count de Vergennes brought to bear upon Louis XVI. to induce him, first to offer secret aid, and finally openly and actively to espouse the American cause. Of official sympathy with the political ideas of the American Revolution there is, of course, no evidence; and yet the enthusiasm of the French people for the American cause, which was not merely resentment toward Great Britain but sincere sympathy with the American aspirations for liberty, must not be overlooked, for it was an appreciable factor in sustaining the official policy of the monarchy with popular approval, which was beginning to be felt as an influence in France. It was a risk, undoubtedly, that the monarchy was running in giving encouragement to liberal ideas; but this was counterbalanced to a considerable extent by the desire to restore the prestige of the crown, which had fallen so low under Louis XV.

Among the subjects particularly well discussed by Professor Corwin is the divergence of interests between France and Spain, and the consequent difficulty which Vergennes experienced in trying to reconcile them. Spain, having territorial possessions in North America adjacent to the British territories, had to consider her future interests on that continent. If the colonists succeeded in the war, there was danger that they would claim the possession of all the territory east of the Mississippi with the right of free navigation on that river, thus destroying the Spanish monopoly of commerce in the Gulf of Mexico, with a possibility of further aggressions. The danger resulting from an infection of the Spanish colonists with revolutionary ideas was also to be considered. For these reasons Spain never desired a complete success by the revolted colonies. France, on the other hand, having lost her continental American possessions, and having no disposition to recover them, but only to weaken and abase Great Britain, had no such interests at stake.

The policies of the two governments, though bound together by the *Pacte de famille* in terms of closest alliance, and united in their hostility to Great Britain, were at variance at many points; and one of the most

puzzling problems in Vergennes's diplomacy was to maintain the interests of France and the honor of the king as affected by the family compact on the one hand and the American alliance on the other. In this very difficult situation the part played by Vergennes was at times somewhat ambiguous, and has been severely criticized by writers who did not duly estimate the complications of his position; but, in the light of all the obligations involved, the rôle of Vergennes is, on the whole, creditable to his high sense of loyalty to both the allies of France. If at times his devotion to American interests seems to flag, the reasons for it are to be found, if not in the faults of the Americans themselves, in the obligations of the family compact between the two Bourbon monarchies. On the other hand, when the occasion called for it, the French minister did not hesitate to denounce the policies of Florida Blanca as "grounded in passion, prejudice and selfishness". Yet it should not be forgotten that the *Pacte de famille* was the real foundation of French diplomacy, while the American alliance was only a diplomatic episode. "Spain", wrote Vergennes, "will put her interests before everything else . . . and she looks upon independence with regret". In view of the counteracting influences, it must be admitted that Vergennes's attitude toward the colonies, to which he caused Louis XVI. to assent, was one of generous loyalty so far as the interests and obligations of France would permit.

In the controversy over Jay's conduct in the negotiations of peace, Professor Corwin seems to take a middle course; and justifies it by an explanation of the reason why Jay, whose frosty experience at Madrid had ripened his diplomatic perceptions, was suspicious of a too strong leaning on the part of Vergennes toward the Spanish interests, which he felt warranted in counteracting with all his power.

Taken as a whole, we have in this volume a scholarly piece of work, executed with an evenness of temper and sobriety of judgment that are to be strongly commended and should quite disarm a critic who might be disposed to be meticulous in pointing out insignificant defects, such as a considerable harvest of printer's errors, of which the author is no doubt fully aware but which are so evidently mere mechanical slips that they will not greatly annoy the reader. The style is even and perspicuous. Of individualisms the frequently recurrent expression "by the same token" is the most marked. Its vagueness does not, however, prevent its serving as a useful idiom for expressing the idea that the same transaction may have quite different aspects.

DAVID J. HILL.

*The Revolution in Virginia.* By H. J. ECKENRODE, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Economics and History in Richmond College. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1916. Pp. iii, 311.)

WE have in this volume one of the best studies of local history in a limited period that has been written in the American field. After most scholarly and exhaustive research the author has told his story with

good literary sense, only rarely obscured by lack of courage to sacrifice materials laboriously collected; and he has brought to the task broad human sympathies, alert for all manner of causes and influences whether they are recognized by the schools or not. The work is rich in new suggestions, courageous conclusions, and significant contributions to the larger currents of our national history. The reviewer disagrees at times with the author's judgments, but at the same time is so much impressed by the evidence contrary to his former belief that he would prefer studying the whole matter over again before committing himself to a contrary opinion. There is room for merely an outline of the interesting or important conclusions of this study. The author thinks the significant thing in Patrick Henry's opposition to the Two-Penny Act was that by a *coup* he turned a quarrel in the House of Burgesses into a general political issue, and not that he appeared as a tribune combating class privilege. Moreover, he did not originate in the House of Burgesses the spirit of resistance to the British imperial policy, but rather showed to men already aroused the wisdom of immediate and emphatic action in opposition. Most Virginian leaders were ready for protest but not for treason. Forced into that they went on until Peyton Randolph, who "would have given 500 guineas for a single vote to help defeat Henry's motion", became later the first speaker of the revolutionary House of Burgesses and the first president of the Continental Congress. It was Henry's appearance, a rallying figure for all the elements of revolution, which marked the spread of the spirit of revolt from the assembly to the body of the people. Here too was the rise of the Democratic party, which under Jefferson expanded beyond the bounds of Virginia to the nation at large. Thus Jefferson was not its creator, but the leader who molded to his purposes what already existed in an undefined way. Mr. Eckenrode makes very clear that the Revolution in the South was not of economic origin. He admits that the insistent economist might pronounce the Revolution in Virginia another Catilinian conspiracy to obtain relief for the planters, heavily in debt to the British merchants, by war, with its resultant *tabula rasa*. But, in fact, the cause was political. It was the determination of a proud, easy-going, liberty-loving community, conscious of its importance in America, and of its small importance in English eyes, to maintain its old independence and increase it. Moreover, it was not demagogues but the local gentry who fanned the flame of rebellion in the tide-water region. An excellent study of the county committees shows that their work was supported by the large landholders, who thus inadvertently led the colony into war. The political thinkers of the Old Dominion were planters whose leisure gave them time for becoming acquainted with Locke and Sidney, who furnished them precedents for revolutionary activity. Familiar with such ideas they did not oppose the Declaration of Independence. Yet few of Virginia's leaders had imbibed eighteenth-century liberalism; they wished merely for a colonial government un-

hampered by a governor's meddling, or a royal veto. Thinking Englishmen's thoughts, upholding English institutions, the great planters looked down on dissenters and democrats who sought to readjust the constitution to liberal ends. In spite of them, however, the Revolution in Virginia, beginning with the rights of America, ended with the rights of man.

A most interesting chapter deals with the "Fall of Jefferson", whose failure as war governor of Virginia, and even his narrow escape from impeachment, did not wreck his career. The author does not accept the current accusation of cowardice but substitutes that of military incompetence, partly the result of Jefferson's strict constitutionalism, which made him always turn to the assembly when instant action was the only effective course. It was the same deficiency which later marred his presidential term. No other military system seemed possible to him than calling out crowds of the rawest militia at the moment of need. These follies did not spoil his political success, because of his rare capacity for expressing the spirit of his age, as he did so nobly in the Declaration of Independence.

C. H. VAN TYNE.

*America's Foreign Relations.* By WILLIS FLETCHER JOHNSON, A.M., L.H.D., Honorary Professor of the History of American Foreign Relations in New York University. In two volumes. (New York: The Century Company. 1916. Pp. xii, 551; vii, 485.)

MR. JOHNSON has undertaken to write "a popular history in a worthy sense of that too often abused term, intended for popular perusal and accurate information upon topics which are among at once the most important and the most neglected or most misunderstood in all our national annals". The impression left by the reading of his two volumes is that, on the whole, he has succeeded in his task. In general his attitude is judicial, his vision is broad and sympathetic, and his judgments mature and reasonable. While his literary style may not charm, it is clear and cogent; the narrative rarely flags in interest, because the merely episodic is generally avoided. The writer has so woven the details together as to give unity to his theme. The quotation from Washington's farewell address, with which the book closes, may be considered as a text upon which the work is based. The exclusion of "inveterate antipathies" and "passionate attachments" for other nations, "steering clear of any permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world", has been to the author the guiding motive in our foreign relations, which, departed from in the past to our detriment, is still, in his opinion, the fundamental basis for a correct foreign policy. Such a position may seem old-fashioned and even timid in these days, but that it will appeal to most of his readers is hardly doubtful.

Notwithstanding the obvious merits of the work, it has some of the faults apt to attend such a performance. In some matters the writer has special knowledge and as to them (*e. g.*, the canal policy) he writes freshly and with vigor. In others he has less interest. As to them he is apt to be perfunctory and to accept traditional views (*e. g.*, the Revolutionary peace negotiations). Furthermore, the volume betrays here and there carelessness of statement which mars, even though it may not materially lessen, the value of the whole.

As is to be expected in a popular work, no authorities are given and it is not always easy to trace the sources of information. Now and then, however, it is apparent that recent monographic contributions have not made their impress upon the author as one might expect. The background is that of the English colonies in North America, little attention being paid to the larger questions of diplomacy which affected them; a better perspective, for example, might have been gained by considering British and Spanish contacts in America during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. What is said about the Revolutionary diplomacy is at first Anglophobe and later strongly tintured by the Jay tradition. Indeed John Jay and John Hay are the two great lights in the writer's diplomatic firmament. Had use been made of Marshall's *Western Boundary of Louisiana*, Adams's negotiations with Onis would have had new significance. The conclusions of Mr. Golder's article in the *American Historical Review* for July, 1915, require a recasting of the account of the visit of the Russian fleet to the United States during the Civil War. Certain topics, it would seem, do not interest the author; boundary questions is one. The negotiations upon boundaries resulting in the treaty of 1783 are barely touched upon. The "important" portions of that treaty printed in the appendix do not contain article II. Nor is the author much concerned with commercial treaties aside from the question of reciprocity. The treaty-draft of 1776 is not mentioned, while many important agreements are merely named in the concluding paragraphs of several chapters. Upon the Isthmian policy and the interests of the United States in the Pacific the chapters are excellent. Again, the writer has antipathies, or at least suspicions, not very violent perhaps, but still influencing his work. At first it is Great Britain, then Russia, and in the last chapters Germany. Some might say, as to the last, that the wonder is that the suspicion is not greater. The Samoan question is reinterpreted in this respect. It is, however, in connection with the Hay-Herran Treaty (II. 316-318) that the German spectre is most materialized. If it be true, as Mr. Johnson insists, that German intrigue helped to determine Colombia's rejection of the treaty, no other excuse for "taking" the Panama canal strip would be necessary. In an earlier work he had characterized the "intrigue" as "legitimate".<sup>1</sup>

There are errors of detail to be pointed out. The provision in the treaty of 1783 for the freedom of navigation of the Mississippi was not

<sup>1</sup> *Four Centuries of the Panama Canal* (1906), p. 136.

"foolish", as British territory touched that river (I. 128). "Free ships, free goods" was adopted in the first treaties with France and the Netherlands (I. 132). Russia was certainly not "reluctant" to join the Armed Neutrality (I. 101). That it was because of America that Frederick the Great first put forward "free ships, free goods" (I. 202) is likely to cause confusion. That our title to Louisiana included Texas (I. 377) is of course not now seriously held. Receptivity concerning the line of 49° was intimated by Great Britain before February 26, 1846 (I. 424). Jackson did not oppose the Dutch canal concession because it violated the Monroe Doctrine (I. 431); the Know-Nothing party was not really a part of the Whig party (I. 526); and Austria's action in the Koszta case was not a "violation of Turkish neutrality" (I. 532). The United States had not with consistency "long advocated" the second and third articles of the Declaration of Paris (I. 535). To say that in 1861 Russia "had never formally recognized the independence of the United States" (II. 22) discloses a misapprehension as to what constitutes formal recognition. The Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 is confused with the Brussels Conference of 1890 (II. 134). Many would disagree with the contention that the pursuit of the *Itata* was "monstrous folly"; that consisted in seizing her in Chilean waters (II. 196). To say that the United States had a protectorate over Cuba since 1840 (II. 237) is simply to misuse the word. The same looseness of expression appears in the statement that Spain in 1898 "reserved the privilege of privateering, although only with the armed cruisers of her navy" (II. 260). Extending the list would only create a false impression. After all, the work is a readable and, in the main, a trustworthy popular account of American diplomatic history.

JESSE S. REEVES.

*American Debate: a History of Political and Economic Controversy in the United States, with Critical Digests of Leading Debates.*

By MARION MILLS MILLER, Litt.D. In two volumes. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1916. Pp. xiii, 467; ix, 417.)

IN 1913 the author of this work brought out a fourteen-volume compilation entitled *Great Debates in American History*, which "presented in topical order the text of Congressional and other public discussions of the chief issues in our politics from the debates on the Stamp Act . . . down to the close of the Taft Administration". The "ethics of his editorial position", however, required him to exclude from that work "accounts of political events concerning which there were no debates, and to refrain from comments on the validity of the arguments set forth and on the skill of the debaters"; and he accordingly

resolved to produce at a later time a short but continuous political history of the United States largely but not exclusively as reflected in debates on issues of supreme importance, which work should serve also as a manual upon the Art of Debate, to this end containing an exposition of forensic principles and practice as exemplified in the logic and parliamentary finesse of our greatest statesmen.

The result is the work before us,

intended to serve as (1) an historical account of main subjects of public discussion in the United States down to the beginning of the Civil War; (2) an exposition of the chief political and economic principles which have been incorporated in the legislation and the governmental institutions of the country; (3) a history of American political issues and events; (4) a treatise upon the art of debate as exemplified in American forensic contests; (5) a guide to the Congressional records and the best compilations of debates and individual speeches; (6) a collection of examples of American eloquence; and (7) a collection of short biographies of leading statesmen, with appreciation of their abilities, particularly as debaters (I. viii-x).

It would be pleasant to be able to commend Mr. Miller's performance of his ambitious task. A careful examination of these two volumes, however, leaves much doubt as to their practical usefulness. To begin with, the large promise of the preface, as quoted above, seems to have been only in part fulfilled. The first eight chapters of volume I., for example, deal respectively with Writs of Assistance, the Stamp Act, the Supremacy of Parliament, Massachusetts *vs.* Parliament, Congress *vs.* Parliament, Independence, the Articles of Confederation, and the Constitution. Then follows, however, a sweeping chapter entitled Federalist *vs.* Republican, and another entitled National Defense, the latter carrying us to the close of the War of 1812; then the author jumps to Nullification and Secession, to each of which topics he devotes a chapter. One naturally looks to volume II. to bridge some of the chasms, only to find that volume II. deals with but two subjects, land and slavery. It would be superfluous to enumerate the long list of important topics which such a selective treatment ignores.

Nor are the other promises of Mr. Miller's preface much better carried out. The "treatise upon the art of debate" reduces itself, aside from a few comments, to brief foot-note allusions to the bearing of various ante-bellum arguments upon such a heterogeneous list of current questions as the tariff, the single tax (Mr. Miller appears to be especially interested in a reform of the land system as a step towards the abolition of poverty), woman suffrage, the recall of judges, trade unionism, trusts, philosophical anarchism, polygamy, direct legislation, the union label, New Thought, and the rights of neutrals in the present war. To describe the work as "a guide to the Congressional records" is to use that phrase in an unfamiliar sense. On the other hand, to speak of these volumes as "a collection of examples of American eloquence" is hardly correct, for the reason that few of the extracts are long enough to do justice to either the argumentative or the oratorical powers of the persons quoted. As for the short biographies, they are dropped into the narrative wherever the names happen to occur, destroying almost beyond repair the little continuity which a text bristling with quotations and summaries possesses.

Fortunately for those who may use the work, positive errors of state-



ment are few and relatively unimportant. One looks in vain, however, for evidence that the historical literature of the last twenty-five years has been much used. An author who to-day relies upon Story's *Commentaries* for his account of colonial beginnings, or who cites Irving's *Knickerbocker* as a reliable picture of Dutch New York, must be used with caution. Erskine did not, of course, "withdraw" the Orders in Council (I. 324), and the federal government did not abolish slavery during the Civil War (II. 289, note). If, as Mr. Miller seems to think, the claims of Pelatiah Webster have been overstated, why does he nevertheless quote with hearty approval Mr. Hannis Taylor's praise of the Webster plan as "the epoch-making achievement which must forever stand forth as a beacon-light in the world's political history"? And how came it that the retrocession of Louisiana to France in 1800 "alarmed" the United States and "contributed greatly to the election of a Republican Congress and President" (I. 300), when the fact of the cession was not known until 1802?

WILLIAM MACDONALD.

*Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy.* By CHARLES A. BEARD. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1915. Pp. ix, 474.)

THIS volume does not profess to be a history of the United States, or even of politics in America, during the administrations of Washington and Adams. It is rather a series of historical essays upon some phases of the politics of that period, roughly chronological in arrangement. Three of them discuss the measure of continuity in political parties from 1787 to 1801, six set forth how the Federalists used the new government to benefit capital at the expense of agriculture, and five trace the consequent political triumph of the agrarian Republicans.

Starting from the contention of his *Economic Interpretation of the Constitution* that the ratification contest was not primarily a war over abstract political ideas, but over concrete economic issues, chiefly between the capitalistic and the agrarian classes, and rejecting the theory that party differences evaporated when ratification was complete and that new parties were not formed until 1791, as Bassett has recently asserted, or, as Libby has attempted to prove, until 1798, Professor Beard seeks to establish "a fundamental relation between the division over the adoption of the Constitution and the later party antagonisms between Federalists and Anti-Federalists". He shows in detail (chapter II.) that the affiliations of such members of the Federal Convention as continued in public life were what his assumption would require us to forecast. The Anti-Federalist-Republicans, in accepting the Constitution, had changed their skies but not their minds. They now used the instrument to obstruct those policies, when put into practice, which, when merely foreseen, had moved them to oppose it. The Federalists, on the

other hand, promptly took possession of the new government and addressed themselves to the execution of their predetermined plans.

Indeed, one may say with a high degree of truth that the Constitutional Convention, though it adjourned on September 17, 1787, never dissolved until the great economic measures which were necessary to make the Constitution a living instrument were fully realized. Though separated during the contest over ratification, the leading members were united in the labor of securing the approval of the grand design. When the new government was set up, the great majority of the active spirits met once more as members of Congress, high officers, and judges, and in official capacity gave reality to the words written down at Philadelphia.

So far it is not difficult to agree. But the further assertion that "the government that began with the inauguration of Washington was therefore no non-partisan government" seems an attempt to arm the Suevoi with a rifle—an attempt the more unhappy because it was quite unnecessary. The author's substantial contention was sufficiently supported without it, and would have appeared better established had not mere delight of battle with Bassett and Libby seduced him into a useless discussion of party continuity where, as he recognizes, "everything depends upon the definition of the term 'party'", and it is left unclear in what sense, if any, there were parties to define.

The Federalist use of the new government is next passed through the alembic of "economic interpretation". The resultant distillate presents more novelty of form than of substance. Two chapters, compiled one from Republican, the other from Federalist pamphleteers, support the author's finding that Hamilton's measures were primarily capitalistic in character and constituted a direct bid to the financial, manufacturing, and commercial classes to support the new government in return for advantages conferred. Contemporary newspapers would have afforded conciser recognition of the same economic interest and in language less obscured by the fashionable literary overlay of political theorizing. Another chapter examines at length, and not without sympathy, the assertions of Maclay, Jefferson, and Taylor that a "corrupt squadron" in Congress accepted the Federalist bid for votes. It is shown from the Treasury books that in the Senate eleven security holders approved and five disapproved the funding bill, whereas only three non-holders approved, and seven disapproved it. Also that in the House security holders cast 21 of the 32 votes for assumption and only eight of the 29 voted against it. In this analysis the amount of securities held by individuals is not set down, apparently on the theory (p. 177) that no security-owning member, whether a speculator or not, could cast a "disinterested" vote. Subsequently Professor Beard warns us against the temptation to draw too many inferences from such data, and justly remarks (p. 195) that, on the assumption bill at least, "nearly all the members, security holders and non-security holders alike, represented the interests

of their constituencies rather than their personal interests". This instance of divergent judgments does not stand alone. Again and again he seems to insinuate a doubt, perhaps unconscious, concerning the disinterestedness of public men, only to conclude, when, upon review, he squarely faces the issue, that "the charge of mere corruption must fall to the ground". The reader may be pardoned for some uncertainty what is left standing.

After analysing "the economics of the Jay Treaty", and surveying John Adams's *Defence of the American Constitutions* (1787) and John Taylor's *Inquiry into the Principles and Policy of the Government of the United States* (1814) as examples of the politics of capitalism and of agrarianism, Professor Beard tells how these joined issue in "the great battle of 1800", from which Jefferson emerged victorious not least because he

believed the agricultural interest to be the very basis of the Republican party, although he looked upon the petty merchants, tradesmen, and mechanics as valuable recruits for that organization. . . . [He] regarded the larger capitalistic interests—the security-holding, banking, commercial, and manufacturing groups—as the economic foundation of the Federalist party, and the real enemy against which the forces of the Republican party were to be hurled. While it may not be profitable to join in an interminable argument as to whether this constitutes an economic "interpretation" of Jefferson's politics, men of a practical turn of mind will be satisfied with its significance in the world of fact (p. 435).

Many a biographer, undertaking to display the character of Columbus, has revealed rather his own. It is a result almost inevitable where the facts are unknown. And where the facts are known, but complicated, a similar danger—or opportunity—confronts the commentator. The most conspicuous Federalist who accepted Jay's unsatisfactory treaty in order to avoid a war was among the largest of the security holders. In what measure did fear of a loss in the market determine the conduct of such men? Professor Beard does not answer the question. He does not even ask it. But he believes

it is impossible for any one who runs through the debates in Congress, the public papers of the statesmen of the period, the newspapers, the pamphlets, and the private correspondence to escape the conclusion that the Jay treaty originated in the economic interest of the Federalist party and that the maintenance of the stability of the fiscal system through the continued regularity of the revenues was among the first considerations that appealed to them (p. 295).

As to the other considerations he is silent. While it may not be profitable to join in an interminable argument as to whether this constitutes an economic "interpretation" of Washington's politics, men of an historical turn of mind will be satisfied with its significance

"or else [they] will not  
I cannot be positive which".

CHARLES H. HULL.

*Missouri's Struggle for Statehood, 1804-1821.* By FLOYD CALVIN SHOEMAKER, A.B., A.M. (Jefferson City: The Hugh Stephens Printing Company. 1916. Pp. 383.)

MR. SHOEMAKER'S book is an excellent piece of research. The first chapter reviews the history of the organic acts of 1805, 1812, and 1816. The second chapter sets forth the petitions for statehood that resulted in the passage by Congress of the enabling act. The third chapter presents an exhaustive inquiry into the state of public opinion in Missouri in 1819 respecting slavery restriction and shows how bitter was the resentment against the proposed dictation of Congress. Chapter IV. gives an account of the campaign for the election of delegates to the constitutional convention, resulting in the overwhelming victory of the pro-slavery party. Mr. Shoemaker minimizes the influence which the proposed restriction by Congress must have had in strengthening the pro-slavery sentiment. The fifth chapter analyzes the personnel of the constitutional convention and gives particular account of its ablest members. Chapter VI. reconstructs, as well as can be done from the meagre record, the work of the convention in framing the state constitution. From the shortness of the time within which the first draft of the constitution was reported, the conclusion is irresistible, although Mr. Shoemaker does not suggest it, that the "lawyer junto" must have come to the convention with a ready-made constitution in their pockets. Chapter VII. is an excellent bit of historical criticism. From a painstaking analysis of the votes in the convention, Mr. Shoemaker deduces a list of men whom he regards as most influential in giving the constitution its final form, and these he calls the authors of the constitution. The eighth chapter summarizes a longer study that Mr. Shoemaker has published elsewhere on the sources of the Missouri constitution. He finds that it was largely based upon the constitutions of Kentucky, Alabama, Illinois, and Maine, with liberal use of a number of others. The ninth chapter covers the organization of the state government. Chapter X. treats the second Missouri compromise rather briefly. Possibly for the reason that he is telling the story from the standpoint of the state, Mr. Shoemaker omits to point out that the second compromise was the result of the ratification of the Florida treaty. The last chapter gives an account of the passage of the "solemn public act" by the special session of the legislature, and of the final admission of the state. In this connection Mr. Shoemaker makes the important discovery that Guyer pointed out the error in the designation by Congress of the objectionable clause of the state constitution, in a speech in the legislature that was reported in the *Missouri Gazette* for June 13, 1821. The book closes with a documentary appendix. The constitution is reprinted from the pamphlet edition printed in Washington in 1820. Mr. Shoemaker might have used the manuscript copy, which was rescued some years ago from the House files, and is now in the House Miscellaneous Papers in the Library of Congress.

The book is marred by some rather unhappy phraseology and a somewhat provincial point of view. The proposal to bound the state on the north by the Missouri River, Mr. Shoemaker denounces as "chimerical", "selfish", "abortive", and "unpatriotic". The proposal may have been unwise but the language used is stronger than the circumstances warrant. Mr. Shoemaker insists that Missouri became a state upon the enactment of her constitution. She certainly was not a state in the Union and quite as certainly not out of the Union. It is strange that, after the lapse of nearly a century, the course of those who opposed the unconstitutional provision in the Missouri constitution should still be stigmatized as "perfidious". There are but few erroneous statements of fact in the book and but few typographical errors. The note on page 219 is wholly incorrect. Jefferson was not the author of the first constitution of Virginia, the exclusion of the clergy from the assembly and privy council did not originate with him, and the political disabilities of the clergy in Kentucky did not extend beyond exclusion from the legislature. There is such constant reference to the counties of Missouri that maps showing their location and extent during the period covered are greatly needed.

F. H. HODDER.

*The Financial History of Boston, from May 1, 1822, to January 31, 1909.* By CHARLES PHILLIPS HUSE, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Economics and Social Science in Boston University. [Harvard Economic Studies, vol. XV.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1916. Pp. ix, 395.)

DR. HUSE'S careful study of the finances of Boston, and of the changes in its government, deserves high credit for clearness, and as a distinct contribution to our knowledge of the financial growth of an American city. But I cannot join in his praise of many of the changes in the charter. It yet remains in controversy whether the increased powers of the mayor have been wholly a gain, and Dr. Huse leans exclusively to one side, without sufficient representation of alleged defects.

Democratic tendencies kept Boston for two hundred years from becoming a city, though other places of less population adopted this form of government. But in 1821, when there were 45,000 people in Boston and it no longer was possible for them to gather together in town meetings, it reluctantly made the change. In place of town meetings a common council was established of forty-eight men; and, in place of the selectmen, a mayor and eight aldermen. Unfortunately, by an amendment, the mayor and aldermen became a part of the council as a separate board. The common council continued to be elected by wards; and the aldermen sometimes by wards, and sometimes at large. The election at large was upon the claim that it would be harder to elect

corrupt men than when control of a ward only was necessary; and, on the other hand, the election by wards was upon the claim that some of them never would elect such men. The British elect councilmen from small districts; and one reason for their high quality is because the citizens know the candidate personally.

Dr. Huse condemns this form of government, "which commingled legislative and administrative powers". Nevertheless it prevails in Europe, and it is the principal feature of the commission system, which so many cities have adopted. May it not be that our failure was due to the division of authority into two distinct branches of the council, rather than because both legislative and executive powers were administered by the same body?

Under this charter the mayor was not given any separate control, his position being similar to that of the president of a corporation, a presiding officer at the meetings of his associates, having no other power than such as is given by them. Thirty years later he was placed outside the aldermen, and given the right to veto "all acts which involved an expenditure of money", but a two-thirds vote could pass an act over his veto. In 1909 he was given an absolute veto, an authority without parallel in any other free community.

The financial history, from the adoption of the charter to the Civil War, shows two departures from the ideals of town government: large expenditures, and a permanent debt. These changes came from the new conveniences demanded by the growth of the city, especially sewer and water systems. When the introduction of water was under consideration a group of capitalists were anxious to undertake the venture, but the city council was persuaded by Mayor Quincy to act itself. Attention was given also to a like ownership of gas, which was furnished by a company organized in 1823. But the business had been conducted "in a manner entirely satisfactory to the public", and the council let the question rest. It was revived in 1856 when a committee reported to the council that water and gas, the two great necessities of a city, should never be in the hands of private corporations.

Another financial change in this first period appears in the diminishing importance of the poll tax, since with the growth of fortunes taxes naturally were levied more upon property and less upon polls. Even then, as now, the rich sought to escape such taxation. In 1848 Mayor Quincy said: "Some of our wealthiest citizens, from their interest in agriculture or other reasons, found it convenient to leave the city in the month of April."

The period from 1860 to 1873 saw great increase of expenditures, because of the war and the street improvements required by the Great Fire of 1872. From 1874 to 1886 was a period of retrenchment. Since then expenditures have largely been made, not by direct action of the city but by that of the state, which has ordered rapid transit, new streets, and new schoolhouses, in the city itself, and water, sewer, and park systems

in the metropolitan district, of which Boston is the principal part. It is in this period that the General Court has done the great bulk of its legislating for Boston, a power which formerly was not claimed by it, except very rarely and then only upon petition from the city; a violation of home rule and a distinct loss to the educational power of self-government.

*The Life and Legacy of David Rogerson Williams.* By HARVEY TOLIVER COOK, Litt.D., Professor of Greek, Furman University. (New York: Country Life Press. 1916. Pp. 338.)

To the House of Representatives of the Twelfth Congress, which met in November, 1811, there came as one of the delegation from South Carolina, David Rogerson Williams, who was elected for the Darlington district on the upper Pedee River. Though overshadowed by the more brilliant trio, Cheves, Calhoun, and Lowndes, Williams, who had previously sat in the Ninth and Tenth congresses, played in the Twelfth a rôle of considerable importance as chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs. After the declaration of war he accepted a commission in the United States army but resigned in 1813. In the following year he became governor of South Carolina. After one term he retired to private life, but emerged again in 1824 to accept election to the state senate. From 1827, when his term as senator expired, until his death in 1830, he took an active part in the opening stages of the nullification controversy, in which, while he denounced the tariff, he opposed radical action and urged that South Carolina resist the North by making herself economically independent rather than by an appeal to force.

In the volume under review the account of the earlier part of General Williams's political career, given by the author, Professor H. T. Cook of Furman University, is rather less satisfactory than that which describes the last three years of Williams's life. Doubtless this is due to the possibility of a richer documentation for the later years. Both in the text and in the appendix some interesting political letters are printed. But the chief value of the work is due to the fact that it affords many side-lights on the economic and social life of South Carolina. The settlement of the Welsh on the Pedee, the founding of the St. David's Society to establish a public school in the parish for the education of the youth of all Christian denominations, and the close connection between the South Carolina Baptists and Rhode Island College, later Brown University, are topics well worth the investigation which the author has given to them. Even more interesting is the picture of General Williams as a great landowner and farmer, who possessed the capital and the intelligence to experiment with varied agriculture, with the improvement of transportation, and with manufactures. The results of Professor Cook's study lend further confirmation to the belief that the days of the old South witnessed many

sturdy efforts to bring about that development of industrial life which characterizes the new South. General Williams's cotton-mill on Cedar Creek, which was begun in 1812, and which employed negro operatives, was a pioneer in this region, although not the first to be established in South Carolina. Professor Cook indicates some of the causes for the failure of manufactures to become widely successful—the difficulties of transportation, which sadly limited the market for the manufactured commodities; the constant migration from the state in search of new cotton lands; the prejudice against manufactures that existed and that was fostered in South Carolina, on political grounds; and, he might have added, the intense individualism which made business co-operation difficult.

The book is printed with excellent type and paper, but a map of the Pedee country, which would be very helpful, is wanting, and there is no index. A portrait of General Williams constitutes a frontispiece. The punctuation, style, and construction of the work leave much to be desired. In these respects it compares very unfavorably with Mrs. Ravenel's *Life and Times of William Lowndes*, which covers about the same period of South Carolina history. Professor Cook's work serves, however, to correct a slip of Mrs. Ravenel's, who refers to Williams as present in the Eleventh Congress; and one found in Hunt's *Calhoun*, in which Williams is described as a United States senator. A particularly annoying feature of the volume is the inclusion of bibliographical references, in parentheses, in the body of the text: one example of this practice, on page 167, may produce on the reader's mind an amusing effect not intended by the author. The expression "a bunch of Solons" will hardly be deemed to be of English undefiled; and one is amazed that a South Carolina writer should misspell the names of Mrs. St. Julien Ravenel and Professor Yates Snowden.

ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT.

*The Nullification Controversy in South Carolina.* By CHAUNCEY SAMUEL BOUCHER, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of American History in Washington University. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1916. Pp. xi, 399.)

PROFESSOR BOUCHER's painstaking labor has produced a book which no one will hesitate to call good of its kind. But what is the precise value of the kind? It is of the type that intervenes in the literature of a subject between the works of exploration and the definitive works. It is a work of accretion, increasing fruitfully our knowledge of the detail of the subject but nevertheless leaving it, in its main lines, as it has generally been left by the exploring works, vague.

In the present instance Professor Boucher has accumulated from newspapers and manuscripts a large quantity of detail not familiar to the general student. And yet, it is not the sort of detail that can alter



materially the general impression of the subject as it was left, a few years ago, by Mr. Jervey, in his life of Hayne. At the close of this volume, we come out, with Omar, at the same door where we went in.

The failure to open another door springs from two faults common to much recent work in history. Diligence is mistaken for originality, and there is a lack of imagination. For many of us the time has come to protest against that heaping up of detail, without evaluation of its significance, which has characterized so many doctoral dissertations. Especially, the quotation of newspapers, and of anything at all which is still in manuscript, is beginning to pall. We are not particularly interested in knowing that some one, whose words have not yet appeared in print, said something which has about the same significance as the words of someone else that have already crept into type. Nor does it strike us as necessarily important to know that a newspaper, or two, or three, said this or that. What we want to know is the significance of these utterances whether old or new. Did a majority, or fifty per cent., or ten per cent., of the people stand behind them? However, this precise evaluation of significance—or the demonstration that it is impossible—not having been insisted on by recent historical criticism, has not occurred to Professor Boucher as of first importance. Under the circumstances he is not to be blamed for still believing in the sacredness of accretion; but it is to be hoped that he will not continue to believe in it.

His lack of imagination appears in his failure to relate cause and effect. To illustrate: the two years between the checking of the movement to nullify in 1830 and its success in 1832 are covered in this volume by a welter of quoted opinion. It is a world of talk. We glimpse in it, to be sure, the organization of political clubs. But no personalities stand out as directors of the course of events. Nor is the action of definite, though impersonal, forces made plain. Which way the current is setting and what is determining its direction, is left obscure. And then—presto, change! a new day, nullification triumphant. But why did it triumph? The earlier presentations of the subject had, at least, their theories of the triumph. Calhoun, Hayne, McDuffy bulked large—especially McDuffy, to whom Calhoun attributed such crucial influence! Professor Boucher touches them all in the most incidental manner and devotes more space to various minor newspapers than to any of the three. One cannot help suspecting that he has been guided unaware by a subconscious resolve not to follow in anybody's footsteps. This is not a gracious attitude in a scholar. But pass that by. Hitherto, a famous speech by McDuffy, in May, 1821, has been regarded as a great landmark in the nullification controversy, while a very able speech by William Drayton, in July of that year, is far less known. Professor Boucher touches in a casual way on McDuffy's speech, but makes no attempt to evaluate his influence, and quotes from Drayton's speech at comparative length. This is symptomatic of his method.

The book is not a history of the nullification controversy; it is a valuable, though limited, contribution to the data upon which a history might be based.

N. W. STEPHENSON.

*Jahrbuch der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois.* Herausgegeben von JULIUS GOEBEL, Professor in the University of Illinois. [Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter, Jahrgang 1915, vol. XV.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1916. Pp. 382.)

THE present *Jahrbuch* offers a budget of interesting materials concerning the German refugees of the nineteenth century. The volume opens with the imposing figure of Francis Lieber, one of the best examples of the scholar and expert in American public life. A sketch of Lieber's career and achievement is given by the pen of Ernest Bruncken, who weighs carefully and critically the authoritative value of the larger works, *Legal and Political Hermeneutics*, *Manual of Political Ethics*, *On Civil Liberty and Self-Government*, and the *Instructions for the Government of Armies of the United States in the Field* (originally issued as *General Order No. 100*, by the War Department). Perhaps a little more space might have been devoted to Lieber's stimulating essays, but instead of this we find a true valuation of Lieber's educational ideals, within the lecture room and beyond, as when his letter to Sumner, December 24, 1864, is quoted: "I am the sworn enemy of all absolutism, and I trust my friends will remember of me this one thing, that I am the one who first spoke of democratic absolutism." Mr. Bruncken calls attention to the large collection of Lieber manuscripts in the possession of the Johns Hopkins University, much of which has not been published or utilized.

The editor of the *Jahrbuch*, Professor Goebel, next inserts two "forgotten" speeches of Carl Schurz and Franz Sigel, which clear up a question so often raised at the present time. Their general subject is, how a German in this country may cherish the memory and ideals of his native land without becoming disloyal to his adopted country? The speech of Carl Schurz, delivered in 1891 at Carnegie Hall at an anniversary celebration of the landing of the first Germans in the ship *Concord*, is a memorable effort, an eloquent guide to good citizenship for the foreign element not only from Germany but from all other countries as well. The speech is not contained in the comprehensive collection of *Speeches, Correspondence and Political Papers of Carl Schurz*, edited by Frederic Bancroft.

Another of the leaders, the "forty-eighter" Karl Heinzen, is portrayed by P. O. Schimerer as "Reformer, Poet, and Literary Critic". He is shown to be in certain aspects a forerunner of Nietzsche. Too radically individualistic to be constructive, too aggressively independent

to make a success of his numerous journalistic ventures, he was still a giant intellectually, and far in advance of his time.

F. J. Herriott, who has written a number of articles that show how the balance of power lay in the German vote of the Middle West in the Lincoln campaign of 1860, contributes to the present volume "The Premises and Significance of Abraham Lincoln's Letter to Theodor Canisius". In this letter Lincoln gives an unequivocal reply as to his position on the Massachusetts Amendment:

Understanding the spirit of our institutions to aim at the *elevation* of men, I am opposed to whatever tends to *degrade* them. I have some little notoriety for commiserating the oppressed condition of the negro; and I should be strangely inconsistent if I should favor any project for curtailing the existing rights of *white* men, even though born in different lands and speaking different languages from myself.

The "Recollections of a Forty-Eighter", by Maj. Fred. Behlendorff, Saxon revolutionist, present a very realistic picture of the morale, equipment, and generalship existing in the early days of the Civil War in Missouri. Behlendorff took part in the capture of the St. Louis arsenal for the United States government, and in the Missouri campaigns under Lyon and Sigel, subsequently enlisting in the 13th Illinois Cavalry and promoted to the rank of major in 1864.

An interesting literary contribution is contained in the article by E. H. Zeydel, on "The German Theatre in New York, 1878-1914", in which the principle of co-operation, as opposed to the starring system, is emphasized as the life-work of Heinrich Conried. His unfulfilled aim was the founding of a national American theatre with this principle in view. An unpublished letter of Paul Follen (brother of Carl Follen of Massachusetts), leader of a German emigration to Missouri in the thirties, presents a vivid picture of the hardships of pioneer life on the banks of the Missouri in the early days of settlement. A German song of 1778, relating to mercenaries in America (C. A. Williams), is of antiquarian interest, but sounds a Tory note hardly in keeping with the spirit that pervades the rest of the volume.

ALBERT B. FAUST.

*Filibusters and Financiers: the Story of William Walker and his Associates.* By WILLIAM O. SCROGGS, Ph.D., Professor of Economics and Sociology in Louisiana State University. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1916. Pp. x, 408.)

THIS is an authoritative narrative of filibustering activities of the decade before 1860. It is a story of long-forgotten episodes and achievements, full of personal daring and startling incidents, and portrayed with considerable vivacity although sometimes with tedious detail. Incidentally it throws side-lights on the spirit of the American nation and the policy of the American government. Parts of it have already appeared in the *American Historical Review* (X. 792) and the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (I. 198).

It is essentially a biography of William Walker, lawyer, physician, journalist, politician, and soldier of fortune, America's greatest filibuster, who by mere forceful personality attained high power, from which he fell, a victim of his own audacity. After considering the varied and complex forces which explain filibusterism, it traces Walker's early attempt to establish a republic in Lower California and Sonora, his bold designs in Central America culminating in his conquest of Nicaragua, his election to the presidency of the country, his plans to secure American investments, his efforts to obtain recognition at Washington, his struggle against the allied neighboring powers whom he forced to ask for European protection, his participation in the struggle of financiers for control of the transit route, his failures and his renewal of determined efforts, his final overthrow through the vengeful influence of Vanderbilt, and his capture and execution through English aid.

In chapter III., Walker's Forerunners, the author gives special attention to the early California filibusters of 1850, but does not mention the Cuban filibusters. In a later chapter he shows that Walker's attention was diverted to Central America by Byron W. Cole, who in 1854 went to Nicaragua with William V. Wells (a grandson of Samuel Adams). Incidentally he introduces various other expeditions, such as that of Henry L. Kinney, who was erroneously supposed to be acting in co-operation with Walker, but who was really a competitor.

Perhaps the most interesting part of the book is that relating to the activities of the various financial interests seeking to control the transit route: the opening of the route by Vanderbilt, the co-operation of Walker in the Morgan-Garrison scheme against the Vanderbilt interests, the withdrawal of the company steamers by Vanderbilt to prevent recruits from reaching Walker, the later contest of three rival groups of New York capitalists for the franchise of the transit route, which became complicated by a boundary dispute, the threatened intrusion of a French company represented by M. Belly, and the final success and revenge of Vanderbilt, who for a large money subsidy from the rival Panama line kept the Nicaragua route closed.

The closure of the transit, causing a diversion of traffic which perhaps changed the destiny of Nicaragua, was the most important result of Walker's career. His enterprise, by its failure, delayed indefinitely the "regeneration" which he proclaimed as his purpose.

In summarizing Walker's motives, Dr. Scroggs denies the traditional explanation that he was an apostle of slavery extension and asserts that he aimed first to create out of the republics of Central America a strong federated state organized and governed on military principles; then, as dictator of this confederation, he planned to effect the conquest of Cuba; and then to bring to realization the dream of an interoceanic canal. In explaining his decrees in favor of slavery, which were influenced by a visit of Soulé, the author states that he contemplated not annexation to the United States but possibly a future alliance with the Southern States after their secession from the American union.

The author has had training in historical research and his work exhibits evidences of industrious and careful investigation. He has not only drawn from the earlier accounts of Montfur, Perez, Nicaise, and Roche, and various reminiscences, but he apparently has made close examination of American newspapers of the period covered, and has had access to original manuscript archives in the State and Navy departments at Washington. He has also used the Wheeler scrap-books (now in the Library of Congress) prepared by the American minister in Nicaragua, and also a scrap-book compiled by John P. Heiss, at one time a proprietor of the New Orleans *Delta* and later sent by Marcy as a special agent to Nicaragua. Foot-note references are given but references to manuscript "Despatches" and "Notes" are not always complete.

Dr. Scroggs has not exhausted the diplomatic correspondence on the relation of filibustering to international relations. A large amount of unused material bearing upon his subject may be found at the Department of State in other "Despatches" from various Latin-American countries.

The work has some defects. The map opposite page 110 is not adequate (*e. g.*, it should show the "Punta Arenas" mentioned on pages 74 and 325). There are several minor errors of careless diction, loose construction, and infelicitous style. Examples of incoherence of narrative due to "improper reference" are seen on page 19 (line 25) and page 365 (line 6). The most painful example of ungrammatical construction appears at the top of page 397. The book has an index of names and places.

J. M. CALLAHAN.

*Abraham Lincoln.* By Lord CHARNWOOD. [Makers of the Nineteenth Century, edited by Basil Williams.] (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1916. Pp. viii, 479.)

LORD CHARNWOOD has given us the most complete interpretation of Lincoln as yet produced, and he has presented it in such artistic form that it may well become classic.

Lord Charnwood is a man of many affairs and much learning. He belongs to that Benson family of which the best known to Americans is the producer of Shakespeare's plays, and is of that group in which the late Henry James found such delight. He is neither a professional historian nor a professional writer, and his motive for the present work is quite obviously love of Lincoln. His preparation for it is but inadequately suggested by the extensive and discriminating "Bibliographical Note" (pp. 455-458). It really consists in a complete saturation with material relating to the subject in the largest possible way, and including, as the scholar must continually observe, the results of the most recent investigations and even unpublished conclusions. The subject has been with him since boyhood, and has taken shape in that atmos-

phere rich with public affairs, literary appreciation, and scholarship, which certain circles in England afford. The contribution is not one of new fact but of deep thought.

This is a testing background against which to throw a rough frontiersman who, unlike so many of his fellows, never acquired polish. It is an equal tribute to subject and author that the latter can write: "Those who read Lincoln's important letters and speeches see in him at once a great gentleman" (p. 404). Nor is this ability to look through surface deficiencies to essentials less revealed by the author's point of view with regard to American history as a whole:

there has been a tendency both in England and in America to look at this history upside down. The epoch of the Revolution and the Constitution has been regarded as a heroic age . . . to be followed by almost continuous disappointment, disillusionment and decline. A more pleasing and more bracing view is nearer to the historic truth. The faults of a later time were largely survivals, and the later history is largely that of growth though in the face of terrific obstacles and many influences that favored decay.

Lincoln is too well known to permit new interpretations of his character which are both true and sensational. Lord Charnwood does not reverse judgments, but his originality consists in his fusion of recognized characteristics into an intelligible whole. Nowhere is this more satisfactory, and nowhere was it more needed, than in the treatment of the relations of Lincoln to his family and his environment. Though not rejecting the supposititious strain of gentle blood through his mother's possible illegitimate birth, to which Lincoln himself attributed much of his difference, the author shows that Lincoln was in many respects the true son of his father. Truly amazing is the picture of the United States during his boyhood (pp. 16-62), out of which Lincoln rises not as a miracle, but as a towering native growth. To describe the awkward age of the frontier with the subtlety of a sophisticated mind, without disdain and without championship, is something which no American writer has as yet accomplished. It is against this background that he discusses with full candor those crudities which so many of Lincoln's biographers shirk. Lord Charnwood does not judge as a pragmatist, he tests these characteristics as to essentials, after eliminating the attendant dross of circumstance, with the strongest acid which a superior civilization can bring. He finds flaws, but not serious ones, and he finds some of those most shunned by eulogists, to have been closely related to wholesome fundamental traits.

Lincoln's training, both conscious and unconscious, is vividly portrayed, but he is brought to the presidency rather less complete than most biographers make him. Nevertheless Lord Charnwood makes here the point with which he closes the book, which, little recognized before the publication of portions of John Hay's diary, gives Lincoln his chief claim to universal interest, that he elected to fight the war not so much

to preserve the United States government, as because he believed that the preservation of that government was necessary to the triumph of democracy. Lord Charnwood's experience in public affairs makes him a keen judge of the scope of Lincoln's responsibility for the conduct of the administration. His recognition of the force of public opinion, of the necessity of trusting subordinates, of neglecting the important for the more important, bring into all the clearer relief the extent of Lincoln's guidance, and his inflexibility on essentials. His inclusion of war strategy among the subjects upon which Lincoln kept a firm and wise grasp, will surprise most readers, but it accords with the most recent studies in military history. The aphorism "So humorous a man was also unlikely to be too conceited to say his prayers", applies to Lord Charnwood as well as to Lincoln, in that he gives serious attention to the religious feeling that developed so strongly in Lincoln as the war progressed. So naturally is this development, as that of Lincoln's character as a whole, evolved with the progress of the war, that the reader is almost as surprised at the final judgment of the author as were the American people at their own in April, 1865.

It should be obvious that this book is not milk for babes. It is intended for the intelligent, whether they are informed or not, but not for the informed unless they are intelligent. It does not give a complete narrative, but discusses almost all Lincoln's serious problems and the serious problems about him. The style is necessarily subtle, but is also clear, and is rich in epigrams. The latter flow naturally and are not strained, unless it be occasionally in the case of some of the associated characters. On these men Lord Charnwood is always interesting, but his knowledge of them tends to diminish as the ratio of their distance from Lincoln increases, and he is less well read with regard to Southerners. He is generally appreciative and seldom unjust, but he does not hesitate to judge harshly, and he perceives too great a distance between Lincoln and any of the others really to please their families.

CARL RUSSELL FISH.

*Third Party Movements since the Civil War, with Special Reference to Iowa: a Study in Social Politics.* By FRED E. HAYNES. (Iowa City, Iowa: The State Historical Society. 1916. Pp. xii, 564.)

THE importance of the rôle played by third parties in American political history since the Civil War is becoming more and more evident as one after another of the propositions advocated by these independent organizations are incorporated into the platforms of the older parties. Students of history and politics, therefore, will welcome this comprehensive work treating of the origin, development, and significance of these movements. The Prohibition and Socialist parties having been excluded from consideration for the sake of unity, the material falls

naturally into five parts covering the Liberal Republican, Farmer's, Greenback, Populist, and Progressive movements, respectively. In each part the story of the developments in Iowa has been segregated from the general account and treated more extensively in separate chapters. As Iowa was the centre of interest in some of the movements dealt with, the result is comparable to a presentation of *Hamlet* with Hamlet left out, followed by an epilogue in which the hero plays his part as a soliloquy. It would seem that either an intensive study of these movements in Iowa, with the essential background sketched in where needed, or a unified account of the subject in the country as a whole without special reference to any single state, would have been a more valuable contribution. Attempting to accomplish two things at once, the author has not succeeded in doing either with entire satisfaction.

Anyone who essays to write recent American history from the sources is confronted by such a mass of material that he is practically forced either to restrict himself to a very limited subject or to forego any idea of doing exhaustive work. In the field of this book there are available, among other sources, hundreds of files of contemporary newspapers, many of them special organs of the movement, considered, and a number of extensive collections of personal papers, notably those of Weller, Weaver, and Donnelly. The latter collection alone numbers over fifty thousand documents and would require several months for a thorough examination. The author appears to have chosen the second horn of the dilemma, however. He has dipped into each of these collections here and there, and he has made extensive use of a limited number of newspaper files, but for the greater part of his general information he has relied upon such contemporary compilations as the *Annual Cyclo-pædia* and upon secondary accounts whenever available. For example, in two chapters covering forty pages, the references to the work of a single secondary writer average one to a page. By the liberal use of quotations, skillfully woven together, the work is given somewhat the character of a mosaic. So far as these embody contemporary sentiment their use may be justifiable, but it is difficult to conceive of any good reason why long quotations from secondary writers should be used to tell a story or to express conclusions which the reader would prefer to have in the author's own words. Not always, moreover, is it clear whether or not the quoted matter represents the convictions of the author and almost always it is necessary to hunt for an obscure reference in the back of the book in order to ascertain the source of the quotation.

In spite of these defects of organization and style, the work is an addition to the literature on the last half-century of American history. It brings together in a single volume a large amount of scattered information little known or used by historical writers, and it makes clear the unity and general significance of the third-party movements. Much monographic work will be needed, however, on various phases of the subject in separate states or sections before an entirely satisfactory general account can be written.



As always with the publications of the State Historical Society of Iowa, the book is attractively printed and bound and has an admirable index. The failure to include a bibliography is to be deplored, and the grouping of the notes and references at the end would seem to be an unnecessary concession to the popular reader. This sensitive personage, who is supposed to be annoyed by foot-notes, will probably be equally annoyed by the reference numbers, which run to four figures.

SOLON J. BUCK.

*Life of Henry Winter Davis.* By BERNARD C. STEINER. (Baltimore: John Murphy Company. 1916. Pp. 416.)

SOME time in the revolving years a man child will be born in these United States equipped by happy chance with the unique combination of qualities that will enable him to make intelligible to the ordinary historical mind the politics of the border slave states during the Civil War and the Reconstruction. Pending the arrival of this exceptional person we have to welcome with hope, however surely doomed to evanescence, any volume that may dissipate any small part of the fog that envelops the subject.

Prima facie Dr. Steiner's *Life of Henry Winter Davis* should let in a strong light on some of the darkest places of politics in Maryland. Davis was one of the most prominent lawyers in the state, and he represented a Baltimore district in the House of Representatives at Washington during most of the stirring decade 1855-1865. He had earlier been a Whig, he entered Congress as an American, or Know-Nothing, and when his legislative career ended he was a member of the Union party, though violently antagonistic to the chief of that party, Abraham Lincoln. To the richness of political experience suggested by this variety of party affiliation was added the peculiar flavor of public life that Baltimore contributed at this period. The salient feature of that city's politics was the activity of certain groups of citizens associated under such cheerful and inspiring names as "Plug Uglies" and "Blood Tubs". The methods of these groups fulfilled the suggestion of their names. Davis was an aristocrat by temper and training, distinguished for reasoning and eloquence that made their chief appeal always to the cultivated intelligence. It was much debated in his day how such a man succeeded as he did in dominating the brutal forces of his constituency. Dr. Steiner gives little more information on this point than is contained in one of Davis's speeches in the House of Representatives—a speech that manifests more partizan zeal than historical candor.

The other salient matter of interest in Davis's political life was his bitter hostility to Lincoln, culminating in the famous attack on the President in 1864, when the first project of Congress for reconstruction of the Southern States was blocked by a pocket veto. Dr. Steiner presents quite frankly the leading facts in this whole matter. Davis, though not a

Republican in 1860-1861, was urged for a cabinet position and Lincoln preferred Montgomery Blair. This, added to a perhaps natural antipathy of the Davis temperament and that of Lincoln, seems to have determined the pretty steady criticism directed at the administration throughout the war by the Maryland member. The violent attack on Lincoln in the well-known Wade-Davis manifesto of August 8, 1864, not only failed utterly to discredit the President, but caused the termination of Davis's service in Congress.

To many the most interesting and instructive chapters of Dr. Steiner's book will be the first three. These consist of notes on Davis's early life written by himself shortly before his death. The opening sentences give to the sensitive reader as clear an insight into the writer's character and temperament as all the rest of the book.

I am now forty-eight years old.

The glories of the world have passed before me, but have not lighted on my head.

I have lived during great events in which I have not been permitted to be an actor.

When a man of forty-eight begins a retrospect of his life in this key, one can foresee at once a tale of disappointed ambition. The notes end when Davis has reached the age of twenty-three. The actual events of the boy's life are not distinctive of the man, but the spirit in which they are presented is eloquent of the future.

Dr. Steiner's own chapters are shaped in an endeavor to write the life "in the manner of Tacitus and Plutarch, rather than in that of the modern biographer" (preface). Competent critics will doubtless differ as to the degree of success achieved; but I think there will be substantial agreement that Dr. Steiner's preparatory diet of the Roman and the Greek writers consisted more of the nutritious than the juicy portions of their output. Davis's career is exhibited in a series of chapters fixed by the successive Congresses of which he was a member, and the bulk of the matter in each chapter consists of digests of his speeches, illustrated by numerous quotations. The quotations in many cases are highly interesting.

WM. A. DUNNING.

*Caribbean Interests of the United States.* By CHESTER LLOYD JONES, Professor of Political Science in the University of Wisconsin. (New York: D. Appleton and Company. 1916. Pp. x, 379.)

IN what the author of this volume calls the Caribbean region, there are eleven countries of distinct nationality; nine colonies, British, French, Dutch, and Danish; and one possession of the United States. The geographical location and commercial importance of the Mexican state of Yucatan would seem to give it a proper place on the list, but it is not included. Professor Jones believes that "the average American citizen does not realize the importance of his country's relations with

other nations, especially with its American neighbors", and is undoubtedly right in his belief. The declared object of his book is "to present in popular form a brief outline of the more important political and economic developments in these countries which have a bearing upon the foreign policy and commerce of the United States".

The book deals, almost exclusively, with the affairs of the last twenty years. It notes the commercial, financial, and political development of the different countries within that time. As the author admits, the field is quite too wide for an exhaustive discussion in a single volume. A comment, rather than a criticism, might be made regarding a lack of balance in the matter presented, that is, somewhat too much on some topics and somewhat too little on others of, perhaps, a greater importance. Thus, a much larger attention is given to the British and other colonial possessions than is given to Venezuela and Columbia combined, notwithstanding their far greater economic and political possibilities. While the points which receive the author's larger attention are of moment, there seems to be a sacrifice of other points of even greater moment.

The opening chapter emphasizes, though not at all unduly, the ever-growing world-importance of the Caribbean area, notably through the fact that, as an approach to the Panama Canal, it will be "the cross-roads of the western world". To this is added comment on the rapid expansion of the commerce of some of the more important countries of that region; on the steady and rapid influx of foreign capital; on the necessity for regarding the health problem as international; and on "the fundamental problem of public order". The chapter closes with the assertion that "the position of the United States, politically and commercially, among the nations of the world will largely be influenced by the way we handle the responsibilities and opportunities which center in the waters of the Caribbean". In the second chapter a few pages referring to our political interest in some of the countries under consideration serve as a prelude to a few pages of statement of the economic and commercial progress of the entire area, and to American investments in parts of it.

Nine chapters are devoted to a more or less detailed review of the relations of the United States to the individual countries and colonies; two chapters to Panama and the Canal; one chapter each to Caribbean products, bananas, oil, harbors and naval bases, and concessions and the Monroe Doctrine. Much useful information is presented, largely through drafts on consular reports and reports of special agents of the Department of Commerce. In any attempt to cover, in 350 pages of text, a field as wide as that into which Professor Jones has ventured, an orderly progress of statement and comment is exceedingly difficult. It cannot be said that this writer has been notably successful in that phase of his work. The impression left by the book is of an effort to crowd too much into its pages; of an *olla podrida* in which the in-

redients are not well proportioned. A number of quite inaccurate statements call for correction in a possible second edition.

A. G. ROBINSON.

*The Single Tax Movement in the United States.* By ARTHUR NICHOLS YOUNG, Ph.D., Instructor in Economics and Social Institutions, Princeton University. (Princeton: Princeton University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1916. Pp. x, 340.)

It is just thirty years since Henry George as a candidate for mayor of New York received 68,110 votes as against 60,435 for Theodore Roosevelt and 90,552 for Abram S. Hewitt. George had come to New York, only six years earlier, from California, whither he had gone at eighteen years of age, and had followed the occupations of printer, newspaper editor, and inspector of gas meters. His death in 1897 when he was again a candidate for mayor was the occasion of a demonstration of popular veneration which marked him, beyond question, as a leader of men.

George was a man without political ambitions. The sole reason for his nomination in 1886 was that he had written a book which had attracted world-wide attention, setting forth an explanation of the causes of poverty, and proposing a simple remedy by which it might be abolished, and that he had shown extraordinary ability, both as writer and speaker, in sustaining his thesis in a manner that appealed to the popular mind. In the space of a few years he had risen from obscurity and become the leader in a new crusade for human liberty and the welfare of the masses. It was certainly a remarkable occurrence, and it is not strange that George and his followers should have believed that their cause was bound to triumph in the near future.

A generation has passed, however, with few positive results achieved, least of all in the United States. While there can be no doubt that *Progress and Poverty* has gained its place among the books which have exercised a real influence on the course of thought concerning economic and social problems, particularly financial problems, the single-tax movement, instead of assuming a dominating rôle, has become one of the minor movements for economic reform. But whatever the outcome, whether it revives as a strong, independent movement or is absorbed in the general current of economic thought, it has historical importance not only for economics, but in the life of the people of the United States.

Dr. Young has performed a service of real value by showing the influence of the peculiar economic conditions in California, particularly the conditions of land tenure, on the development of George's ideas; the circumstances which explain his rapid rise to prominence in New York and throughout the world; the subsequent course of the single-tax

agitation, kept alive, largely, by a few men actuated by the same sense of devotion, to what they conceive to be a great moral cause, which was characteristic of Henry George himself; and the paucity of measurable results achieved in the United States.

The author seems to have conscientiously consulted all the sources which might throw light either on the development of George's ideas or the course of the single-tax movement, and has treated his subject both sympathetically and sanely. He has apparently done his work so thoroughly that it will not be necessary to go over the ground again. Full references to the sources of information and a bibliography add greatly to the value of the work for students.

HENRY B. GARDNER.

*The History of New France.* By MARC LESCARBOT. With an English Translation, Notes, and Appendices by W. L. GRANT, M.A., Professor of Colonial History, Queens University, Kingston, Canada; and an Introduction by H. P. BIGGAR, B.Litt. Volumes II. and III. [The Publications of the Champlain Society, VII., XI.] (Toronto: The Champlain Society. 1912, 1914. Pp. 584; xviii, 555.)

THE Champlain Society's *Lescarbot* is an unusually successful demonstration of the possibility, and the advantages, of co-operation in historical editing. Everyone who has been concerned in the production, except the editor, would be likely to insist that Professor Grant was the responsible person, while he in turn has acknowledged in preface and foot-notes how important a share of the work was done by others. The results, which are what really matters, amply justify the large amount of time and effort that have been so unselfishly contributed by all concerned. It may some time seem desirable to reissue *Lescarbot*, but it will be a very long time before a more readable translation into English is made, or more satisfactory elucidations supplied.

Professor Grant's translation combines fluency with a respectful regard for the critical opinions of those who will compare it with the French text which is reprinted within the same covers. His method, which is easier to recommend than to practise, was to render the text into English rapidly, much as would have been done, and for a portion was done, for the London readers who were contemporary with the original publication. After careful revision this version was submitted to Mr. Biggar, and then to other members of the Champlain Society whose studies had made them familiar with *Lescarbot's* work. How carefully and freely the doubtful points were discussed is witnessed by scores of notes to the translation. There is nothing to show how often differences of opinion became agreements, but whenever the question, sometimes a difference of actual meaning but more frequently a shading of phrase, was still not wholly solved, a foot-note gives the reader an

opportunity to make his own choice. The editor has very properly kept the final decision on what has gone into the narrative, but he plays most fairly with his public. More than once he subordinates an instinctive feeling for his author's real meaning to the more strictly literal expression preferred by Mr. Biggar or by Mr. Baxter, whose translation of the Cartier narratives is subjected to a thoroughly friendly and most critical examination.

In his phrasing Mr. Grant has tried to recall something of the seventeenth-century freshness of the language. The occasional survival of such a word as "pejoration" in his version gives room for a suspicion that the readers of his manuscript may have helped him to keep away from the danger of more frequent obsolescent usage. A more interesting question of the principles of translation is raised by the use of the term "elk" for the moose, on the ground that the original was written for European readers, to whom that term conveyed a definite connotation which the American word could not have carried. The same theory should have prevented the use of "lacrosse", instead of "la crosse", where the familiar form introduces a more definite picture to the present reader's mind than could have come to the seventeenth-century Parisians, even though Lescarbot desired to describe the prototype of the game as it is played to-day. A similar doubt is raised by the use of "convent" for the home of the men of the Franciscan order, historically quite justifiable, but probably hopeless as an effort to turn back the tongue of English usage. In each of these instances, the reviewer's chance of differing with the translator is lost because a foot-note states the difficulty quite fairly, and leaves the question to anybody's opinion. They are cited because they illustrate so admirably the thoroughness with which the editor and his collaborators have done their work.

This edition of "The French Hakluyt", as Mr. Biggar rather flatteringly dubbed him in this *Review* fifteen years ago, contains, in smaller type at the end of each volume, the French text of the *Histoire de la Nouvelle France* as revised and expanded by Lescarbot for publication in 1617. The English version of this text embodies, usually in foot-notes, the passages from the earlier editions of 1609 or 1611 which were omitted or altered in the author's final edition. The notes likewise record the verbal changes which reveal the minute care with which Lescarbot revised his work. Not only have the three editions been compared, but a number of curious variations are noted, which occur in different copies having the same title-page. Similar care has been taken to collate the texts of the Cartier and Champlain narratives from which Lescarbot drew largely. The notes on the variations revealed by these comparisons afford material for deductions which the editor might well have developed in his introduction, showing the skill and trustworthiness of Lescarbot as an historical chronicler.

Hidden at the end of the third volume are a number of appendixes which are likely to elude those who might seek far to find the informa-

tion which they put on record. This is particularly true of the one in which is given the text and translation of two very rare pamphlets in the Bibliothèque Nationale, which throw a new and unlooked-for light on the death of the friend and patron with whom Lescarbot came to Nova Scotia, De Poutrincourt. These have a certain interest in connection with the present work, but one cannot help feeling that they are well-nigh entombed here in a spot hardly likely to be found by those students of seventeenth-century French history who might be very glad to have an opportunity to read them.

The index is sufficient, and annoying. Lescarbot was an erudite person, who delivered public addresses on the Eastern Church at an early age, and he drew freely on vast stores of apparent knowledge. The index will help any one to find some, but hardly all, of his allusions to Carthage and Ceylon, Plautus, Pliny, and Plutarch. There are more than enough of these proper names used by way of comment or comparison to make the index thoroughly confusing as a guide to the real contents of the volumes, and to fill the space that might much better have been utilized, in this society's publication, for ampler assistance for those who are seeking subject references to matters of Canadian interest.

G. P. W.

*Oxford Historical and Literary Studies.* Issued under the direction of C. H. FIRTH and WALTER RALEIGH, Professors of Modern History and English Literature, University of Oxford. Volume VII. *Lord Selkirk's Work in Canada.* By CHESTER MARTIN. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1916. Pp. 240.)

SEVERAL years ago Dr. A. G. Doughty, Dominion archivist, was fortunate enough to secure from the Selkirk family for the Canadian Archives a very interesting and valuable collection of letters, diaries, journals, etc., relating principally to the three colonizing experiments of the fifth Earl of Selkirk. These documents run from 1802 to 1860, and fill some seventy-nine volumes, 20,778 pages of manuscript. Mr. Chester Martin, professor of history in the University of Manitoba, has made excellent use of this material in his study of *Lord Selkirk's Work in Canada*. Professor Martin has also availed himself of the collections of manuscripts in the Canadian Archives relating to the western fur-trade and the relations between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Northwest Company. He also had the advantage of access to a number of volumes of original correspondence of the fourth and fifth Earls of Selkirk, in the possession of Captain Hope of St. Mary's Isle, Kirkcudbrightshire, Scotland.

Professor Martin devotes a chapter to Selkirk's first two experiments in colonization, on Prince Edward Island, and at Baldoon in Upper Canada. The remaining ten chapters of his book describe the chequered

history of the famous settlement on the banks of the Red River, in what is now the province of Manitoba. As the first serious attempt to apply the methods of modern scholarship to the history of the Red River settlement, Professor Martin's book is one of very great interest. He has brought an extraordinary wealth of material to the elucidation of a somewhat complicated question. There can be no doubt that he has succeeded in throwing a great deal of new light on the motives and personality of Selkirk, and of those who were associated with him. It is not so certain that in his account of the long and bitter fight between Selkirk and the Northwest Company, he has been quite fair to the latter. Such characterizations of the company as those he quotes from Selkirk's letters, "one of the most abominable combinations that ever was suffered to exist in the British Dominions", "the N. W. Co. who with the exception of the Slave traders are perhaps the most unprincipled men who ever had to boast of support and countenance from the British Government", "the most detestable system of villainy that ever was allowed to prevail in the British Dominions", may be interesting as illustrating Selkirk's attitude of mind, but are hardly convincing to the impartial student of history. In fact one is left with the impression after reading these interesting chapters that, in his effort to rehabilitate Lord Selkirk, Professor Martin has been less than just to the Northwest Company.

One criticism may be offered as to the form of the study. There seems to be a rather unnecessary repetition of the same quotations. For instance, on page 17 he quotes Selkirk's father, "I have known many lads of sixteen, who, as the vulgar saying is, could have bought and sold you in a market", and Selkirk's own reference to his "natural shyness and cold temper". Both these comments are repeated on pages 192-193. See also pages 19 and 92, pages 35 and 190, pages 55 and 171, pages 79 and 105, pages 95 and 102, pages 102 and 180, pages 103 and 180, pages 126 and 132, pages 143 and 145, pages 181 and 185. While it is a little difficult to see the need of such redundancy, with such a wealth of material as Professor Martin had at his command, the criticism is merely one of form and does not of course seriously affect the value of the book to the student. In an appendix Professor Martin gives the text of the Hudson's Bay Charter of 1670, and several other important documents relating to the fur-trade or the Selkirk Settlement. A very full bibliography and three maps add materially to the usefulness of the study.

*Bolívar y la Emancipación de Sur-América: Memorias del General O'Leary.* Traducidas del Inglés por su Hijo SIMÓN B. O'LEARY. [Biblioteca Ayacucho, bajo la Dirección de Don Rufino Blanco-Fombona.] In two volumes. (Madrid: Sociedad Española de Librería. 1915. Pp. 705, 805.)



*Ultimos Años de la Vida Pública de Bolívar: Memorias del General O'Leary.* Tomo Apéndice, 1826-1829. [Biblioteca Ayacucho.] (*Ibid.* 1916. Pp. 580.)

*Independencia Americana: Recuerdos de Francisco Burdett O'Connor.* Los publica su Nieto F. [*sic*] O'Connor D'Arlach. [Biblioteca Ayacucho.] (*Ibid.* 1915. Pp. 416.)

*Memorias del General José Antonio Páez: Autobiografía.* [Biblioteca Ayacucho.] (*Ibid.* 1916. Pp. 481.)

*Memorias de un Oficial de Ejército Español: Campañas contra Bolívar y los Separatistas de América.* [Biblioteca Ayacucho.] (*Ibid.* 1916. Pp. 309.)

*Memorias del General García Camba para la Historia de las Armas Españolas en el Perú.* [Biblioteca Ayacucho.] In two volumes. (*Ibid.* 1916. Pp. 583, 603.)

For the historian of the Spanish-American wars of independence there is an abundance of printed descriptions by participants in the struggle which supplement admirably the manuscript material preserved both in Spain and in the republics that were formerly its colonies. How little these sources have been utilized is patent from the fact that there is no general account of the period based on even a part of them. For such neglect a number of reasons might be adduced. To begin with, Spaniards and Spanish-Americans, it would seem, have preferred to accept domestic productions of partizan pens as altogether satisfactory to their patriotic sentiments. The assertions contained in literature of the sort are held to lie beyond the range of the shafts of criticism; they constitute a species of law and gospel quite incapable of contradiction, and hence appropriate to the cult of "authority" summed up in that expressive, but untranslatable word, "indiscutible". Foreign writers, on the other hand, if they take any interest in the subject at all, either deal with some particular episode or personage, or else content themselves with repeating, or enlarging upon, stereotyped versions that are readily accessible. Rarely have they ventured into the field of original investigation.

A further reason why narrators of the contest that shook off the yoke of Spain from the continents of America have made scant use of the printed memoirs or recollections of the men who took part in the great drama is, that material of the sort has been so difficult to find. The editions were extremely limited, often published in the cheapest form, alike in paper and typography, and issued sometimes in out-of-the-way places. If they happen to have seen the light of day in Spain or in Spanish America, the task of hunting them becomes formidable indeed, when one looks into the majority of the "bibliografías" and "bibliotecas" which purport to furnish information about the products of the press in those areas, subsequent at least to 1810.

Students interested in the period under consideration, therefore, owe a debt of gratitude to Rufino Blanco-Fombona, the distinguished Venezuelan littérateur, now resident in Madrid, for the *Biblioteca Ayacucho* put forth under his editorship, and which is to contain the most important of the available recollections and memoirs. He has rendered this service, not alone as a Venezuelan who venerates the name of Bolívar, nor even wholly as a Spanish-American seeking to evoke the glorious deeds of the patriots of yore, but as a scholar and a man of letters who believes that science and truth can discover no field of human interest richer in its reward to research than the story of what occurred in Spanish America, from the displacement of the rightful king of Spain by the might of Napoleon Bonaparte to the battle that overthrew forever the power of the mother-country on the mainland of the western world. Accordingly, whether the works in question were favorable or unfavorable to the cause of independence, whether written by Spaniards, Spanish-Americans, or foreigners, all are to be included in the *Biblioteca Ayacucho*, "whenever in any respect they are worthy of preservation".

The volumes in the series which have appeared thus far are altogether superior to the original prints in everything that goes into the art of the book-maker. The volumes are provided also with new titles, both general and special, with some form of introduction appreciative of the author and his work, and occasionally with corrective or explanatory foot-notes by the editor. Except in one case, however, no indication is vouchsafed as to the exact original title, date, and place of publication of the works reprinted, nor indeed any statement that they are reprints at all. Biographical data, whenever any are given, are quite scanty, and sometimes erroneous. Were the editorial comments, also, more copious and more scientifically critical in character, and had each of the texts been followed by an alphabetical index, the series would have been more serviceable to the student.

Daniel Florence O'Leary, the author of the first set of *Memorias*, was a member of the famous British and Irish "legion" that served under the orders of Bolívar from 1818 onward, and that had a very important, if not decisive, share in the struggle against the forces of Spain. After the war, from 1842 to 1843, he became British consul at Puerto Cabello, and from 1843, chargé d'affaires and consul general at Bogotá, where he died in 1854.

While performing his military duties, O'Leary began to collect documentary material that might serve to elucidate the history of the wars of independence, so far as northern South America was concerned, and in particular to portray the career of Bolívar himself. Most of this material, now in the archives at Caracas, was published there, between 1879 and 1888, in thirty-two volumes under the comprehensive caption, *Memorias del General O'Leary*. None of them, properly speaking, contains memoirs. All, except two, are filled with "Correspondencia", "Documentos", "Cartas del Libertador", and other documentation.

The two in question contain an historical treatise based on the foregoing material, written by O'Leary in English and completed in 1840. For the purpose of inclusion in the *Memorias* the manuscript was translated into Spanish, and the work given the vague title of *Narración*, by his son, Simón B. O'Leary, under whose supervision the collection was published. Though numbered separately "tomo primero" and "tomo segundo", the two volumes form in reality the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth of the *Memorias*. Because of a designation so "colorless, tasteless and sexless" (page 8<sup>s</sup>) as *Narración*, the present editor has changed it to *Bolívar y la Emancipación de Sur-América*, as more explicit, if not also more grandiose.

In the reprint the "Advertencia", prefixed to the original edition, is inserted as a part of the editor's introduction, and the lengthy and confusing summaries that preceded the individual chapters are omitted. For the sake of readability, furthermore, the unduly long chapters themselves are broken up into sections, and both chapters and sections are provided with titles and dates that are thoroughly distinctive. In the interests of clarity a few changes have been made in the author's footnotes, but in the main the original text of the translation is preserved, even to the misspellings. To the same end, all intercalated documents are printed in a type distinct from that of the text proper, an improvement on the original, which usually spaced them more narrowly without further difference.

Apart from an introductory sketch of colonial institutions and the outbreak of the revolution, the treatise of O'Leary is substantially a biography of Bolívar, along with an incidental description of military campaigns and other events in northern South America, chiefly between 1818 and 1826. Only at the point (vol. I., ch. 22), where the author tells of his arrival at Angostura in March, 1818, as a seventeen-year-old ensign in the "Red Hussars", does a semblance of memoirs begin to appear, and even here the personal element is kept rigorously subordinate. While the reviewer cannot subscribe to the statement of the editor (page 8<sup>2</sup>), that "among no people, regarding no epoch and no personage does there exist a work superior to this work in respect of the documentation" upon which it is founded, he does share in the main Sr. Blanco-Fombona's estimate of its intrinsic worth as a sympathetic story of Bolívar's life. No other contemporary account of Spanish-American conditions, certainly, rests on so vast an amount of documentary evidence of every sort, carefully sifted and evaluated; although from the standpoint of the military historian, the work lacks the gift of synthesis which reveals the general lines of campaigns, without dwelling unduly upon individual or isolated operations or the activities of irregular bands. The reviewer, moreover, agrees with Sr. Blanco-Fombona in his opinion that the Venezuelan government committed a grievous blunder when it charged Simón B. O'Leary, whose literary talent was quite inferior to that of his father, with the task of converting good

English into indifferent Spanish. Mere "routine, blindness and dullness" (page 88), on the part of that government, in fact, still deprive the English-speaking world of the original. Here is a situation that one may hope will not be long in finding a remedy.

At the time of printing the *Narración* a third volume had been prepared, containing a number of notes and diaries and intended to serve as an *Apéndice*, covering the years 1826-1829. It gave an account of O'Leary's missions to Colombia and Peru, of the convention of Ocaña and of the conspiracy against Bolívar in 1828. Because of the inclusion of certain communications alleged to be derogatory to the memory of the Liberator, the printing of the volume was officially suspended, and only a few copies appeared. Thereupon the three volumes of *Cartas del Libertador*, coming after the *Narración*, were numbered respectively XXIX., XXX., and XXXI. in a clumsy attempt to conceal the suppression of the *Apéndice*. In 1914, however, the material of the missing volume was republished at Bogotá by a grandson of O'Leary, and made to include in its entirety a letter from Sucre to Bolívar which had been left incomplete in the original printing; and at Caracas also the loose sheets (*pliegos*) remaining from the first edition were bound and put into circulation. The present work, under the caption, *Últimos Años de la Vida Pública de Bolívar*, is a sort of third edition. Like the Bogotá version it contains the full text of the Sucre letter, and in addition it has a preface by the editor and an "Introducción" taken from Segundo Sánchez's excellent "Bibliografía Venezolanista".

Francis Burdett O'Connor, a nephew of Arthur O'Connor, was another member of the "legion". He came to Venezuela in 1819 as lieutenant-colonel of a regiment of lancers belonging to a contingent raised by John Devereux, an Irishman once resident in the United States. In the battle of Ayacucho he served under Sucre as chief of staff. His *Memorias*, edited by his grandson, Tomás O'Connor D'Arlach, who contributed also a biographical preface, were first published at La Paz, and later at Tarija in 1895. Somewhat more than one-third of the work deals with the period between 1819 and 1824, and touches upon the history of Great Colombia, Peru, Bolivia, Chile, and the United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata; the remainder is concerned chiefly with Bolivia and its international relations up to 1839, at which point the text ends quite abruptly.

Though a man of excellent education, and able to speak several languages fluently, O'Connor was not a *littérateur*. His simple, direct account of his experiences, on the contrary, shows the training and instincts of the soldier. The sincerity of his judgments, also, as well as the impartiality of his opinions and his conscientious endeavor to tell what he thought was true, make most of his statements well worthy of confidence. Where he resorts to criticism, even of a man so idolized as Sucre, he is seldom, if ever, bitter or unreasonable.

José Antonio Páez, the chief of the redoubtable "llaneros" of Vene-

zuela, the hero of "about face" at "La Mata de la Miel", and the man who won the day at Carabobo, wrote his *Autobiografía* as an exile in New York, where he died in 1873. The work, in two volumes, appeared there in three editions, the first in 1867 and the third in 1878. It covers the period from the birth of Páez, in 1790, up to 1850, and, as might be supposed, deals almost wholly with conditions in Venezuela.

The present reprint omits the "Introducción" prefixed to the original, without any allusion to the fact, and substitutes for it the eloquent "Apreciación" of Páez by José Martí, the Cuban poet and journalist. Furthermore it cuts off the *Autobiografía* proper at volume I., chapter XX., or about 1827, when Páez was confirmed in his position as "Jefe Superior" and was contemplating the project of Bolívar to send him to revolutionize Cuba. For these omissions and abbreviations Sr. Blanco-Fombona offers a number of reasons (p. 481, note), which appear to reveal something of an animus of Venezuelan politics against the former chieftain. He declares that the volume is cut off at the moment when Páez exchanged "the sword that was placed in his hands by Bolívar for the presidential cane". This is not strictly true, because Páez did not become president of Venezuela till 1831. Another reason avers that Páez was no longer the "epic Páez, defender of his country and one of its founders . . . but Páez a partizan chief who has deserved at times the severe recriminations of history". Be this as it may, it seems only fair that the old Venezuelan warrior should have been afforded, in his "Introducción", no less than in the chapters following the twentieth, a chance to defend himself in his own characteristically vigorous, verbose, and withal imperious, fashion that seldom evinces either signs of vanity or indications of a desire to belittle his contemporaries. Still another reason adduced by the editor in this connection states that the later chapters do not "concern America at large so much as the history of Great Colombia to 1830, and thereafter the history of Venezuela". If this be the case, then *mutatis mutandis* the *Memorias* of O'Connor ought similarly to have been cut off by nearly two-thirds. Moreover, the *Autobiografía* does not extend to the "latest years" of the life of Páez, but only to 1850.

On the royalist side of the struggle for independence one of the most interesting of the series of recollections of the times is that composed by Rafael Sevilla, a captain of infantry who accompanied the expedition of Morillo to Venezuela in 1815, and who fought in the campaigns up to 1821, when the Spanish forces surrendered at Cumaná. Later he continued his military career in Porto Rico, where he died in 1856. Sevilla's work was first published there in 1877 under the caption, *Memorias de un Militar sacadas de un Libro Inédito y arregladas por D. José Pérez Morris*, and subsequently, in 1903, at Caracas and Maracaibo, with a prologue by J. R. Díaz Valdeparés. The latter edition is the one from which the present reprint is made. To the narrative proper are appended an account of the battle of Trafalgar, which the Spanish officer wit-

nessed as a ten-year-old lad from the housetops of Cadiz, and also a list of his services and honors.

Without pretense to literary ability, often lacking in correctness of style, permeated with a strong royalist bias and typically Andalusian in its bits of exaggeration, Sevilla's account nevertheless is a simple, ingenuous, and readable story of "episodes ridiculous and sublime, of picturesque scenery and characters, of hours of laughter and tears". It is especially valuable because of the picture it draws of Pablo Morillo, the great Spanish soldier, to whose skill and bravery, as well as to the memory of the men who followed him on South American battlefields, Sr. Blanco-Fombona's "Apreciación" pays a graceful and eloquent tribute.

Like Sevilla, Andrés García Camba came to Venezuela with Morillo. Under that officer he served as chief adjutant of hussars. Later, as brigadier in command of the Spanish cavalry, he fought in the battle of Ayacucho. Still later, on his retirement to Spain, he was promoted to a generalship, became acting minister of war and eventually was appointed captain-general of the Philippines. His recollections were first published at Madrid in 1846 under substantially the same title as they bear in the present reprint; but the latter lacks the map of South America which appeared in the second volume of the original.

So far as the form of the work is concerned, the *Memorias* of García Camba resemble those of O'Leary. Instead of being memoirs in the proper sense, like the accounts written by O'Connor, Páez, and Sevilla, they take the shape of an historical description of the occurrences in America between 1809 and 1825, based partly on a somewhat superficial study of documents, of which many are given in the text and appendix, and partly also on recollections. They have independent value only for the period from 1815 onward. Of all the treatises prepared by Spanish officers, however, García Camba's is probably the best. Particularly is this true for the precision with which it portrays the military operations in Peru, and for the service it renders in checking the *Memoirs* of William Miller, the Englishman.

As pointed out by Sr. Blanco-Fombona, the work differs from all of its fellows in having had a political motive for its composition. Several of the Spanish officers who figure in it, and who had fought during the final struggles in Peru and Bolivia, later occupied high official station in the mother-country. Canterac, for example, became military governor of Madrid; Rodil, president of the council of ministers; and Espartero, regent of the kingdom. García Camba's *Memorias* were written to defend their deeds and the memory of the fallen, against the sneers of the politicians of Madrid, or "Persians" as they were termed, who had seen fit to dub the Spanish soldiers of the last days in America, "Ayacuchos".

WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD.

## MINOR NOTICES

*The Origins of the Islamic State.* Being a translation from the Arabic accompanied with Annotations, Geographic and Historical Notes, of the *Kitâb Futûh al-Buldân* of al-Imâm abu-l 'Abbâs Aḥmad ibn-Jâbir al-Balâdhuri. By Philip Khûri Hitti, of the Syrian Protestant College, Beirût, Syria, Gustav Gottheil Lecturer in Columbia College. Volume I. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Columbia University, vol. LXVIII., no. 163.] (New York, Columbia University, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1916, pp. 518.) The present volume is a translation of part (316 out of the 474 pages) of de Goeje's edition of the Arabic text of al-Balâdhuri's *Kitâb Futûh al-Buldân* published in 1866, and is a valuable addition to the list, still far too short, of English translations from the Arabic. After a short "Foreword" by Professor Gottheil follows a table of contents (pp. vii-xi). Then comes (pp. 1-11) the translator's introduction entitled: "Arabic Historiography with Special Reference to al-Balâdhuri". As long as the translator frankly admits in this (see especially pp. 3, 7, 8) some of the defects of Arabic historians, he will not feel surprised if some readers should feel that the title of this volume is somewhat misleading, especially as no translation of the Arabic title appears on the title-page, or indeed elsewhere in the book, so far as the reviewer has been able to determine. To one unacquainted with histories by Arabic authors the title chosen might well seem to promise more of a philosophic treatment of the history of the origins of the Islamic state than he will find. However, the attentive reader of Dr. Hitti's book will find plenty to reward him, for by his study of this Moslem historian of the ninth century he will ever after have a better understanding of the problems which confront the student of early Moslem history.

The translation is divided into ten parts entitled, respectively: Arabia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Armenia, Northern Africa, Andalusia, Islands in the Sea, Nubia, Al-'Irâk and Persia, Media [Al-Jibâl]. These parts are subdivided into chapters and these again into sections. These sections have each a descriptive title printed in italics and underlined, which facilitates the use of the volume. Notes are put at the foot of the page. Pages 495-515 inclusive are occupied by an index of proper names of persons and places, and this in turn is followed by a table of errata (pp. 517-518).

Critical comment will have to be reserved till the publication of the translation has been finished. Meantime however it is quite clear that Dr. Hitti has done a very useful piece of work, and it is a pleasant duty to thank him and Columbia University for this handsome, well-printed volume.

J. R. JEWETT.

*Étude Critique sur Dudon de Saint-Quentin et son Histoire des Premier Ducs Normands.* Par Henri Prentout, Professeur d'Histoire de Normandie à l'Université de Caen. (Paris, Auguste Picard, 1916, pp. xxxii, 490.) The biographies of the early Norman dukes composed by Dudo of St. Quentin early in the eleventh century constitute the standard history of Normandy down to 996 and one of the most ample narratives which has reached us for that obscure period of European history. Warmly defended by its last editor, Jules Lair, Dudo's work has been regarded with increasing suspicion by recent scholars, but a detailed critical examination of the whole has heretofore been wanting. This need has now been supplied by M. Prentout, who examines chapter by chapter and point by point the problem of Dudo's sources and compares his account closely with the statements of annals, sagas, and lives of saints. The result is highly damaging for Dudo's authority. So far as his assertions are specific, they can usually be traced to the contemporary annals of northern France, notably Flodoard, which are supplemented by elements drawn from popular tradition and the *chansons de gestes*, and considerably amplified by Dudo's sonorous phrases in prose and verse. The order of events is confused by biographical treatment, and the whole is distorted into a rhetorical panegyric of the ancestors of the author's patron, Duke Richard II. The work contains singularly little on Norman life and institutions, even of the author's own time; the lack of personal information is strikingly shown by the relative fullness of the account of Richard I. down to 966, where Flodoard stops, and the meagre pages on the duke's later years, respecting which Dudo might have obtained contemporary knowledge. Although used by all subsequent writers, Dudo is not an original source, and what he adds to known authorities can be used only with the greatest caution.

Such, in brief, are M. Prentout's general conclusions, to which the reviewer fully subscribes. His volume also contains a series of important studies upon various episodes in the history of the tenth century, many of which were discussed more briefly in 1911 in his *Essai sur les Origines du Duché de Normandie* (*American Historical Review*, XVII. 391). Here and there further documentary evidence could have been used to advantage. A charter of Richard II. for St. Ouen expressly states that the grants of Rollo and William Longsword were not put in writing (Valin, *Le Duc de Normandie*, p. 145, where *minime* is mistranslated). Charters of Richard I. are so few that one is surprised to see no mention of the one for Fécamp (*Neustria Pia*, p. 208). Reference to Liebermann's *Gesetze* would have given a later date to Ethelred's privilege to London. The disputed sense of *funiculus* as a mode of dividing land is illustrated in a document of ca. 1024, which makes it equivalent to *corda* (Lot, *Études sur Saint-Wandrille*, no. 9); and in this connection account should perhaps be taken of the term *mansloth* in a charter of Robert I. and his uncle Robert for the chapter of Rouen (Le



Prévost, *Mémoires et Notes*, II. 520). The charter of 1015 for the canons of St. Quentin which forms the central point in Dudo's biography deserves remark, having been drawn up by a chancellor Odo otherwise unknown and having been authenticated by the only known example of a seal of the early Norman dukes (*Nouveau Traité de Diplomatie*, IV. 226).

CHARLES H. HASKINS.

*A Mediaeval Burglary.* A Lecture delivered at the John Rylands Library on the 20th of January, 1915. By T. F. Tout, M.A., F.B.A., Bishop Fraser Professor of Mediaeval and Ecclesiastical History in the University of Manchester. (Manchester, University Press, 1916, pp. 24.) Under this title Professor Tout tells in a delightfully humorous vein the story of the burglary of the treasury of the king's wardrobe which occurred in 1303. The crime was recorded in several contemporary accounts; but they are so vague and so full of discrepancies that modern writers have hitherto been unable to give a clear account of the actual course of events. Professor Tout has subjected the sources to a more thorough criticism and his narrative is consequently the fullest and most trustworthy which has yet appeared. He, for example, rejects a generally accepted view that Richard Pudlicott, the chief villain, got into the treasury by breaking through the wall of the crypt beneath the chapter-house of Westminster, where the treasury was then located, and suggests that he entered through a door or a window with the connivance of one of the monks. The episode, as Professor Tout treats it, is an excellent illustration of "the slackness and the easy-going ways of the mediaeval man" (p. 21).

For the convenience of those who may consult the critical bibliography at the end of the paper it should be noted that the pages cited in Scott's *Gleanings from Westminster Abbey* should be 282-290 instead of "18-33" and the volume of *Archaeologia* should be XLIV. instead of "LXIV".

W. E. LUNT.

*A Short History of English Rural Life from the Anglo-Saxon Invasion to the Present Time.* By Montague Fordham, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge, with a preface by Charles Bathurst, M.A., M.P. (London, George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916, pp. xvi, 183.) This little book, the outcome of the author's lectures to a group of English villagers, is confessedly popular. None the less it aims at comprehensiveness. Not merely are the varying fortunes of different classes of the peasantry reviewed, but social life, the care of the poor, the up-keep of roads, and the structure of local government are touched upon. Naturally the treatment is slight. Of the three subdivisions, too, the second is perplexing, ascribing as it does to the period between 1381 and 1820 the "reconstruction of rural life".

Doubtless English rural life did undergo transformation between these years; but Mr. Fordham should have made clear how markedly the reconstruction differed from century to century.

The book contains so many questionable statements that it must be used with caution. It would be difficult, for instance, to prove that friction between lords and peasants after 1066 arose from the latter's claim to be "descendants of the original settlers", while the former laid claim "by right of conquest"; that "during the fifteenth century the manufacture of cloth in home industries and small factories spread throughout England"; that "of the land which had remained open at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the greater part, perhaps two-thirds" was enclosed by methods other than act of Parliament (pp. 42, 79, 123). Simpler subjects, such as the agricultural innovations of the eighteenth century or the development of road-building, are more satisfactorily treated, while the beginning and the end of the book are better than the middle of it.

H. L. GRAY.

*A Short History of Germany.* By E. F. Henderson. In two volumes. Revised edition. (New York, the Macmillan Company, 1916, pp. xiii, 517, vii, 604.) This new edition is a reprint of the old except for the fact that it presents 128 pages of additional material which treat of the German development between 1871 and 1914. The new material reviews the period in question in three chapters devoted respectively to political, economic, and social movements. It is quite certain that in no general German history in the English language will there be found an equal amount of information touching modern Germany. Moreover, the information is of a high order, being the result of a close study of a vast literature—only partially enumerated in the chapter bibliographies—supplemented and corrected by a long residence on the ground. The plainly educational intention of the text is enforced by the fact that every page, especially in the very important economic and social sections, fairly bristles with figures which are convincing without being wearisome. Since in the matter of Germany the world seems to be divided into friends and foes, it is well to declare at once that the author stands with Germany's friends. He may even be called an enthusiast, for occasionally his accumulated facts and figures crackle and blaze like the fireworks of a national holiday celebration. But there is no waiving of the right of criticism and no attempt to conceal difficulties and failures. The Polish, Danish, and Alsatian situations, for example, with their very questionable governmental methods and their occasional crises are set before the reader with fuller detail than is usual even in works that specialize in denunciation. Mr. Henderson's method is to give the data which he has collected with a minimum of comment. That, too, was essentially his method in the older sections. The result is that while the new section is rich in information simply presented and effectively ar-

ranged, it is not a keen analysis culminating in an authoritative interpretation of Germany's position in the modern world. Perhaps the time for such an interpretative effort has not yet come, although it is hard to subscribe to that opinion. Meanwhile the general student will gratefully welcome the abundant information about present-day Germany which the author has pressed into a conveniently small compass.

FERDINAND SCHEVILL.

*Genealogical Tables illustrative of Modern History.* By Hereford B. George, M.A., F.R.G.S. Fifth edition, revised and enlarged by J. R. H. Weaver. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1916, pp. iii, lv plates.) This work has been before the public for more than forty years and its editions present something of a genealogy of their own. The plan has remained throughout the same. The plates which at the outset were printed on a folding sheet now appear more effectively in oblong folio form, but the contents have undergone little change except for additions as time required. The tables include the reigning families of Europe and a few of the houses which stood close to the throne. The genealogies are destined for political rather than family use, for the dates of actual rulers give the length of reigns rather than the length of life, and further biographical details will have to be sought in the *Almanach de Gotha*. The system of spelling continues to anglicize foreign proper names wherever convenient, a procedure which on the whole is the most useful, but which to the reader of those tongues often delays rather than facilitates his mental operations. Sixty-four tables and five lists of rulers give a wide scope of information which is brought down to 1915. Recent events have doubtless made a place for the dynasties of Belgium, Serbia, Montenegro, Rumania, Bulgaria, Norway, and Greece. The size of the print and the general openness of the tables make them easy to consult and the book should enter upon a further career of usefulness.

*The Tudor Privy Council.* By Dorothy M. Gladish. (Retford, 1915, pp. iii, 148.) The author of this book undertakes to furnish a complete account of the organization and of the multifarious activities of the English Privy Council under the Tudors. After a short introductory chapter upon the development of the Privy Council in the Middle Ages and a sketch of the institution under Henry VII., she considers its various aspects under Henry VIII. and his children as a whole. One after another she discusses such questions as its composition and procedure, its relations to the sovereign and to Parliament, the scope of its work, and finally its numerous subordinate instruments like the Council of the North and the Court of Star Chamber. In dealing with the organization of the Council and with its instruments she has added little to what has already been written on these matters. Her best opportunity for an original contribution lay in those parts of her subject which con-

cern the work of the Council and its relation to the sovereign and to Parliament. But these are matters which require for their proper illumination far wider research than she has been able to undertake. They certainly cannot be adequately considered, as she has attempted to consider them, without reference to the manuscript material in the English Record Office, to the Foreign Calendars or to D'Ewes's *Journals of Parliament*, to say nothing of such an obvious source of information upon the relations of the court to the kingdom at large as the *Victoria County Histories*.

The limited scope of the author's researches may account in part for her errors upon many specific points. It is high time, for instance, that sober historians were abandoning the old fiction that Elizabeth played with her courtiers but kept her counsel for her statesmen (p. 30), since there can be no doubt at all that her three most conspicuous favorites, Leicester, Hatton, and Essex, were among the most influential of her advisors. It is probably not true to say that Elizabeth frequently sat with her Council (pp. 50, 71) and it is certainly wrong to say that the principal secretary after the reign of Henry VIII. "ceased to be an officer of the household" (p. 35). Nor is it fair to conclude from the fact that the Privy Council thought it wise to restrain the recusants at the time of the Armada that their loyalty at that crisis is a fable (p. 89).

In an appendix the author prints an imperfect bibliography of her subject. The book lacks an index, it is awkward in size, bound in thin paper, and fairly loaded with every description of typographical error.

CONYERS READ.

*Johan De Witt.* Door Dr. N. Japikse. [Nederlandsche Historische Bibliotheek, IX.] (Amsterdam, Meulenhoff and Company, 1915, pp. viii, 358.) This volume is the ninth of the *Nederlandsche Historische Bibliotheek*, edited by Professor H. Brugmans. Its purpose, as stated in the introduction, is to make John De Witt and his work better known to the Dutch people. Formerly, says the author, such a book would have been entitled John De Witt and his Times, "with the result that generally the times or the person was slighted. . . . As if, too, one could write a book about John De Witt without his times!" Without declaring that he had accomplished what he himself regards as impossible, one cannot avoid remarking that Dr. Japikse saw to it that, in his work, it was not "de persoon" that "te kort kwam". The result is a clear and vivid narrative, which moves smoothly and rapidly and which keeps De Witt always in the foreground. There is no other picture of the Grand Pensionary that can be placed beside it, nor is it likely soon to be surpassed, for, besides being a writer of more than ordinary ability, Dr. Japikse's earlier studies and his work in connection with the new edition of De Witt's correspondence, which Fruin had begun, have shown him to be a master of this portion of Holland's history. However, the student of this period will have to supplement Dr. Japikse's volume with

those of Lefèvre-Pontalis and Blok, for in the narrow limits of this book he has not been able to develop fully a number of phases of De Witt's life and times.

The main themes are De Witt as a party man and De Witt as a minister of foreign affairs. Of the chapters devoted to the former, the most interesting are those treating of the establishment of "De Vrijheid" (as the régime founded by the Louvenstein faction was called) in Holland and in the Republic, and with these should be read chapter IV. on the character and development of the office of grand pensionary. The remaining chapters deal chiefly with Anglo-Dutch affairs, and in them Dr. Japikse brings out clearly how often and how intimately De Witt's career was affected by English affairs. He emphasizes De Witt's feeling of security for himself and his state in the years immediately following the formation of the Triple Alliance, and his failure to foresee the coming struggle with England and France. In extenuation, however, he might have pointed out the difficulty any minister, and especially one none too ably served, would have in fathoming the intrigues of the English and French courts at this time, when even Buckingham and Shaftesbury were deceived. Finally the author makes clear the importance which De Witt's naval and financial preparations had for the Prince of Orange in his struggle against the two great western powers.

The volume contains many illustrations, chiefly portraits, and several facsimiles of documents in De Witt's handwriting.

EDWIN W. PAHLOW.

*Neva i Nienshants*, sostavil A. J. Hipping, s vstupilnelnoiou stateiou A. S. Lappo-Danilevskago. Two volumes. (Petrograd, Imperial Academy, 1909, pp. xvi, 303, 253.) *Sbornik Dokumentov kasaioushchikhsia Istorii Nevi i Nienshantsa*, prilozhenie k Trudu A. J. Hippinga, *Neva i Nienshants*, s predvaritelnoe Zametkoe A. S. Lappo-Danilevskago. (*Ibid.*, 1916, pp. xii, 328.) A. J. Hipping (1788-1862), Lutheran pastor in Finland, deeply interested in the history of his country, wrote several useful historical books, of which the chief was the history of Nyen or Nyenskans. This was a town and fortress established by the Swedes on the Neva, a little above the point where Peter the Great later founded his capital. Its history has something the same relation to that of Petrograd that the history of the Swedish settlements at Wicacoa or Tinicum has to that of Philadelphia. Part I. of Hipping's book, *Neva och Nyenskans intill St. Petersburgs Anläggning*, första Delen, was published in Swedish at Helsingfors in 1836 and appeared in a Russian translation, somewhat enlarged, in 1853. A Russian translation of part II. was submitted in manuscript to the Imperial Academy of Sciences of Petrograd in competition for one of its prizes. Hipping was not able to finish his book, nor was Dr. Ernst Kunik (1814-1899), to whom the Academy entrusted its completion. Since the latter's death, the Academy has asked its distinguished historian, Professor Alexander Lappo-Danilevskii, to

complete the work, and this he has done in a scholarly and able manner. Part I. deals with the history of the river Neva, and with the relations of Russia and Sweden from the earliest times to the treaty of Stolbova in 1617, while part II. is concerned with the history—military, political, social, economic, and religious—of Nyenskans from 1617 to 1703, when it was captured by the Russians. These volumes were published in 1909. Part III., just issued by the Academy, contains seventy-one original documents; most of them are in Swedish, a few in Latin. The first is a passage from the *Stora Rimchrönika*, describing the Swedish foundation of Landscrona and the attendant fights with the Russians, 1300–1301; but the others are nearly all documents of Gustavus Adolphus, Christina, and her immediate successors, conferring privileges upon Nyen, settling its municipal government, regulating the trade which passed through it to and from Russia, fixing customs duties, or regulating ecclesiastical relations. One of the latest and most curious of the latter is an epistle of the Czars Ivan and Peter to Charles XI., 1685, about adherents of the Greek church in Ingria and Carelia.

Since 1850 much new material on the subject has come to light. In many respects a better history of the town is C. G. von Bonsdorff's *Nyen och Nyenskans*, in the *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, XVIII. 349–504 (Helsingfors, 1891). Hipping's work, however, still has a certain value, to warrant publication by the Academy.

*Social Life in England, 1750–1850.* By F. J. Foakes Jackson. (New York, the Macmillan Company, 1916, pp. ix, 338.) This book is a compilation of eight informal and delightful lectures covering a very wide range of topics. It is not a history of social life in England, but it does not pretend to be. Mr. Jackson simply describes to us a few major characteristics of certain sections of English society as portrayed for the most part in the writings of a number of popular novelists, poets, and clergymen, throughout the wide expanse of a hundred years.

The lectures upon Wesley, Thackeray, Dickens, and Trollope, while refreshing, contain little that is unfamiliar. The three, however, which deal with Crabbe, Margaret Catchpole, and Gunning's *Reminiscences of Cambridge* are filled with a number of picturesque and enlightening incidents to the majority of us quite unknown and exceedingly useful in reconstituting our picture of eighteenth-century England. Crabbe's early experiences as an apprentice in medicine, for instance, and Margaret Catchpole's relations with the smuggler, Laud, are vivid bits of real life; and so too might one speak of Gunning's gossip anent the social strata, ranks, and distinctions of Cambridge University.

The great pity of the book is that there is not more of it. One might readily reconstruct a social history upon Mr. Jackson's model provided only it be done far more intensively. The novels of contemporary life and manners such as those of Trollope and Disraeli are far more useful to the historian than the so-called "historical novels". In fact the lat-

ter are a dubious blessing to the historian. Sir Walter Scott reflects the romanticism of the early nineteenth century quite truthfully in his attitude toward the past; he does not, and cannot, by his fiction picture medieval life as faithfully as he can that of his own day. But there are other contemporary sources of equal value, of which Mr. Jackson makes little note—newspaper advertisements and reports of celebrations, wedding anniversaries, and what not, the dramatic records of the law-courts, the pamphlets issued by all manner of local societies and organizations, social, industrial, and religious. All these could be drawn upon, synthesized, and molded into one great living picture of the past.

It is hardly fair to criticize Mr. Jackson's book for not doing what it has not attempted. One simply wishes that some time he might utilize his great fund of local and particular knowledge to give us a more complete and finished story of how the English people as a whole lived and thought and acted through some given period of their history.

WALTER P. HALL.

*Nationality in Modern History.* By J. Holland Rose, Litt.D. (New York, the Macmillan Company, 1916, pp. xi, 202.) Professor Rose's book is a substantial contribution to a timely subject. It contains ten lectures delivered during 1915, eight of them in a course at Cambridge. The earlier lectures are quite objective and bear out the author's statement that they rest on studies begun before the war. In a broad way they trace the beginnings and development of the national idea, and end with a discussion of the German theory of state and militarism. The later lectures are more subjective and partially reveal the author's natural feelings in regard to the war. The final chapter, on internationalism, is inadequate, for it merely grazes the subject and devotes itself principally to accounting for the failure of socialism and labor to offer effective opposition to the war.

Every writer on this subject finds it necessary to define his terms. In this case the word "nation" has been used to designate a people which has attained to state organization; "nationality" (in the concrete sense) as a people which has not yet attained to it; "nationality" (in the ideal sense) as an aspiration towards united national existence. "Nationalism" is used to denote "the intolerant and aggressive instinct which has of late developed in Germany and the Balkan States."

What is the basis or essence of nationality? Professor Rose says he knows of no better words to describe it than those used by Lorraine in 1789 when she desired to join with France in the life of "this glorious family". He regards nationality as an instinct, "the recognition as kinsmen of those we deemed strangers", "a union of hearts, once made, never unmade", "a spiritual conception, unconquerable, indestructible". (The last would presumably not apply to Germany, whose system is defined as "nationalism".) Nationality reposes on voluntary federation through attraction, not on unity imposed by military force.

That nationality is a spiritual force, with little necessary relation to language, religion, race, or culture, is true. Whether this spiritual force, once it has become organized, is indestructible, is debatable. It may and probably will successfully defy force; but it can readily enough change voluntarily with conditions. Indeed nationality may be merely a temporary social cohesion of an emotional character based on expediency, in short, a belief or faith, in effect equivalent to a nation as defined by a London periodical: "A nation exists where its component atoms believe it to be a nation."

EDWARD KREHBIEL.

*International Cases, Arbitrations and Incidents illustrative of International Law as practised by Independent States.* Volume I. *Peace.* By Ellery C. Stowell, Associate Professor of International Law in Columbia University, and Henry F. Munro, Instructor in International Law, Columbia University. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1916, pp. xxxvi, 496.) A new case-book for class-room use in international law was much needed. Scott's *Cases* is an invaluable collection, but in it the untrained reader is often unable to distinguish doctrine from dicta, and the cases are almost all British and American court decisions. The notes to Pitt Cobbett's excellent volumes may tell the student too much, while Bentwich's smaller selection hardly meets the needs of the American class-room. In this first volume, covering the international relations of peace, the authors have, to a large extent, passed over the decisions of the municipal courts in order to pick out truly international cases. Of the 130 selections, ranging in length from a dozen lines to twenty-five pages, about one-fourth are arbitral decisions (nine of them decisions of the Hague Permanent Court), about one-sixth decisions of municipal courts, mostly British and American, and the rest are diplomatic discussions and settlements largely condensed from Moore's *International Law Digest*. While the selection displays a decided catholicity of spirit and an international point of view, it lacks proportion. When all is said and done, the principles of international law to be distilled from international arbitration cases are few compared with the whole body of the subject.

To use the work successfully as a class-room text would require great skill on the part of the teacher, who will be glad of the introductory suggestions as to the proper use of the book. As a volume of collateral readings, it will be welcomed. Some will doubtless be irritated by its arrangement. It begins with adjective law, a point of departure not in accordance with the traditional succession of topics in orthodox texts. Others will find it a somewhat daring, and hence suggestive experiment, involving a departure from the old lines.

The second volume on *War and Neutrality* will undoubtedly present even greater problems of selection and condensation. The success of the first volume arouses curiosity as to the handling of the more dramatic and now pressing questions in the second.

J. S. R.



*Aysha*. By Kapitänleutnant Hellmuth von Mücke. (Berlin, August Scherl, 1916, pp. 132.) Though the time for writing a real history of the present war is still far distant, and such histories as are produced now are doomed to be ephemeral, there has already arisen another class of books, small and unpretentious, whose historical merit is nevertheless clearly recognizable to-day, and which are well worth the attention of the historian. A book of this type is *Aysha*, written by Hellmuth von Mücke, the young officer in command of the landing party of S. M. S. *Emden*, which, left on the small Keeling Islands in the middle of the Indian Ocean, succeeded in getting through to Constantinople, and thus to Germany. We are told how this landing party, without any supplies, although well armed, were left behind when the *Emden* was attacked by the *Sidney*, how they embarked in a little 100-ton schooner, the *Aysha*, which they happened to find, and how they sailed as a German man-of-war eight hundred miles to Padang, on Sumatra, and then cruised for three weeks in the vicinity of this island till picked up by a German tramp-steamer, the *Choising*. The *Aysha* was thereupon sunk, and the detachment was safely brought through the straits of Perim to Hodeida, where the party landed in full view of a French cruiser. After a hearty welcome by their Turkish companions-in-arms, the German sailors continued, alternately in native boats along the coast, and if need be, in order to avoid the British blockading squadron, on camels through the desert, on which occasion a rather serious two-day skirmish occurred with hostile Bedouins. At El Ula the railroad was reached, which took the detachment to Constantinople. Here Mücke reported its arrival to his superior officer, Souchon, in almost the same words in which he had reported its departure from on board the *Emden* ten months before.

While generally speaking the book is to be classed among memoirs, it differs from the majority in a very marked way. The usual memoirs of combatants—especially those written during the present war—deal with personal experiences of a member of a unit that forms after all only an infinitesimal part of the forces engaged in a limited area. The book of the *Aysha*, on the other hand, describes in detail a certain episode, which has its own unity and does not seem fragmentary; and it is not so much a record of personal impressions as a history of the expedition, even if the human side is the one which receives most attention. Mücke himself keeps continually in the background, telling us what the detachment did, not restricting his observations to the commanding officer. The book is charmingly written, and while far from being trivial, is told with a humor that makes the best of everything, and reflects the spirit that made possible the cruise. Its historical value is enhanced by the fact that the author shows no ill-feeling whatsoever towards his enemies, though he jokingly complains, with a little trace of annoyance, that the Dutch destroyer *Lynx*, failing to recognize the character of the *Aysha* as a ship of the imperial navy, followed it, to use Mücke's own words, "as a policeman would a tramp".

HILMAR H. WEBER.

*Friends of France: the Field Service of the American Ambulance described by its Members.* (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1916, pp. xvii, 295.) This volume is too miscellaneous in character to give a well-organized and coherent account of the organization and nature of the American Ambulance Service but by that very miscellaneous character the picture of the experiences of the devoted group who have given themselves to the cause of France gains in vividness and reality. There are eleven letters from section leaders, describing, among other things, the organization of the service, Dunkirk and Ypres experiences, days in Alsace and at Verdun, the establishment of a new section, and the events of Christmas Eve, 1915. Among the most interesting of the chapters is that entitled the Inspector's Letter Box, consisting of extracts from letters and diaries of the men in the field. There are also tributes to the service from various sources and photographs of its members. When the history of the relief measures of the present war shall be written the work here depicted will form no small part of the whole, yet the greatest value of the present volume lies in its portrayal of the spirit that pervades the service rather than in its collection and preservation of facts concerning that service.

*Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, October, 1915-June, 1916.* Volume XLIX. (Boston, the Society, pp. xvi, 510.) Of the latest volume of the Massachusetts Historical Society's *Proceedings*, more than one-half is composed of original documents, more than one-fourth of records of the society's meetings, papers relating to its business, or memorials of deceased members; the rest consists of papers read at monthly meetings. Of the original documents, much the most notable are the letters of Goldwin Smith to Charles Eliot Norton, 1863-1872. They are marked by many acute and penetrating observations on American politics. Some of them, written from Ithaca in the early days of Cornell University, are invaluable and most entertaining material for anyone who wishes to study the development of a great educational experiment, and for all Cornellians. And, over and above all gifts of observation and of style, the letters awaken admiration by revealing a spirit so catholic, so free from prejudice, that the mind of the Oxford scholar, severe and severely trained, discriminating and caustic, could yet view the America of Civil War and Reconstruction, its politics, its *nouveaux riches*, and its students, with cordial appreciation of all their merits. Other notable documents are a correspondence of Smibert, a Becky-Sharp-like letter of Madame Elizabeth Patterson Bonaparte, a body of New England letters on national politics, 1819-1831, addressed to John Brazer Davis, and the Southern journal of Josiah Quincy, jr., 1773. Of the papers written by members of the society, for its meetings, especial mention may be made of Mr. Harold Murdock's Historic Doubts on the Battle of Lexington, Mr. W. A. Robinson's paper on the Washington Benevolent Societies, and that of

Professor M. M. Bigelow on the Old Jury, namely, that of the Anglo-Norman period, studied as a part of the history of legal evidence. Among the memorials of deceased members three, those of William Everett, Edward H. Strobel, and John Chipman Gray, stand out as excellent pieces of biographical writing and of characterization. There are excellent portraits of all three, and of Charles Gross and others.

*Documentary History of Rhode Island: being the History of the Towns of Providence and Warwick to 1649 and of the Colony to 1647.* By Howard M. Chapin, Librarian of the Rhode Island Historical Society. (Providence, Preston and Rounds Company, 1916, pp. viii, 278.) It was a happy thought that led Mr. Chapin of the Rhode Island Historical Society to gather and edit the papers which he has published as the *Documentary History of Rhode Island*. Such a collection will not only lighten the labors of future historical writers on our most individualistic commonwealth, but do much to insure from them an accuracy of statement otherwise difficult of attainment.

In the light of the present volume, it is noticeable how far a collection of documents—when the individual pieces are not too long—may go toward forming a readable whole. About such a book there is bound to be a flavor of genuineness and actuality very much wanting in the case of the book of which the document *per se* forms no part.

Mr. Chapin's collection covers in range the annals of the towns of Providence and Warwick to 1649, and of the colony of Providence Plantations to 1647, when the first general assembly—a *Landsgemeinde*—met to define the public aims and limitations. The documents themselves comprise many sorts—personal letters, proceedings of town meetings, diaries, proclamations, and above all deeds of conveyance. Choosing somewhat at random among these, we come upon a letter by Roger Williams to Deputy-Governor John Winthrop, written in 1636, from which it appears that thus early the name Rhode Island was applied to the island of Aquidneck. Further on, we discover, from a letter by John Clark of Newport, that before the charter of 1644 had been signed in England the people of Newport (some of them!) were striving for a closer union with Providence. Still further on, we learn that in August, 1645, just after the arrival of the charter in the colony, Roger Williams was its "Chiefe officer".

The accuracy and fidelity of the documents, as printed, to their originals, is we think nearly if not quite without flaw; and in the case of the most important documents, as for example the "Towne Evidence", the Pawtuxet Lands and Houses, and the "Civil Compact", the originals are photographically reproduced. Mr. Chapin has supplemented these originals by the C. W. Hopkins plats of the Providence home lots, and by a map of modern execution showing the early settlements about Narragansett Bay and the modern boundary of the state. Features of artistic and historical interest are a good drawing of Slate Rock from

the Peckham water-color picture in the Rhode Island Historical Society rooms, and a photograph of Pomham's Fort as it appears to-day; for, strange to say, in the case of the latter the "earthworks" are still visible. We note that tail-pieces to the various chapters are formed by facsimiles of the private seals of local worthies, such as Roger Williams, William Harris, Benedict Arnold, William Coddington, and others; and that Mr. Chapin calls the patent of 1644 a charter. The index is limited to personal names and the edition to 250 copies.

I. B. R.

*Early Records of the City and County of Albany and Colony of Rensselaerswyck.* Volume II. Deeds 3 and 4, 1678-1704. Translated from the original Dutch by Jonathan Pearson. Revised and edited by A. J. F. van Laer. [New York State Library, History Bulletin 9.] (Albany, University of the State of New York, 1916, pp. 438.) For this piece of work, persons seriously interested in the writing of New York history will owe much to the original translator and the present editor. It consists of original material of a fundamental character, made accessible and edited so as to be capable of convenient use for any purpose of historical research. A feature of "human interest" connected with the appearance of this volume is that it is the continuation of an enterprise begun half a century ago by the late Professor Jonathan Pearson. Mr. van Laer is a native of Holland and thus has an advantage over Professor Pearson in the treatment of manuscripts in the Dutch language. This is a feature of importance in the present case.

The introduction makes it clear that these records are important as evidence of title of real estate, and as original material for the antiquarian and genealogist and for the student of general history. This book contains the whole of volume C. of Deeds. Volume D., however, was largely in English, and the printed text of the present volume contains only translations of such instruments as were originally recorded in Dutch. The records in the volume before us range in date from 1678 to 1704. This was the period of transition from Dutch to English methods of procedure in the transfer of real property. As a result of the character and consequences of these changes in procedure (introduction, pp. 7-10) it is evident that Pearson's volume I., the diagrams of lots in Munsell's *Collections*, volume IV. (with Mr. van Laer's caution in mind), this volume, II., and the original records themselves must be used together and in relation to each other.

To one investigating on an intensive scale the introduction points out some interesting facts. For example, from its early settlement Albany's streets and lots were "laid out in quite methodical fashion" by experienced surveyors. This policy was "in line with the fact that under the Roman-Dutch law the title to the street was vested in the government" (introduction, p. 12). Again, "a much larger number of settlers than is generally supposed came from parts of Europe outside of the Netherlands, particularly from East Friesland, Oldenburg, and the

duchies of Schleswig-Holstein", this fact probably accounting for the "call to Albany in 1669 of the Rev. Jacobus Fabritius, the first Lutheran minister in the province" (introduction, p. 11). Mr. van Laer's introduction and notes do him the greatest credit as reviser and editor.

CHARLES WORTHEN SPENCER.

*Beliefs and Superstitions of the Pennsylvania Germans.* By Edwin Miller Fogel, Ph.D. (Philadelphia, Americana Germanica Press, 1915, pp. iv, 387.) [Americana Germanica Monograph Series.] The compiler of this interesting collection has well succeeded in his purpose of collecting and preserving the folk-lore of a class that has contributed much to American life. The largest of the heretofore printed collections does not exceed one hundred and fifty. The present collection numbers in all 2085 statements of superstitions and beliefs, concerning almost every phase of the peculiar customs and life of the Pennsylvania Germans. These are presented first in the original, with all its dialectal peculiarities, and with note of the places where the superstitions were found to exist, and then in translation, wherein the aim has been to reproduce the content of the text rather than its grammar. The work has been made more valuable by the addition of parallels or correlates which were found in various European libraries or gathered by word of mouth in the distinctive Pennsylvania German counties. An attempt was made to ascertain how many superstitions in the collection had a British, or German, or common origin. As would be expected, the conclusion is reached that it is impossible to measure the influence of British superstition (including the Irish and Scottish) upon the Pennsylvania Germans. Less than one hundred items in the book are set down as of purely British origin, two hundred and sixty-nine as common to both Great Britain and Germany, whereas over 1400 have German correlates. About twenty per cent. of the whole number are noted as indigenous to Pennsylvania German soil. In the introduction, the author gives a concise account of the Pennsylvania Germans and a general review of their superstitions, and traces the more general ones from their sources.

L. F. S.

*French Memories of Eighteenth-Century America.* By Charles H. Sherrill. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915, pp. xii, 335.) Though the contemporary social and economic records would afford us a far truer picture of the life of our revolutionary ancestors, they could hardly give us a more pleasant or charitable one than this ingenious patchwork of French travellers' opinions. Most Frenchmen came to an American Utopia which Abbé Raynal's history or their own enthusiastic imaginations had conjured up and given a local habitation. Some of them were disillusioned, but many continued to see simplicity in what was merely crudity, innocence in ignorance, and primitive virtues where there was merely frontier lack of the means for indulging in civilized vice. If the golden visions of American society did suffer a sea-

change upon nearer view, an unalterable charity for these Republican patriots, whose cause France had embraced, made excuses for the present, and merely projected the imagined virtues into a later heroic generation which would surely arise when independent America attained her natural destiny.

Mr. Sherrill is mistaken in supposing that he has produced an historical work, for he has merely gathered in a very agreeable form a fairly well-organized lot of quotations from naturalists, diplomats, military officers, exiles, and cultivated travellers who reveal the truth rather more by unconscious testimony about the customs and traditions and prejudices of their native land than by reliable observations upon the American society which they try to describe. There is not the slightest effort by Mr. Sherrill to criticize these views, but merely a laudable attempt to analyze and smoothly reorganize the opinions in some seventy-five memoirs and books of travel which have been assiduously assembled not only from libraries, but by a diligent search in French archives. Grouped under subjects like dancing, music, etiquette, dress, courtship, drink and toasts, physical traits, city and country life, there is some three-fourths of the book which does not concern matters usually discussed in serious history. The rest, treating of American education, religious habits, the learned professions, trade, manufacture, and labor, might with proper critical handling become important materials for the study of the life of our forefathers. There are no references, but there is a good bibliography, and a few comparisons seem to indicate that the numerous quotations are carefully made.

C. H. VAN TYNE.

*Mount Vernon: Washington's Home and the Nation's Shrine.* By Paul Wiltach. (New York and Garden City, Doubleday, Page, and Company, 1916, pp. xvi, 301.) This addition to the already great mass of Washingtoniana justifies itself. The interest in Washington is such that the smallest details concerning him have value. All the material facts respecting the estate, the mansion house and its outlying buildings and grounds are here, and the story of the struggle to preserve the home of Washington is well told. The illustrations are good and exceptionally interesting. The book will amply satisfy the general reader and Mount Vernon pilgrim. An undeveloped critical faculty, however, betrays the author at times into historical exaggeration that makes the volume uneven. Where the matter is confined to the strict facts respecting Mount Vernon, the book merits ungrudging praise; but, unfortunately, Mr. Wiltach has heavily interlarded the story of the estate with an amount of biographical material of the illustrious owner which, however excusable, is too often an unnecessary strain upon the historian's patience. For the period just before the Revolution, Washington's political activity is described (p. 115) in "the mass of correspondence rolling out of Mount Vernon library to every corner of the clustering colonies". It would be difficult to mention three men in the colonies, outside of

Virginia, with whom Washington corresponded between 1770 and 1774. It is unreflecting enthusiasm that credits (p. 124) the Fairfax Convention with "the germ of the Second Continental Congress" and its resolves with "the inspiration of the Declaration of Independence". We find also many of the familiar but unsubstantiated stories that perpetuate the statuesque outlines of the mythical Washington, and a long paragraph (p. 21) in defense, albeit a somewhat apologetic defense, of Weems's statements. Interesting fact and commentary is often dovetailed with matter of doubtful authenticity, and the absence of citations of original authorities is a serious defect. Yet the book bears evidence of sincere painstaking. It is clearly a labor of love and its weaknesses are certainly not those of the heart.

J. C. FITZPATRICK.

*Viajes de Misioneros Franciscanos a la Conquista del Nuevo México.* Documentos del Archivo General de Indias (Sevilla). By P. Otto Maas, O.F.M. (Seville, Imprenta de San Antonio, 1915, pp. 209.) This book consists mainly of documents printed from manuscripts contained in three legajos in the Archivo General de Indias, at Seville. It contains some welcome additions to the printed original material for the history of the northern frontier of New Spain. Most of the documents, however, have been known hitherto, and have been available in this country in manuscript form, while more than half of them, counting pages, have actually been printed one or more times.

The first two groups do not concern New Mexico, but Nuevo León, Coahuila, and Texas, instead. Transcripts of nearly all of these are in the Bolton Collection. Group I. records the founding of missions Santa María de los Dolores, San Juan Bautista, San Francisco Solano, and San Bernardo by the Querétaro Franciscans (1698-1709). No. II. is the diary of the journey of Fathers Olivares and Espinosa to central Texas in 1709.

Groups III.-VII. concern the explorations of Fathers Escalante, Domínguez, and Garcés in New Mexico and California, 1775-1777. Nearly or quite all have been available in manuscript in the Bancroft Collection, while no. VI. (Escalante's diary of 1776-1777) and no. VII. (Garcés's diary of 1775-1776), comprising more than half of the volume, have already been printed in both Spanish and English. Moreover, of no. III. Father Maas gives only an abstract. The interesting map of the journey of Garcés is printed in Chapman's *Founding of Spanish California*, opposite page 364. The two appendixes are reprints of statistics of the Franciscan missions in New Spain in 1786 and 1788.

The introduction consists of quoted paragraphs from Alcedo's *Diccionario Geográfico-Histórico* and from Mendieta. Father Maas is evidently not minutely conversant with the field which the documents cover, hence many misprints occur in their reproduction, e. g., "Fontcuberta" becomes "Fonscuberta"; "Garauita" becomes "Garduito", "Mescaleros" becomes "Mescateros", etc.

HERBERT E. BOLTON.

## COMMUNICATION

December 11, 1916.

MANAGING EDITOR OF THE *American Historical Review*:

*Doctor Jameson:*

IN your letter forwarded to me in the field, and inclosing proof-sheet of criticism in July number, of my review of *The Fighting Cheyennes* in April number, you state that the criticism came to you too late to give opportunity for reply in your July number. Since my return to Washington ill health and other causes have delayed attention to the matter. Some points, however, seem to demand attention, even though belated.

Of the celebrated Forsyth fight in 1868 the author says in his rejoinder—"the scouts, with repeating arms, fought behind breastworks, while the Indians, three-fourths of whom were armed with bows and arrows, fought on the bare prairie, without any cover". The fact is that the "breastworks" were holes dug out in the sand by the scouts with their knives while lying flat on the ground after the fight began, while the Indians kept their families, tipis, and horses, and formed their lines for the charge, behind the shelter of the hills which stand back from the stream. A large part of them, possibly the majority, carried fire-arms, guns and ammunition forming part of the regular treaty issue. In fact, rifles, revolvers, and ammunition had been issued to these same Indians by the agent at Fort Larned only the month before. Yet with every horse shot down and half their own number either killed or disabled these fifty-three white men held off ten times as many mounted Cheyenne warriors for eight days until relieved by reinforcements. This battle of the Arikaree Fork has been so often written up that it seems almost superfluous to give references. The reviewer's authorities include, besides printed sources, personal information of the scout Stilwell, who crept through the lines at night and brought reinforcements, and of Roman-nose Thunder, who rescued the mortally wounded Cheyenne leader under fire.

As to the account of the celebrated Medicine Lodge treaty of October, 1867, it is stated in the book (page 263) that Jesse Chisholm, a halfbreed Cherokee, "was to interpret for the Kiowas and Comanches," and that after a treaty had been concluded with these tribes "apparently the Cheyennes did come in and sign, though definite information as to this is lacking" (page 265). As to the first point, the interpreter for the Kiowa and Comanche was Philip McCusker, as shown by the official treaty record. Chisholm was interpreter at an earlier treaty in 1865. The author has simply confused two events. For the second point, the doubt and alleged lack of information as to the presence of the Cheyenne



at their own treaty, an explanation is given which does not explain. The fact of their presence is a part of the official record, even if it were not established by their signatures appended to the treaty.

The reviewer is familiar with the ceremonial method of Indian approach with yelling and firing of guns, having frequently witnessed it at the sun dance and on other occasions, but the arrival of the other tribes or bands produced no such impression upon the beholders as did that of the Cheyenne, as described by both Senator Henderson and Major Stouch, the latter a veteran officer of the Civil War and Indian frontier, more or less familiar with Indian custom, and both presumably of a fair degree of courage. The fact is that the Cheyenne, true to their usual character, kept the commissioners waiting in uncertainty a full week after all the other tribes were assembled, and then came in, not as parties to a friendly conference, but as defiant bluffers looking for trouble. The dramatic manner of their arrival has been described to the reviewer by Commissioner Senator Henderson; Timothy Peet, trader at the conference; and Major George Stouch (then Captain), Third Infantry, U. S. A., in command of escort troops and in later years twice agent for the Cheyenne tribe. As an army officer by profession and charged with responsibility for the safety of the commissioners, Major Stouch would hardly have failed to note correctly the equipment of a possible enemy drawn up in front of his own men, and any original error would certainly have been corrected through his frequent friendly interchange of reminiscence with these same Cheyenne in after years as their agent. As every old soldier knows, the old-style muzzle-loader of the Civil War was served with a paper cartridge, of which the end was bitten off before loading and the charge exploded by means of a percussion cap. The compulsory use of such cartridges in India led to the Sepoy rebellion of 1857, ten years before Medicine Lodge. Moreover, the breech-loading rifle and the Maynard metallic cartridge were invented, patented, and to some extent in use in the United States army before the Civil War. On January 26, 1867, by command of General Hancock, in charge of the Department of the Missouri, orders were issued forbidding the sale or barter of arms or ammunition to the Indians of the upper Arkansas River region, and stating that they were already supplied in quantities greatly beyond their hunting necessities, and to such extent that "a large body of them was seen passing one of our posts a few days since, each individual having two, and some of them three revolvers, and many of them armed with the latest improved carbines, and supplied with large quantities of ammunition". So far back as 1857 Colonel Sumner had an engagement in western Kansas with some three hundred Cheyenne, who, according to the official report as quoted in the work under review (page 114), were drawn up in regular line of battle, "all mounted and well armed; many of them had rifles and revolvers".

JAMES MOONEY.

## HISTORICAL NEWS

### AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The annual meeting of the Association takes place in Cincinnati, December 27-30, just before the issue of these pages. Copies of the first edition of the programme, and of the report of the committee on nominations, were mailed to all members on November 29. In the business meeting, it was expected, the main subject for consideration would be the proposals made a year ago by the Committee of Nine, for the amendment of the constitution.

The Adams prize essay, *The Leveller Movement*, by Dr. Theodore C. Pease, is now expected to appear in January. Volume I. of the *Annual Report* for 1914 approaches publication at the Government Printing Office. Mr. Matteson's General Index to all *Papers* and *Reports*, 1884 to 1914 inclusive, is nearly ready in manuscript, to be printed as volume II. The *Annual Report* for 1915, a single volume, is in galley-proof. It will contain, besides several papers read at the last annual meeting, reports on the state archives of California and Vermont.

The Pacific Coast Branch met at San Diego in the concluding days of November. Professor Edward Krehbiel of Stanford University was chosen president for the ensuing year.

In the *Original Narratives* series, the publishers have decided to defer the issue of Miss Kellogg's *Early Narratives of the Northwest* until February. The series will therefore not be completed until that date, though the final report of the general editor of the series, who has conducted it from 1904 to the present time, has been rendered to the Association at the Cincinnati meeting.

### PERSONAL

The Marquis Charles Jean Melchior de Vogüé, member of the French Academy and president of the Société de l'Agriculture de France and of the French Red Cross organization, died in November, aged eighty-seven. Aside from diplomatic and other public services, he was chiefly noted for writings on the Christian archaeology of Syria and Palestine, beginning with *Les Églises de la Terre Sainte* (1860); but in 1888 he published a book on Villars, and in 1900 the correspondence of the Duc de Bourbon of the same period with the Duc de Beauvilliers.

Count Ugo Balzani died in Rome on February 27, 1916, at the age of sixty-eight. His chief work was his notable edition of the *Regesto di Farfa*, but he is best known to English readers through his book on *The Early Chroniclers of Italy* (1883). He was also an important member

of the Istituto Storico Italiano and had exercised, through the Società Romana di Storia Patria and a school of history connected with it, great influence upon the advancement of historical studies in Rome.

Dr. Helio Lobo, secretary of the president of Brazil, is to lecture in history at Harvard University during the second half of the present academic year.

Mr. J. Montgomery Gambrill has been made assistant professor of history in the Teachers College of Columbia University.

In Vassar College, Miss Eloise Ellery has been promoted from an associate professorship to a professorship of history; Miss Ida C. Thallon, hitherto assistant professor, to an associate professorship.

Mr. Percy S. Flippin, professor of history in Centre College, Danville, Kentucky, is to occupy the Rogers chair of history in Hamilton College.

Mr. H. C. Hubbard of the University of Chicago has been made professor of history in Allegheny College, in succession to Professor Ernest A. Smith.

#### GENERAL

The statement made in the October number that no books or periodicals had been received from Germany since May is still true, as is also the statement with regard to the delays in the case of publications from other countries.

In the September and October numbers of the *History Teacher's Magazine* Professor St. George L. Sioussat discusses at some length and in a manner very instructive the problem of Teaching the History of the New South. Professor Sioussat lays a proper foundation for his study by much needed warnings against possible misconceptions as regards the uniqueness of the South, its economic unity, and its newness. The article treats four important phases of Southern development: the economic revolution, the educational renaissance, political and constitutional development, and the negro. Teachers of history will also be interested in Mr. R. M. Tryon's paper, in the September number, on the High School History Recitation. The October number reprints from the *Journal* of the New York State Teachers' Association Professor A. C. McLaughlin's interesting and thoughtful address, delivered before that association in November, 1915, on Teaching War and Peace in American History. The same number of the *Magazine* presents Two Views regarding Historical Fiction. The principal articles in the November number are: Geographical versus Sequential History, by Professor E. F. Humphrey, Economics in the High School, by President C. A. Herrick of Girard College, and Industrial History in the High School, by Raymond G. Taylor. In the December number we note: The World War and the Historians, an address by Professor F. M. Anderson; Forms of History Recitation, by Miss Frances M. Morehouse; and an account of a recent

School Exhibit in History at Newark, by Dr. D. C. Knowlton. A list of thirty existing history teachers' associations gives a vivid notion of the expansion of the work of historical education.

Professor F. J. E. Woodbridge has, from his study of the history of philosophy, arrived at certain conclusions concerning history, which he has embodied in *The Purpose of History*, published by Columbia University (pp. vii, 89).

The Oxford University Press is soon to publish a volume of essays entitled *Progress and History*, arranged and edited by F. S. Marvin. Among other contributions the volume contains Progress in Prehistoric Times by R. R. Marett, Progress and Hellenism by F. M. Stawell, and Progress in the Middle Ages by Rev. A. J. Carlyle.

In the series entitled *Nations' Histories*, published by the Frederick A. Stokes Company, W. T. Waugh has contributed a volume on Germany, F. H. Davis one on Japan, and G. E. Slocumbe one on Poland.

Among the fall announcements of Messrs. Putnam is *France, England, and European Democracy, 1215-1917*, by Charles Cestre.

*Magna Carta and Other Addresses*, by Dr. William D. Guthrie, includes addresses on the Mayflower Compact, the Eleventh Amendment, Nominating Conventions, etc. (Columbia University Press).

In the *Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature* (Cambridge University Press) Mr. H. G. Addis is soon to publish *The Printed Book*, a history of printing.

The paper of Professor Milledge L. Bonham, jr., entitled Recent History: to what Extent to the Exclusion of Other History, which appears in vol. VIII. of the *Proceedings* of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, is reprinted as *University Bulletin*, no. 8, of the Louisiana State University.

The American Jewish Historical Society, holding its twenty-fifth annual meeting in New York on April 22 and 23, intends to signalize this anniversary by organizing an American Jewish Historical Exhibition, to embrace portraits, engravings, manuscripts, books, and other matter of interest for the history of the Jews in America. The chairman of the special committee on the exhibition is Mr. Leon Hühner, 52 William Street, New York City.

Professor W. W. Rockwell has prepared a critical bibliography of Armenia including both books and articles. As the compiler expects shortly to issue a second edition of the pamphlet he will be glad to receive suggestions. Copies of the list may be obtained from the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York.

The leading Dutch historical society, the Historisch Genootschap, has just brought out a new edition of its authoritative code of rules for the

putting into print of manuscript historical documents, *Regels voor het Uitgeven van Historische Bescheiden* (Amsterdam, Johannes Müller).

The Princeton University Press has brought out a work entitled *The Evolution of Governments and Laws*, by Stephen H. Allen.

A short history of some of the principal questions of sea law as it affects neutrals is given in G. W. T. Omond's *The Law of the Sea*, published by Messrs. Black.

The *Storia del Diritto Marittimo nel Mediterraneo* (Rome, Athenaeum, 1915, pp. xii, 200) by R. Zeno will interest the student of history as well as of international law.

The *Catholic Historical Review* for October, under the title "Following the Conquistadores", presents an article by Dr. Thomas O'Hagan, reviewing the Rev. Dr. Zahm's three recent South American volumes. Mrs. Margaret Brent Downing treats of "The American Capitoline Hill [Capitol Hill at Washington] and its Early Catholic Proprietors"; Bishop Corrigan continues his series of systematic data respecting the hierarchy of his church in the United States, and Dom Roger Hudleston, of Downside Abbey, exhibits the relation of the origins of that hierarchy, and of the Catholic hierarchy in England and Australia, to Bishop Charles Walmesley, vicar apostolic. Documents from the archives of the Propaganda, describing the Jesuit missions in America in 1773 and later, are also presented.

The October number of the *Military Historian and Economist*, with which that journal concludes a highly successful first year, contains three particularly excellent and interesting historical articles: one by Professor Tenney Frank, "Rome, Marseilles, and Carthage", a paper read at the last meeting of the American Historical Association; one by Professor R. M. Johnston, on Carnot's Conduct of Operations in the spring of 1796; and one by Professor R. P. Brooks, on Conscription in the Confederate States.

In the October number of the *Journal of Negro History* C. E. Pierre gives an account of the work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the negroes in the colonies; Alice Dunbar-Nelson presents the first part of an interesting paper on the "gens de couleur" in Louisiana; W. T. McKinney an article on the Defeat of the Secessionists in Kentucky in 1861; and J. Kunst summarizes the remarks of Thomas Gage on negroes in Guatemala in the seventeenth century. The editor extracts from the chief travellers in English America, of the latter part of the eighteenth century, their observations on slavery and the negro. This number completes volume I. of a very creditable undertaking, well deserving support.

The first number of a new Russian historical journal (*Russkii Istoricheskii Zhurnal*) is to appear about the first of January, 1917. The three leading editors are Messrs. M. A. Diakonov of the Academy, and

V. N. Beneshevitch and S. V. Rozhdestvenskii of the University of Petrograd. They will be assisted by a group of able scholars, among them being Professors A. S. Lappo-Danilevskii and G. V. Vernadskii.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: P. Ovel, *La Météorologie dans l'Histoire* (Revue Hebdomadaire, September 30); C. Diehl, *La Lutte pour l'Adriatique* (Revue des Deux Mondes, September 16); J. H. Robinson, *What is National Spirit?* (Century, November); J. Lailier, *Ambulances d'Autrefois* (Revue Hebdomadaire, September 30).

#### ANCIENT HISTORY

General review: G. Glotz, *Histoire Grecque, 1911-1914*, IV. (Revue Historique, September).

An introduction, reproduction, and translation of a hundred tablets in the collection of the École des Hautes Études of Paris by Dr. G. Contenau is published under the title *Contribution à l'Histoire Économique d'Umma* (Paris, Champion, 1915, pp. xliii, 162), as the 219th volume of the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études*.

An error was made in our last number, in a reference to a volume by Mr. G. A. Harrer, now of the University of North Carolina. The title should read: *Studies in the History of the Roman Province of Syria* (Princeton, University Press, 1915).

A thesis on *L'Impôt de Capitation sous le Bas-Empire Romain* (Chambéry, Imp. Chambérienne, 1916, pp. 103) is by Dr. A. Piganiol. A volume of *Studi Romani e Bizantini* (Rome, Tip. dell' Accademia dei Lincei, 1915, pp. 319) is by L. Cantarelli.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. G. McCurdy, *The Dawn of Art: Cave Paintings, Engravings, and Sculptures* (Art and Archaeology, August); J. H. Breasted, *Studio of an Egyptian Portrait Sculptor in the Fourteenth Century B. C.* (*ibid.*, October–November); H. M. Wiener, *The Date of the Exodus* (Bibliotheca Sacra, July); F. M. T. Böhl, *Ausgewählte Keilschrifttexte aus Boghaz-Köi umschrieben und erklärt* (Theologisch Tijdschrift, L. 2, 4); J. de Morgan, *Les Débuts du Peuple Arménien dans l'Histoire* (Mercure de France, September 1); P. Cloché, *Les Trois Mille et la Restauration Démocratique à Athènes en 403* (Revue des études Grecques, January); G. Corradi, *La Fine del Regno di Seleuco Nicatore*, II. (Revista de Filologia e di Istruzione Classica, July); J. L. Heiberg, *Le Rôle d'Archimède dans le Développement des Sciences Exactes* (Scientia, August); P. Huvelin, *Une Guerre d'Usure dans l'Antiquité, la Deuxième Guerre Punique* (Revue des Deux Mondes, October 15); E.-Ch. Babut, *L'Adoration des Empereurs et les Origines de la Persécution de Dioclétien* (Revue Historique, November); H. Gummerus, *Det Romerska Rikets Undergång, Olika Meningar om dess Orsaker* (Statsvetenskaplig Tidskrift, June).

## EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

Rev. Abraham Mitrie Rihbany, the author of *The Syrian Christ* (Houghton Mifflin), brings to the interpretation of the life of Jesus knowledge gained from life under conditions not dissimilar to those presented in the Gospels, and thereby is able to throw fresh light on many New Testament incidents.

The *Manuel d'Archéologie Chrétienne* (Turin, Marietti, 1916, pp. 455, lxi) by Sisto Scaglia is translated from the Italian edition of 1910 with additional material to bring it up to date.

Among the recent issues of the *Patrologia Orientalis*, edited by Professors R. Graffin and F. Nau, are: XI. 1, *Histoire Universelle écrite par Agapius (Mahboub) de Menbidj*, edited and translated into French by A. Vasilier; XI. 5, *Le Synaxaire Arabe Jacobite (Rédaction Copte)*, III. *Les Mois de Toubeh et d'Amchir*, edited in the Arabic text and translated and annotated by R. Basset; XII. 2, *A Collection of Letters of Severus of Antioch from Numerous Syriac Manuscripts*, edited and translated by E. W. Brooks; XIII. 1, *Sargis d'Aberga (Controverse Judéo-Chrétienne)*, edited in the Ethiopian text and translated by S. Grébaud (Paris, Firmin-Didot, 1916).

## MEDIEVAL HISTORY

The Department of History of Dartmouth College has published a revised edition of Foster and Fay's *Syllabus of European History*, part I., 378-1600 (pp. 41).

*A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Mediæval Manuscripts in Edinburgh University Library* has been prepared by Miss Catherine R. Borland (T. and A. Constable, 1916, pp. xxxi, 3589). The scholarly and informing notes of Miss Borland and those who assisted her make the work of real value to the student.

Dr. Charles C. Mierow of Colorado College has undertaken the translation of Otto of Freising for the series *Records of Civilization*, edited by Professor Shotwell.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. Grand, *Contribution à l'histoire du Régime des Terres: le Contrat de Complant depuis les Origines jusqu'à Nos Jours*, I. (Nouvelle Revue Historique de Droit Français et Étranger, April); G. B. Borino, *L'Elezione e la Deposizione di Gregorio VI.*, I. (Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria, XXXIX. 1); E. H. Byrne, *Commercial Contracts of the Genoese in the Syrian Trade of the Twelfth Century* (Quarterly Journal of Economics, November); A. Marigo, *Cultura Letteraria e Preumanistica nelle Maggiori Enciclopedie del Dugento, Lo "Speculum" ed il "Tresors"* (Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana, LXVIII. 1).

## MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Professor Ephraim Emerton of Harvard University is preparing a volume entitled *The Beginnings of Modern Europe*, intended as a continuation of his *Medieval Europe*, published in 1894 and his *Introduction to the Study of the Middle Ages* published in 1888.

Under the title *El Cónclave de 1774 e 1775* (Madrid, Clásica Española, 1916, pp. 575), E. Pacheco y de Leyva has studied Spanish relations to the suppression of the Society of Jesus from Spanish documents.

Centenary contributions to the Waterloo literature include Capt. A. F. Becke, *Napoleon and Waterloo* (London, Kegan Paul, 1915, 2 vols.); J. R. Callenbach, *Waterloo* (Nijkerk, Callenbach, 1915, pp. 267); H. C. Diferee, *Van Scheveningen tot Waterloo, 30 November 1813 tot 18 Juni 1815* (Amsterdam, Van Holkema, 1915, pp. viii, 240); and Karl von Möller, *Der Feldzug 1815* (Vienna, Verlag für Vaterländische Literatur, 1915, pp. 159).

Dr. Coleman Phillipson has brought together and edited a collection of treaties of peace of the last hundred years, entitled *The Termination of War and Treaties of Peace* (Fisher Unwin). The editor studies the preliminary stages of treaty-making as well as the provisions of treaties actually ratified.

Professor Clarence Perkins of Ohio State University has compiled for the use of students *An Outline of Recent European History*, based on Hazen's *Europe since 1815* and the second volume of Hayes's *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, with many suggestions for additional reading. The *Outline* extends to August, 1916.

European relations with Africa have been studied and discussed by J. Bécker in *Historia de Marruecas, Apuntes para la Historia de la Penetración Europea, y principalmente de la Española en el Norte de Africa* (Madrid, Ratés, 1915, pp. 590); by E. Rouard de Card in *La Turquie et le Protectorat Français en Tunisie, 1881-1913* (Paris, Pedone, 1916); and by Pierre-Alype in *L'Éthiopie et les Ambitions Allemandes* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1916).

The lectures which Professor Archibald C. Coolidge of Harvard University gave at the University of Virginia last year on the Barbour-Page Foundation, on "The Origin and Formation of the Triple Alliance", are soon to be published as a book.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. Laderchi, *La Battaglia di Fornovo, 6 Luglio 1495* (Nuova Antologia, September 16); M. C. Piccioni, *L'Ordre de Malte et la Corse* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXX, 2); E. Boutroux, *La Paix de Westphalie, 24 Octobre 1648* (Revue Hebdomadaire, October 14); E. Griselle, *De Berlin à Constantinople: un Échec Diplomatique de Louis XIV. en 1659* (Revue des Études Historiques, July); G. Fagniez, *Les Antécédents de l'Alliance Franco-Russe: les Avances d'Élisabeth Petrovna et les Préventions Françaises, 1741-*



1762 (Revue Hebdomadaire, August 19); M. Lasso de la Vega, *El Duque de Havré y su Misión en España como Representante de los Emigrados durante la Revolución, 1791-1798*, I, II. (Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Museos, January, May); L. Messedaglia, *La Questione dell' Istria nel 1797* (Nuova Antologia, August 16); W. S. Robertson, *The Juntas of 1808 and the Spanish Colonies* (English Historical Review, October); J. Duhem, *La Question d'Alsace-Lorraine, 1871-1914* (Revue de Paris, August 15, September 1, 15); V. H. Friedel, *La Propagande Scolaire Allemande à l'Étranger avant et pendant la Guerre* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, August 15); E. Bernstein, *L'Impérialisme Économique et la "Sozialdemokratie"* (Revue Politique Internationale, July).

#### THE GREAT WAR

The Macmillan Company, in a large volume of 1200 pages, presents, under the title *Official Diplomatic Documents relating to the Outbreak of the European War*, a collection of all the despatches upon the subject printed hitherto in the various-colored books of the different belligerent countries. Six hundred pages of text, carefully edited by Professor Edmund von Mach of Harvard University, are first presented in English, in chronological order of days and under each day in alphabetical order of governments. These are followed by photographic reproductions of the official editions of the documents (Blue, White, Yellow, etc., books) put forth by the governments. The utility of the collection to students is apparent.

Mr. Hilaire Belloc's *Elements of the Great War: Second Phase*, is a study of the battle of the Marne, military details occupying the major portion of the book.

A volume with an introduction by Georges Cain bears the title *La Grande Guerre, 1914-1918, Iconographie, Bibliographie, Documents Divers* (Paris, Émile-Paul, 1916). The volume contains an iconography of the war to the close of 1915, while two more volumes for the bibliography to the same date are promised in the near future.

The thirteenth volume of *Guerre de 1914, Documents Officiels, Textes Législatifs et Règlementaires* (Paris, Dalloz, 1916) comprises documents through September 15, 1916. The compilation by C. H. Huberich and A. Nicol-Speyer of *German Legislation for the Occupied Territories of Belgium* (the Hague, Nijhoff, 1916) extends to December 31, 1915, in the fifth volume, which contains an index to the first five volumes. The texts are given in the original German, French, or Flemish. The third volume of the *Recueil des Documents insérés au "Bulletin Officiel" du Ministère de la Guerre et concernant spécialement la Période des Hostilités du 2 Août 1914* (Paris, Charles-Lavauzelle, 1916) extends through July 31, 1916. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has published *Documents Officiels relatifs à la Guerre, 1914, 1915, 1916: les Allemands à Lille et dans le Nord de France* (Paris, Hachette, 1916), which deals with the deportations in April, 1916.

The first volume of *La Guerre de 1914, Recueil de Documents intéressant le Droit International* (Paris, Pedone, 1916) contains 379 documents and an introduction by P. Fauchille. A second volume was announced to appear in December. The same writer has furnished the introduction to the first volume of *Jurisprudence Française en Matière de Prises Maritimes, Recueil de Décisions, suivi des Textes intéressant le Droit International Maritime publiés par la France pendant la Guerre de 1914* (*ibid.*). Professor Antoine Pellet has published a volume on *La Guerre Actuelle et le Droit des Gens* (*ibid.*), and Professor Louis Rolland, on *Les Pratiques de la Guerre Aérienne dans le Conflit de 1914 et le Droit des Gens* (*ibid.*).

A German diplomat and student of international law, W. Krauel, has published *Neutralität, Neutralisation, und Befreiung im Völkerrecht* (Munich, Duncker and Humblot, 1915, pp. xi, 97). R. Moulin has studied conditions and the movement of opinion relating to the war, in neutral countries, in *La Guerre et les Neutres* (Paris, Plon, 1916, vol. 2, pp. iii, 400). A volume by T. W. R. Scott relates to *War Time and Peace in Holland* (London, Heinemann, 1915).

Abbé G. Arnaud d'Agnel has published two volumes on *Benoît XV. et le Conflit Européen* (Paris, Lethielleux, 1916, pp. iv, 338, iv, 396) which carry the narrative to May, 1916. He promises further volumes for later developments. L. Lacroix is publishing a series of pamphlets on *Le Clergé et la Guerre de 1914* (Paris, Bloud and Gay) of which the tenth deals with Cardinal Mercier and the eleventh with the clergy of the invaded dioceses.

The noting of historical parallels to events in the Great War is a pastime to which Professor A. Aulard has given himself in *La Guerre Actuelle commentée par l'Histoire, Vues et Impressions au Jour le Jour, 1914-1916* (Paris, Payot, 1916, pp. xi, 256), and André Fribourg, in *La Guerre et le Passé: les "Leçons" de l'Histoire* (Paris, Alcan, 1916).

*With the French in France and Salonika*, by Richard Harding Davis (Scribner), consists of letters written from France, Greece, Serbia, and England during the last three months of 1915 and the first month of 1916. The author visited Verdun, Amiens, St. Dié, Arras, Chalons, Nancy, and Rheims and in readable fashion described the impressions he gained.

Mr. Sydney A. Moseley, a war correspondent with the Gallipoli expedition, has described his experiences in *The Truth about the Dardanelles* (Cassell, pp. 278).

Because books relating to the war on the eastern front are scarce, special interest attaches to John Morse, *Un Anglais dans l'Armée Russe, Dix Mois de Guerre en Pologne, Août 1914-Mai 1915* (Paris, Hachette, 1916), and to O. C. Taslauanu, *Trois Mois de Campagne en Galicie, Carnet de Route d'un Transylvanien Officier dans l'Armée Austro-Hongroise* (Paris, Attinger, 1916).

The second volume of Ernest Daudet's *Les Auteurs de la Guerre de 1914* (Paris, Attinger, 1916) deals with William II. and Francis Joseph. Numerous articles of timely interest are collected in *La France devant l'Allemagne* (Paris, Payot, 1916, pp. xxiii, 318) by G. Clémenceau; and in *1914-1916, l'Allemagne au-dessus de Tout!* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1916) and *Prouesses Allemandes* (*ibid.*) by A. Chuquet. Other recent additions to the French anti-German literature are V. Tissot, *L'Allemagne Casquée, Voyage au Pays des Milliards* (Paris, Perrin, 1916, pp. iv, 384); and A. Chéradame, *Le Plan Pangermaniste Démasqué, le Redoutable Piège Berlinoise de la Partie Nulle* (Paris, Plon, 1916, pp. 360). A Belgian view is given by F. Van de Vorst, *La Nation Criminelle, Étude Historique de la Déformation Morale Allemande* (Paris, Van Oest, 1916, pp. 164); a Swiss view by Professor M. Milliod, *La Caste Dominante Allemande, sa Formation, son Rôle* (Paris, Perrin, 1915); and a Greek view by G. Argyroglo, *L'Allemagne Ennemi de l'Hellénisme* (Paris, Jouve, 1916, pp. 127). A vigorous effort to fasten the responsibility for the war on Austria is made by P. Bertrand in *L'Autriche a Voulu la Grande Guerre* (Paris, Bossard, 1916, pp. 500). A German volume on the causes of the war, not before mentioned, is *Die Deutsche Politik und die Entstehung des Krieges* (Munich, Beck, 1915, pp. 202) by T. Bitterauf.

*La Guerra Europea, 1914-1915, Reconstitución Informativa de la Campaña y sus Derivaciones Políticas y Sociales* (Barcelona, Maucci, 1916) is a two-volume work by G. Calvo and J. Brilla.

The campaign on the western front is the subject of the following volumes of souvenirs by French officers and soldiers: Capitaine Hassler, *Ma Campagne au Jour le Jour, Août 1914-Décembre 1915* (Paris, Perrin, 1916); H. Libermann, *Ce qu' a vu un Officier de Chasseurs à Pied, 2 Août-28 Septembre 1914* (Paris, Plon, 1916); Capitaine Rimbault, *Journal de Campagne d'un Officier de Ligne* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1916); Lieutenant R. Deville, *Carnet de Route d'un Artilleur, Virton, la Marne* (Paris, Chapelot, 1916); J. Renaud, *La Tranchée Rouge, Feuilles de Route, Septembre 1914-Mars 1916* (Paris, Hachette, 1916); A. Salmon Le Chass'Bi, *Notes de Campagne en Artois et en Argonne en 1915* (Paris, Perrin, 1916).

Other observers on the western front have written the following volumes of memoirs: Commandant Willy Breton, *Un Régiment Belge en Campagne, 1<sup>er</sup> Août 1914-1<sup>er</sup> Janvier 1915, Quelques Fastes du 2<sup>e</sup> Chasseurs à Pied* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1916, pp. 130); P. Millet, *En Liaison avec les Anglais, Souvenirs de Campagne* (Paris, Perrin, 1916); Abbé A. Trimbalet, *De Soyécourt à Wittenberg, ou l'Invasion et la Captivité* (Amiens, Yvert and Tellier, 1916, pp. iii, 138); R. Christian-Frogé, *Morhange et les Marsouins en Lorraine* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1916), by an officer in a colonial regiment; J. F. Bouchor, *Souvenirs de la Grande Guerre, 1914-1915* (Paris, Mignot, 1916), containing 64 plates by a painter of the Musée de l'Armée.

*Lorette, une Bataille de Douze Mois, Octobre 1914-October 1915* (Paris, Perrin, 1916) is by H. René. The number of the magazine *La Renaissance* for September 2, 1916, is made up of articles relating to the retreat from Charleroi, the battle of the Ourcq, the battle of the Marne, and to General Gallieni.

Observations on various phases of the war in France are recorded in H. de Noussanne, *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Senlis* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1916, pp. vii, 260); P. Laboureyras, *La Destruction d'une Cité Picarde et d'une Basilique Mariale, la Ville d'Albert avant et pendant la Guerre, 1914-1915* (Amiens, Grau, 1915, pp. vi, 151); A. Fribourg, *Les Martyrs d'Alsace et de Lorraine, d'après les Débats des Conseils de Guerres Allemands* (Paris, Plon, 1916, pp. 194); Noëlle Roger, *Le Cortège des Victimes, les Rapatriés d'Allemagne, 1914-1916* (Paris, Perrin, 1916); J. Boubée, *Parmi les Blessés Allemands, Août-Décembre 1914* (Paris, Plon, 1916, pp. iii, 308); Commandant E. Vedel, *Nos Marins à la Guerre, sur Mer et sur Terre* (Paris, Payot, 1916); J. Mont, *La Défense Nationale et notre Parlement* (Paris, Perrin, 1916, pp. 288); and J. Destrée, *Les Socialistes et la Guerre Européenne* (Paris, Van Oest, 1915). A French observer in England, J. M. Crazannes, is the author of *L'Empire Britannique et la Guerre Européenne, Lettres d'Angleterre* (Paris, Belin, 1916).

A volume entitled *La Guerre et la Vie Économique* (Paris, Alcan, 1916, pp. 310) contains addresses on the relations to the conduct of the war, of agriculture by D. Zolla, of aviation by P. E. Flandin, of the merchant marine by P. de Rousiers, of the colonies and Morocco by J. Chailley, of the metal industries by R. Pinot, and of national finances by A. Liesse.

*L'Hommage Français* (Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1916) is the general title of a series of a dozen pamphlets in which leading French statesmen and authors endeavor to explain to the French public the part played by the several allied nations and their colonies in the conduct of the war. Further issues are promised which will include articles on several aspects of France's own part in the prosecution of the war.

Several members of the French Academy have made notable contributions to the literature of the war. Aside from the directly political and historical writings by Lavissee, Hanotaux, and Charmes which have been mentioned from time to time, note may be made of *À l'Arrière, Août, 1914-Août, 1915* (Paris, Ollendorff, 1916) by F. Masson; of *Dialogues de Guerre* (Paris, Fayard, 1916, pp. 286) by H. Lavedan; and of the several volumes under the general title, *L'Âme Française et la Guerre* (Paris, Émile-Paul, 1915-1916) and *Les Traits Éternels de la France* (*ibid.*, 1916) by Maurice Barrès. Some have embodied their observations and experiences in the form of the novel, such as *Bourru, Soldat de l'anquois* (Paris, Perrin, 1916) by Jean des Vignes Rouges, a French army officer. A native of Frankfort-on-the-Main, now an

exile in Switzerland, Edward Stilgebauer, has written *Inferno, Roman de la Guerre Mondiale* (Neuchâtel, Switzerland, Bassin-Clottu, 1916) which is said to be an even more notable arraignment of German militarism than the well-known *J'Accuse*.

R. Vaucher has furnished a comprehensive account of the Italian campaign in *Avec les Armées de Cadorna, Exposé des Opérations Italiennes depuis la Déclaration de Guerre jusqu'à la Prise de Gorizia* (Paris, Payot, 1916).

The story of the Serbian campaign is told from the side of the defeated in *La Serbie en Guerre, 1914-1916, Épisodes Vécus* (Paris, Fischbacher, 1916, pp. 192) by Madame Sturzenegger, a Swiss woman; in *Le Drame Serbe, Octobre 1915-Mars 1916* (Paris, Perrin, 1916) by Ferrisani; in *Avec l'Armée Serbe en Retraite à travers l'Albanie et le Monténégro, Journal de Route d'un Officier d'Administration de la Mission Médicale Militaire Française en Serbie* (*ibid.*, pp. xxv, 213) by Raoul Labry; and in *La Retraite de Serbie, Octobre-Décembre 1915* (Paris, Hachette, 1916), by Dr. Louis L. Thomson, also a member of the French medical mission.

The Asiatic aspects of the war are presented by Paul Louis in *La Guerre d'Orient et la Crise Européenne* (Paris, Alcan, 1916, pp. ii, 127), and by Henry Richard in *La Syrie et la Guerre* (Paris, Chapelot, 1916, pp. 132).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Rossi, *Le Cause di Debolezza della Triplice Alleanza* (Nuova Antologia, July 1); T. Tittoni, *La Responsabilità della Guerra* (*ibid.*, September 16); M. Y. Bitar, *Le Califat et la Guerre* (Mercure de France, October 1, 16); XX., *Le Sultan Ottoman et le Khalifat* (Revue de Paris, September 1); E. d'Eichthal, *Alliances et Guerres Économiques, la Conférence Économique de Paris* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, August 15); Un Officier Anglais, *Au Front de France* (Revue de Paris, August 1, 15, September 1, 15); C. Le Goffic, *Les Marais de Saint-Gond, 1914* (Revue des Deux Mondes, September 1); H. Bordeaux, *Un Épisode de la Victoire de Verdun: les Derniers Jours du Fort de Vaux* (*ibid.*, October 1, 15); General Malletterre, *Le Front Italien, 1915-1916* (*ibid.*, October 1); C. Stiénon, *Une Campagne Coloniale: sur le Chemin de Bagdad* (*ibid.*, September 1); R. Blanchard, *Front d'Asie* (Revue de Paris, August 15); General Fonville, *L'Unité d'Action sur l'Unité de Front* (*ibid.*, September 15); G. Hantaux, *Théorie de la Bataille des Frontières* (Revue Hebdomadaire, July 22); Contre-Amiral Degouy, *Les Opérations de Débarquement* (Revue des Deux Mondes, October 15).

#### GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

The October number of *History* (the organ of the Historical Association) contains a paper by Professor A. F. Pollard, editor of the journal, on the Growth of an Imperial Parliament; the completion of Miss

Constantia Maxwell's paper on the Colonization of Ulster; and an article on Ludlow, presented as a study in local history, by Dr. J. E. Morris.

The Manorial Society, 1 Mitre Court Buildings, Temple, London, E. C., has reprinted the first edition, 1510, of the *Modus tenendi Cur' Baron' cum Visu Franci Plegii*, together with translations and an introductory note by Charles Greenwood. The British Museum copy from which this reprint is made is believed to be unique.

Miss Ethel B. Sainsbury's *Calendar of the Court Minutes of the East India Company* has in the most recent volume covered the years 1655-1659 (Clarendon Press).

*The Letters of John Wesley*, edited by the Rev. George Eayrs (Horder and Stoughton), contains some letters hitherto unpublished.

The Oxford University Press has issued a brief study of *British Colonial Policy, 1783-1915*, by C. H. Currey.

Mr. E. S. Roscoe, registrar of the admiralty division of the High Court of Justice, has completed a *Life of Lord Stowell, Judge of the High Court of Admiralty from 1798 to 1828*, which traces the development of British prize law to the present day. Messrs. Methuen are to publish the volume.

Cambridge University Press has published a biography of *Henry Dundas, Viscount Melville*, by J. A. Lovat-Fraser.

Miss Mary F. Sandars, in *The Life and Times of Queen Adelaide* (Stanley Paul), in addition to her study of the queen describes certain minor influences opposed to Reform.

The Right Hon. G. W. E. Russell has, in a style comparable with that of McCarthy's *Portraits of the Sixties*, prepared *Portraits of the Seventies* (Fisher Unwin), containing reminiscences of Gladstone, Beaconsfield, Parnell, and others.

*From Sail to Steam* (repeating regrettably the title of Admiral Mahan's well-known volume) is a volume of naval recollections covering the years 1878-1905 by Admiral C. C. Penrose Fitzgerald (London, Jenkins).

A. Legris has written *Saint Laurent O'Toole (Saint Laurent d'Eu), Archevêque de Dublin, 1128-1180* (Rouen, Cacheux, 1914, pp. ix, 152).

The first volume of a *History of the Irish Dominicans*, by M. H. MacInerny (Dublin, Browne and Nolan, 5 vols.) has appeared, dealing with *Irish Dominican Bishops, 1224-1307*, and containing many documents here first published.

Recent Irish history may gain some side-lights from *The Reminiscences of the Right Hon. Lord O'Brien* (of Kilfenora), *Lord Chief Justice of Ireland*.

The Irish rebellion of 1916 is the subject of two volumes issued by Messrs. Maunsel, *A History of the Irish Rebellion*, by W. B. Wells and N. Marlowe, and *The Insurrection in Dublin*, by James Stephens.

Among forthcoming volumes in the *Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature* is one on the history of Australia by J. W. Gregory.

British government publications: *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous* (Chancery), 2 vols., 1219-1349; *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Henry VII., II., 1494-1509*; *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1706-1708*, ed. Cecil Headlam.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: C. H. Firth, *The Study of British Foreign Policy* (Quarterly Review, October); Caroline A. J. Skeel, *The Canary Company* (English Historical Review, October); L. M. Sears, *Purveyance in England under Elizabeth* (Journal of Political Economy, October); E. R. Turner, *Committees of the Privy Council, 1688-1760* (English Historical Review, October); H. Clement, *Histoire d'un Réformateur, Robert Owen* (La Réforme Sociale, August); H. D. Davray, *L'Oeuvre et le Prestige de Lord Kitchener* (Mercure de France, September 16); Wallace Notestein, *The Career of Mr. Asquith* (Political Science Quarterly, September); General Malletterre, *La Transformation Militaire de l'Angleterre, 1914-1916* (Revue des Deux Mondes, August 1); Edward Krehbiel, *Geographical Influences in British Elections* [with maps] (Geographical Review, December); Sir P. J. Hamilton-Grierson, *The Suitors of the Sheriff Court* (Scottish Historical Review, October); G. Neilson, ed., *Scotstarvet's "Trew Relation"* [concl.] (*ibid.*); St. J. G. Ervine, *The Story of the Irish Rebellion* (Century, November).

#### FRANCE

General review: R. Lévy, *Histoire Intérieure du Premier et du Second Empire* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, September).

E. Clouzot has prepared three volumes of *Dépouillement d'Inventaires et de Catalogues* (Paris, Leroux, 1916) for the *Répertoire des Sources Manuscrites de l'Histoire de Paris*, edited by M. Poète.

The third volume of Camille Enlart's *Manuel d'Archéologie Française depuis les Temps Mérovingiens jusqu'à la Renaissance* (Paris, Picard, 1916, pp. xxix, 614, figs. 480) deals with costume. The first volume, which dealt with ecclesiastical architecture, will shortly appear in a revised edition.

In the series of *Chartes et Diplômes relatifs à l'Histoire de France* published by the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres, L. Delisle and E. Berger have edited the *Recueil des Actes de Henri II., Roi d'Angleterre et Duc de Normandie, concernant les Provinces Françaises et les Affaires de France* (Paris, Klincksieck, 1916, vol. I., pp. vii, 588). H. F. Delaborde has edited the *Recueil des Actes de Philippe-Auguste, Roi de France* (*ibid.*, vol. I., 1179-1194, pp. xi, 575).

The relation of the court to the Parlement during the whole period from 1345 to 1610 is considered by reigns in the third volume of E. Maugis's *Histoire du Parlement de Paris de l'Avènement des Rois Valois à la Mort d'Henri IV.* (Paris, Picard, 1916, pp. xliii, 360).

The latest publications of the Société de l'Histoire de France are the *Journal de Clément de Fauquembergue, Greffier du Parlement de Paris, 1417-1435* (Paris, Laurens, 1915, vol. III., 1431-1436, pp. xc, 298) edited by A. Tuetey and H. Lacaille; the *Mémoires de Louis Henri de Loménie, Comte de Brienne, dit le Jeune Brienne* (*ibid.*, 1916, vol. I., pp. 363) edited by P. Bonnefon; and the *Lettres du Duc de Bourgogne au Roi d'Espagne Philippe V. et à la Reine* (*ibid.*, 1916, vol. II., 1709-1712, pp. lxxxv, 273) edited by A. Baudrillart and L. Lecestre.

The fourth volume of *Mémoires et Documents pour servir à l'Histoire du Commerce et de l'Industrie en France* edited by Julien Hayem (Paris, Hachette, 1916, pp. vii, 323) is composed of articles on the industry and commerce of southern France, chiefly in the eighteenth century. Perhaps the most interesting one deals with the relations between Bordeaux and the Hanseatic cities.

The law thesis of Pierre Roux on *Les Fermes d'Impôts sous l'Ancien Régime* (Paris, Rousseau, 1916, pp. xxxi, 664) is of unusual thoroughness.

A translation of the third volume (in order of appearance, not chronological order) of the *National History of France* has been issued by Messrs. Heinemann. This is the volume on *The French Revolution* by Louis Madelin, whose knowledge of the subject and whose skill as a writer have produced a narrative of unusual interest.

Messrs. Henry Holt expect soon to publish *The French Revolution and Napoleon*, by Professor C. D. Hazen, now of Columbia University.

Volume XV., nos. 3 and 4, of the *University Studies* of the University of Nebraska contains a careful study by Miss Ethel L. Howie on the *Counter Revolution of June-July, 1789: Rôle of the Assembly from June 3 to July 11.*

A monograph on the removal of the royal family from Versailles to Paris, entitled *Storia di Due Giornate della Rivoluzione Francese, 5-6 Ottobre 1789* (Spoleto, Tip. dell' Umbria, 1916, pp. 382), is by C. di Somma and C. Bandini.

Duc Georges de Leuchtenberg has written a volume on his ancestor, *Le Prince Eugène de Beauharnais à la Tête de la Grande Armée, 16 Janvier-15 Avril 1813* (Paris, Chapelot, 1915, pp. xxii, 338).

Some interesting volumes of biography for the period from the Restoration to the Revolution of 1848 have recently appeared. General Derrécagaix is the biographer of *Le Maréchal de France, Comte Harispe, 1768-1855* (Paris, Chapelot, 1916). Dr. H. Moulinié has edited the



*Lettres Inédites du Vicomte de Bonald, Député, 1815-1823, Pair de France, 1823-1830, à Madame Victor de Sèze* (Paris, Alcan, 1916, pp. xviii, 160). Abbé C. Guillemant has published the first volume of a life of *Pierre-Louis Parisis* (Paris, Gabalda, 1916, pp. xxiii, 456), which relates to his career as bishop of Langres. The ex-premier Louis Barthou is the author of *Lamartine Orateur* (Paris, Hachette, 1916).

A little known problem is investigated by F. Marullaz in *La Vérité sur la Zone Franche de la Haute-Savoie, Nature, Origines, et Valeur en Droit, Conditions Actuelles, Avenir* (Thonon-les Bains, Dubouloz, 1916, pp. 232).

Édouard Driault, in co-operation with C. Schefer, has issued a second volume of *La République et le Rhin* (Paris, Tenin, 1916), which deals with the economic questions. The same subject is also treated in *La Grande Question d'Occident: le Rhin dans l'Histoire* (Paris, Leroux, 1916) by Ernest Babelon. The first volume deals with ancient times, and medieval and modern times will be the subject of a second volume which is in press. The work narrates the history of the perpetual struggle between the Gauls or French and the Germans for the Rhine frontier. G. Hanotaux has collected a series of *Études Diplomatiques et Historiques pendant la Guerre* (Paris, Plon, 1916).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Mathorez, *Les Éléments de Population Orientale en France* (Revue des Études Grecques, January); A. Michel, *L'Art "Gothique" Oeuvre de France* (Revue des Deux Mondes, August 1); F. Aubert, *Nouvelles Recherches sur le Parlement de Paris, Période d'Organisation, 1250-1350, II.* (Nouvelle Revue Historique de Droit Français et Étranger, April); J. Viard, *La Cour (Curia) au Commencement du XIV<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, January); C. Bémont, *Les Institutions Municipales de Bordeaux au Moyen Age: la Mairie et la Jurade* (Revue Historique, September); R. Gonnard, *L'Émigration Française jusqu'au XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Revue d'Économie Politique, July); P. Heckmann, *Félix de Wimpffen et le Siège de Thionville en 1792, I.-III.* (Revue Historique de la Révolution et de l'Empire, October, January, April); R. Vallentin du Cheylard, *Après le Siège de Toulon, I.* (*ibid.*, April); J. Viénot, *Un Honnête Homme sous le Directoire: la Revellière-Lépeaux, I, II.* (Revue Chrétienne, June, July); L. de Lanzac de Laborie, *La Haute Administration de l'Enseignement sous le Consulat et l'Empire, Roederer, Fourcroy, Fontanes, d'après des Documents Inédits* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, September); F. Masson, *L'Impératrice Joséphine et le Prince Eugène, 1804-1814, d'après leur Correspondance Inédite, I.* (Revue des Deux Mondes, October 15); H. Cochin, *Impressions d'un Bourgeois de Paris pendant le Siège et la Commune, Charles Aubert-Hix, I.* (*ibid.*, August 1); XXX., *M. Delcassé* (Nuova Antologia, September 1); L. Madelin, *Une Heure Solennelle de l'Histoire de France, la Victoire de la Marne* (Revue des Deux Mondes, September 16).

## ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

In a series of *Regesti Cassinesi*, there have appeared *Regesto dell' Antica Badia di S. Matteo de Castello o Servorum Dei* (1914), and *Regesto di Tommaso Decano o Cartolario del Convento Cassinese* (Badia di Montecassino, 1915, pp. lvii, 360) edited by M. Inguanez, who has also published in the *Archivi Italiani*, January, 1916, *Cataloghi dei Codici di Prepositure e Chiese Cassinesi nei Secoli XI.-XV.*, *Notizie estratte dell' Archivio di Montecassino*. Father Inguanez has also issued the first part of *Codicum Casinensium Manuscriptorum Catalogus cura et studio Monachorum S. Benedicti Archicoenobii Montis Casini* (Montecassino, 1915) to replace the superannuated *Bibliotheca Casinensis*. The work will extend to seven volumes, each issued in two parts.

Contributions to the so-called history of civilization in Italy have been made by G. Natali in *Idee, Costumi, Uomini del Settecento* (Turin, Sten, 1916, pp. 357), and by L. Zenoni in *Per la Storia della Cultura in Venezia dal 1500 al 1797* (Venice, Tip. Emiliana, 1916, pp. xvi, 435).

A. M. P. Inglod has made a thorough study of *Bénévent sous la Domination de Talleyrand et le Gouvernement de Louis de Beer, 1806-1815* (Paris, Tequi, 1916).

F. L. Rogier, *La R. Accademia Militare di Torino, Note Storiche, 1816-1870* (Turin, Bona, 1916, pp. xiii, 371, 439); F. Dal Pozzo, *Dieci Mesi di Carteggio di Ferdinando Dal Pozzo, 24 Agosto 1831-2 Giugno 1832* (Pavia, Tip. Artigianelli, 1916, pp. viii, 127); A. Maurici, *Il Regime Dispotico del Governo d'Italia in Sicilia dopo Aspromonte, Sett. 1862-Dic. 1863* (Palermo, Priulla, 1915, pp. 335); and A. Savelli, *L'Anno Fatale per l'Italia, 1866* (Milan, Vallardi, 1916, pp. 284) are among the more important recent volumes on the Risorgimento.

The volume by Miss Helen Zimmern on *Italian Leaders of To-day* (London, Williams and Norgate, 1915, pp. 313) contains sketches of Victor Emmanuel III., Salandra, Sonnino, Martini, Giolitti, Luzzatti, Barzilai, and Bissolati with briefer accounts of the leading army and navy officers.

A *Bibliografia Storica della Città e Provincia di Vicenza* (Vicenza, Tip. S. Giuseppe, 1916, pp. 816) has been compiled by S. Rumor.

*The Reorganization of Spain by Augustus*, a study by J. J. Van Nostrand, jr., of the University of Pennsylvania, appears as an issue of the *University of California Publications in History*, vol. IV., no. 2. Besides a competent and scholarly treatment of its main theme, with an especially intelligent discussion of the municipal cult of Roma and Augustus, the writer surveys the preceding history of Roman administration in Spain, and in respect to the ensuing century presents an estimate of the permanence of the work of Augustus.

There is published as an annex to the March, 1916, issue of *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Museos* a portion of a *Guia Histórica y De-*

*scriptiva de los Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Museos Arqueológicos de España* dealing with the National Library in Madrid.

A. Paz y Melia is editing a *Series de los más importantes Documentos del Archivo y Biblioteca del Excelentísimo Señor Duque de Medinaceli*, of which the first volume (Madrid, Alemana, 1915, pp. xxviii, 482) contains historical documents for the period from 860 to 1814. The work is being done under the direction of the present duke and at his expense.

The third volume of *Historiadores del Convento de San Esteban de Salamanca* (Salamanca, Imp. Católica Salmanticense, 1916, pp. 1069) by Father Justo Cuervo has recently appeared.

Dr. Charles H. Haring of Yale University has in preparation a volume on *Trade and Navigation between Spain and the Indies under the Hapsburgs*.

Some recent studies in Aragonese history are *El Cautiverio de la Corona de Aragón durante los Siglos XIII., XIV., y XV.* (Saragossa, Maneru, 1915, pp. 188, lxxxvi) by J. M. Ramos y Loscertales; *La Frontera Catalano-Aragonesa, Estudi Geografico-Linguistic* (Barcelona, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1914, pp. 123) by A. Griera i Gaja; and *Geografia Histórica del Territorio de la actual Provincia de Murcia desde la Reconquista por D. Jaime I. de Aragón hasta la Época Presente* (Madrid, Imp. de Patronato de Huérfanos de Intendencia e Intervención Militares, 1915, pp. 516), by A. Merino Alvarez.

R. Ramirez de Arellano is the author of an *Estudio sobre la Historia de la Orfebrería Toledana* (Toledo, Imp. Provincial, 1915, pp. 431).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: C. Scaccia-Scarafoni, *Memorie Storiche della Badia di S. Sebastiano nel Territorio Alatrino*, I. (Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria, XXXIX, 1); Anonymous, *Vincenzo Gioberti e i Gesuiti* (Civiltà Cattolica, September 2, October 7, 21); J. Destrée, *Sidney Sonnino* (Revue de Paris, September 15); A. y P. Ballesteros, *Alfonso X. de Castilla y la Corona de Alemania*, I, II. (Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Museos, January, March); M. Cubells, *Documentos Diplomáticos Aragoneses, 1259-1284* (Revue Hispanique, June); Anonymous, *Cartas y Documentos relativos al Gran Capitán* (Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Museos, March).

#### GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

A study of *Das Tempelherren Orden in Deutschland* (Bamberg, Kirsch, 1915, pp. iv, 266) was published by M. Schüpferling some time since.

As no. 1 of the second volume of *Smith College Studies in History*, Professor Sidney B. Fay publishes two valuable chapters on the Hohenzollern Household and Administration in the Sixteenth Century, relating especially to the reign of Joachim II.

*La Monarchia degli Absburgo, Origini, Grandezza, e Decadenza, con Documenti Inediti, 800-1915, Storia Politica, Costituzionale e Amministrativa, con speciale Risguardo alle Provincie Italiane* (Rome, Bontempelli, 1915, pp. xi, 317, 296) is the subject of two volumes by Alessandro Dudan.

*Die Täuferbewegung im Kanton Zürich bis 1660* (Leipzig, Heinsius, 1916, pp. xi, 176) by Dr. Cornelius Bergmann is published in the *Quellen und Abhandlungen des Zwinglivereins*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Commandant Weil, *La Morale Politique du Grand Frédéric d'après sa Correspondance*, II. (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXX. 2); F. Momigliano, *Amedeo Fichte e le Caratteristiche del Nazionalismo Tedesco* (Nuova Antologia, September 1); H. Haralds, *Den Tyska Förbundsstatens Uppkomst, Historisk Inledning till Tyska Rikets och Preussens Statsförfattningar* (Statsvetenskaplig Tidskrift, June); G. Bonet-Maury, *L'Évolution de l'Opinion Publique en Allemagne, 1915-1916* (Compte Rendu de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, August).

#### NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

The German occupation of Belgium is the subject of *Huit Mois avec les "Boches" dans le Luxembourg Belge, Août 1914-Avril 1915* (Paris, Perrin, 1916), by P. Torn; of *La Belgique sous le Joug, 1914-1915, l'Invasion* (*ibid.*), by F. Oljff; and of *La Belgique et les Juristes Allemands* (Paris, Payot, 1916), by Professor Charles de Visscher of the University of Ghent.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: M. Gandolphe, *Chez les Neutres, Enquête en Hollande* (Revue des Deux Mondes, September 1); Un Belge, *Les Devoirs de la Diplomatie Belge* (Revue de Paris, August 1).

#### NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

As a manual for students of the subject Jon Stefansson's *Denmark and Sweden with Iceland and Finland* (Fisher Unwin), a volume in the *Story of the Nations* series, will be found useful.

A volume on *Søckrigen i de Dansk-norske Farvande, 1807-1814, fra Tabet af Flaaden til Freden i Kiel* (Copenhagen, Lund, 1915, pp. 508) is an exhaustive study by C. F. Wandel.

Dr. Robert J. Kerner of the University of Missouri has recently compiled *A Selected Bibliography of Slavic Europe in the Western European Languages, comprising History, Languages, and Literatures*. The divisions of the volume are: the Slavs, the Russians, the Poles, Slavs in the German Empire, Bohemians and Slovaks, and the Southern Slavs.

F. P. Giordani, in his *Storia della Russia secondo gli Studi più Recenti* (Milan, Treves, 1916, 2 vols.), devotes the first volume to the period prior to Peter the Great, and covers from that time to the present in the second volume.

The Oxford University Press, under the title *The Tale of the Armament of Igor, a Russian Historical Epic*, edited and translated by Leonard A. Magnus, has published with Russian text, English translation, and abundant apparatus, one of the oldest documents of Russian literature, describing with many embellishments the expedition of Igor, prince of Novgorod-Seversky, against the heathen Polovtsi, in 1185.

*Russia, Mongolia, China, 1224-1676, being some Record of the Relations between them from the Tartar Invasion of Europe to the Death of the Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich* (Macmillan), is in part based on manuscript journals of Russian envoys, in the Moscow archives.

*Modern Russian History*, by Alexander Kornilov, translated by Alexander S. Kaun, has been published by Alfred A. Knopf.

Dodd, Mead, and Company have published *Poland: its Social and Economic History*, by A. Zeleski.

The Abbé A. Bega has presented as his thesis for the doctorate at the Sorbonne *Pierre Skarga, 1536-1612, Étude sur la Pologne du XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle et le Protestantisme Polonais* (Paris, Société Française d'Imprimerie et de Librairie, 1916, pp. 374). The volume contains an introductory survey of Polish history which is of special value for the period of the Reformation. The career of the famous Jesuit is narrated with minute detail and his work as a preacher fully analyzed. An accompanying volume contains a French translation of *Les Sermons Politiques de Pierre Skarga, Prédicateur du Roi de Pologne Sigismond III., Sermons de Diète, 1597* (*ibid.*, pp. 188). It may be noted that there is a recent work by T. Grabowski in Polish on *Peter Skarga and the Catholic Religious Literature in Poland in the Sixteenth Century, 1536-1612* (Cracow, 1913, pp. x, 647).

Stanislas Smolka has written *L'Europe et la Pologne à la Veille et au Lendemain de son Démembrement* (Rome, Spithöever, 1915, pp. 147).

The peoples of the Balkans are the subject of the second volume of *Les Races Belligérants* (Paris, Attinger, 1916) by Eugène Pittard. The racial problems of the Balkans are also the subject of *La Question de la Transylvanie et l'Unité Politique Roumaine* (Paris, Jouve, 1916) by M. R. Sirianu, and of *La Yougoslavie* (Paris, Payot, 1916, pp. 264) by Pierre de Lanux.

Capt. H. W. V. Temperley, tutor in history and fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge, has recently published *A History of Serbia* (London, Bell), in which he attempts to show the effect of geographical conditions both on Serbia's past and future.

*L'Hellénisme et le Panslavisme, Étude de Droit International Conventionnel* (Paris, Giard and Brière, 1916, pp. 112) by A. Pattaras, and *Le Déclin de l'Hellénisme* (Paris, Payot, 1916) by L. P. Alaux and René Puaux, deal with the Greek phase of the Eastern Question. Dr.

Léon Maccas has written *Ainsi Parla Vénizélos, Étude de Politique Extérieure Grecque* (Paris, Plon, 1916, pp. ix, 319), and the Cretan statesman's own views on the successive events of Balkan history as related to Greece during the last five years will be found in E. Vénizélos, *La Politique de la Grèce* (Paris, Imprimerie de l'Est, 1916).

The problem of Constantinople and of the Dardanelles is the subject of recent volumes by Dr. C. Ibañez de Ibero on *D'Athènes à Constantinople, la Situation Politique en Orient* (Paris, Attinger, 1916); by an anonymous German diplomat on *Les Dessous de la Politique en Orient* (Paris, Plon, 1916, pp. xli, 270); by N. Dascovici, on *La Question du Bosphore et des Dardanelles* (Geneva, Georg, 1915); and by M. Hochiller on *L'Europe devant Constantinople* (Paris, Rivière, 1916, pp. 150).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Fahlbeck, *Studier öfver Frihetstidens Politiska Idéer* (Statsvetenskaplig Tidskrift, December, 1915, February, April, 1916); A. Montgomery, *En Studie i Svensk Valutapolitik vid Midten af 1700-talet* (*ibid.*, September); A. Linvald, *Pressefrihed i Danmark for Hundrede Aar Siden* (Tilskueren, September); Salih Munir Pacha, *La Russie en Orient: son Rôle Historique* (Revue Politique Internationale, May); G. Cahen, *Le Cinquantenaire du Zemstvo, 1864-1914* (Revue de Paris, October 1); N. Roubakine, *La Réaction Russe et son Évolution* (Revue Politique Internationale, May, July); D. Bellet, *Arkangel et les Chemins de Fer Septentrionaux de la Russie* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, August); William Miller, *The Medieval Serbian Empire* (Quarterly Review, October); Sir Edwin Pears, *The Balkan States and Turkey [1877-1916]* (Contemporary Review, October); E. Daudet, *Le Suicide Bulgare, Autour d'une Couronne, Notes et Souvenirs, 1878-1915*, I. (Revue des Deux Mondes, October 1).

#### THE FAR EAST

*Ghenkō, the Mongol Invasion of Japan* (London, Smith Elder, 1916, pp. xx, 276) by Nakaba Yamada is an account of three attempted invasions of Japan by Kublai Khan, of which the second is compared to the Spanish Armada.

The Hakluyt Society will soon issue the fourth and last volume of Professor Cordier's edition of the late Colonel Yule's *Cathay and the Way Thither*.

Among recent volumes of *Variétés Sinologiques, Publications des Missions de Chine* (Paris, Challamel) is *La Hiérarchie Catholique en Chine, en Corée, et au Japon, 1307-1914*, by Father J. de Moidrey.

G. Soulié has made a study of *Les Droits Conventionnels des Étrangers en Chine* (Paris, Tenin, 1916).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: André Bellessort, *L'Apôtre des Indes et du Japon: François de Xavier, V.* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, September 15).

### AMERICA

#### GENERAL ITEMS

In the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington the chief feature marking the six months from November to April is the presence of Professor Frederick J. Turner of Harvard University in the capacity of "research associate". Dr. Paullin has finished the maps relative to international boundaries, and the accompanying letter-press, for the Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States, and has begun work on the problems concerning state and territorial boundaries. Professor Hill's *Descriptive Catalogue of the Papeles de Cuba* and Professor Golder's *Guide to the Russian Archives* are expected to be published in January. Miss Davenport's first volume of European treaties having a bearing on American history, to 1648, is in the printer's hands. Professor Herbert C. Bell of Bowdoin College is expected to spend the summer in London preparing a portion of a *Guide* to the archives of the British West Indies, the portion which will describe the West Indian section of the Colonial Office Papers, as a natural complement to the description of the island archives. The survey of the latter must await the termination of the war. Meanwhile, however, Señor Luis M. Pérez, librarian of the Cuban House of Representatives, has recently prepared at Kingston a careful inventory of the archives of Jamaica. Of the ten sets of photographs made by the Department in Seville from the regular series of despatches addressed by the Spanish governors of Louisiana to the captain-general of Havana, 1768-1791—sets numbering about 3000 photographs, sold at \$300 each—five have been sold immediately.

The Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress has received, by the means just named, 2989 photographs of official despatches from the Archives of the Indies at Seville; a body of transcripts from the same archives, chiefly from the Audiencia de Mexico and the Audiencia de Guadalajara, including correspondence of the viceroys, the Rendon-Miralles correspondence, etc., many of them relating to the American Revolution and to Texas and the Southwest; transcripts from the Archives Nationales, Paris, of correspondence between the colonial officials in Louisiana and the home office, 1752-1766 (vols. 36 to 46 of series C<sup>13</sup>); transcripts from the Public Record Office, London, from the Colonial Office series, class 5, relating chiefly to Virginia, and some transcripts from the Fulham Palace Library; John Bozman Kerr's Memoir of Daniel Carroll of Rock Creek; two volumes (record books) of semi-official letters of General William T. Sherman, 1866-1881; and a body of manuscripts (1793-1893), chiefly scientific, of Lewis R. Gibbs, professor in Charleston College.

The printed *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society for April, 1916, contain a detailed list by Professor George L. Kittredge of Cotton Mather's contributions to the Royal Society—contributions large in amount and very respectable in quality; Isaiah Thomas's diary for 1808, with some extracts from earlier years; and a vocabulary of the Nootka and some other of the Northwestern languages, dating from 1791 and edited by Franz Boas. The bibliography of American newspapers (to 1820) is continued from Michigan to New Hampshire. At the October meeting, Mr. Otis G. Hammond presented a paper on the Mason Title; Mr. George A. Plimpton, one on the horn-book in America, and Mr. Frank Cundall, one on the early press and printers of Jamaica.

Under the will of the late Joseph Pulitzer, an important series of prizes has been established, the awards for which will be made for the first time at the commencement of Columbia University next June. One of these is a prize of \$2000 for the best book of the year (in the first instance, the year 1916) upon the history of the United States. The jury to make recommendations for this prize will be chosen by the American Academy of Arts and Letters from its own membership and that of the National Institute of Arts and Letters.

D. Appleton and Company have brought out a thoroughly revised and largely rewritten edition of Professor A. C. McLaughlin's *History of the American Nation*.

*The Story of the United States*, by R. D. W. Connor, has been brought out in Raleigh by the Thompson Publishing Company. The history is written particularly for young Americans.

*Our Nation in the Building*, by Miss Helen Nicolay, has been published by the Century Company.

Professor William Macdonald has brought out a new and enlarged edition of his *Documentary Source Book of American History, 1606-1913* (Macmillan).

*The Middle Group of American Historians* is the title of a volume by Professor John Spencer Bassett, which the Macmillan Company will soon publish.

Dr. Edward Stanwood's *History of the Presidency* has appeared in a new edition, brought down to 1916 (Houghton Mifflin Company).

*Form and Functions of American Government*, by Professor Thomas H. Reed of the University of California, is one of a series of *Government Handbooks* projected by the World Book Company. Professor Reed is also joint editor, with Professor David P. Barrows, of the series.

*State Constitution-Making, with Special Reference to Tennessee*, by Wallace McClure, is described as "a review of the more important provisions of the state constitutions and current thought upon constitutional questions, and an outline of constitutional development and problems in Tennessee" (Nashville, Marshall and Bruce Company).



Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons have lately published, or are about to publish, the *Life and Times of David Humphreys, 1752-1815*, by Frank L. Humphreys; the *Letters of Henry Brevoort to Washington Irving*, edited by George S. Hellman; and the *Story of the Trust Companies*, by Edward T. B. Perine.

In the series of *Columbia Studies*, Mr. Maxwell Ferguson has written *State Regulation of Railroads in the South*, which is to be part of a larger work. The present volume deals with those states east of the Mississippi and south of the Ohio River.

*The Tide of Immigration*, by Frank Julian Warne, chiefly a study of the immigration problem as it confronts the United States to-day, comes from the press of D. Appleton and Company.

*A List of References on Child Labor*, compiled under the direction of H. H. B. Meyer, chief bibliographer of the Library of Congress, with the assistance of Miss Laura A. Thompson, librarian of the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor, has been issued by the Government Printing Office (Industrial Series, no. 3, *Bureau Publication* no. 18).

The September number of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* contains the first installment of a history, by the Rev. John Lenhart, of the Capuchins in Acadia and Northern Maine (1632-1655). The Life of Father Peter de Smet, by the Rev. Joseph M. Corrigan, and the Life of Bishop Conwell, by the late Martin I. J. Griffin, are concluded in this number of the *Records*.

#### ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

A volume on *George Washington*, by William H. Rideing, has been added to Macmillan's series of *True Stories of Great Americans*. This story of Washington's life is designed especially for young people.

*Colonel Robert Magaw, the Defender of Fort Washington* (pp. 60), by Professor Charles F. Himes, published by the Hamilton Library Association of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, is a readable sketch of Magaw's career as an officer of the Revolution. The narrative concerns in large measure military history and incidents about Boston as well as at Fort Washington. The pamphlet appears to be a reprint from a newspaper article and contains such typographical errors as are incident to newspaper printing.

*Our First War in Mexico*, by Farnham Bishop, has recently been issued by Charles Scribner's Sons.

Recent works on Lincoln are: *Abraham Lincoln and Constitutional Government*, by B. A. Ulrich (Chicago Legal News); and *How We Elected Lincoln*, by A. J. Dittenhoefer, said to be the last living Lincoln presidential elector (Harper).

*The Fight for the Republic*, an account of the significant events of the War of Secession, by Rossiter Johnson, comes from the press of G. P. Putnam's Sons.

*A Vindication of the Military Career of General George B. McClellan: a Lawyer's Brief*, by J. H. Campbell, is from the press of the Neale Publishing Company.

Mrs. Florence M. H. Hall, daughter of Julia Ward Howe, has written *The Story of the Battle Hymn of the Republic*, which Harper and Brothers have published.

#### LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

##### NEW ENGLAND

*Jeffersonian Democracy in New England*, by W. A. Robinson, an essay which won the John Addison Porter prize of Yale University in 1913, has been published by the Yale University Press.

The Maine Historical Society has just issued volume XXIII. of its *Documentary History of Maine*, being the nineteenth of the volumes called "Baxter Manuscripts". The volume contains letters and documents connected with the Indian tribes of Maine during the period from February, 1689, to the end of 1753. The succeeding volume, soon to be published, will conclude this subject.

The New Hampshire Historical Society has printed in a pamphlet of 42 pages, with plates, a *History of the Seal and Flag of the State of New Hampshire*, by Otis G. Hammond.

The *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* for October contains a brief article, by J. R. Hutchinson, of Cliffords Inn, London, entitled the Mayflower: her Identity and Tonnage.

The state of Massachusetts has published, in its series of such records, *Vital Records of Chelsea to the Year 1850*, compiled by T. W. Baldwin.

In the October number of the *Essex Institute Historical Collections* Francis B. C. Bradlee's paper on the Eastern Railroad: an Historical Account of Early Railroading in Eastern New England, is continued, and the Journal of Rev. Joshua Wingate Weeks (1778-1779) is concluded.

The Rhode Island Historical Society has recently received a collection of manuscripts known as the Richard Ward Greene and the Albert C. Greene collection. This collection contains about 20,000 letters and historical documents dating from 1750 to 1850 and about 20,000 legal briefs and opinions relating to the same period, together with about 50,000 receipts and invoices and a number of account-books and ledgers. It contains much valuable material on the Revolution and the political conditions of the period following it; it is indeed by far the largest and most valuable collection of Rhode Island documents that deals with this

period. The society has also obtained the original manuscript book of the Know-Nothing Party of Rhode Island for the years 1854-1856.

The *Records and Papers* of the Westerly Historical Society for the years 1915 and 1916 includes Old Time Lotteryville, by Mrs. James O. Babcock; the Providence and New London Turnpike, by N. H. Lanphear; the Watch Hill Road, by A. P. Pendleton; and the Rise and Progress of Friends in Westerly and Vicinity, by Mrs. E. B. Foster.

The *Roll and Journal of Connecticut Service in Queen Anne's War, 1710-1711*, has been edited for the Acorn Club by Thomas Buckingham (New Haven, Tuttle).

In the forthcoming volume (series III., volume X.) of the *Transactions* of the Royal Society of Canada, Professor W. H. Siebert has an interesting paper on the Refugee Loyalists of Connecticut.

#### MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The University of the State of New York, School Libraries Division, has printed, in a pamphlet of 40 pages, a list of books relating to the history of the state.

The Division of Archives and History in the State Education Department of New York is about to begin the issue of two series of leaflets, one to be entitled "New York State History Source Leaflets", and to begin with the material respecting Verrazano and his visit to New York harbor, and the other to be called "New York State Local History Leaflets", and to begin with material on Bedford Corners and its part in the Battle of Long Island. Both will be illustrated.

The *Proceedings* (vol. XIV.) of the New York Historical Association at its sixteenth annual meeting, held at Utica in October, 1914, includes the excellent presidential address of the Hon. Grenville M. Inghallsbe on the Interpretation of History, a study, by Dr. Adelbert Moot, of the Constitutional Development of New York, and papers on several phases of regional history. A number of these relate to the Mohawk Valley: Forts and Block-Houses in the Mohawk Valley, by Nellie M. Crouse; Early Institutions of Learning in the Mohawk Valley, by C. A. Richmond; the History of Transportation in the Mohawk Valley, by W. G. Mayer; the Palatines in the Mohawk Valley, by W. W. Ellsworth; and Indian Raids in the Mohawk Valley, by W. M. Beauchamp. A paper by W. A. Moore treats of Some French Influences in the Early Settlement of the Black River Valley, one by President M. W. Stryker of Samuel Kirkland and the Oneida Indians, and one by Dana W. Bigelow is on Baron Steuben. Some of the papers relate to General Herkimer: one by Nelson Green, concerning the Home and Name of General Herkimer, and one by H. J. Cookinham, on the Battle of Oriskany. The last-named writer also gives his Recollections of the Oneida Bar, while O. P. Backus writes concerning the Early Bar of Oneida County. The

Golden Era of Trenton Falls, by Charlotte A. Pitcher, has since been expanded into a book bearing the same title.

The New York State Historical Society held its eighteenth annual meeting at Cooperstown on October 3, 4, and 5. Following are the titles of some of the papers read at the sessions: Our History and Our Schools (the presidential address), by Sherman Williams; New York's Place in Intercolonial Politics, by A. H. Buffinton; the Colonial Land System of New York, by Professor C. W. Spencer; Colonial Schools and Colleges of New York, by Thomas E. Finegan; the Churches and Clergy in Colonial New York, by W. H. Benham; the Colonial Journalism in New York, by Edward P. Mitchell.

The mayor of New York has appointed a committee consisting of Mr. Victor H. Paltsits as chairman, Professor Herbert L. Osgood, Professor Marshall S. Brown, Dr. Austin B. Keep, and Mr. Edward H. Hall, with Dr. C. C. Williamson as secretary, to supervise the printing of the minutes of the Common Council of the city of New York from 1784 to 1831, when the official contemporary printing of these minutes began. The editorial work upon the series, which will embrace several volumes, will be performed by Mr. A. E. Peterson.

In the September *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library, Mr. Lydenberg continues his history of that institution by an account of the Lenox Library. The series of such articles, temporarily discontinued, will be resumed and later published in book form.

Mr. George A. Morrison presents in the October number of the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* a "Pay Roll of Sundry Persons employed in publick Service by Hugh Hughes, Deputy Quarter Master for the State of New York, from the first of January to the last of December, 1782", found in the War Department at Washington.

It is announced that Robert H. Dodd will publish a third and enlarged edition of Benjamin F. Thompson's *History of Long Island*, first published in 1839, followed by a second edition in 1843. The new edition is to appear under the editorship of Charles Werner.

The *Kings County Historical Society Magazine* for August comprises chiefly a brief paper by Charles M. Higgins, concerning the battle of Long Island.

*Records of the Town of New Rochelle, 1699-1828*, transcribed and translated by Jeanne A. Forbes, with an introduction by Caryl Coleman, has been published in New Rochelle, N. Y., by the Paragraph Press.

*The Pathfinders of the Revolution: a Story of the Great March into the Wilderness and Lake Region of New York in 1779*, by Rev. Dr. William E. Griffis, is from the press of W. A. Wilde Company.

*Notes of a Tour through the Western Part of the State of New York*, published in Philadelphia in 1829-1830, has been reprinted in Rochester by G. P. Humphrey.

The new edition of the *Report of the Commission to Locate the Site of the Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania*, edited by Dr. Thomas L. Montgomery, state librarian (Harrisburg, 1916, 2 vols., pp. xvii, 627, 728), published under a statute not admitting of large revision, differs from its predecessor of 1895 by the insertion of a preliminary survey of the field involved, by Dr. George P. Donehoo, and by the execution and better style of the numerous illustrations. A number of appendixes contain additional information obtained since publication of the first edition.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has received the collection of "Sanitary Fair" material collected by Dr. Horace Howard Furness. The collection consists of 14 volumes, 141 pamphlets, 1963 manuscripts, 400 photographs, etc.

The July number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* contains two groups of letters from the collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. One of them includes three letters of Washington (1784), a letter from Capt. Henry W. Archer, the bearer of despatches from General Anthony Wayne to Congress relative to the capture of Stony Point, written to Wayne from Philadelphia, July 28, 1779, a letter (15 pp.) from Samuel Bayard to William Bradford, written from London, June 8 to 17, 1795, and two letters of John Trumbull (1818, 1825). The other group consists principally of letters from William Bradford, jr., to his sister (1777-1778), but includes a letter from James Madison to Bradford, dated March 23, 1778. Other documents in the number are a report of Admiral Sir William Penn to the Naval Board, March 17, 1655, and a letter from Edward Hand, "Burgess", dated March 17, 1789, setting forth some advantages of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, as the capital of the United States. In the October number is found a selection of letters from the Dreer Collection of manuscripts, including six from Washington (1782-1798), three from Gen. Nathanael Greene (1779-1781), one from Gen. Edward Hand to a committee of Congress, written from Fort Pitt, December 21, 1777, and one (October 24, 1781) from Gen. William Heath to Governor Hancock of Massachusetts. There are also four letters of Franklin (1754-1776), and six letters of "signers" "in active service", namely: John Hancock, Oliver Wolcott, William Ellery, Roger Sherman, Benjamin Rush, and Caesar Rodney. There is an article entitled Who built the First United States Navy, by Col. H. H. Humphreys.

*Delaware Archives, Military Records*, vols. IV. and V. (pp. 521, 522-968, xcvi), published in advance of volume III., contain full lists of the Delaware officers and men who served in the War of 1812. Besides muster and pay rolls, many letters and documents have been included. Most of the material has been collected by the Public Archives Commission of the state, the state archives containing no muster or pay rolls when the work was begun.

## SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

In the September number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* the Journal of a Voyage from Annapolis to Cherbourg on Board the Frigate *Constitution*, August 1 to September 6, 1811, by David Baillie Warden, is concluded; while Uriah Brown's Journal, the Journal of the Committee of Observation of the Middle District of Frederick County, Maryland (1775-1776), and the Carroll Papers are continued.

Mr. P. Lee Phillips, chief of the Division of Maps and Charts, Library of Congress, will publish early in 1917 *The Beginnings of Washington as described in Books, Maps, and Views*.

*Virginia Counties: those resulting from Virginia Legislation* (pp. 283), by Morgan P. Robinson, archivist, has been issued as *Bulletin* of the Virginia State Library, vol. IX., nos. 1, 2, and 3 (January, April, and July, 1916). Mr. Robinson has pushed his investigation into many quarters and has gathered a great deal of new material concerning the formation of counties in the state. For instance, as many as nine acts of assembly forming counties have been found in the Public Record Office in London, which are either not mentioned in Hening or only by title. The texts of these and of two other recently discovered acts are printed in the volume. Incidental to the search among the county archives some statements of interest concerning the history and condition of county archives have been obtained and are here printed. For convenience of reference the essential material is arranged in an alphabetical, a chronological, a geographical, and even in a "genealogical" arrangement. One part of the work (25 pp.) is an explanation of the origin of county names, and another (68 pp.) is a bibliography arranged by counties. A noteworthy feature of the volume is a set of maps showing the gradual extension of population in Virginia down to 1775. There is an elaborate explanatory preface and also an historical introduction.

The latest *Bulletin* of the Virginia State Library (October) is a catalogue of a remarkable collection of French newspapers of 1848-1850, recently presented to the library. Nearly 600 titles are given, mostly of newspapers represented by specimens at least. There is also a set of the *Moniteur Universel*, 1789-1864, said to be the only complete set on this side of the Atlantic.

Arrangements have been made by which the higher history classes of Richmond, Westhampton, and Randolph-Macon colleges have the privilege of working, without compensation, as apprentices in the archival material of the Virginia State Library, on plans concerted between the professors of history and the archivist, and with a certain allowance of collegiate credit to the student.

*The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* continues in the October number the Minutes of the Council and General Court (1622-1629), the letters of William Byrd the First (1685), the series of docu-

ments relating to Virginia in 1678-1679, the "Virginia Gleanings in England", chiefly of genealogical interest, and the Council Papers, 1698-1702. Two interesting documents in the issue are the will of John Baylor (1770), and the abstract of a chancery suit of William and Mary College. This number of the *Magazine* prints some extracts from the *Virginia Gazette*, 1750-1755, and some extracts from King William County records; both are to be continued.

The *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* continues in the October number the Letters of Major Thomas Rowland, C. S. A., 1861-1862, contributed by the late Miss Kate Mason Rowland.

*Campaigns and Battles of the Army of Northern Virginia*, by George Wise, is from the press of the Neale Publishing Company.

*Party Politics in North Carolina, 1835-1860*, by Professor J. G. de R. Hamilton, is a recent number of the *James Sprunt Historical Publications*.

*The Ante-Bellum Attitude of South Carolina towards Manufacturing and Agriculture*, by Dr. Chauncey S. Boucher, a study based chiefly on South Carolina newspapers, appears in the *Washington University Studies*, vol. III., part II., no. 2.

The September number of the *Tennessee Historical Magazine* contains the address of Professor Archibald Henderson delivered at Nashville in April, 1916, before the joint meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and the Tennessee Historical Society, on Richard Henderson: the Authorship of the Cumberland Compact and the Founding of Nashville. A study of the Slave Laws of Tennessee is contributed by H. M. Henry. The documents in this number are a second installment of the papers of Maj. John P. Heiss, which concern in particular the career of the *Union* newspaper in Washington, the Democratic organ established in the beginning of President Polk's administration in place of the *Globe*. The evidence in the case of this somewhat controversial episode is well presented in an introduction to these papers by Professor St. George L. Sioussat.

*Andrew Johnson, Military Governor of Tennessee*, by Clifton R. Hall, has been issued by the Princeton University Press.

#### WESTERN STATES

The September number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* opens with an article by Professor O. G. Libby, entitled "Some Verdrye Enigmas", and an address by Capt. A. L. Conger on the Function of Military History. These are followed by a valuable paper by Mr. Wayne E. Stevens on the Organization of the British Fur-Trade, 1760-1800, and a survey of historical activities in Canada from July, 1915, to July, 1916, by Mr. Lawrence J. Burpee. To the section devoted to documents, Dr. M. M. Quaife contributes important papers of James Corbin, a hero of the Fort Dearborn massacre.

Professor Clarence W. Alvord's work, *The Mississippi Valley in British Politics*, has come from the press (Cleveland, Arthur H. Clark Company, 2 vols.).

The April-July issue of the *Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* is a reprint of Gorham A. Worth's *Recollections of Cincinnati from a Residence of Five Years, 1817 to 1821*, a very rare book published in Albany in 1851.

The October number of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* is occupied chiefly with an account of the dedication of the memorial to President Hayes at Spiegel Grove, Fremont, Ohio, May 30, 1916. The several addresses delivered on the occasion are included, the most noteworthy from the point of view of the historical student being that of Mr. Charles R. Williams, the biographer of President Hayes.

The September number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* contains a paper by Harold Littell on the Development of the City School System of Indiana, 1851-1880. The other articles in this number are a group of reminiscences under the general title the Pioneers of Jefferson County, Terre Haute in 1850, by J. J. Schlicher (the name appears also as Schleicher), and Indiana in 1816, by Merrill Moores.

A *Centennial History and Handbook of Indiana: the Story of the State from its Beginning to the Close of the Civil War, and a General Survey of Progress to the Present Time*, by G. S. Cottman and M. R. Hyman, is published in Indianapolis with the imprint of M. R. Hyman.

*The New Purchase: or Seven and a Half Years in the Far West*, by Bernard Rush Hall ("Robert Carlton"), long out of print, has been brought out by the Princeton University Press in a new ("Indiana Centennial") edition, edited by Professor James A. Woodburn.

The January (1916) number of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* contains an interesting paper, by Joseph J. Thompson, on Oddities in Early Illinois Laws. The Pacification of the Indians of Illinois after the War of 1812 is a part of a study, by Lizzie M. Brown, of Indian Affairs in Illinois from 1815 to 1820. Three brief papers are reminiscent of Abraham Lincoln: Lincoln at Galesburg, by J. F. Evans, the Lincoln-Douglas Debate at Charleston, by D. D. James, and Personal Reminiscences of Mr. Lincoln, by John W. Vinson. An Historical Sketch of Cahokia Township, Macoupin County, Illinois, is from the pen of Henry B. Blevins (1834-1908), the first white male child born in that township. There is also an interesting letter from General Grant to I. N. Morris, written from Nashville, January 20, 1864, and one from Jesse R. Grant to Morris, September 3, 1867.

The University of Illinois is undertaking the calendaring of all the manuscripts in its collections. The work has been begun by Dr. Charles H. Lincoln.



*Land Tenure in the United States, with special Reference to Illinois* (*University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences*, vol. V., no. 3), by Dr. Charles L. Stewart, instructor in economics in the University of Illinois, is mainly a study of the farm statistics for Illinois and a presentation of them in their various phases. Conclusions are largely tentative. About one-third of the monograph is devoted to a description of farm operators in Illinois (viewed, for the most part, from the point of view of statistics) and to a consideration of the relation of tenure to rural economic and social conditions in the state.

*The Making of Illinois: a History of the State from the Earliest Records to the Present Time*, by Irwin F. Mather, has been put forth in Chicago (Flanagan).

Mr. Clarence M. Burton has planned the publication of a series of documents from the Burton Historical Collection, now a part of the Detroit Public Library, to appear at intervals in the form of small pamphlets. He purposes to publish four numbers at all events, the further continuance of the series depending upon the measure of interest taken in the series by the historical public.

Since its organization four years ago last spring, the Keweenaw Historical Society has acquired 415 volumes, 742 reports of mining companies (many old and rare), and 110 miscellaneous pamphlets. The collection, which is cared for in the public library of Houghton, relates mainly to the history of the copper industry in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan and the Lake Superior region in general. Copper companies and interested individuals supply the necessary funds. The collection is in charge of Mr. J. A. Doelle, secretary of the society, and Mr. L. A. Chase, instructor in history in the Houghton high school.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has brought out as a *Bulletin of Information* a description of the Keyes and the Civil War manuscript collections in the library.

At about the date on which these pages appear, the same society issues vol. XXIII. of the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, entitled *Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio, 1778-1779*, edited by Miss Louise P. Kellogg. The book is a direct continuation of the "Draper Series" of three volumes put forth in previous years by the Wisconsin Sons of the American Revolution. Volume XXIV. of the *Collections*, continuing the same documentary material from 1779 to 1781, is expected to appear in the summer. The society also has its calendar of Kentucky papers nearly ready for publication.

The July number of *Acta et Dicta*, the organ of the Catholic Historical Society of St. Paul, contains the opening chapter of an engaging life of Bishop Cretin, first bishop of that diocese, by Archbishop Ireland; also histories of the Catholic church in Wright and Goodhue counties, by Rev. Mathias Sava and Rev. James H. Gaughan, respectively, and a

glossary of Chippewa place-names, compiled by the Rev. Chrysostom Verwyst, O. F. M. There are also included some interesting early letters, 1829-1830, of Mathias Loras, first bishop of Dubuque.

The October number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* comprises two contributions, an extended article on the Opening of the Des Moines Valley to Settlement, by Jacob Van der Zee, and the second of Miss Ruth A. Gallaher's papers on the Indian Agents in Iowa, being the fourth paper in the entire series of her articles on the Indian agent.

*The Iowa State Federation of Labor* is a monograph by Dr. Lorin Stuckey, published by the State University of Iowa in its series of *Studies in the Social Sciences* (vol. IV., no. 3, pp. 147). The author takes the view that while the state has rarely been taken as a unit for the study of the labor movement it nevertheless forms a logical and convenient area for such study. The author traces in some introductory chapters the history of the organization, but devotes himself especially to a study of its structure and government, its policies, and its influence.

The Kansas Historical Society has issued, in a pamphlet of 16 pages, *A List of Books indispensable to a Knowledge of Kansas History and Literature*.

The October number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* includes a valuable account, by W. L. Newsom, of the Postal System of the Republic of Texas; a sketch, by W. S. Oldham, of Col. John Marshall, editor and soldier; a sketch, by Professor Eugene C. Barker, of Don Carlos Barrett, who played parts of some importance in Texas in 1835 and 1836; two letters of Sam Houston to William S. Oldham (1862 and 1863), contributed by E. W. Winkler; Stockton's Proclamation to the San Diego Insurgents, November 24, 1846, contributed by Professor T. M. Marshall; and a continuation of the British Correspondence concerning Texas, edited by Professor E. D. Adams.

*The Texas History Teachers' Bulletin* for November continues the Source Readings in Texas History contributed by Professor Barker.

*Dr. J. B. Cranfil's Chronicle: a Story of Life in Texas, written by himself about himself*, is described as "a record of the author's full and varied life as a Baptist minister and doctor, much of which was passed in lawless sections amid pioneer conditions" (Revell).

Volume VIII. of the *South Dakota Historical Collections* (Pierre, 1916, pp. 596) contains, besides matter relating to the state Department of History, and the recent progress of the state, papers on the Early Opportunities for Education in the Territory of Dakota, by Frank Trumbo, on the Beginnings of Day County, by A. C. Roberts, data respecting Dakota military posts, and official correspondence pertaining to the local war of 1862-1865.

The Macmillan Company announces a new edition, "revised and rewritten", of Professor Joseph Schaefer's *History of the Pacific Northwest*.

In the October number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* appears the second of the articles by C. L. Andrews on Alaska under the Russians, the subtitle of this article being Industry, Trade, and Social Life. Other articles are: an account of Black Tamanous, the Secret Society of the Clallam Indians, by Johnson Williams, himself a Clallam Indian and a member of the society; an account, by H. L. Talkington, of the building (1859-1862) of what is known as the Mullan Road, a national road from Fort Walla Walla to Fort Benton on the Missouri; and a narrative of some experiences as a Pioneer of the Spokane Country, by John E. Smith. The diary of Col. and Mrs. I. N. Ebeys is continued.

*The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* prints in the June issue some Extracts of Unpublished Reminiscences (1840-1900 ca.), by H. R. Kincaid; Some Documentary Records of Slavery in Oregon, contributed by Fred Lockley; an installment of the Diary of Rev. Jason Lee, which describes the journey from Liberty, Missouri, to the Oregon Country in 1834; and a continuation of the correspondence of Rev. Ezra Fisher.

*Sixty Years in Southern California, 1853-1913: containing the Reminiscences of Harris Newmark*, edited by Maurice H. Newmark and Marco R. Newmark, comes from the Knickerbocker Press. The volume contains 150 illustrations, and records the life of a successful Jewish business man against the background of Southern California's development.

## CANADA

The *Report of the Work of the Public Archives of Canada* for the years 1914 and 1915 consists of four appendixes. The first, containing lists of accessions, designates nearly 200 volumes of transcripts from England (Public Record Office, Royal Institution, British Museum, Lansdowne House, Hudson's Bay Company) received in the two years named; nearly 100 from Paris; more than 100 volumes of original papers turned over by the Department of Indian Affairs, and nearly 100 original Loyalist muster-rolls of the Revolutionary period. Appendix B gives the text of a group of papers, of origin not indicated, relating to the surrender of Fort St. Johns and Fort Chambly, in 1775. Appendix C, continuing appendix E of the *Report* for 1913, prints in 255 pages the ordinances made for the province of Quebec by the governor and council, from 1768 till 1791. Appendix D is a second edition, prepared by Mr. Norman Fee, of the archive's *Catalogue of Pamphlets, Journals, and Reports*, made in the same manner as the edition of 1911, but of twice the extent, the number of items listed now being nearly 3000 and the volume embracing 471 pages, with many facsimiles of title-pages. The catalogue can be procured separately.

The first volume of Father Odoric-Maria Jouve, *Les Franciscains dans la Canada*, concerned with the first undertakings of the Recollects,

and entitled *L'Établissement de la Foi, 1625-1629*, has recently been published in Quebec by the Imprimerie des Franciscains Missionnaires.

The Champlain Society expects before long to publish *Select British Documents on the Canadian War of 1812*, in three volumes, edited by Col. William Wood.

*The Life and Letters of the Right Honorable Sir Charles Tupper*, Canadian statesman, by E. M. Saunders, has just been published by the Frederick A. Stokes Company.

The forthcoming report of the Ontario Bureau of Archives (eleventh report) will continue the journals of the legislative assembly of Upper Canada for 1822 and succeeding years.

The *Papers and Records*, vol. XIV., of the Ontario Historical Society has for its principal content an extensive account, by Hon. William R. Riddell, of the rather extraordinary career of Robert (Fleming) Gourlay, whose "whole life is a study in agitation". Landing in Canada in 1817 he plunged into agitations which led to his banishment some two years later; pursued them in England during several years; and resumed them on his return to Canada in the thirties. While he was never disloyal his career has an intimate bearing upon the Canadian rebellion of 1837. Two other briefer articles complete the volume: one, by George S. Hodgins, is on the Heraldry of Canada, and the other, by J. D. Barnett, is an account of an Election without Politics, the scene being Hamilton, Ontario, 1857.

A double number (VII. and VIII., pp. 90) of the *Papers and Records* of the Lennox and Addington Historical Society, reprints, from a pamphlet now rare, a verbatim report of an important debate in 1836, in the Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada, upon the report of a select committee on the relations between the governor and the executive council. An introduction is supplied by Hon. W. R. Riddell, justice of the Supreme Court of Canada.

In the new Parliament buildings in Winnipeg, provision has been made for the preservation and arrangement of the archives of the province of Manitoba. A board of trustees of the archives has been appointed by the provincial government, and the provincial librarian has been given charge of the collection.

#### AMERICA, SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

*The Mother of California: an Historical Sketch of Lower California*, by Arthur W. North, comes from the press of Paul Elder and Company.

The Hakluyt Society has issued, for 1916, the fifth and last volume of Professor A. P. Maudslay's translation of Bernal Díaz, to which has been added, in an appendix, Cortés's fifth letter.

*The Early History of Cuba, 1492-1586*, by Miss Irene A. Wright, has lately been published by Macmillan.

J. Bécker has edited with introduction and notes the *Historia de Santa Marta y Nuevo Reino de Granada* (Madrid, Ratés, 1916, pp. 866). The present volume contains the nine books printed at Bogotá in 1906; the hitherto unpublished portion of the work will appear in a later volume.

The second volume of the *Historia de la Guerra del Pacifico* (Valparaiso, Imp. del Universo, 1916), by Gonzalo Bulnes, deals with the invasion of Peru and the capture of Lima.

The Library of Congress expects to publish within the present month a *Guide to the Law and Literature of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile*, prepared by Dr. Edwin M. Borchard, law librarian, similar in plan to the preceding volumes in its series of guides to foreign law.

Father Pablo Pastells, S. J., has just finished the third volume of his *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Provincia del Paraguay*, to be published in Seville by Montero Diaz.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. O. Payne, *The Personal Appearance of Christopher Columbus* (Munsey's Magazine, October); D. R. Anderson, *The Teacher of Jefferson and Marshall* [George Wythe] (South Atlantic Quarterly, October); Jacob Tanager, *Amending Procedure of the Federal Constitution* (American Political Science Review, November); Arthur Bullard, *Our Relations with France* (Atlantic Monthly, November); Wells Bennett, *Stephen Hallet and his Designs for the National Capital, 1791-1794* (Journal of the American Institute of Architects, July-October); H. M. Wriston, *Presidential Agents in Diplomacy* (American Political Science Review, August); F. A. Golder, *The Russian Offer of Mediation in the War of 1812* (Political Science Quarterly, September); Milledge L. Bonham, jr., *The Louisiana Police Jury* (South Atlantic Quarterly, October); G. W. Hazelton, *Lincoln and the Convention of 1860* (Granite Monthly, October); J. H. Woods, *Stonewall Jackson in West Virginia* (Confederate Veteran, November); A. O. Tuaner, *La Maîtrise du Pacifique et la Diplomatie Yankee au Dix-Neuvième Siècle* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXX. 2); M. Boucher de Labruère, *Sir Louis Hippolyte La Fontaine, son Rôle et son Action au Milieu de la Tourmente de 1837-1838*, V. [concl.] (Revue Canadienne, November); Hidalla Simard (W. P. Anderson, translator), *The Seigneuries of the Saguenay* (Canadian Magazine, September); Father Alexis, *De la Manière d'Écrire l'Histoire au Canada*, V.-VII. (La Nouvelle France, August, September, October); F. García Calderón, *El Panamericanismo, su Pasado y su Porvenir* (Revue Hispanique, June); L. M. Pérez, *Nuevos Documentos sobre las Expediciones de Narciso López* (Cuba Contemporánea, October); F. García Godoy, *La Literatura Dominicana* (Revue Hispanique, June); P. Denis, *La Nationalité Argentine* (Revue des Nations Latines, August).

LIST OF DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS IN HISTORY NOW  
IN PROGRESS AT THE CHIEF AMERICAN UNI-  
VERSITIES, DECEMBER, 1916

[In 1897 the compiler of this list began the practice of collecting, from professors of American history having charge of candidates for the doctor's degree, lists of the subjects of their dissertations. These were then circulated among the professors, in typewritten form, to avoid duplication and for other purposes. Subsequently the list was enlarged to include all subjects, and not solely the American. In 1902 the practice began of printing the lists. That for December, 1909, was accompanied by a list of those historical dissertations which had been printed. The list for December, 1912, was printed in the *History Teacher's Magazine* for January, 1913; those for December, 1913, 1914, and 1915 in this journal (XIX. 450-465, XX. 484-502, XXI. 421-440). Henceforward it may be expected that such lists will appear annually in the January number of this journal. Copies of the printed lists for the years 1910, 1911, 1914, and 1915 can still be supplied by the compiler, J. F. Jameson, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.]

**GENERAL**

- H. E. Barnes, A.B. Syracuse 1913, A.M. 1914. The Contribution of Sociology to the History of Political Theories. *Columbia*.  
A. C. Norton, S.B. Temple 1909; A.M. Pennsylvania 1915; A.M. Harvard 1916. Historical Study of the Separation of Powers. *Harvard*.

**ANCIENT HISTORY**

- C. H. Oldfather, A.B. Hanover 1906. Egyptian Education in the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods. *Wisconsin*.  
A. D. Muir, A.B. McGill 1912. Ptolemy Philadelphus. *Harvard*.  
W. E. Caldwell, A.B. Cornell 1910. Development of the Ideas of War and Peace among the Ancient Greeks. *Columbia*.  
Lida R. Brandt, A.B. Wellesley 1916. Some Aspects of Greek Society in the Seventh and Sixth Centuries. *Columbia*.  
Carl Huth, A.B. Wisconsin 1904, A.M. 1905. Rights and Customs of Sanctuary in Ancient Greece and Rome. *Columbia*.  
E. C. Hunsdon, A.B. Barnard 1908. Epigraphic Studies in the History of the Delphic Amphictyony. *Columbia*.  
R. V. Cram, A.B. Harvard 1907, A.M. 1908. Studies in the History of Attic Demes. *Harvard*.  
H. G. Teel, A.B. Dickinson 1911, A.M. 1912. Athenian Social Conditions represented in the Orations of Lysias. *Columbia*.  
C. W. Blegen, A.B. Minnesota 1907; A.B. Yale 1908. Studies in the History of Ancient Corinth. *Yale*.  
S. P. R. Chadwick, A.B. Harvard 1892, A.M. 1899. The Conditions of Italian Colonization during the Government of the Roman Senate. *Harvard*.  
R. N. Blews, A.B. Greenville 1904; Ph.D. Cornell 1913. The Roman Law of Heraclea. *Cornell*.

- L. A. Lawson, A.B. Upsala 1909; A.M. Columbia 1911. Social Conditions in the Principate of Augustus. *Columbia*.
- E. D. Pierce, A.B. Vassar 1910, A.M. 1912. Asinius Pollio. *Columbia*.
- M. F. Lawton, A.B. Columbia 1904, A.M. 1912. Philanthropy in Rome and Italy under the Early Roman Empire. *Columbia*.
- D. McFayden, A.B. Toronto 1896. Studies in the Reign of Domitian. *Chicago*.
- Margaret Bancroft, A.B. Wellesley 1912; A.M. Columbia 1913. The Popular Assemblies in the Municipalities of Spain and Gaul. *Columbia*.
- Maud Hamilton, A.B. Cornell 1902. The Sources of Metal and Ore Supplies in the Roman Empire. *Wisconsin*.
- J. M. Dadson, A.B. McMaster 1906, A.M. 1909, Th.B. 1909. Persistence of Paganism in the Roman Empire. *Chicago*.
- Elsie S. Jenison, Wellesley 1916. History of the Province of Sicily. *Columbia*.

**EARLY CHURCH HISTORY**

- J. R. Knipfing, A.B. Cornell 1910. The Roman State and Christianity. *Columbia*.
- L. I. Newman, A.B. Brown 1913; A.M. California 1916. Judaizing Christian Movements. *Columbia*.
- W. A. Tilley, A.B. McMaster 1910, Th.B. 1912; A.M. Chicago 1915. Attitude of Eastern Churchmen of the Fourth Century toward Property and Property Rights. *Chicago*.

**MEDIEVAL HISTORY**

- T. P. Oakley, A.B. Cornell 1909. The Penitentials. *Columbia*.
- J. B. MacHarg, C.E., A.B., A.M. Cornell 1893; Hamilton 1900-1906; Leipzig University. Medieval Representations of the Trinity. *Columbia*.
- Elizabeth Rogers, A.B. Goucher 1912; A.M. Columbia 1913. Peter Lombard and the Sacramental System. *Columbia*.
- Norman Winestine, A.B. Yale 1914. The Attitude of the Papacy toward the Jews to 1216. *Pennsylvania*.
- H. H. Maurer, A.B. Wisconsin 1907, A.M. 1909; Ph.D. Chicago 1914. Feudal Procedure in the Courts of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. *Chicago*.
- A. H. Sweet, A.B. Bowdoin 1913; A.M. Harvard 1914. The Relations of the English Benedictine Houses to the Papacy and the Episcopacy during the Thirteenth Century. *Cornell*.
- T. C. Van Cleve, A.B. Missouri 1911, A.M. 1912. John Holywood's Sphaera. *Wisconsin*.
- W. K. Gotwald, A.B. Wittenberg 1905, A.M. 1910; B.D. Hamma Divinity School 1908. The Church Censure in the Fifteenth Century. *Johns Hopkins*.

**MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY**

- G. E. Nunn, S.B. Chicago 1906; A.M. California 1915. Geographical Explorations of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries. *California*.
- A. P. Evans, A.B. Cornell 1911, Ph.D. 1916. The Sectaries at Nuremberg, 1524-1528; an Episode in the Struggle for Religious Liberty. *Cornell*.
- C. L. Grose, A.B. Findlay 1910; A.M. Harvard 1914. Anglo-French Relations, 1672-1685. *Harvard*.
- Frances M. Fay, A.B. Radcliffe 1912, A.M. 1913. Trade Policy of England and France from 1689 to 1715. *Radcliffe*.
- J. V. Fuller, A.B. 1914. The Second Armed Neutrality. *Harvard*.
- Margaret W. Piersol, A.B. Vassar 1912; A.M. Pennsylvania 1914. England and France in the Mediterranean during the Continental System. *Pennsylvania*.
- William E. Warrington, S.B. Pennsylvania 1915, A.M. 1916. The Use of Railroads for Military Purposes in Europe. *Pennsylvania*.

**GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND**

- J. L. Miner, A.B. Allegheny 1909. The Classical Ideal in English Education. *Columbia*.
- A. J. Meyer, A.B. Rutgers 1900; A.M. New Brunswick Theological Seminary 1904. A History of the Observance of the Lord's Day, with special reference to Great Britain. *Columbia*.
- G. D. Hoxsey, A.B. Hobart 1904; A.M. Columbia 1910. History of the Historiography of the Church of England, to the Death of Queen Anne. *Columbia*.
- W. O. Ault, A.B. Baker 1907; A.B. Oxford 1910. The Private Court in England. *Yale*.
- J. E. Miller, A.B. Kansas 1910; A.M. Illinois 1913. Benefit of Clergy in England. *Illinois*.
- James Kenney, A.B. Toronto 1907; A.M. Wisconsin 1908. An Introduction to the Sources for the Early History of Ireland. *Columbia*.
- J. L. Moore, A.B. Harvard 1914, A.M. 1915. The Lawmen and the Justicia. *Harvard*.
- C. W. David, B.A. Oxford 1911; A.M. Wisconsin 1912. Robert Curthose. *Harvard*.
- H. H. Holt, A.B. Oxford 1908; A.M. Wisconsin 1909. The Cost of Living in England, 1172-1183. *Wisconsin*.
- H. A. Kellar, A.B. Chicago 1909. King John: the Interdict and Exchequer. *Wisconsin*.
- Frederic Schenck, A.B. Harvard 1909; Litt.B. Oxford 1912; A.M. Harvard 1914. The Merchants of London in the Reign of Edward I. *Harvard*.
- Carl Wittke, A.B. Ohio State 1913; A.M. Harvard 1914. The History of Parliamentary Privilege in England. *Harvard*.
- P. G. Mode, A.B. McMaster 1897, A.M. 1898, Th.B. 1899; Ph.D. Chicago



1914. The Influence of the Black Death on the Church in England. *Chicago*.
- R. A. Newhall, A.B. Minnesota 1910, A.M. 1911; A.M. Harvard 1914. The English in Normandy, 1417-1422. *Harvard*.
- Harriett Bradley, A.B. Vassar 1913. Agrarian Problems of the Sixteenth Century in England. *Columbia*.
- Susan M. Lough, Ph.B. Chicago 1907, Ph.M. 1909. Administration of Ireland in the time of Elizabeth. *Chicago*.
- E. C. Macklin, A.B. Indiana 1911; D.B. Union Theological Seminary 1914. Social and Philanthropic Work of the Church of Scotland in the Seventeenth Century. *Columbia*.
- J. E. Gillespie, A.B. Cornell 1909; A.M. Harvard 1910. The Influence of Oversea Expansion on England to 1700. *Columbia*.
- H. E. Grimshaw, S.B. Columbia 1914, A.M. 1915. Influence on England of India under the Rule of the Company. *Columbia*.
- Anna K. Boutelle, A.B. Minnesota 1904, A.M. 1914. A Biography of Robert Rich, second Earl of Warwick, with special reference to his Colonial Activities. *Minnesota*.
- Ruth E. Marshall, A.B. Minnesota 1913, A.M. 1914. A Political Biography of John Pym. *Minnesota*.
- Sybil I. Fleming, A.B. Minnesota 1915, A.M. 1916. John Hampden: a Political Biography. *Minnesota*.
- K. H. Trout, A.B. Minnesota 1916. History of the Political Career of Denzil Holles. *Minnesota*.
- A. P. Watts, A.B. Occidental 1914; A.M. California 1916. Oliver Cromwell and the Capture of Jamaica, 1655. *California*.
- H. M. Wriston, A.B. Wesleyan 1911, A.M. 1912. The English Monarchomachs. *Harvard*.
- B. C. Schmitt, A.B. Pennsylvania 1913. John Wilmot, second Earl of Rochester: his Life and Works. *Pennsylvania*.
- A. C. Dudley, Princeton Theological Seminary 1907. The Clarendon Code in England, 1660-1689. *Johns Hopkins*.
- P. C. Galpin, A.M. Yale 1907, A.B. 1910. The Rise of Political Non-conformity in England after 1660. *Yale*.
- G. F. Zook, A.B. Kansas 1906, A.M. 1907. The Royal African Company, 1662-1715. *Cornell*.
- Leland Jenks, A.B. Ottawa 1913; A.M. Kansas 1914. Social Aspects of the Revolution of 1688-1689 in England. *Columbia*.
- F. R. Flournoy, A.B. Washington and Lee 1905; A.M. Columbia 1912. The Extent of Parliamentary Control of Foreign Policy in Great Britain. *Columbia*.
- J. B. Botsford, A.B. Columbia 1915. The Social Influence of Oversea Expansion on England in the Eighteenth Century. *Columbia*.
- Alden Anderson, A.B. Bethany 1910. British Trade in the Baltic in the Eighteenth Century. *Yale*.
- E. S. Furniss, A.B. The Social Position of the English Laborer in the Eighteenth Century. *Yale*.

- R. G. Booth, A.B. Illinois Wesleyan University 1914; A.M. Columbia 1915. Some Social Aspects of the Development of the Natural Sciences in England in the Eighteenth Century. *Columbia*.
- Witt Bowden, A.B. Colorado 1914. The English Industrial Revolution as viewed by the People of the Time. *Pennsylvania*.
- W. T. Morgan, A.B. Ohio 1909; A.M. Harvard 1910. The Whig Party, 1700-1720. *Yale*.
- R. L. Tucker, A.B. Wesleyan 1913; A.M. Columbia 1915. Literary Conflicts in Methodism during the Latter Half of the Eighteenth Century. *Columbia*.
- E. P. Smith, A.B. Goucher 1904; A.M. Columbia 1909. Rise of English Rationalism. *Columbia*.
- A. H. Basye, A.B. Kansas 1904, A.M. 1906. The Board of Trade, 1748-1782. *Yale*.
- N. Macdonald, A.B. Queen's (Kingston) 1913. Henry Dundas, first Lord Melville, 1742-1811. *Cornell*.
- J. A. Woolf, Ph.B. Chicago 1912. Political Theory of Jeremy Bentham. *Chicago*.
- W. F. Galpin, A.B. Northwestern 1913, A.M. 1914. The Grain Trade of England during the Napoleonic Wars. *Pennsylvania*.
- Leland Olds, A.B. Amherst 1912. Social Unrest in England, 1811-1819. *Columbia*.
- R. W. Sockman, A.B. Ohio Wesleyan 1911; A.M. Columbia 1913. The Revival of Monasticism in England in the Nineteenth Century. *Columbia*.
- Helen H. Taft, Bryn Mawr 1915. The Development of English Colonial Self-Government during the Nineteenth Century. *Yale*.
- J. H. Park, A.B. Columbia 1912, A.M. 1913. The English Reform Bills of 1866-1867. *Columbia*.
- M. W. Smith, A.B. Ursinus; A.M. Columbia 1915. Radicalism in the British Tory Party in the Latter Part of the Nineteenth Century. *Columbia*.

#### FRANCE

- R. Jornason, A.B. Augustana 1908; A.M. Wisconsin 1914. The Dane-geld in France. *Chicago*.
- N. S. Parker, A.B. Chicago 1911; A.M. Harvard 1912. Trade Routes in Southern France in the Middle Ages. *Chicago*.
- C. G. Kelly, A.B. Johns Hopkins 1908, Ph.D. 1916. French Protestantism on the Eve of the Religious Wars, 1559-1562. *Johns Hopkins*.
- F. C. Palm, A.B. Oberlin 1914; A.M. Illinois 1915. The Economic Policies of Richelieu. *Illinois*.
- J. S. Will, A.B. Toronto 1897. The Persecution of the Huguenots in France under Louis XIV. *Columbia*.
- L. B. Packard, A.B. Harvard 1909. Some Antecedents of the *Conseil du Commerce* of 1700. *Harvard*.
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The  
American Historical Review

THE MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL  
ASSOCIATION AT CINCINNATI

THE thirty-second annual meeting of the American Historical Association was held at Cincinnati on Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, December 27-30, 1916. Besides the advantages and pleasures arising from Cincinnati's geographical position, its climate, its picturesque situation, and its pleasant spirit of hospitality, the convention had those which always arise from holding nearly all its sessions under one roof—in this case the comprehensive roof of the Hotel Sinton. The morning and afternoon sessions of one day were, however, held with great pleasure at the University of Cincinnati, where an agreeable luncheon was followed by entertaining speeches. For the highly successful arrangements which marked the sessions at every point, cordial thanks are due to the Local Committee of Arrangements, and especially to its secretary, Professor Isaac J. Cox. Mr. Charles P. Taft, chairman of that committee, and Mrs. Taft entertained the Association at a reception and tea, made memorable not only by their kindness but by the extraordinary beauty of their collection of paintings.

Noteworthy among other social diversions was the "smoker" provided for the men of the Association on one of the evenings, at the Hotel Gibson. In the rooms of the Auto Club, on the same evening, the women members had a subscription dinner. A reception following the exercises of one of the other evenings gave opportunity for general conversation and acquaintance, and indeed the meeting seems to have been particularly successful on the side of sociability. The rooms of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, Van Warmer Library, were thrown open to members on the day of the visit to the University. The chief clubs of the city offered the privileges of their houses.

One feature of the social aspect of the convention deserves a

special mention, for it is susceptible of much further extension and if so extended may bring many useful results. This was the plan of devoting one evening, purposely left free of public exercises, to various dinners of members interested in some special branch of historical study, at which informal conversations and discussions of its affairs may take place. Out of such dinners and discussions many valuable projects and suggestions may come, many steps in advance, for the promotion of this or that line of study in America—of modern German or medieval economic history, of the Protestant Reformation or the Industrial Revolution, of American diplomacy or American agriculture or American religion—or at the least much quickening of interest in advanced researches (which perhaps the Association now does too little to foster), much interchange of opinion, much increase of helpful friendships. All that is necessary, in each such specialty, is to designate an energetic and judicious member to gather the appropriate company together at such dining place as the local committee may recommend. The undertaking is not more difficult than the organization of the breakfasts, of late somewhat frequent at the Association's meetings, of those who have been graduate students at the same university—pleasant reunions, but not likely to be so fruitful for our sacred science or profession as dinners of the sort described, dinners of *Fachgenossen*.

A small beginning of such a practice was made at the time of the Washington meeting. At Cincinnati it was but slightly extended, but there was a successful and profitable dinner of those concerned with European history, and another of those interested in the founding of a journal of Latin-American history. The project was canvassed with considerable enthusiasm, and a committee, of which Dr. James A. Robertson is chairman, was appointed to consider the matter further and, if the plan ultimately seems feasible, to devise machinery for bringing it into effect. Another conference, unaccompanied by a dinner, and perhaps for that reason less affirmative in its results—such is *Fallen Man!*—had been called to consider the foundation of an American journal of European history, mainly in order to furnish larger opportunities for the publication of technical articles than can be afforded by a general historical journal or other existing means. The nature of the plan, and its possibilities for the advancement of scientific research, were set forth by Professor George B. Adams, and a committee was appointed, with Professor Dana C. Munro as chairman, to give it further consideration. It is to be expected, as a sign of healthy progress of historical study in the United States, that, besides many good journals of local his-

tory, an increasing number of specialized historical journals should arise—indeed, several have already come into existence—and toward any such, having the standards that may fairly be expected, the *American Historical Review* can have no attitude but that of welcome, and of helpfulness if it can be of help.

Still another informal conference, outside of those more formal meetings whose programmes had been arranged by the Association, was that of members interested in the foundation in Washington of a centre of university studies in history, political economy, and political science, which may do for those studies what the American Schools of Classical Studies in Athens and Rome have done for those branches of learning, may furnish guidance to students in the three sciences named who come to Washington to avail themselves of its surpassing opportunities for such studies, and may provide them with the incentive of fruitful companionship in a common place of residence. Respecting this project, which in the existing circumstances of the District of Columbia has rich possibilities, the committee appointed last spring submitted a printed report which appeared to meet with emphatic favor, and received the cordial endorsement of the Executive Council.

Three allied organizations, the American Political Science Association, the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, and the Ohio Valley Historical Association, met in Cincinnati in the same December days, and joint sessions were held in some cases, with common profit. The number of members of the American Historical Association who registered at headquarters was 325. Most of those attending came, as was to be expected, from places comparatively near at hand, yet the range of geographical distribution was wide; an exceptional number of members were present from the Pacific Coast.

The programme of the Association's sessions, prepared by a committee of which Professor Henry E. Bourne, of Western Reserve University, was chairman, deserved particular commendation for its breadth of range, and for the especial attention it assigned to recent periods and vital themes. History cannot expect to be much regarded by the present-day world if it has nothing to say of present or recent affairs; and a society which has given such signal evidences of harmony and right feeling, has surely no need to fear the divisive effects of discussion, in fields in which historians are expected to have opinions, facts, and reasons, but in which they may also be expected—or our training is naught—to preserve good temper and the habit of seeing both sides. Sessions, therefore, devoted to

Recent Phases of the European Balance of Power, to the Great Peace Congresses of the Nineteenth Century, to the American period in the Philippines, and to the modern as well as the medieval portion of the History of Constantinople, and of China and Japan, did much to invest the whole meeting with exceptional interest and value. There was also a session for ancient history, one for general history (a nondescript miscellany of papers), one for English history, and two for American history, one of which was held as a joint session with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association.

Taken as a whole the programme was impressive. It may even be called formidable. Seventeen formal sessions in three and a half days is too much. It may well be doubted whether it is ever desirable to have more than two sessions going on at the same time. On this present occasion, besides the sessions already mentioned, for the reading of written papers on substantive portions of history, and the evening session in which the presidential addresses (of this society and of the American Political Science Association) were delivered, and the business session, there were conferences of archivists, of state and local historical societies, and of patriotic hereditary societies, a conference for discussion of the field and method of the elementary course in college history, and a conference of teachers of history in secondary schools. For a registration of 325, this is a very extensive programme; but it was agreed on all sides that it was well composed, and in most particulars the participants, chosen mostly from among the younger members of the Association, carried it out with intelligence and excellent success.

By an arrangement not to be recommended for imitation in subsequent years, the presidential addresses were not delivered until the tenth of these seventeen sessions. Indeed, as the annual business meeting had been the ninth, and as on that occasion the terms of officers had been defined as ending, each year, with the conclusion of that session, the odd situation was presented of the president of the American Historical Association reading his presidential address after he had technically gone out of office. After an address of welcome by Mr. Taft, who presided as chairman of the joint meeting, Professor Jesse Macy, of Grinnell College, president of the American Political Science Association, delivered an address on the Scientific Spirit in Politics.<sup>1</sup> The admirable address of Professor George L. Burr, of Cornell University, president of the American Historical Association, on the Freedom of History, we had the pleasure of printing in the last number of this journal.

<sup>1</sup> Printed in the *American Political Science Review* for February, 1917.



In some of the conferences, it must be confessed, members scheduled to participate took their obligations so lightly as neither to appear nor to take suitable measures to secure the presentation of their papers in their absence. In the conference of archivists, presided over by Dr. Solon J. Buck, only two of the four papers mentioned in the programme were read. The one, entitled *Some Considerations on the Housing of Archives*, was by Mr. Louis A. Simon, of Washington, superintendent of the drafting division in the office of the supervising architect of the Treasury, who as such has prepared the plans for the proposed National Archive Building in Washington; the other, on the *Problem of Archive Centralization with reference to Local Conditions in a Middle Western State*, was by Dr. Theodore C. Pease, of the University of Illinois. Mr. Simon's suggestions related chiefly to the problems of a large, or national, archive building. All the varieties of plan now most in favor indicate a marked differentiation of the space devoted to administrative functions from the space assigned to actual storage of the records. The various forms by means of which this may be achieved, and through which the spaces devoted to administrative officials, to physical manipulation and cataloguing, and to purposes of study may be related to each other, were described in outline. On the principle, however, that much the greater part of the space must be storage-space, the main consideration was given to the forms and varieties of stacks.

Dr. Pease emphasized the thought that the problems of centralization of local archives must receive an independent solution in each state, in accordance with varying institutions and conditions, and professed to speak only, by way of example, of what was true in the single state of Illinois. His paper drew a distinction between centralization applied to records useless for public business, in order to preserve them for the use of the historian or the student of society, and centralization designed in the interests of economy, to bring together in central repositories, at the state capital or in several centres, records not of current use but having importance as legal monuments. Centralization in the latter sense will be the problem of the future. For centralization of the former variety, now sometimes a pressing problem, Dr. Pease advocated clear and uniform criteria for deciding on the separation, tact in reconciling local susceptibilities to it, and caution in removing papers from the neighborhood of other papers to which they stand related, and entered somewhat into consideration of classes appropriate for transfer. There was some general discussion of the destruction of useless papers,

and of the defects of local, especially township, record-keeping. Dr. Gaillard Hunt, upon request, described the methods used by his division of the Library of Congress in the repair of manuscripts.

In the conference of historical societies, the main topic of discussion was that of the federating and affiliating of local historical societies. The chairman, Professor Harlow Lindley, of the Indiana Historical Commission, adverted to the timely importance of the theme in a period when a considerable number of states are celebrating or are about to celebrate the centennial anniversaries of their entrance into the Union. Such commemorations, especially those organized by county committees, bring local historical societies into existence or into increased activity. The impulse ought not to be allowed to expire with the fireworks, and state historical societies or commissions should be able so to co-ordinate and supervise the activities of these societies that they may make definite and valuable contributions to the intellectual life of the state, with good results in enlightened citizenship. The modes in which such work is encouraged and correlated in various states were outlined by a succession of speakers, Mr. Thomas L. Montgomery, state librarian of Pennsylvania, describing the operations of the Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies, Mr. A. F. Hunter of Toronto that of the Ontario Historical Society, Dr. George N. Fuller that of the Michigan Historical Commission, of which he is secretary, Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber that of the Illinois State Historical Society, Mr. Nathaniel T. Kidder that of the Bay State Historical League. Much information respecting such endeavors may be derived from the Michigan Historical Commission's bulletin entitled *Suggestions for Local Historical Societies and Writers in Michigan*, which Mr. Fuller described, along with the relations between his commission and the state society, the county societies, the newspapers, the schools, and the women's clubs, and the procedure followed in bringing local societies into existence. In all the local work, special emphasis is laid on the collection and preservation of original materials.

The most important event in relation to this conference was the vote of the Association, pursuant to a recommendation of the Executive Council, conferring upon the conference a semi-autonomous status and organization, with a definite membership, with funds of its own, obtained by small assessments upon member societies and commissions, with a programme made by its appointees (their chairman to be *ex officio* a member of the Association's programme committee), and with definite obligations of annual report to the parent

body. The secretary of the conference is to be appointed, as now, by the Executive Council of the Association, its other officers to be elected by the conference itself. At the instance of the conference, and largely by the generosity of the Newberry Library, provision has been made for the continuance by supplement, from 1905 to 1915, of Mr. A. P. C. Griffin's *Bibliography of American Historical Societies*, printed as volume II. of the Association's *Annual Report* for 1905.

The conference of the hereditary patriotic societies was preceded by a luncheon of the representatives present, some fifty in number. The chairman of the meeting, Mr. Harry B. Mackoy, formerly presiding officer of two such societies in Ohio, set forth its purpose, which was to consider practical and desirable plans of closer co-operation between the historical associations of the country and the numerous hereditary patriotic societies. The latter are in part historical societies, with a membership of between two hundred and three hundred thousand, and constitute a great force for the development of historical interests in America. No one could listen to the reports of historical work made on the present occasion, especially from the women's societies, without being deeply impressed with the merit of their activities, the fine spirit of patriotism animating them, and the possibilities and prospects of their achievement in historical lines. Reports were made on behalf of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America, by Miss Cornelia B. Williams, their national historian; for the Daughters of the American Revolution, by Mrs. Thomas Kite, formerly vice-president-general of that society; for the Society of the Sons of the Revolution, by Mr. Jackson W. Sparrow, ex-president of the Ohio society; for the National Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, by Mr. R. C. Ballard Thruston, ex-president-general; for the Society of Colonial Wars, by Mr. Elmer L. Foote, of the Ohio Society. The last report was illustrated by stereopticon views of historical sites marked, monuments erected, and the like. A report from the National Society of the United States Daughters of 1812, prepared by its president-national, Mrs. Robert H. Wiles, was also presented. The discussion which followed centred mainly about the report made to the Council of the American Historical Association by Dr. Gaillard Hunt as chairman of its Historical Manuscripts Commission, in which attention was called to the assistance that might be rendered by hereditary patriotic societies and their members in the collecting, preserving, and rendering accessible many private manuscripts of historical value. A plan for such co-operation was outlined.

Of the educational conferences, that which concerned the field and method of the elementary college course in history, presided over by Professor Arley B. Show, of Stanford University, was much the more profitable. Previous discussions of the subject at the annual meetings of 1896, 1905, and 1906 were summarized by the chairman, who held that the time was ripe for some further standardization of first-year work in college history. Three requisites of the ideal course were, he maintained, that it should contain the best teaching materials, that it should lie within the student's comprehension, and that it should prepare his mind for his later work in history. The method to be pursued, he thought, should be that which each teacher can do best, but it should be graded in such a manner as to fit into the higher work in history, and it should include some work in an historical laboratory and carefully supervised study.

Four papers dealing with the field of the elementary college course were read: by Professor William A. Frayer, of the University of Michigan, Professor James F. Baldwin, of Vassar College, Mr. Jesse E. Wrench, of the University of Missouri, and Mr. Milton R. Gutsch, of the University of Texas. The general opinion favored the maintenance of but one general introductory course for all students alike. Even students who have covered the given field in the work of the secondary school were said to benefit by traversing the same field in the introductory college course. There was substantial agreement among the speakers in holding that the field of the introductory course should be taken from European history, though there were differences as to what phase of European history should be treated. The fields proposed were, in the order of choice: medieval and modern history, general history, medieval history, modern history, and English history.

In the discussion of the method to be pursued in this introductory course, many interesting experiences were presented. The speakers were Messrs. Curtis H. Walker, of the University of Chicago, Clarence P. Gould, of the College of Wooster, Wilmer C. Harris, of Ohio State University, Carlton J. H. Hayes, of Columbia University, Donald L. McMurry, of Vanderbilt University, and James G. McDonald, of Indiana University. The general sentiment seemed to favor abolishing the formal lecture system, dividing the class into small groups of twenty-five or thirty students, and placing each under the care of one competent teacher for the entire course. This method has been adopted at the University of Chicago, at Columbia University, and at some other institutions, but it is

very expensive, and it is always hard to obtain competent men who will take the section work. Many institutions reported a combination of the lecture and the quiz system, by which one or two lectures a week are given to the entire class, and small sections for conference or recitation are held once or twice a week. Particular emphasis was placed upon an adequate system of note-books, and on the need of an intelligent study of historical geography. The use of sources was incidentally discussed, but was not strongly advocated for extensive use in the introductory course.

The conference of teachers of history in secondary schools (Dr. James Sullivan, of the New York State Education Department, chairman) had a much more miscellaneous programme. Professor Carl E. Pray, of the State Normal School at Ypsilanti, Michigan, advocated a more intensive study of historical personalities in the high schools, and illustrated his thesis by details from the lives of prominent Americans. Mr. Glen L. Swiggett, of the United States Bureau of Education, made an extended plea for adequate preparation in the secondary schools for consular service and similar government positions. Dr. Frank P. Goodwin described the efforts made by the University of Cincinnati, in its elementary course in general history, to lay emphasis upon economic and industrial facts without failing to expound cultural values. Professor Albert E. McKinley, of the University of Pennsylvania, showed some ways in which the teaching of history in the schools of France, Germany, and England had been influenced by the current war. Professor Samuel B. Harding, of Indiana University, pointed out the difficulties which the writer of historical text-books has in maintaining an attitude of neutrality. He called attention to letters which had been received by his publishers protesting against a proposed chapter of *Neueste Geschichte* added to one of his books in the process of preparing a new edition. The writers of these letters, from sentiments of nationality (not American nationality), threatened the boycott in their state not only of all the speaker's books, but of all other educational publications issued by his publishers.

Theoretically, the distinction between the sessions which have thus far been described and those which remain to be dealt with, lies in the fact that the latter were sessions for the reading of formal papers, while the former were freer conferences, intended to be marked by a greater amount of informal discussion. But large as is the part played in professorial life by extempore discourse, not to say, in these days, by lively dispute, there seems to be a perpetual difficulty in composing our free conferences of anything but pre-

pared papers. But at all events there is a distinction in that the papers now to be spoken of related to the substance of history rather than to its methods or organization. They covered a wide range, from ancient Mesopotamia to the Southern Confederacy. To the reader of these pages the order and method of their grouping at Cincinnati is a matter of indifference, and they may better be described in something approaching a chronological order. If any receive an insufficient description, the defect may sometimes be ascribed to neglect of the secretary's customary request for the delivery of summaries beforehand and of manuscripts afterward, for no managing editor can manage to attend three sessions at the same hour.

In any such order of arrangement, the first place may naturally be given to an essay by Professor Alfred T. Olmstead, of the University of Missouri, on Mesopotamian Politics and Scholarship, though it touched the latest as well as the earliest dates. The present war having brought a cessation to scientific field-work in western Asia, there is a good occasion for retrospect. Ancient history in the Near East has during these eighty years of its modern development been largely studied and aided by those who have been making modern history in that same region, and its progress, as the speaker showed in detail, has been conditioned by the course of politics. Scholarship has been nationalistic in character, and its phases have followed those of political control. The French and German archaeological investigators, backed by their respective governments, have had large success in appropriating the Mesopotamian field; the German policy of removing important finds to Berlin has been pushed to an unjustifiable extreme.

In the absence of its writer, a paper by Miss Ellen C. Semple of Louisville on Climatic and Geographic Influences upon Ancient Mediterranean Agriculture was presented only in outline, and its discussion by Professor William L. Westermann, of the University of Wisconsin, was limited to a general criticism of the methods of reasoning employed by historical geographers working in ancient history, though upon sound data, of the insufficiency of their training in those rigorous methods of criticism of sources which have been developed in ancient history, and of their failure to consider adequately the obvious variants from their general principles of the operation of constant geographic factors.

Professor Herbert Wing, of Dickinson College, in a paper on Tribute Assessments in the Athenian Empire, rejected all notions that the frequent revolts in that empire were due to the tribute or

to any constant economic cause; they resulted rather from the ineradicable Hellenic idea of independence of cities. His main conclusions from the *stelai* of payments of tribute were: that the number of cities in the empire did not approach the thousand mentioned by Aristophanes, but probably lay between three hundred and four hundred at the utmost; that the assessments were made for an indefinite period and readjusted only on special occasions, most often in Panathenaic years for convenience, if at all, and at irregular intervals; and that estimates of the total amount, fixed in the beginning by Aristides at 460 talents, can be satisfactorily made only by careful study of individual years.

The transition from papers in ancient history to papers in medieval history was marked by a contribution from Professor Paul van den Ven, formerly of the University of Brussels, now of Princeton, entitled "When did the Byzantine Empire and Civilization come into Being?" His main object was to controvert such opinions as that of Bury, that all lines of demarcation which have been drawn between the Roman empire and the Byzantine empire are arbitrary, and that, great as were the changes undergone by the empire since antiquity, it never ceased to be the Roman empire, and, changing gradually and continuously, offers no point at which one can properly give it a new name. Professor van den Ven criticized such views of unity and continuity as justified only in political doctrine but contrary to historical facts. From the time of Arcadius and Honorius, East and West began to be in fact distinct; Italy and Rome were no longer the centre around which the empire revolved; "Byzantine art", "Byzantine civilization", "Graeco-Roman law", are accepted terms, corresponding to admitted facts; a Christian, bureaucratic government, centring at Constantinople, a society increasingly Greek and Oriental in character, justify a new term.

The first of the papers lying distinctly in the field of medieval history was that of Professor K. Asakawa, of Yale University, on the Life of a Monastic *Shō* in Medieval Japan. He set forth at the outset the points wherein the Japanese *shō* of the twelfth century resembled the manor of medieval Europe and wherein it differed, and suggested that, after the entrance of the warrior into the *shō*, the latter came gradually to assume the aspects of the regular fief. He then took up the history of the triple *shō* of Kōno-Makuni-Sarukawa under the Buddhist monastery of Mt. Koya as typifying certain phases of this conversion. This *shō*, originating as it did in commendations of lands, at first included varied and changeable tenures.

It also comprised two classes of men, "landholders", some of whom were armed, and "cultivators" below them. During the feudal years, especially between 1333 and 1600, the multiple tenures tended to be simplified into grants held in fief of the monastic seignior; at the same time, some "cultivators" seem to have risen in status, and formed the bulk of the new rural population, on the same level with the old "landholders", who no longer appeared as half-warriors. The warriors had been largely differentiated and become professional. By 1600 the triple *shō* had, in its institutional structure, been as nearly altered into a fief as a religious *shō* could be. Professor Dana C. Munro, of Princeton, after the close of the paper, remarked upon the light that students of medieval feudalism in Europe might derive from the comparative study of Japanese feudalism, upon the meagreness of the Western literature upon the subject, and upon the resemblance of the *shō* to the fief rather than the manor.

Upon the question, "Was there a Common Council before Parliament?" Professor Albert B. White, of the University of Minnesota, argued against the view, exhibited in many reputable books, that the English assembly which came to be called Parliament was at some earlier time called the "common council", a view sometimes giving rise to notions of primitive democratic or national traits. A search of the English sources from the Conquest to about 1250 has brought to light some 175 cases of the phrase *commune consilium* (never *concilium*). In more than half of these the meaning is either "public opinion" or the general understanding, consent, or advice of groups more or less vague, often very small. In over sixty cases the "common counsel" came clearly from an assembly of considerable size, summoned for a definite purpose, but still the phrase means rather the result, action, or spirit of the group than the group itself. In five rather vague cases, from the reign of Henry III., the personification seems to lie in the direction of the council, but of the small council rather than the larger, summoned assembly.

An interesting paper by Professor Chalfant Robinson, of Princeton, entitled History and Pathology, presented a plea for a deeper study, on the part of historians, of the pathological aspects of human minds and characters in influential station, but was substantially a discussion of the individual case of Louis XI., based on the materials collected by Dr. A. Brachet, in his privately printed monograph entitled *Pathologie Mentale des Rois de France*.

Bridging the transition from medieval to modern history, the



paper presented by Professor Albert H. Lybyer, of the University of Illinois, on Constantinople as Capital of the Ottoman Empire, began with the time when the Turks under Mohammed II., acquiring a city that was not much more than an incomparable site covered with ruins, proceeded to rebuild it in their own way, with modest private residences but with substantial and sometimes magnificent public edifices. Their efforts to repopulate were also described, and the spontaneous processes by which, in a century and a half, a cosmopolitan city of seven or eight hundred thousand people was formed; likewise the avenues of commerce and the conditions of trade within the walls. In political life, the strong central position of the city contributed to the durability of the Ottoman government, established in the cluster of buildings at Seraglio Point. In religion, Constantinople continued to be the metropolis of the Orthodox Church and became the seat of the Caliphate, the chief centre of the Moslem faith, and the home of its principal university. The causes of its progressive decline, and of its partial modernization in the nineteenth century, were traced, and the possibilities of its future development touched upon.

The beginnings of a military power of quite the opposite curve of development were narrated by Professor Sidney B. Fay, of Smith College, in a paper on the Beginnings of the Standing Army in Prussia, which we hope to have the pleasure of presenting to our readers in a later number. The origins of the permanent active field army maintained by the Great Elector did not lie in the Thirty Years' War, but in the Northern War of 1655-1660, during which he was compelled to create an army on a basis largely independent of his provincial estates. The paper traced his subsequent expansion and development of this novel force.

A paper entitled "The Stuart Period: Unsolved Problems", by Professor Wallace Notestein, of the University of Minnesota, was limited by its author to the earlier half of the seventeenth century, and to parliamentary history. Despite the high merits and great extent of Gardiner's researches, the speaker urged the need of more intensive study of the history of Parliament in this period, showing that a considerable body of new materials has come to light; that old materials, such as the *Commons Journals* and the widely-copied manuscripts of speeches in the Commons, are less authoritative than Gardiner assumed; that the history of the Stuart Parliaments must be studied in the light, still imperfect, of earlier parliamentary development; and that there is a range of problems respecting Parliament which Gardiner left almost untouched—such

matters, for instance, as the electoral campaigns for the Parliaments of James and Charles, the deeper questions of the character of their membership, and the rise of the organized opposition to the king.

Professor Notestein's paper was discussed by Professor Roland G. Usher, of Washington University, St. Louis, who declared that the legal and institutional problems left unsolved by Gardiner were quite as numerous and significant as the parliamentary. Especially needed are studies of the growth and development of the administrative councils, the prerogative courts, and particularly of the courts of common law, instead of whose actual history in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries we have been content to study the views about its history which the judges of that time wrote down for us. A first-hand investigation must be made of the voluminous and scattered original records of all these bodies and of the materials bearing on their mutual relations. A critical edition of the first volume of the *Commons Journals* is also much needed. For researches so laborious, co-operative effort is required, and investigators in the earlier Stuart period, 1603-1640, are asked to communicate with Professor Usher, or with Professor A. P. Newton of the University of London, who desire to organize historical work in this period.

In a slightly later period, a paper by Professor Guernsey Jones, of the University of Nebraska, entitled "Beginnings of the Oldest European Alliance", treated of Anglo-Portuguese relations from 1640 to 1661. The treaty of 1654, Portugal's penalty for assisting the Stuarts and defying the regicides, was the source of Portugal's "commercial vassalage", commonly but erroneously attributed to the Methuen Treaty of 1703. It secured every concession which the English merchants trading in Portugal saw fit to ask for, and was long regarded by them as the Magna Carta of their privileges and immunities. Charles II.'s Marriage Treaty of 1661, which determined the whole course of his foreign policy in a direction different from that of his original inclinations, was due at bottom to the desire of the English court to placate the commercial classes of London, by retaining Jamaica against the opposition of Spain, and by opening the way to the trade in India.

Another of the papers in English history, that of Professor Arthur L. Cross, of Michigan, on English Criminal Law and Benefit of Clergy during the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries, is printed in the present issue of this journal, as is also that which was read by Professor Jesse S. Reeves, of the same university, on Two Conceptions of the Freedom of the Seas.

In the same session as the latter, the session relating to conflicts concerning the European balance of power, Professor William E. Lingelbach, of the University of Pennsylvania, read an effective paper on England and Neutral Trade in the Napoleonic and Present Wars.<sup>2</sup> With many interesting details derived from contemporaneous documents, he set forth the comparison between the English policy toward neutral trade in the Napoleonic Wars and the efforts then made, through that policy, to preserve maritime ascendancy, and the policy and methods pursued toward the same ends in the present war. The seizures of neutral vessels in 1793, the parliamentary acts of 1795, and the crushing blows inflicted by and in consequence of the *Essex* decision and the Orders in Council of 1807, were exhibited as measures intended not only to protect Great Britain against the consequences of aggression and fraud but to secure to her by the most extreme assertion of belligerent rights a complete commercial supremacy, not through the destruction of American and other neutral commerce, but through processes which compelled it to serve her own purposes. The system of licenses, and its abuse, were carefully described. After a century during which the world had been comparatively free from maritime warfare and during which its opinion tended strongly toward favor of neutral rights as against the claims of belligerents, a tendency in which England as well as the United States had participated, the situation of the neutral, so far as the doctrines of international law was concerned, was much better in 1914 than at the beginning of the century, but the exigencies of Great Britain's situation led her to develop a system of control of ocean commerce far beyond any which the framers of the old Orders in Council had devised. The Order in Council of August 20, 1914, followed by that of March 11, 1915, constituted, in the language of the American government, "a practical assertion of unlimited belligerent rights over neutral commerce within the whole European area and an almost unqualified denial of the sovereign rights of the nations now at peace".

In a session specially devoted to the Great Peace Congresses of the Nineteenth Century, three cognate papers of high value were read, on the Congresses of Vienna, Paris, and Berlin, by Professor Charles D. Hazen, of Columbia University, Mr. William R. Thayer, of Cambridge, and Professor Robert H. Lord, of Harvard, respectively. It is expected that they will shortly appear together in a small volume.<sup>3</sup> It was intended that the papers should treat of the

<sup>2</sup> To be printed in the *Military Historian and Economist*.

<sup>3</sup> Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company.

organization and methods of procedure of these congresses, and not of their problems or results. Thus, Mr. Hazen described the manner in which the Congress of Vienna approached its problems, the character of its organization, if organization it can be called when no plenary session was ever held, its method of procedure—merely that of ordinary diplomatic negotiations, save for the mutual proximity of the negotiators—and the machinery of its Committee of Five. Similarly, Mr. Thayer described the convening, personnel, circumstances, mechanism, and operations of the Congress of Paris, Mr. Lord those of the Congress of Berlin, with a much larger degree of attention to its political events and results.

Professor Charles Seymour, of Yale University, in a careful and comprehensive paper on the *Ententes* and the Isolation of Germany,<sup>3a</sup> essayed to determine whether the conflict of alliances marked by the crises of 1905, 1908, and 1911 was due to endeavors of the Triple Entente to encircle and isolate Germany, or indicated merely a defensive struggle on their part, to maintain the balance of power. He first described the German interpretation of events, the theory of the *Einkreisungspolitik*, in accordance with which England was the centre of a plot to isolate Germany and block her expansion. The Anglo-French *entente* of 1904, the Anglo-Russian convention of 1907, the Anglo-French and Anglo-Belgian military conversations, the Russian attitude toward Austria and Turkey, the course of these powers in respect to Albania, the check to Germany at the time of the Agadir episode, the Serbian intrigues against Austria, Russia's military preparations in 1913, all had received explanation in the light of this theory. The speaker held, however, that nothing in the agreements of 1904 and 1907 indicated an intention of isolating Germany, that the military conversations alluded to, and the British support of France in general, carried in them no evidence of any but a defensive policy, and that the lack of co-ordination in the diplomatic activities of the *entente* powers during 1912, 1913, and 1914, and the nature of British treaties made with Germany in the same period, were inconsistent with the German theory. Professor Bernadotte E. Schmitt, of Western Reserve University, in remarks after the paper, agreed with these views, partly on the basis of diplomatic documents, partly because of the obvious desire of the Asquith government to avoid trouble abroad, in the interest of a domestic programme of social reform.

Other papers dealing, most interestingly, with the most recent periods of history, other than American, were those of Professor Archibald C. Coolidge, of Harvard University, on Claims upon Con-

<sup>3a</sup> Printed in the *Yale Review* for April.

stantinople, National, Geographical, and Historic, of Mr. Edward T. Williams, of the Department of State, on Chinese Social Institutions as a Foundation for Republican Government, and of Dr. James A. Robertson on the Philippine Islands since the Inauguration of the Philippine Assembly. The last-named of these is to be printed in the next issue of this journal.

Mr. Williams's paper related mainly to present social institutions and to the present era of reform in China, which may be said to have begun in 1898, but he first described three earlier occasions on which large social reforms were undertaken: in 221 B. C. when the emperor Shi Hwang-ti attempted to abolish the feudal system, at the beginning of the Christian era when the emperor Wang Mang tried to abolish slavery and private property in land, and in A. D. 1069 when the councillor Wang-shih entered on a similar programme of drastic social legislation. In China of the present day most land is held in small parcels and cultivated by its owners; the family, not the individual, is the political unit. Such a system favors democracy, and experience in clan councils has been a valuable training for political association. Villages are practically autonomous. The guilds, which are as powerful as those of Europe in the Middle Ages, often constituting the real municipal government of the towns in which they are placed, are democratic in organization. Confucianism, in the opinion of the foremost native scholars, is not imperialistic in tendency, and Buddhism is distinctly democratic. The dense ignorance of the masses is the main obstacle to the success of republican institutions. The paper, however, which was replete with interesting historical examples, exhibited the remarkable progress made in the last four years of the Manchu régime, in the establishment of representative government in city, province, and nation, as strong evidence of capacity for self-government, based on social institutions already existing and on long experience in their operation.

Professor Kenneth S. Latourette, of Denison University, adverted to the hampering effects of particularism, the want of a truly national patriotism, but hoped that the civil service and the administrative machinery perfected during long years of monarchy might, as they had done in France, carry over into a republican period, and promote and fortify centralization. Dr. Stanley K. Hornbeck, of the University of Wisconsin, admitting the capacity of the Chinese and the value of their lower institutions as a basis for national self-government, commended the caution of the more conservative states-

men of recent years in view of the want of immediate readiness and the immensity of the task of transformation.

It remains to speak of the papers in American history, two of them relating to the Revolutionary period, two to the earlier portion of the nineteenth century, and five to the period converging on secession and the Civil War. There was also a paper by Mr. Augustus H. Shearer, of the Newberry Library, on American Historical Periodicals, in which their history and characteristics were compendiously treated under appropriate classifications.

The paper of Professor Arthur M. Schlesinger, of the Ohio State University, entitled "The Uprising against the East India Company",<sup>4</sup> was an attempt to trace the actual execution of the boycott agreements of 1770 against dutied tea adopted in the leading provinces of British America. From contemporary comments and official commercial statistics of the British government, it is apparent that these agreements were totally ignored in all places save New York and Philadelphia, which were the centres of tea-smuggling in America. But this complaisant attitude toward dutied tea underwent an abrupt and radical change when a new act of Parliament, in May, 1773, provided that the East India Company might export tea directly to America, *i. e.*, without passing it through the hands of the various middlemen as before. Eliminating most of the middlemen's profits, this new act enabled colonial consumers to buy the company's tea cheaper than either dutied tea privately imported, or smuggled tea. Hence colonial tea-merchants, whether dealing in the customed or in the contraband article, joined forces in fomenting popular opposition to the company; and this was enlarged by the fear of other merchants that the company might next proceed to extend its monopoly to other articles. Fear of mercantile monopoly, rather than of taxation without representation, was the mainspring of American opposition.

The other paper in the American Revolutionary period was a careful study, by Professor James A. James, of Northwestern University, of Spanish Influence in the West during the American Revolution, dealing especially with the period before formal participation of Spain in the war against Great Britain. The main matters described were the successful endeavors of the Virginia government to obtain powder and other supplies from New Orleans, the activities of Oliver Pollock as agent of that government, the additional activity displayed in assisting the colonies after the accession of Governor Galvez, and the mutual dealings of Pollock and George

<sup>4</sup> To be printed in the *Political Science Quarterly*.

Rogers Clark. The first paper relating to the ensuing period was one in which Mr. Charles L. Chandler, of Chattanooga, narrated the services which an American merchant captain and privateer, Charles Whiting Wooster, grandson of General David Wooster, rendered as captain and rear-admiral in the Chilean navy, 1817-1819 and 1822-1847.

Dr. Reginald C. McGrane, of the University of Cincinnati, in a paper on the Pennsylvania Bribery Case of 1836, gave an account of scandals which accompanied the effort of Nicholas Biddle and his associates to secure the passage of a bill granting a state charter to the Second United States Bank. Beginning their efforts soon after it became clear that a renewal of the national charter by Congress was not to be expected, the advocates of the bank set out to achieve their desired result in the state legislature, by three methods: by the constant work of skilled lobbyists upon the appropriate committees in the two houses; by offering members of the legislature liberal grants for their respective counties in the form of projects of internal improvements to be carried out through applications of the bonus receivable from the bank; and by threatening the legislature that the act of incorporation should be secured from the legislatures of other states, in which case the advantages of the bank's capital would go elsewhere. The bill passed the House by means of Whig and Anti-Masonic votes under the able leadership of Thaddeus Stevens, and then the Senate. The most significant feature of the struggle was the dramatic disclosure, by one of the senators, of efforts to secure his vote by bribery. Investigating committees of the two houses exonerated the bank men of direct attempts at bribery, and it is plain that they had preferred to offer grants in the form of schemes of internal improvement, rather than to use direct means. It seems not wholly certain whether the senator involved in the scandal was their dupe or their tool. Yet it is known that \$400,000 was withdrawn from the bank under suspicious circumstances, at the time of the recharter, and that Biddle was willing to use this in case of dire necessity.

Lastly, five of the papers related to the period of or leading to the Civil War: those of Miss Laura A. White, professor in the University of Wyoming, on Robert Barnwell Rhett and South Carolina, 1826-1852, of Professor Robert P. Brooks, of the University of Georgia, on Howell Cobb and the Crisis of 1850, of Professor Ernest A. Smith, of Salt Lake City, on the Influence of the Religious Press of Cincinnati on the Northern Border States, of Professor James R. Robertson, of Berea College, on Sectionalism

in Kentucky from 1855 to 1865, and of Professor Charles W. Ramsdell, of the University of Texas, on the Confederate Government and the Railroads.

Miss White traced the radical and independent course of R. B. Rhett, and his influence on the politics of South Carolina, from his entrance into the state legislature in 1826 and his action soon after in forcing Calhoun to bring forward his programme of nullification. In Congress after 1837 he was prominent as a leader of the Calhoun faction. When Calhoun, defeated in the effort to obtain control of the Democratic nominating convention of 1844, decided to throw his full support to Polk, Rhett, intent on state action against the tariff, took the risk involved in opposing Calhoun and inaugurated the "Bluffton Movement". Although Calhoun succeeded at the time in checking the movement for state interposition, the younger generation had been initiated into a more advanced stage of South Carolina radicalism. After the Wilmot Proviso, Rhett for five years devoted himself to a struggle for separate secession of the state, against those who would move only in co-operation with other states. His failure at the time, and the course by which in the end his influence prevailed, were clearly depicted.

Professor Brooks's paper sought to establish the fact that Howell Cobb, known afterward chiefly as an ardent advocate of secession and of extreme Southern views, had before that time been a Democrat of strong nationalist tendencies. In support of this view, he cited his speeches on the Texas question, the Mexican War, and the Oregon question, and especially his conduct in respect to the Compromise of 1850, when he was Speaker of the national House of Representatives. He was one of the foremost advocates of that compromise, regarding it as the best obtainable adjustment of a dispute that looked ominous for the Union. Breaking with lifelong political associates, for most of its opponents in Georgia and in the South generally were Democrats, he brought the people of that pivotal state to acquiesce in it, definitely committing Georgia to the Compromise by the successful canvass he made for the governorship in 1851 on the Union ticket. The remaining part of the paper treated of the disruption of the Union party brought about by disagreement between the Whig and the Democratic elements over the preliminaries of the election of 1852. Cobb was left stranded with only a small following of Union Democrats. His course on the issues of 1850 had so completely alienated him from the Democratic majority that he never regained his former popularity.

In Professor Robertson's paper, the close relation between the



course of political parties in Kentucky during the decade 1855-1865 and the features of the state's physical geography was established, and was displayed on a series of maps specially prepared from returns of elections, both state and national. Yet the period was one of transition, and there was much shifting of sectional political sentiment, concerned with the issues of state rights, union, secession, slavery, sound currency, internal improvements, and many minor interests.

Professor Ramsdell's paper, on the Confederate Government and the Railroads, was a study in war administration. The first outstanding fact, the heaviest handicap of the South in waging war, was its lack of industrial development, which resulted not only in want of necessary supplies, but also in the lack of sufficient men with training in industrial administration to organize and administer its resources. In 1861 the Southern railroads were local short lines, light in both track and rolling stock, unconnected, without co-ordination, and generally inadequate to the work suddenly imposed upon them. They could not themselves combine or co-ordinate, and confusion and congestion of traffic resulted; they were unable to obtain supplies, and rapid deterioration set in. The government was unable to aid them, partly because of constitutional scruples, partly through a failure to comprehend the nature of the problem. It granted loans to build certain connections and it sought relief from congestion by supervision of its own freights, but it never found a remedy for the breakdown of the roads themselves. The consequence was the paralysis of the whole system of transportation and distribution, the starvation and disintegration of the Confederate armies, and the collapse of the government.

The annual business meeting, presided over by Professor Burr as president, differed from preceding business meetings in two important respects, the one a matter of procedure, the other a matter of substantial achievement, namely, the revision of the society's constitution. Votes respecting procedure passed a year before<sup>5</sup> had provided that hereafter the annual reports of committees should not be read in the business meeting unless their reading should be called for by ten members present, or directed by the Council. On the present occasion only two such reports were designated by the Council to be read, and only these two were orally presented. The wholesale omission of the reports, with these two exceptions, was justified in this present year by the need to save time for due consideration of constitutional amendments and by-laws; but it may well be

<sup>5</sup> *American Historical Review*, XXI, 465.

doubted whether at ordinary meetings the omission, which under the rule will usually take place, will be advantageous to the Association. In ordinary years the doings of these committees are the most important activities of the Association, yet, under the practice now inaugurated, it will not be long before most of the members will know little about them. The present healthy spirit of interest in all affairs of the society will be in danger of declining for want of known objects on which to expend itself, and the committees may miss much helpful co-operation which might come to them from interested members as a result of oral presentation of their problems, plans, and achievements.

The secretary's report stated the total membership as 2739, a net loss of 217, due chiefly to the present more rigid practice as to listing members delinquent in respect to payment of dues. The treasurer reported net receipts of \$9919 during the year, net disbursements of \$9353, and assets of \$28,021, a gain of \$959. The secretary of the Council reported the re-election of Professor Carl Becker as a member of the Board of Editors of this journal, for the regular term of six years. He also reported the list of assignments to committees and the budget drawn up by the Council. The former is, as usual, printed as an appendix to this article.

The other chief actions of the Council, mentioned in its report, were its recommendation that the next annual meeting should take place in December, 1917, at Philadelphia (adopted by the Association)—the meeting of 1918 is thought likely to be held in Minneapolis, and that of 1919 in New Haven; its proposal for the issue of a quarterly bulletin (adopted); and its organization of itself into four standing committees—on finance, on the docket, on meetings and relations, and on appointments—for the better distribution, consideration, and despatch of business. According to the plan proposed for the bulletin, the first of its quarterly issues will contain full records of the annual meeting and of the recent council meetings, and like matter; the second, the long-needed list of members; the third, probably, personal news, and notes of the Association's various activities; the fourth, the preliminary programme of the annual meeting. Going to all members four times a year, usually in February, May, September, and November, this bulletin of the Association will inform them of its affairs far more promptly than it is possible to do through the *Annual Reports*, now sadly in arrears. The first number for the present year will probably be issued to the members in April.

The report annually rendered by the Pacific Coast Branch was

presented by its president, and representative on the present occasion, Professor Edward Krehbiel, of Stanford University. For the Committee on the Justin Winsor Prize, its chairman, Professor Carl R. Fish, reported a recommendation that that prize be awarded to Mr. Richard J. Purcell, of St. Paul, Minnesota, for a monograph entitled "Connecticut in Transition, 1775-1818". In the absence of the chairman of the Board of Editors of the *American Historical Review*, the report of that board was read by Professor Becker. The only part of it which it may be useful to mention here is its declaration that, limited as is the number of articles which the *Review* can publish in a year, the offering of contributions by young and unknown writers is distinctly welcomed by the Board.

The amendments to the constitution of the Association which had been presented by the Committee of Nine at the business meeting a year before, and which in accordance with the constitution had been referred to the present meeting for action, were unanimously adopted, as also the by-laws then recommended by the same committee. The Committee of Five appointed to devise a plan for the taking over of this journal by the Association brought in a report recommending—and the recommendations were at once unanimously adopted—that the Board of Editors should execute an assignment to the Association of all its right and title in its contract with the Macmillan Company as publishers, together with a bill of sale of tangible property and good-will, and that the affairs of the *Review* should for the present, and until other action of the Association, remain in the hands of the Board of Editors under the same system as hitherto, except that they should make a detailed report of their accounts annually to the Council and to the Association. The Special Committee on Finance, appointed at the last annual meeting, recommended a more complete application of the budget principle, the keeping of separate accounts for the publication fund and for the life-membership receipts, and a number of other improvements in the details of fiscal procedure.<sup>6</sup>

The report of the Committee on Nominations was presented by its chairman, Professor Frank M. Anderson, of Dartmouth College. The committee had received primary ballots from 291 members. In accordance with its recommendations, Mr. Worthington C. Ford was elected president of the Association for the ensuing year, Mr. William R. Thayer first vice-president, Professor Edward Channing

<sup>6</sup> The proposed amendments to the constitution and the proposed by-laws were printed in this *Review*, XXI. 464-465; for the recommendations offered and votes passed at Cincinnati, see the *Bulletin*. The transfer of the *Review* is at present being effected.

second vice-president; Mr. Waldo G. Leland, Dr. Clarence W. Bowen, Mr. A. Howard Clark, and Professor Evarts B. Greene were re-elected to their respective offices of secretary, treasurer, curator, and secretary of the Council; and the following six members were elected members of the Council: Professors Eugene C. Barker, Guy S. Ford, Samuel B. Harding, Ulrich B. Phillips, Lucy M. Salmon, and George M. Wrong. The amended constitution now requiring the choice of eight elective councillors, Professor Henry E. Bourne and Mr. Charles Moore were also elected. Messrs. Charles H. Ambler, Frank M. Anderson, Christopher B. Coleman, Henry B. Learned, and Andrew C. McLaughlin, all nominated from the floor, were chosen as Committee on Nominations for the ensuing year; this committee has since chosen Professor Anderson as its chairman.

Of other matters in the history of the Association, much the most important is the endeavor, set in motion at the final meeting of the Council, to increase the endowment of the Association from its present figure of about \$28,000 to that of \$50,000. The movement is due to the initiative of the treasurer, Dr. Bowen, to whom, during his long service of nearly thirty-three years in that office, the organization is already so much indebted. An auspicious beginning has already been made, and members will before long have a general opportunity to help forward the effort.

All evidences, indeed, show convincingly that the American Historical Association is now in the most prosperous condition, with resources and activities increasing, and interest widespread.

J. F. J.

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL  
ASSOCIATION

*President*, Worthington C. Ford, Boston.

*First Vice-President*, William R. Thayer, Cambridge.

*Second Vice-President*, Edward Channing, Cambridge.

*Secretary*, Waldo G. Leland, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington.

*Treasurer*, Clarence W. Bowen of New York (address 1140 Woodward Building, Washington).

*Secretary of the Council*, Evarts B. Greene, Urbana, Ill.

*Curator*, A. Howard Clark, Smithsonian Institution.

*Executive Council* (in addition to the above-named officers):

Andrew D. White, <sup>1</sup>	William A. Dunning, <sup>1</sup>
Henry Adams, <sup>1</sup>	Andrew C. McLaughlin, <sup>1</sup>
James Schouler, <sup>1</sup>	H. Morse Stephens, <sup>1</sup>
James Ford Rhodes, <sup>1</sup>	George L. Burr, <sup>1</sup>
John B. McMaster, <sup>1</sup>	Eugene C. Barker,
Simeon E. Baldwin, <sup>1</sup>	Henry E. Bourne,
J. Franklin Jameson, <sup>1</sup>	Guy S. Ford,
George B. Adams, <sup>1</sup>	Samuel B. Harding,
Albert Bushnell Hart, <sup>1</sup>	Charles Moore,
Frederick J. Turner, <sup>1</sup>	Ulrich B. Phillips,
William M. Sloane, <sup>1</sup>	Lucy M. Salmon,
Theodore Roosevelt, <sup>1</sup>	George M. Wrong.

*Committees:**Committee on Programme for the Thirty-third Annual Meeting:*

John B. McMaster, chairman; Herman V. Ames, vice-chairman; James H. Breasted, Walter L. Fleming, Howard L. Gray, Carlton J. H. Hayes, Albert E. McKinley, Dana C. Munro, Augustus H. Shearer (*ex officio*).

*Committee on Local Arrangements:* George W. Pepper, chairman; William E. Lingelbach, vice-chairman; Arthur C. Howland, Raymond W. Kelsey, J. J. Van Nostrand, jr., with power to add to their membership.*Committee on Nominations:* Frank M. Anderson, Dartmouth College, chairman; Charles H. Ambler, Christopher B. Coleman, H. Barrett Learned, Andrew C. McLaughlin.*Editors of the American Historical Review:* Edward P. Cheyney, chairman; Carl Becker, Ephraim Emerton, J. Franklin Jameson, James H. Robinson, Claude H. Van Tyne.*Historical Manuscripts Commission:* Gaillard Hunt, Library of Congress, chairman; Dice R. Anderson, Mrs. Amos G. Draper, Charles H. Lincoln, Milo M. Quaife, Justin H. Smith.*Committee on Justin Winsor Prize:* Carl R. Fish, University of Wisconsin, chairman; Edward S. Corwin, Frank H. Hodder, Everett Kimball, Oswald G. Villard.*Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize:* Laurence M. Larson, University of Illinois, chairman; Sidney B. Fay, Robert H. Lord, Louis J. Paetow, Miss Ruth Putnam.<sup>1</sup> Ex-presidents.

- Public Archives Commission:* Victor H. Paltsits, chairman; Clarence W. Alvord, Solon J. Buck, John C. Fitzpatrick, George N. Fuller, George S. Godard, Peter Guilday, Thomas M. Owen.
- Committee on Bibliography:* George M. Dutcher, chairman; Herbert E. Bolton, William T. Laprade, Albert H. Lybyer, Wallace Notestein, William W. Rockwell, Augustus H. Shearer, William A. Slade, Bernard C. Steiner.
- Committee on Publications:* H. Barrett Learned, Washington, chairman; and (*ex officio*) George M. Dutcher, Carl R. Fish, Evarts B. Greene, Gaillard Hunt, J. Franklin Jameson, Laurence M. Larson, Waldo G. Leland, Victor H. Paltsits.
- Committee on Membership:* William E. Lingelbach, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Robert P. Brooks, Miss Eloise Ellery, Robert H. George, Patrick J. Healy, Edward M. Hulme, Waldo G. Leland (*ex officio*), Charles R. Lingley, Miss Eleanor Lord, John P. McConnell, Albert E. McKinley, Frank E. Melvin, William A. Morris (*ex officio*), Miss Irene T. Myers, Paul F. Peck, R. C. Ballard Thruston, Royal B. Way.
- Committee on a Bibliography of Modern English History:* Edward P. Cheyney, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Wilbur C. Abbott, Arthur L. Cross, Roger B. Merriman, Conyers Read.
- Committee on History in Schools:* Henry Johnson, Teachers College, chairman; Miss Victoria A. Adams, Henry E. Bourne, Henry L. Cannon, Philip Chase, Oliver M. Dickerson, Herbert D. Foster, Samuel B. Harding, Daniel C. Knowlton, August C. Krey, Robert A. Maurer, Nathaniel W. Stephenson, Rolla M. Tryon, William L. Westermann.
- Conference of Historical Societies:* Chairman to be selected by the programme committee; Augustus H. Shearer, secretary.
- Advisory Board of the History Teacher's Magazine:* Henry Johnson, Teachers College, chairman; Frederic Duncalf, Miss Anna B. Thompson, O. H. Williams (these four hold over); Fred M. Fling, James Sullivan (elected for three years).
- Committee on the Military History Prize:* Robert M. Johnston, Cambridge, chairman; Milledge L. Bonham, jr., Allen R. Boyd, Fred M. Fling, Albert Bushnell Hart.
- Committee on Co-operation with the National Highways Association:* Archer B. Hulbert.

## TWO CONCEPTIONS OF THE FREEDOM OF THE SEAS<sup>1</sup>

ADMIRALTY lawyers and students of the *Digest* of Justinian will remember that the law of jettison is derived from the law of Rhodes. The *Digest* states: "It is provided by the Rhodian Law that if merchandise is thrown overboard to lighten the ship, the loss occasioned for the benefit of all must be made good by the contribution of all." This reasonable rule of average has prevailed through the centuries, and its reception into the Roman law as set forth in the *Digest* gives point to the pleasant, though perhaps apocryphal, story which follows in the same title:

A petition of Eudaimon of Nicomedia to the Emperor Antoninus. Lord Emperor Antoninus: Being shipwrecked in Icaria, we have been plundered by the tax-farmers who live in the Cyclades Islands. Antoninus said to Eudaimon: I am indeed lord of the world, but the Law is lord of the sea.<sup>2</sup>

Vastly different in spirit is the statement of the *Institutes*: "The following things are by the Law of Nature common to all: the air, running water, the sea, and consequently the seashore."<sup>3</sup> The one sets forth the hard practical rule which had developed during years, perhaps centuries, of active maritime commerce in the Eastern Mediterranean, adopted by Rhodian merchants and seamen, not because of any philosophical predilections, but because it was one of the customs of the sea. The other is a doctrine drawn from the law of nature, that body of immutable universal law discoverable by man in the exercise of right reason for which the term "principles of justice" might be substituted, or from that law which nature has taught all animals, a law which, as Ulpian conceived, is shared by all living creatures. These two conceptions, the one derived from the custom of the sea, the other from the philosophic law of nature, have furnished the basis of the historical arguments for the freedom of the seas, while to the proponents of sea sovereignty they have been stumbling-blocks, such was the transcendent authority of the Roman law, impossible to ignore and difficult to combat.

It is not easy for us to understand why the Romans, who so effectively maintained sea power over the Mediterranean and who

<sup>1</sup> A paper read at the meeting of the American Historical Association in Cincinnati, December 27, 1916.

<sup>2</sup> *Digest*, XIV. ii. 1, 9 (Monro's translation); cf. Oppenheim, *International Law* (second ed.), I, 315.

<sup>3</sup> *Institutes*, II. 1; cf. *Digest*, I. viii. 2.

recognized that supremacy at sea was vital to the maintenance of land power, did not extend their sovereignty over the sea as well as over the land. It remained to the jurists of the more modern territorial state to develop the doctrine of sovereignty, which was something different from *proprietas*, or *dominium*, or *imperium*, or even of *majestas*. That ownership over portions of the sea was successfully asserted long before the time of Bodin is proved by numerous examples: by Venice, "when the Doges used to wed the sea with rings", by Genoa, by Spain and Portugal, by England and Scotland; and these claims were defended by distinguished civilians:

"Justinian speak,  
Nor modern Baldo, Bartolo be dumb!"

Modern international law begins with Grotius, and it is of no little significance that the first productions of this marvellous intellect, upon topics in that science of which he is acclaimed the father, were litigious legal briefs challenging the claims of the Portuguese, and incidentally of Spain, to exclusive jurisdiction and ownership over the high seas. The *Mare Liberum*, which was published anonymously in 1608, was the work of Grotius. Written in opposition to the Portuguese, its title was a challenge to those nearer neighbors who had so successfully disputed the claim of Spain to ownership of the sea in 1588. The *Mare Clausum* was the answer to the *Mare Liberum*. Grotius and Selden came to be installed as the apostles, the one of the freedom of the seas, the other of the extravagant and arrogant claims of sea power. Both proceeded according to the scholarly, or rather pedantic, fashion of the seventeenth century. Grotius quoted the poets, Vergil, Ovid, and Horace, with Tacitus, Pliny, and Seneca, but above all the *Institutes* and the *Digest*. Selden used the Scriptures, Old and New, the Talmud, the Fathers, and ranged together more classical quotations, Greek as well as Latin, than did his predecessor. He showed that, as at various times since the Flood portions of the sea had naturally been subjected to territorial ownership and dominion, therefore such dominion existed by the "permissive" law of nature, a truly pragmatic extension of that conception of the law of nature with which the *Institutes* open and upon which legal philosophy rested from Cicero through Aquinas to Grotius, Pufendorf, and Burlamaqui. England, he claimed, had exercised authority over the waters about the British Isles and therefore it had the right to do so. Doubtless Selden claimed too much for England's prescriptive right; his immediate purpose was to furnish an argument for keeping the Dutch



and others out of the British herring fisheries, a matter in which the Scots had long been interested. Queen Elizabeth had told the Spanish ambassador in 1580 that Englishmen would continue to navigate "that vast ocean", since "the use of the sea and air is common to all; neither can any title to the ocean belong to any people or private man, forasmuch as neither nature nor regard of the public use permitteth any possession thereof". In 1588 considerable weight was added to this contention. Selden represented the Stuart point of view. Elizabeth had denied that sovereignty could be exercised over the Great Ocean; the Stuarts claimed ownership over the adjacent seas.

Grotius, on the other hand, stood squarely on the law of nature. The pregnant sentence of the *Institutes* that "the air, running water, the sea . . . are common to all" is the text of his *Mare Liberum*. As is frequently to be noted in his *Law of War and Peace*, Grotius attributed to states the rights and duties which the law of nature imposed upon individuals. States were to each other as individuals in a state of nature. What is related to individuals through ownership is imputed to states as sovereignty. As the individual acquires title to property, so the state gains title to territory. And here is the error of Grotius: territorial sovereignty was something in essence different from ownership. It was in relation to private ownership that the *Institutes* set forth the freedom of the seas, not that the seas were owned by no one, nor that they were public, or, as we should say, national property; but that they were common to all men. Translating private ownership into terms of territorial sovereignty, Grotius denied that a state could exercise sovereignty over the ocean and predicated the right of all states to use it. Proceeding in another direction, Selden fell into an error of a different kind. With him jurisdiction passed beyond sovereignty into complete ownership, at least over the marginal seas, with all the incidents associated with the conception of property, and without limit as to their immediate extent. At bottom there is no such fundamental conflict between Grotius and Selden as is commonly supposed. Grotius claimed that the Great Ocean was free by the law of nature, and that the liberty to trade thereon was (or should be) free to all men by the law of nations: "From the perpetual Law of Nature and of Nations is derived that liberty which is to endure forever."<sup>4</sup> Against it ran neither custom nor prescription. Selden is concerned only with the nearer seas, though he does not limit their extent. Jurisdiction over them had been asserted by Baldus and

<sup>4</sup> Grotius, *The Freedom of the Seas* (Carnegie Endowment ed.), p. 66.

other glossators and civilians. "So, while", Grotius says, Baldus and others "are talking about the Mediterranean, we are talking about the Ocean; they speak of a gulf, we of the boundless sea."<sup>5</sup> Selden, in his conclusions, if not in his arguments, follows Baldus. He was claiming for England jurisdiction over the narrow seas and not, as the Portuguese and Spanish did, sovereignty over the boundless ocean.

The defeat of the Armada made in a large sense for the freedom of the seas, but it was license rather than that regulated freedom which Grotius associated with the reign of law, as the exploits of Hawkins, Drake, and their successors abundantly bear witness. It was the merit of Grotius that he furnished the philosophical and juristic basis for the regulated freedom of the seas based upon the fundamental idea that the seas, being common to all, were a universal highway of commerce. The legal idea had long been expressed in other ways. To name the successive medieval sea codes—the Rhodian Sea Law, the Tables of Amalfi, the Consolato del Mare of Barcelona, the Rôles of Oléron, the Little Red Book of Bristol, the Laws of Wisby—is to trace the extension of maritime commerce from the Levant to the Scandinavian peninsula. The law of commerce and the law of the sea are interwoven in their development. Their growth was spontaneous, their spirit was extra-national, they embodied a true common law of nations, a *jus gentium*. An opening sentence of the Consolato reflects the nature of all the codes: "Here begin the good customs of the sea". Universal as the principles of the sea codes were, they lacked the authority of a great juristic system. All of Continental Europe derived its law from Rome; so did Scotland; and, when Grotius wrote, England had but recently saved her common law from the Roman inundation. To what had been toilfully accomplished by the maritime adventurers, from Rhodes to the Hanse Towns, strength and permanency were added by the authority of Roman legal doctrines and by the logic of the law-of-nature philosophy.

The rise of permanent navies proceeds with the extension of modern commerce. Commerce became secure in time of peace, and navies, by policing the seas, drove out the lawless rovers. It is late in the history of English law that the term "pirate" is associated with lawlessness, and it is no mere coincidence that the famous charge of Sir Leoline Jenkins, in which is contained the modern conception of piracy, was set forth at a time (1668) when the admiralty jurisdiction had been vindicated, and England had led the

<sup>5</sup> Grotius, *The Freedom of the Seas*, p. 58.

way in the establishment of modern navies. These, in armament and in strategic use, remained practically unchanged until Navarino (1827). The doctrine of Grotius, that the sea was free, gained headway in spite of England's power to force the striking of flags within the narrow seas. His other doctrine, that by the law of nations everyone should be free to trade upon the sea, was impaired by the national policies of mercantilism. The commercial treaties of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries proceeded upon a quite different theory from that of Grotius. This was that the right to navigate the coasts and to frequent the ports of the state was a franchise to be exchanged for a valuable consideration. In these treaties, moreover, rights upon the sea in time of war were strictly regulated: the doctrines of contraband, of visitation and search, of asylum for prizes, of reprisals, and indeed of much of the law of maritime neutrality, may be traced therein.

With the peace of Utrecht there were three bases for the regulation of the seas: the doctrines of Grotius, drawn from the law of nature, the customs of the sea developed from medieval codes, and the commercial treaties. The vast ocean was generally recognized as incapable of occupation and free from claims to exclusive sovereignty. Much of the old sea law had been received and enforced by the admiralty courts of many states, while a network of commercial treaties set forth the status of non-belligerents and their property in time of maritime war. One element remained to be determined: the extent to which a state might exercise jurisdiction over the waters bathing its coasts. Many had wrestled with this problem. Bartolus and Gentilis claimed that such jurisdiction extended one hundred miles, or two days' journey, from the seashore. Baldus and Bodin more conservatively limited it to sixty. Perhaps more practical was the maritime custom of regarding all waters visible from the shore as within the power of the littoral state. It was the service of the fellow-countryman of Grotius, Bynkershoek, to supply a rule which is still the fundamental principle governing the marginal seas. This is that the coastal waters are subject to the sovereign jurisdiction of the state because they are appurtenant to the state's land-territory, and that the extension of such jurisdiction is determined by the power which the state is able to exert over such waters from the shore. This sovereign jurisdiction over navigable waters was subject to the right of innocent passage. The general adoption of this doctrine is evidence of the need for a compromise between the extremes of sovereignty and complete freedom of the seas.

With the rivalries of the eighteenth century there developed spe-

cific antagonism to British commerce and British sea power. The doctrine that "free ships make free goods" was pleasant to the small states with weak navies which hoped to remain neutral in time of war. As such it was welcomed by the Scandinavian countries, Holland, and Prussia. If by the law of nature the sea was free, and by the law of nations the right to trade was free to all men, it was an easy step from the doctrine that "free ships make free goods" to that of the complete inviolability of private property at sea during war. Contraband remained an exception; but the list of contraband was limited to the actual implements of war. Such a doctrine harmonized with the spirit of eighteenth-century enlightenment. The treaty between the United States and Prussia, which Adams and Franklin wrote and Frederick II. agreed to, represents the extreme of the law of nature and it was at the same time an affront to existing British sea power. Opposed to England, the United States at the beginning of its history naturally adopted those liberal principles of international maritime law which Grotius had set forth as counsels of perfection and which the Continental countries had adopted as a check upon Great Britain. The armed neutralities of 1780 and 1800 were the last concerted efforts of eighteenth-century enlightenment to conform sea power to the principles of Grotius. A few years later, when France was vainly attempting to break England's naval power, it remained to Barère to become the champion of the freedom of the seas, in a memoir which he ascribed to Napoleon. At the very time, however, when Barère was assailing England as the destroyer of the freedom of the seas, the British prize court, sitting as a court of the law of nations, under Lord Stowell, was deciding cases in which many valuable neutral rights were recognized as against her own sea power. Similarly when the United States was a belligerent, the decisions of Marshall and Story gave a legal superstructure to the modern doctrine of neutrality of which Washington had laid the foundations.

In two respects the freedom of the seas was far from being realized at the close of the Napoleonic era. Piracy such as Jenkins condemned had, thanks to the policing of the seas, practically ceased near the main avenues of sea traffic. The slave-trade, held not to be piracy by the law of nations, was nevertheless put under the ban of the powers of Europe. To the efforts made by the civilized world to suppress this traffic the United States opposed the principles of maritime freedom for which she had entered the War of 1812. What Grotius had set forth as a principle of freedom was used as a cloak for the protection of slavery in the interest of a peculiar policy of the United States. Privateering, again, with the

distribution of prize money was but a form of legalized piracy. Wholly contrary to the spirit of Grotius, every belligerent had engaged in it, and no state to greater advantage than the United States in her first two wars.

The end of the Napoleonic Wars and our second war with Great Britain is the end of an epoch. The doctrine of the law of nature was forever discredited. The introduction of steam, the increase in the size of merchant vessels, the development of regular and frequent means of oceanic transportation changed the character of maritime commerce and of international traffic as well as of naval ordnance, equipment, and strategy. Between the Napoleonic Wars and the Crimean War England's sea power remained supreme while her commercial policy changed. Having adopted free trade, England in 1854 repealed the last of her navigation acts. At the same time, as an ally of France, she adopted the doctrine that "free ships make free goods" and thereby surrendered a large part of the power which her navy gave her. Privateering, which had been rendered obsolete by changes in naval construction, was abolished by the Declaration of Paris. With adhesion to that declaration by all maritime powers, excepting the United States and Spain, it was assumed that in war neutrals might enjoy the freedom of the seas. No state claimed sovereignty over territorial waters much beyond the three-mile strip, a limitation which the United States was the first to adopt. Nothing seemed to remain in the way of the realization of entire freedom of the seas in war and in peace except the complete immunity from capture of private property at sea during war. This the United States had advocated in 1785 and again in 1856, when she declined to adhere to the Declaration of Paris because it did not go far enough. What the law of nature had failed to accomplish the great law-making treaty known as the Declaration of Paris was held to have secured.

International legislation was the means adopted to secure the ultimate freedom of the seas. At the second Hague Conference the United States again, and unsuccessfully, urged the complete immunity of private property at sea during war. Of the ten principal maritime powers there represented, Austro-Hungary, Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands sided with the United States at least in principle; opposed to immunity were Great Britain, France, Russia, Spain, and Japan. The line of cleavage is significant in the light of the present war. The defeat of this traditional contention of the United States was viewed by many of our naval officers with un concealed delight. In 1856 we had a large merchant marine and no navy; in 1907 we had a large navy and a small merchant marine.

The adoption by the same Hague Conference of a resolution to establish an international prize court showed the need of an international code for maritime warfare. The Declaration of Paris was apparently a successful precedent, though it had never been subjected to the test of a great maritime war. In the effort toward codification England led the way and issued invitations for the naval conference which was held in London in 1908-1909. Reading the instructions to the British delegates and viewing the attitude of Great Britain toward the various proposals of the conference, it is inconceivable that Great Britain then designed any offensive use of her sea power. Dominated either by that newer law of nature called pacifism, or by the belief that in the next great war she would be a neutral, she assisted in the formulation of a code which deprived herself of the effective use of sea power to an extent which to-day seems amazing. By a constitutional obstruction which proved more than fortunate, she entered the great war without having ratified the Declaration of London and without being handicapped by its provisions. The declaration is now an historical document; so is the Declaration of Paris—so are most of the so-called law-making treaties concerning war to which so much thought was given and upon which so much reliance was placed.

The present war has reproduced upon a vaster scale the situation of the Napoleonic era. Reprisal has followed reprisal. The neutral, in a way the trustee and guardian of international law during war, has accomplished nothing. He is of those

Che visser senza infamia e senza lodo.  
 Mischiate sono a quel cattivo coro  
 Degli angeli che non furon ribelli  
 Né fûr fedeli a Dio, ma per sé foro.<sup>6</sup>

The fancied freedom of the seas has vanished. Strategic areas comprising vaster extent than those for which Selden argued, the mining of the high seas, and the use of the submarine as a ruthless destroyer of commerce, an instrument of *Schrecklichkeit*, have produced an anarchy for which there is no parallel. What can be rescued out of this chaos it is hopeless to conjecture. Where lives have not been taken, arbitration furnishes a remedy for the vindication of law. As Stowell, during the Napoleonic Wars, and Marshall, during our War of 1812, upheld the law of the sea, so the British court, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, in the case of the *Zamora*<sup>7</sup> took a position which vindicates that freedom,

<sup>6</sup> *Inf.*, III, 36-39.

<sup>7</sup> April 7, 1916.

for it stated in effect that an Order in Council in opposition to the principles of international law is of no legal validity. A régime of law means an acceptance of a *status quo*. How shall this be reached? Probably not by any balance of power which, on land, has managed over long periods to keep the peace, for a balance of power upon the sea is not conditioned by any analogy to the territorial boundaries of states, the basis of a territorial *status quo*. The sea power of a state is limited only by its desires, its resources, and time. Treitschke voiced the claims of the freedom of the seas as against sea power much as did Barère a century before.

“Auf den Wellen ist alles Welle,  
Auf dem Meer ist kein Eigenthum.”

The melancholy saying of Schiller still [he says] holds good. . . . Deeply mortifying as this is to our [German] pride, it is true, because even today [he was writing in 1892, when Germany's navy was in its infancy] there is no balance of power at sea, and for this we have no one to blame but England. Her superiority is so immeasurable that she can do whatever she pleases. A balance of naval power must be brought to pass before the ideals of humanity and international law can hope to be realized upon the seas.<sup>8</sup>

For twenty years this doctrine was preached and acted upon. The “freedom of the seas” has meant the challenge to British sea power, the quest for a “place in the sun”, the development of a large navy to contest the balance of naval power. This is not the freedom of the seas for which Grotius strove, or for which the Armed Neutrality contested, or which the Declaration of Paris proclaimed. The freedom of the seas means the realization of the rescript of the Antonine: “the Law rules the sea”, and not the development of an aggressive foreign policy. That England has at times used her sea power arrogantly no American is apt to deny. At the same time, to the securing of what freedom the seas possessed in the century between 1814 and 1914, while her sea power was undisputed, England made the principal contribution. The oceans have been policed, the slave-trade destroyed, non-belligerent visitation and search repudiated, impressment of alien seamen surrendered, trade and navigation made free. Notwithstanding Britain's power, the international commerce and carrying trade of other nations increased to the point of successful rivalry. What would strike at these things is miscalled the freedom of the seas. The infamous misdeeds of the submarine have made less for the freedom of the seas than did the guillotine for liberty. The guillotine at least gave warning before it struck, and its purveyors spared innocent and helpless children.

J. S. REEVES.

<sup>8</sup> Treitschke, *Politics* (Eng. trans., 1916), II, 617-618.

## THE ENGLISH CRIMINAL LAW AND BENEFIT OF CLERGY DURING THE EIGHTEENTH AND EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURIES<sup>1</sup>

MORE than three hundred years ago the "judicious" Hooker sagely observed that whoever undertook to maintain existing institutions had "to strive with a number of heavy prejudices deeply rooted in the hearts of men".<sup>2</sup> In our own day, when a feverish desire for innovation as well as a commendable zeal for reform are peculiarly rife, his warning would apply with added force to one who would venture to defend an obsolete institution. For some time our courts and judges have been under fire and our first reaction toward legal fictions in English law would be to scorn them as peculiarly noxious products of the lawyer's brain. Tested at their face value, warranties, recoveries, the bill of Middlesex, and the writ of *latitat* seem perverse and barren subtleties;<sup>3</sup> but, as a wise student of human culture has pointed out: "To ingenious attempts at explaining by the light of reason things which want the light of history to show their meaning, much of the learned nonsense of the world has indeed been due."<sup>4</sup>

Very generally legal fictions were devised as means of evading or modifying laws, which, obstructive or oppressive as they might be in particular cases, could not be repealed. Since the law could not be altered the facts were altered, though the fictions by which this was brought about never deceived nor were intended to deceive anybody.<sup>5</sup> "It must also be remembered", says Sir Frederick Pollock, "that the shifts and fictions which appeared to our fathers of the Reform Bill time roundabout, cumbrous, absurd, and barely honest, were introduced as a deliverance from things yet worse".<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This paper, in substantially its present form, was read at the meeting of the American Historical Association in Cincinnati, December 29, 1916.

<sup>2</sup> Hooker, *Ecclesiastical Polity*, bk. I., ch. 1, sec. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Mellwain, *The High Court of Parliament and its Supremacy* (1910), pp. 265, 266.

<sup>4</sup> Tylor, *Primitive Culture* (1877), I. 19, 20.

<sup>5</sup> Mellwain, *op. cit.*, p. 265, citing Austin, *Lectures on Jurisprudence* (fourth ed.), II. 629.

<sup>6</sup> *Land Laws* (1883), p. 75; cf. also p. 66. Blackstone observes with reference to the same point "the liberality of our modern courts of justice is frequently obliged to have recourse to unaccountable fictions and circuities in order to recover that equitable and substantial justice, which for a long time was totally buried under the narrow rules and fanciful niceties of metaphysical and Norman



In the case of the criminal code the evil was due to a series of sanguinary laws extending from the sixteenth through the eighteenth century and imposing the capital penalty on scores of minor offenses, particularly, various forms of stealing and arson. This barbarous legislation, which reached its apogee at the beginning of the nineteenth century, was due to the lawlessness which flourished rankly before the days of an organized police system, to the disregard of human life so widely prevalent before the awakening of the humanitarian spirit, and to the exalted notions regarding the sacredness of property held by the privileged classes who then dominated Parliament. The mischief of over-minutely regulative legislation, once manifest in the English criminal code, is only too apparent in other fields of governmental activity in our modern democracies.<sup>7</sup>

The method by which the judges came to soften the rigor of the old penal code was largely by means of the fiction of benefit of clergy and various transparent distortions of fact by which they and the juries made it apply. Blackstone,<sup>8</sup> commenting on the status of the institution in his time, remarks:

In this state does the benefit of clergy at present stand, very considerably different from its original institution: the wisdom of the English legislature, having in the course of a long and laborious process, extracted, by a noble alchemy, rich medicine out of poisonous ingredients, and converted by gradual mutations, what was at first an unreasonable exemption of particular popish ecclesiastics into a merciful mitigation of the general law with respect to capital punishments.

It is true that the later development of benefit of clergy owed much to legislative enactment; but Blackstone in his touching admiration of the British constitution fails to emphasize the fact that Parliament in its unwisdom, by a succession of eighteenth-century statutes excluding hosts of felonies from benefit of clergy, took away with one hand what it gave with the other, so that, had it not been for the wise and merciful discretion of those who administered the laws, the situation would have been intolerable. Many of the old judges were callous enough in all conscience, some, no doubt, were corrupt, the devices which they had to employ were crude, awkward, and intricate,<sup>9</sup> furthermore, they played havoc with facts; jurisprudence." *Commentaries on the English Constitution*, IV. 418. The references to Blackstone are to the original edition, the pagination of which is usually to be found in the margins of those issued by subsequent editors.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. e. g., Pollock, *Land Laws*, pp. 149-150.

<sup>8</sup> *Commentaries*, IV. 372.

<sup>9</sup> Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, *History of the Criminal Law of England* (1883), I. 458.

but an actual examination of the court records would seem to indicate that they are deserving of more credit than they have received from historians.

Lecky tells us that "the penal code was not only atrociously sanguinary and constantly aggravated by the addition of new offenses; it was also executed in a manner peculiarly fitted to brutalize the people".<sup>10</sup> He inveighs against "the atrocity and almost grotesque absurdity" of a system whereby the same crimes might, by a haphazard multiplicity of statutes, be prosecuted under totally different penalties, while in addition they remained offenses at the common law.<sup>11</sup>

A natural result of such laws [he argues]<sup>12</sup> was the constant perjury of juries. Unwilling to convict culprits for small offenses which were made punishable by death, they frequently acquitted in the face of the clearest evidence; and, as witnesses in these cases were very reluctant to appear, criminals—among whom the gambling spirit is strongly developed—generally preferred to be tried for a capital offense rather than for a misdemeanor. Often, too, juries, when unwilling to acquit, reduced the offense by most barefaced perjury to the rank of a misdemeanor.<sup>13</sup> Thus, several cases are recorded in which prisoners, indicted for stealing from dwelling houses were convicted only of larceny, by the jury finding that the value of what they had stolen was less than 40 shillings, even when several guineas in gold, or bank notes to a considerable amount, were among the booty that was taken. The proportion of arrested men who were discharged on account of prosecutors and witnesses failing to appear against them,<sup>14</sup> or acquitted on account of the reluctance of juries to condemn, or of the legal rule that the smallest technical flaw invalidated the indictment was enormously great. . . . In one year, from April 1793 to March 1794, 1060 persons were tried at the Old Bailey and of these only 493 were punished.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Lecky, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century* (cab. ed., 1904), II. 134.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, VII. 314-317. Cf. Burn, *The Justice of the Peace* (twenty-third ed., 1820), I. xxv, citing Hawkins, *Pleas of the Crown*, I., c. 28, sec. 18: "Wherever a statute makes any offense felony, it incidentally gives it all the properties of felony at the Common Law." Cf. also Burn, III. 191, citing the opinion of Bayley, J., in *Rex v. Johnson*.

<sup>12</sup> As an example of the lack of discrimination in penalties he instances (VII. 317, note 1) the case of two persons whipped round Covent Garden in 1772, one for stealing a bunch of radishes, one "for debauching and polluting his own niece". *Ibid.*, citing *Annual Register* (1772), p. 116.

<sup>13</sup> This was more properly a clergyable felony.

<sup>14</sup> Sir Walter Besant, *London in the Eighteenth Century* (1902), points out that the citizens were "afraid of giving evidence", that they were "terrorised into silence" by the numbers and organizations of the criminal class that infested the city (pp. 502, 504, citing Henry Fielding, *An Enquiry into the Causes of the late Increase of Robberies, etc.*, 1751).

<sup>15</sup> Lecky, *England*, VII. 317-319. Thus the percentage of convictions for the year selected was 46. An examination of the *Old Bailey Sessions Papers* indicates

While many of those sentenced to death had their sentence commuted, usually to transportation, the number of executions was scandalously large.<sup>16</sup> Lecky's conclusion is that the very ferocity of the code and the consequent uncertainty in enforcing it "also deprived secondary punishment of deterrent effect, for the imaginations of men were naturally much more impressed by the escape of a criminal from the gallows than by the fate which subsequently awaited him". This was the attitude taken by Romilly, Mackintosh, and Peel, who wrought such a wonderful reform in the English criminal code; yet it was also accepted as a general principle by Blackstone notwithstanding his general devotion to the existing system.<sup>17</sup>

Meantime, before the efforts of the reformers had borne fruit, crime had begun to increase with startling rapidity. In 1805, 4605 were committed for trial, 2783 were convicted, of whom 350 were sentenced to death, and 68 executed. In 1810, 5146 were committed, 3158 convicted, 476 sentenced to death, and 67 executed. In 1815 there were 7818 committed, 4883 convicted, 553 sentenced to death, and 57 executed. In 1819, 14,254 were committed, 9510 convicted, 1314 sentenced to death, and 108 executed. Sir Spencer Walpole, who cites these statistics,<sup>18</sup> draws two conclusions there-  
that the percentage of convictions often ran to 60 and occasionally even higher. See below, p. 560.

<sup>16</sup> For figures see Lecky, VII. 317-319, citing Howard, *State of Prisons*, pp. 479-485, and *Annual Register*, 1785, p. 247.

<sup>17</sup> He cites with approval the opinion of Montesquieu (*Spirit of the Laws*, bk. VI., ch. 13) "that crimes are more effectually prevented by the *certainty*, than by the *severity* of punishment", and also the statute 1 Mary, st. 1, c. 1, which declares in its preamble "that laws made for the preservation of the commonwealth without great penalties are more often obeyed and kept, than laws made with 'extreme punishments'". Blackstone then proceeds to argue that "a multitude of sanguinary laws . . . prove a manifest defect either in the wisdom of the legislative, or in the strength of the executive power". Referring to the 160 crimes punishable by death without benefit of clergy, he remarks: "So dreadful a list, instead of diminishing, increases the number of offenders. The injured, through compassion, will often forbear to prosecute; juries, through compassion, will sometimes forget their oaths and either acquit the guilty or mitigate the nature of the offence; and judges, through compassion, will respite one half of the convicts, and recommend them to the royal mercy. Among so many chances of escaping, the needy and hardened offender overlooks the multitude that suffer: he boldly engages in some desperate attempt to relieve his wants or supply his vices." At the same time, he points out a consideration which will be developed later, namely that, "besides the additional terrors of a speedy execution and a subsequent exposure or dissection, robbers have a hope of transportation, which seldom is extended to murderers", which has the effect of "preventing frequent assassinations". *Commentaries*, IV. 17, 18, 19.

<sup>18</sup> *History of England since 1815* (cab. ed., 1907), I. 167, 168.

from: first, "the extraordinary increase in the amount of crime; the second, the uncertainty of detecting it. Out of every 100 persons who were committed for trial, 33 had a reasonable prospect of acquittal; out of every hundred persons who were sentenced to death, 92 were not executed." It would appear, however, that upwards of 70 per cent. of convictions would indicate a considerable certainty of punishment, in view of the number of persons brought to trial on insufficient evidence.

Another of Sir Spencer Walpole's conclusions must be questioned. He states that, "all felonies, except sacrilege and horse-stealing, were, up to 1827, felonies with benefit of clergy, provided the same were not expressly excepted by statute. But, as in practice they always were excepted, the law was a mere mockery."<sup>19</sup> To be sure, Sir James Mackintosh stated that in 1819 there were "no less than 200 felonies punishable with death"—and this no doubt meant without benefit of clergy—an increase of forty since Blackstone wrote. As a matter of fact, as Walpole himself admits, there were only twenty-five offenses for which anyone had suffered death during three-quarters of a century.<sup>20</sup> Only those accused of certain of the graver crimes were in jeopardy of their lives, while, in other cases, the juries, instructed it would seem by the judges, would render verdicts which brought the offense within benefit of clergy.<sup>21</sup> So, while benefit of clergy may have been a mockery according to the letter of the law, it was far from such in practical application, as will be seen later.

Walpole further asserts that "the severity of the penal code acted as a direct encouragement to the criminal", and that "juries declined to convict an unfortunate individual of a trifling offence, when conviction might entail the loss of the offender's life; and prisoners were consequently acquitted, not because they were innocent, but because the punishment assignable to the offence was, in the opinion of the country, too severe".<sup>22</sup> This again is not in accordance with the facts, for, while the juries, by a recognized prac-

<sup>19</sup> *History of England since 1815*, I. 168, note 2.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, II. 138.

<sup>21</sup> *Cf.*, for example, the 57 executed in 1819: murder and attempted murder 16; burglary 10; forgery 11; robbery from the person 7; rape 7; sheep-stealing 3; arson 1; horse-stealing 1; unnatural offense 1. *Ibid.*, I. 167, note 1, citing *Metropolitan Police Report* (1828), p. 286. On the other hand, from 1805 to 1817, 655 persons had been indicted for stealing 5 s from a shop; 113 had been sentenced to death, "but the sentence had not been carried into effect on a single offender". *Ibid.*, II. 135. Here again Walpole conveys an erroneous impression by omitting to state that in most cases the accused instead of being acquitted suffered some lighter punishment.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, I. 169.

tice which Lecky termed "barefaced perjury" and Blackstone "pious perjury", evaded imposing the extreme penalties of the law, they did not acquit in the majority of cases. While emphasizing these points it is still possible heartily to agree that the laws were a horrible anomaly and that they needed sorely to be brought "into accord with the practice".

Long before Lecky or Walpole wrote, the commissioners appointed to inquire into the state of the criminal law and to suggest reforms had taken the attitude generally adopted by subsequent writers.<sup>23</sup>

If it were understood [so they report] that the minor degrees of those offenses which are now capital would ordinarily be visited with the utmost severity of the law, it would be difficult, by reason of the sentiments of the various parties concerned in the administration of justice, to procure convictions of guilty persons. Accordingly, whilst the law annexes the punishment of death to several extensive classes of offenses, that punishment is and can be executed only on a few only of the more atrocious offenders by way of example. . . . A hungry pauper, for example, who after it is dark breaks a pane of glass, and thrusts his hand through the broken window to seize a loaf of bread is just as liable to suffer death, as a gang of ruffians who break into a dwelling house to pillage the inhabitants, and who execute their purpose with circumstances of the utmost violence and cruelty. Since then, the punishment of death cannot be invariably executed in all cases where it is annexed by law to the crime, the question arises whether it is of use in those cases where it is so annexed but not actually inflicted.<sup>24</sup>

Here again, there is a failure to distinguish between the letter of the law and the way in which it was administered; almost invariably in the case of a needy first offender a verdict would be rendered making the theft a clergyable felony, and, while the accused was usually punished, he ran little or no chance of losing his life.<sup>25</sup>

The commissioners, the contemporary reformers, and practically

<sup>23</sup> See Commissioners on the Criminal Law, *Reports* 1 to 8 (London, 1834-1845, 3 vols., fol.).

<sup>24</sup> *Criminal Law Report*, II. 19. Compare also, p. 23, and Walpole, *England since 1815*, II. 133, 134.

<sup>25</sup> The commissioners apparently recognize this fact when they refer to "the nearest approach to a general rule guiding the practice of selection in burglary and robbery: when the offense is accompanied with great personal violence the offenders are not infrequently punished with death. But even here the practice is varying and uncertain." *Report*, II. 25. Richard Burn in his invaluable work, *The Justice of the Peace* (III. 204), has an apposite passage: "It is said by Mr. Dalton and others that it is no felony for one reduced to extreme necessity to take so much of another's victuals as will save him from starving; but this can never be admitted as a legal defense in a country like this. . . . Yet still in apportioning the punishment, the court will have a tender regard to cases of real necessity, which may and do exist sometimes under the best regulated governments."

all the writers who have followed them in dealing with the subject have argued that the inordinate number of capital penalties, which were rarely imposed except in extreme cases, was a direct encouragement to criminals. A careful study of the situation, however, would seem to indicate that the sanguinary laws were a symptom rather than a cause. The startling prevalence of crime was due to a complex of causes. Doubtless the lack of an effective police system was a leading factor. The London constables and watchmen were generally inept, often corrupt, and not infrequently both. Timid folk did not dare to appear as prosecutors, fearing subsequent vengeance from desperate criminals.<sup>26</sup> Peel saw to the bottom of this and accompanied his reform of the criminal code by the establishment of the metropolitan police in 1829, an institution which was gradually extended throughout the country. A second factor to be taken into account is the absence of adequate lighting facilities, notably in London where the dark, crooked streets and alleys offered tempting lurking-places for thieves and robbers. Then, thirdly, the appalling increase in the consumption of spirits, particularly gin, played a prominent and sinister rôle in the sordid drama.<sup>27</sup> Fourthly, the degrading and brutalizing sports, such as bull-baiting, cock-fighting, prize-fighting, as well as the public executions, which were regarded in the light of recreations, have also to be taken into account. Fifthly, the absence of any comprehensive provision for public education was a factor of no inconsiderable importance. Finally, the distressing increase of crime to be noted in the last decade of the eighteenth century<sup>28</sup> and first four decades of the nineteenth was due largely to the real misery produced by the Great French War and the painful readjustment necessitated by the Industrial Revolution—the introduction of machinery and factories and the influx into towns incapable of absorbing at once large increases of population. With the advent of better times about the middle of the last century crime began steadily to decrease.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>26</sup> For a brief account of informers see Besant, *London in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 513 ff.

<sup>27</sup> For the increase of gin-drinking and the futile efforts to check it see Lecky, *England*, II, 98 ff.; Lord Mahon (Earl Stanhope), *History of England, 1713-1783* (fourth ed., 1853-1854), II, 282 ff.; III, 212 ff. The consumption of gin increased from 527,000 gallons in 1684 to 5,394,000 in 1735, and to nearly 11,000,000 in 1750.

<sup>28</sup> For figures see above, p. 547.

<sup>29</sup> In 1819 there was one committal in every 1000; in 1842 one in 500; in 1845 one in 750; in 1869 one in 1000. Walpole, *England*, V, 57, 152. The committals rose from 4346 in 1806 to 31,309 in 1842 and then, in spite of a rapidly increasing population, dropped to 18,326 in 1861. *Ibid.*, VI, 387. Curiously enough, Sir Spencer Walpole, while he recognizes many of the above causes in fostering crime, does not apply them to modify his conclusions with regard to the

Hovering over the administration of the criminal law in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century was the ghost of benefit of clergy, strangely transformed from its original shape. Although described in more or less detail by various legal writers,<sup>30</sup> it will be necessary to sketch briefly the chequered career of this venerable institution. Benefit of clergy, or *privilegium clericale*, consisted originally in the right of the clergy, in the graver crimes which came to be known as felonies, to be exempt from the jurisdiction of the secular courts and to be subject only to the church courts.<sup>31</sup> This claim, which apparently dates from very early times, was first clearly recognized in England in Stephen's charter of 1136.<sup>32</sup> The refusal of Henry II. to recognize the privilege of exemption in the case of criminous clerks was the chief cause for the famous struggle with Becket. In an agreement made with the papal legate in 1176 the king finally agreed that "in criminal cases, for the future, no clerk should be brought in person before a secular judge except for some offense against the forest laws or in respect of some service due by reason of feudal tenure".<sup>33</sup> The accused clerk was claimed by the ordinary, as the bishop's representative was called, and held in prison until called upon to purge himself in the court Christian, which he did with the aid of twelve compurgators or oath helpers.<sup>34</sup> old criminal code. For a discussion of the prevalence of crime in the eighteenth century see Besant, *London*, p. 502 ff.

<sup>30</sup> Among them are: Sir Matthew Hale, *History of the Pleas of the Crown* (1786), II. 323-390; William Hawkins, *Treatise of Pleas of the Crown* (1721), II. 337-366; Chitty, *A Treatise on Crown Law* (1816), I. 666-690; Blackstone, *Commentaries*, IV. 365-374; Burn, *Justice of the Peace*, I. 498-503; *Encyclopaedia of the Laws of England* (London, 1897-1898), II. 59-61; Pollock and Maitland, *English Law*, I. 441-457; Felix Makower, *Constitutional History and Constitution of the Church of England* (1895), pp. 399-415; Pike, *A History of Crime in England* (1873-1876), I. 104-105, 116, 212, 298-303, 314; II. 280-282, 454-455; Pike, *Constitutional History of the House of Lords*, pp. 261-263; Stephen, *Criminal Law*, I. 457-478; *Middlesex County Records* (n. d.), I. xxxiii-xlix.

<sup>31</sup> It is said that their claim was based on the text: "Touch not mine anointed and do my prophets no harm." I Chronicles, xvi. 22, and Psalms, cv. 15. Blackstone, *Commentaries*, IV. 365.

<sup>32</sup> Makower, *Church of England*, p. 399.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 402; Pollock and Maitland, I. 447, note 1. The privilege was confirmed in the so-called *articuli cleri*, 9 Edw. II., st. 1, c. 15, which provides that "a clerk ought not to be judged before a Temporal Judge, nor anything may be done against him that concerneth Life or Member".

<sup>34</sup> Stephen, *Criminal Law*, I. 459, 460, citing Bracton, states that in the latter's day the clerk had to be handed over at once, but Pollock and Maitland show (I. 442) that before the end of the reign of Henry III. a preliminary inquest might be held in the lay court. If found innocent the accused was released. If found guilty his land and goods were forfeited before he was handed over to the ecclesiastical court. In later times his chattels only were forfeited, see Burn, *Justice of the Peace*, II. 442, citing Hale, *Crown Pleas*, II. 388, 389, and III. 215, citing East, *Pleas of the Crown*, II. 736, 737.

In the rare event of his failing to clear himself he was punished with degradation from orders, relegation to a monastery, whipping or branding, for the Church could not shed blood.<sup>35</sup>

Originally benefit of clergy was confined to regularly ordained clerks and monks (*i. e.*, those who had *habitum et tonsuram clericalem*) but in 1350 an ordinance for the clergy (*i. e.*, *pro clero*)<sup>36</sup> included within the scope of the privilege "all manner of clerks as well secular as religious". This was apparently interpreted to mean all who could read; at any rate such grew to be the usage of the courts.<sup>37</sup> A verse in the Psalter was commonly selected (usually the 51st Psalm) which came to be known as the "neck-verse", and if the accused was able to "read like a clerk" he was handed over to the ordinary, though it was an indictable offense at common law to teach a felon to read that he might claim his clergy. By the reign of Henry VI. it became the settled practice of the courts that no one could claim the privilege until after his trial in the secular tribunal.<sup>38</sup> While this was aimed at the Church's claims of exemption, the advantage was obvious; for the accused always stood a chance of being acquitted.

With the spread of education abuses naturally arose, and in 1487<sup>39</sup> it was enacted that, "whereas upon trust of privilege of the Church, divers persons lettered hath been the more bold to commit murder, rape, robbery, theft and all other mischievous deeds", every person not being within orders who shall once be admitted to the benefit of clergy, shall, if convicted of murder, be branded with an M on the brawn of his left thumb, for any other felony with a T, by the gaoler "openly in the court in the presence of the judge before being delivered to the ordinary". Such persons were henceforth forbidden to claim any benefit of clergy, while clerks actually in orders were still entitled to the privilege as often as they offended.<sup>40</sup> By 1 Edw. VI., c. 12, s. 10 ff., it was enacted that:

<sup>35</sup> Pollock and Maitland, I. 445.

<sup>36</sup> 25 Edw. III., st. 6, c. 4. This was confirmed by 4 Hen. IV., c. 2 (1402).

<sup>37</sup> However, one judge as late as 1352 held that tonsure was necessary for a successful assertion of benefit of clergy, though the ordinary was willing to go further. Pike, *History of Crime*, I. 300. Cf. Makower, *Church of England*, p. 403, note 32. One curious exception was the exclusion of a *bigamus*, by 4 Edw. I., c. 5 (1276) and 18 Edw. III., c. 2 (1344). This did not mean a bigamist in our sense, but a man who married twice or married a widow. The restriction was done away with by 1 Edw. VI., c. 12, s. 16. Stephen, *Criminal Law*, I. 461.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, I. 460; Makower, p. 405; Pike, *House of Lords*, p. 261, is apparently incorrect in stating the contrary.

<sup>39</sup> 4 Hen. VII., c. 13.

<sup>40</sup> Those actually in holy orders were not branded. Burn, *Justice of the Peace*, I. 498, citing Hale, *Pleas of the Crown*, II. 374, 375, 389. By two statutes



In any case in which any of the King's subjects might have benefit of clergy, as well as in addition for the crimes of house-breaking, high-way robbery, horse-stealing, and robbing of churches, any Peer or Lord of Parliament was, upon claim made, to be held as a clerk convict who might make purgation . . . "though he cannot read, without any burning in the hand, loss of inheritance, or corruption of his blood."<sup>41</sup>

In an age when the cultivation of letters was still regarded as an ungentlemanly pursuit there were some no doubt to whom the concession in the matter of reading was vital.<sup>42</sup> Readers of *Henry Esmond* will recall how Lord Mohun pleaded his clergy after he had killed Lord Castlewood in a duel. As a matter of fact, Lords Mohun and Warwick claimed the privilege when they were tried before the House of Lords for the murder of Richard Coote, October 30, 1698.<sup>43</sup> Lord Byron—from whom his grandnephew, the poet, inherited the title—who killed Viscount Chaworth in a tavern scuffle and who was convicted of manslaughter by his peers, April 16, 1765, escaped death by virtue of his privilege.<sup>44</sup> As in the case of lay commoners, a peer could claim his clergy only once.

The proceedings in the episcopal court were usually a sham, a "blasphemous farce". The culprit, generally after he had pleaded guilty or been convicted before a secular tribunal, swore his oath that he was innocent, the twelve compurgators whom he selected nonchalantly supported him in his perjury, the judge connived at the practice, and an acquittal usually followed. The only excuse for this solemn mockery was the "barbarously simple penal code" and the fact that, in the case of laymen at least, it was confined to first offenders.<sup>45</sup> A great step in advance came in the reign of Elizabeth when it was enacted<sup>46</sup> that any person admitted to benefit of clergy should no longer be delivered to the ordinary but discharged by the

of the reign of Henry VIII. (28 H. VIII., c. 1, s. 7, and 32 H. VIII., c. 3, s. 8) it was provided that those in holy orders should be burnt like laymen and likewise have their privilege only once, but by 1 Edw. VI., c. 12, s. 13, they were restored to their old immunity. By 10 and 11 Will. III., c. 23, burning "in the most visible part of the cheek nearest the nose" was substituted for the thumb; but, by 5 Anne, c. 6, the old practice was resumed and continued till branding was done away with in 1779.

<sup>41</sup> Pike, *House of Lords*, p. 262.

<sup>42</sup> It was in the reign of Henry VIII. that one noble lord declared: "By the body of God, I would sooner see my son hanged than a bookworm. It is a gentleman's calling to be able to blow the horn, to hunt and hawk. He should leave learning to clodhoppers." *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, vol. II., pt. 2, no. 3765.

<sup>43</sup> Howell, *State Trials*, XIII. 939-1060.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, XIX. 1177.

<sup>45</sup> *Middlesex County Records*, I. xxxvi, xxxvii.

<sup>46</sup> 18 Eliz., c. 7, s. 2, 3.

justices, who might, nevertheless, imprison him for any period not exceeding a year.<sup>47</sup> Branding, later as an alternative, continued in use until late in the eighteenth century. Many will remember in *Peveril of the Peak* the remark of the warden of Newgate to Julian Peveril: "Ten to one it will turn out chance medley or manslaughter and then it is but a singed thumb instead of a twisted neck."

A full record survives of the celebrated case of Ben Jonson. He was imprisoned and indicted, September 22, 1598, for slaying one Gabriel Spencer in a duel at Shoreditch. Tried at the Old Bailey in October he pleaded guilty, claimed his clergy, read the neck-verse, and was branded.<sup>48</sup> Another case relating to an obscure man throws a flood of light on the actual working of the system. It is to be found in a petition to the House of Lords, dated 1640, from Osmund Gibbs, yeoman, for relief against John Farwell, a councillor at law and justice of the peace in the county of Somerset, who "having cast a greedy eye upon petitioner's copyhold, endeavoured to become owner thereof by most unconscionable practices". Among other things he indicted him at the assizes

upon a false charge of stealing a tame buck, and procured witnesses to swear that petitioner confessed having stolen it. He was found guilty and put to read for his life. Petitioner desired to read the Psalm of Mercy, but Farwell so incensed the judge against him, that there was not only a clear bar made to prevent promptings, but the judge turned him unto one of the hardest verses to read, which by God's grace he was enabled to do, and so escaped hanging, but was burnt in the hand.<sup>49</sup>

In the reign of William and Mary benefit of clergy was extended to women.<sup>50</sup> Doubtless this influenced the judges in the case of the notorious Duchess of Kingston who was tried for bigamy in 1776 and claimed her privilege. Although they are not expressly named

<sup>47</sup> Pike points out a glaring injustice which the law allowed. "Imprisonment . . . did not apply to Peers, whose trial by the Peers in cases of felony was saved to them by the Act of Edward VI. [1 Edw. VI., c. 12, s. 15]; and a Peer who could or who could not read might still have robbed one church or committed one highway robbery with impunity, though an ignorant peasant would have been hanged." *House of Lords*, p. 263.

<sup>48</sup> *Middlesex County Records*, I. xxxviii-xlii.

<sup>49</sup> Hist. MSS. Comm., *Report IV.*, pt. I., p. 37. A later instance will be found in a letter from John Charlton to Lady Granby, November 11, 1703. "You wish to hear", he writes, "an account of Lady Herbert finding her jewels . . . All I know is that one who was her coachman took them from her. She found all in his possession except two diamonds and these she got again from one that had bought them for very little. She found her jewels, tried the man and had him burned in the cheek [see above, p. 553], all in three days." *Ibid.*, XII., app. pt. V., *Rutland Papers*, II. 177.

<sup>50</sup> 3 W. and Mary, c. 9; cf. 21 Jas. I., c. 6. By 4 and 5 Will. III., c. 24, s. 13, it was provided that they should have the privilege but once.

in 1 Edw. VI., c. 12, it was decided that peeresses convicted of clergyable felony should be discharged for the first offense without burning or imprisonment.<sup>51</sup>

As reading ceased to be the monopoly of the clergy, the mischiefousness of the exemption came to be more and more pronounced. Sir James Stephen, writing in 1883, remarked: "It is difficult, if not impossible, to say how this system worked in practice. No statistics as to either convictions or executions were kept then, or till long afterwards."<sup>52</sup> However, John Cordy Jeaffreson, the learned editor of the *Middlesex County Records*, the first volume of which was published in 1886, while working from professedly incomplete data, has compiled some figures which give at least an approximate idea of the relative number of persons who claimed their clergy in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in the county of Middlesex. In the last four years of the reign of Edward VI., 8.54 per cent. out of 117 convicted of capital offenses could read and pleaded their clergy: in the reign of James I. there was an amazing increase to 38.83 per cent. out of 1725 cases. One wishes that Jeaffreson could have carried his computations to the beginning of the eighteenth century when the reading test was abolished. During the reign of James a legal fiction was beginning which was one of a number extensively employed in the following century, namely, the practice of convicting of petty larceny those indicted for grand larceny;<sup>53</sup> out of 1616 persons acquitted of capital felony 21.96 per cent. were convicted of petty larceny on evidence of grand larceny.<sup>54</sup>

At length Parliament came to realize the rank injustice of discriminating between lettered and unlettered criminals, so in the reign of Anne the reading test was taken away, and it was provided that henceforth if any person convicted of a clergyable felony "shall pray to have the benefit of this act he shall not be required to read, but without any reading shall be allowed, taken and reported to be and punished as a clerk convict."<sup>55</sup> At the same time, the judges were given another discretionary punishment—sentence to the house

<sup>51</sup> Thomas Leach, *Cases in Crown Law* (third ed., 1800), I. 173. Blackstone, *Commentaries*, IV. 367. Howell, *State Trials*. XX. 355 ff.

<sup>52</sup> *History of Criminal Law*, I. 467.

<sup>53</sup> Grand larceny was "a felonious and fraudulent taking and carrying away by any person of the mere personal goods of another above the value of 12 d. Burn, *Justice of the Peace*, I. x.

<sup>54</sup> *Middlesex County Records*, II. xxxix, 239-314.

<sup>55</sup> 6 Anne, c. 9, s. 4. So it is at least in the *Statutes of the Realm*, the standard edition published by the Record Commission, though the statute is usually cited as 5 Anne, c. 6.

of correction from six months to two years. According to Chitty:

The usual form of granting the benefit of clergy is, for the clerk to ask the prisoner what he has to say why judgment of death should not be pronounced upon him, and then to desire him to fall on his knees, and pray the benefit of the statute; which he does, and the court grants it to him without delay. . . . But it cannot be doubted, that if the prisoner should obstinately refuse to pray it, the court would *ex debito justitiæ* allow it.<sup>56</sup>

For a first offense, then, in the case of felonies, any man or woman could, after 1705, claim benefit of clergy unless the offense was expressly declared non-clergyable by statute.<sup>57</sup> Although the first offender thus escaped death he was branded and liable to imprisonment for one year or to confinement in the workhouse for a period not exceeding two years. The number of felonies at common law was but small. Up to the passage of 6 Anne, c. 9 I have counted about twenty-five statutable felonies involving the death penalty without benefit of clergy. Those who are curious may read them in the statutes cited in the subjoined foot-note,<sup>58</sup> and Stephen<sup>60</sup> enumerates the principal ones. Grouped under general heads the offenses made non-clergyable by these various statutes were: petty treason,<sup>60</sup> piracy, murder, arson, burglary, housebreaking and putting in fear, highway robbery, horse-stealing, stealing from the person above the value of a shilling, rape, and abduction with the intent to marry.

After the abolition of the reading test, various alternatives to

<sup>56</sup> *Criminal Law*, I. 687. It was the opinion of Hawkins, *Pleas of the Crown*, II. 359, that "if the prisoner does not demand it, it seems to be left to the discretion of the judge, whether he will allow it him or not". It came to be so much a matter of course in the eighteenth century that it is only recorded in the *Old Bailey Sessions Papers* in a few exceptional cases.

<sup>57</sup> "All felonies by the common law have the benefit of clergy, therefore where a statute enacts a felony, and says the offender shall *suffer* death, clergy lies notwithstanding, and is never ousted without express words." Coke, *Third Institute*, p. 732, cited by Burn, *Justice of the Peace*, I. xxvi.

<sup>58</sup> 3 Hen. VII., c. 2 (*cf.* 39 Eliz., c. 9, and 1 Geo. IV., c. 15); 12 Hen. VII., c. 7; 4 Hen. VIII., c. 2; 22 Hen. VIII. (*cf.* 6 Geo. II., c. 37, s. 5, and 42 Geo. III., c. 32); 23 Hen. VIII., c. 1, ss. 3, 4 (*cf.* 1 Edw. VI., c. 12, s. 10, and 12 Anne, c. 7); 25 Hen. VIII., cc. 6, 15 (*cf.* 1 Mary, st. 1, c. 1, s. 3, and 5 Eliz., c. 17); 32 Hen. VIII., c. 3; 4 and 5 Ph. and M., c. 4; 1 Edw. VI., c. 12, ss. 9, 10; 2 and 3 Edw. VI., cc. 29, 33; 5 and 6 Edw. VI., cc. 9, 10; 5 Eliz., c. 16; 8 Eliz., c. 4; 39 Eliz., c. 15; 43 Eliz., c. 13; 1 Jas. I., cc. 1, 8; 18 Chas. II., c. 3; 22 Chas. II., cc. 1, 5; 3 W. and M., c. 9 (*cf.* 6 and 7 Will. III., c. 14, s. 1); 10 and 11 Will. III., c. 12 (*cf.* 1 Geo. IV., c. 117); 1 Anne, st. 2, c. 9. Burn, *Justice of the Peace*, who has the various offenses grouped under alphabetical heads, *e. g.*, larceny, is of invaluable assistance in using the statutes.

<sup>59</sup> *Criminal Law*, I. 465-467.

<sup>60</sup> High treason, as was seen above, had always been excluded from benefit of clergy.

branding, imprisonment, or the workhouse were provided for those to whom clergy was allowed. Thus by the statutes 4 Geo. I., c. 11, and 6 Geo. I., c. 23, it was enacted that where any persons have been convicted of grand and petty larceny or any form of stealing within clergy, the court in their discretion, instead of burning in the hand or whipping,<sup>61</sup> may direct such offenders to be transported to America. This punishment might also be applied to those convicted of non-clergyable felonies to whom the king might be pleased to issue a conditional pardon.<sup>62</sup> In all cases, however, it was provided that convicts who returned or who were found at large before the expiration of their term should be guilty of felony without benefit of the clergy.<sup>63</sup> The statute 19 Geo. III. provided in lieu of transportation to America "any parts beyond the seas".

Transportation, first tried during the Restoration period, was not generally employed till 1718. From that date until the outbreak of the American Revolution it continued to be the commonest substitute for the death penalty, imprisonment being ordinarily reserved for those held for trial, and for debtors. In view of the horrible conditions prevailing in the prisons, transportation was, from the standpoint of the culprits, a happy substitute. After the American colonies were closed to English convicts, the jails proving inadequate, those formerly sent beyond the seas were set to work on the navigation of the Thames or confined in convict hulks.<sup>64</sup> In 1787 a penal colony was established at Botany Bay and transportation to Australia continued for seventy years. At first the convicts were useful in developing the resources of the new country, but the system gradually became intolerable and it was eventually abandoned in 1857.<sup>65</sup>

Thus, while after the abolition of the reading test any first offender might, in the case of a clergyable felony, escape the death

<sup>61</sup> Since peers were not liable to be burnt in the hand their privilege remained unaffected by such acts as 4 and 6 Geo. I. Pike, *House of Lords*, p. 263.

<sup>62</sup> See Blackstone, *Commentaries*, IV. 371. Cf. 56 Geo. II., c. 27, offenders convicted of crimes excluded from clergy, to whom the king shall extend mercy on condition of transportation beyond the seas, may be ordered to be transported according to such conditions.

<sup>63</sup> 6 Geo. I., c. 23; 16 Geo. II., c. 15; 8 Geo. III., c. 15.

<sup>64</sup> This is provided for by 19 Geo. III., c. 74. There are a number of sentences "to the navigation" in the *Old Bailey Sessions Papers* during the later seventies.

<sup>65</sup> Meantime, 53 Geo. III., c. 162, provided for imprisonment at hard labor, simply and alone, or in conjunction with other penalties, and 56 Geo. III., c. 63, enacts that convicts sentenced to transportation may be confined in the general penitentiary at Millbank. For transportation see Lecky, *England*, VII. 325-327, and Walpole, *England*, I. 170-171; IV. 410-415; VI. 350, 370-375.

penalty, there was ample provision for his punishment, branding,<sup>66</sup> whipping, imprisonment, confinement in the workhouse, transportation, employment on the navigation, and forfeiture. Not infrequently more than one of these penalties was imposed. Moreover, the fact that so many of those sentenced to death escaped execution ceases to be so striking when it is remembered that numbers were pardoned conditionally, which meant transportation.<sup>67</sup>

Judged by the statutes alone, the offender's chances of escaping death grew darker and darker during the century which followed the abolition of the reading test; for in that very period when Parliament was providing alternative penalties for clergyable felonies it was passing scores of acts creating felonies without benefit of clergy. An actual study of the statutes and of Burn's invaluable *Justice of the Peace*—where offenses are arranged under alphabetical heads

<sup>66</sup> Wife-murderers where there were extenuating circumstances were very generally convicted of manslaughter and branded, the usual penalty for any form of the latter offense. One curious case is that of John Wright, who was sentenced to be branded for wounding his wife after she had "abused him very much in language". (*Old Bailey Sessions Papers*, no. 373, July, 1749.) Finally, however, by 19 Geo. III., c. 74, it was enacted that instead of branding the court might, in all clergyable felonies, impose a fine or (except in the case of manslaughter) order the offender to be publicly or privately whipped. As in the case of branding, the offender so fined or whipped might be liable to subsequent imprisonment. With the passage of this act branding practically ceased. However, by 3 Geo. IV., c. 38, s. 1, after reciting that the punishment of burning in the hand had long been deemed ineffective and inexpedient, it was further enacted that persons convicted of manslaughter might be transported and imprisoned for three years or fined, at the discretion of the court.

<sup>67</sup> According to the following letter, written by George III., in 1776, the king regarded the issuing of pardons as a serious matter. He writes: "My dear Lord, I hope you are too well acquainted with the feelings of my heart to doubt in the least the pleasure I feel, when I can with propriety save the life of any miserable wretch, but I must not let myself from sensations that ought ever to reside in the breast of man, to fall into a most improper evil, the preventing the execution of the laws without some real ground for the interposition of the most agreeable feather of the prerogative of the Crown. Burglaries daily encrease, they are the most alarming of all robberies; these, and highway robberies call at present very strongly for a very exact execution of the laws, and the sending a reprieve within a couple of hours of the time of execution is never done but on some strong appearance of some new point from whence perhaps the innocence of the prisoner can be presumed. I therefore must decline preventing the law to take its course." *Hist. MSS. Comm., Rept. XI., pt. V., Dartmouth MSS., p. 441.* This contradicts the statement of Besant, *London*, p. 505. "Conditional pardons were recognized by . . . (31 Chas. 2, c. 2, ss. 13, 14), and used to be granted by the king through the Secretary of State upon the recommendation of the Judges of Assize . . . it was enacted in 1768 (8 Geo. 3, c. 15) in substance that Judges of Assize should have power to order persons convicted of crimes without the benefit of clergy to be transported for any term they thought proper, or for fourteen years if no term was specially mentioned." Stephen, *Criminal Law*, I. 471.

such as arson, forgery, larceny, riot, smuggling, and so on—will show that neither Blackstone nor Mackintosh exaggerated when they stated that there were 160 and 200 capital non-clergyable felonies in 1769 and 1819 respectively. On the other hand, Stephen has observed very wisely

that the number of capital offenses on the statute book is no test of its severity. A few general enactments may be much more severe than a great number of special ones. A general enactment that grand larceny should be excluded from benefit of clergy would have been infinitely more severe than fifty acts excluding the stealing of fifty sorts of things from benefit of clergy. . . . Moreover, the 160 offenses mentioned by Blackstone might probably be reduced by careful classification to a comparatively small number.

As an instance Stephen cites the celebrated Black Act of 1722 (9 Geo. I., c. 27) which "creates fifty-four capital offences, for it forbids three classes of persons to do any one of eighteen acts".<sup>68</sup> Assuming the number of offenses to be eighteen and proceeding equally conservatively in other cases I have counted 148 capital non-clergyable felonies created by statute during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Adding the twenty-five in existence before 1705, the number is not far from that estimated by Mackintosh. Among them are fourteen kinds of arson, thirty-five specified forgeries, eighteen offenses relating to stealing or destroying linen cloth or yarn, silk, wool or woollen cloth, or the machinery used in their manufacture, and five having to do with threatening letters.<sup>69</sup> Some were called forth by very special circumstances, for example an act of 9 Anne making an attempt on the life of a privy councillor in the execution of his office a felony without clergy, and another (56 Geo. III., c. 22) enacting the same offense for persons rescuing or aiding in the escape of Bonaparte. So much for the code.

In order to see how it worked in actual practice I have examined in considerable detail the records of oyer and terminer and gaol deliveries at the Old Bailey. Selecting more or less at random—in order to avoid prejudice—during the century from 1729 when the fine set of *Old Bailey Sessions Papers* in the Harvard Law School Library begins, I have presented at least one year's cases in each decade. The result is shown in the following table.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 470, 471. The act is treated in detail by Burn, *Justice of the Peace*, I. 297-298.

<sup>69</sup> Burn requires more than fifty pages to treat in full all the statutes relating to larceny. *Justice of the Peace*, II. 175-228.

<sup>70</sup> There were eight sessions of the court each year, from December to October.

	Tried	Sentenced to death	Transported	Branded	Whipped	Imprisoned	Navigation	Fined	Pilloried	Per cent. convicted
1729-1730	541	48	219	29	24	4		(4) <sup>71</sup>	(3)	60+
1730-1731	501	51	271	28	21	5		(5)	(2)	74
1731-1732	554	70	209	7	6	6		(6)	(2)	55
1732-1733	559	52	248	26	4	9		(6)	(2)	61
1748-1749	670	61	255	21	61					59+
1749-1750	670	84	258	17	36	2(7)		(1)	(2)	59+
1760-1761	284 <sup>72</sup>	22	155	21	17	3(1)		(1)	(2)	76
1769-1770	704	89	266	27	25	1(2)				58
1778-1779	517	56		60 <sup>73</sup>	49	12 <sup>74</sup>	45 <sup>75</sup>	14		57
1802-1803	846	88	203		99	10(75)		3		59-

The average number convicted in the years included in the above table was 62 per cent. In 1818-1819, 1548 were tried at the Old Bailey Sessions, of whom 1094 were convicted or 70 per cent. Taking the statistics of trials and convictions cited above, page 547, which by the way, apply to the whole of England and not merely to the London central criminal court at the Old Bailey—the percentages for 1805, 1810, 1815, and 1819 respectively are 60, 61, 63, 66. The conclusions to be drawn from these figures are that there was a very fair average of convictions, and that, as crime begins to increase in the early years of the nineteenth century, the percentage of convictions tends to increase rather than to diminish.

The *Old Bailey Sessions Papers* show that a goodly proportion of the acquittals was from a genuine insufficiency of evidence, not infrequently where drunken night prowlers, usually sailors or men of fashion, accuse women of the town of stealing their money and valuables. The grossest cases of acquittal in the teeth of evidence seem to be those of men accused of committing rape upon children. Horse, cattle, and sheep stealers<sup>76</sup> were generally sentenced to death

<sup>71</sup> Numbers in parentheses indicate more than one punishment, *e. g.*, fine and imprisonment.

<sup>72</sup> The small number of those tried in this year was due to the war. Many convicts were enlisted in the army and navy.

<sup>73</sup> In this year branding practically ceased; see above, p. 558.

<sup>74</sup> Many of those branded and whipped were also imprisoned.

<sup>75</sup> After the outbreak of the American Revolution this form of punishment came to be employed.

<sup>76</sup> For example, John Collison and George Aldridge were sentenced to death for stealing a gelding and a mare. *Old Bailey Sessions Papers*, September, 1749, nos. 498, 499. While horse-stealing had been a non-clergyable felony since 1 Edw. VI., c. 12 (*cf.* 2 and 3 Edw. VI., c. 33), cattle and sheep stealing were not included in the same category till 14 Geo. II., c. 6, and 15 Geo. II., c. 34. A letter from Sir Thomas Parker, C.J., to the Earl of Dartmouth gives a statement of the case of William Partridge, "and is of opinion that he is not a proper subject of mercy". Partridge had formerly committed a felony and had been burnt in the hand. Since then he and another had made it their business to



with scant consideration, and so were forgers, for there was no way of bringing them within clergy, though they were sometimes acquitted on a technicality.<sup>77</sup> Highway robbers almost invariably got their just deserts,<sup>78</sup> while considerable leniency was shown to those charged with housebreaking and larceny from the person. The law on the subject was as follows. Burglary, which consisted in breaking and entering a dwelling-house by night with felonious intent, was, by the common law, a clergyable felony. However, by 1 Edw. VI., c. 12, and 18 Eliz., c. 7, clergy was taken away from the principals and, by 3 and 4 W. and M., c. 9, from abettors and accessories before the fact. Other statutes took away clergy from stealing or larceny of the following amounts: over 12 pence from a dwelling-house, even in the daytime, if there was breaking and if any person was therein; without breaking if any person was therein and put in fear, 3 and 4 W. and M., c. 9; over 5 shillings, for breaking any dwelling-house, out-house, shop, or warehouse in the daytime although no person was therein, 39 Eliz., c. 15, privately stealing from any shop, by day or night, even if the same was not broken into and even if no person was therein, 10 and 11 Will. III.,

steal cows in Essex and sell them in Hertfordshire, for which they were now convicted. Hist. MSS. Comm., *Rept.* XI., pt. V., *Dartmouth MSS.*, p. 316. Stephen remarks, *Criminal Law*, I. 469, note 3: "it is curious that pigs have never met with any special recognition or protection from the law"; but, in the case of one Sara Chapple pigs were included within the meaning of the Black Act. Burn, *Justice of the Peace*, I. 447.

<sup>77</sup> In the case of *Rex v. Judd*, who was committed for setting fire to a parcel of unthreshed wheat, the court were of the opinion that, "as the statute only made it felony to set fire to a cock, mow, or stack of corn, the commitment did not charge the defendant with a felony; and he was therefore committed to bail", Burn, I. 416. *The London Times* (weekly ed.), April 21, 1916, p. 302, cites two cases from the Southampton quarter sessions; one, an inquisition for murder (1827), was quashed because it stated "the jury on their oath present" instead of "oaths"; in the other, a man charged with stealing a brace of partridges from the rack of a railway carriage got off because the partridges were not described as dead! There was some reason, however, for this second ruling. "Larceny cannot be committed of such animals in which there is no property either absolute or qualified, as of beasts that are *ferae naturae* and unreclaimed, such as . . . wild fowls at their natural liberty. But if they are reclaimed or confined, and may serve for food, it is otherwise . . . larceny may be committed." Blackstone, *Commentaries*, IV. 235. See, also, Burn, *Justice of the Peace*, II. 209.

<sup>78</sup> There were however rare exceptions, e. g., James Slade and William Cane, indicted for assaulting and robbing Joseph Steel of a hat valued at 3 s. (*Old Bailey Sessions Papers*, January, 1748, nos. 99, 100), and Abraham Mopps, indicted with three other persons not found for an assault on Samuel Lee on the king's highway and stealing one silk handkerchief, a steel watch, and two steel seals (*ibid.*, July, 1748, no. 371). In each case they were found guilty of the felony but not of robbery, but they were not exaggerated cases. Cane, and apparently the others, were transported.

c. 23; over 40 shillings, from a dwelling-house, although there was no breaking and no person therein, 12 Anne, st. 1, c. 7. Privately stealing from the person, unaccompanied by violence, was a non-capital felony, provided the amount was under 12 pence, carrying with it the common law penalty of whipping or, by 4 Geo. I., c. 11, transportation. The sum was absurdly small and dates from ancient times when coined money was scarce and went a long way.<sup>79</sup>

A few actual examples might be cited to see how the juries—obviously instructed by the judges, for they could not of themselves have known the intricacies of the law—dealt with the cases before them. In December, 1730, Stephen Gay was tried for breaking the house of William Roberts in the night and taking a bag, value one penny, a gold ring, a moidore, 11 guineas and 35 shillings in money, the property of John Bonny. The verdict was “guilty of felony but not of burglary”. There may have been doubt as to the breaking or whether the offense was committed in the night-time; but it was clear that the property was worth over 40 shillings so that, according to law, he was liable to death without benefit of clergy.<sup>80</sup> Another case is that of John Hatt, indicted for breaking and entering the residence of the Countess of Pembroke and stealing goods valued at £3 9s. The verdict was guilty of 39 shillings, not breaking the house, and Hatt was transported seven years.<sup>81</sup> In such a case there might be a profound difference of opinion between a jury and the owner as to the value of the second-hand garments stolen. As a rule, however, as in the case just preceding, there was little doubt that the valuation at 39 shillings was made in flat contradiction of the facts to bring the offender within his clergy.<sup>82</sup> The assumption was too transparent to call it perjury.

In some cases there is a curious discrimination in sentences: for example, John Nicholas and Edward Hammond were indicted for entering the dwelling-house of Robert Russel and stealing out thence two pewter dishes, value 5 shillings, six plates, value 3 shillings, one pewter cullinder, value 6 pence, one gallon pot, value 2

<sup>79</sup> Blackstone, *Commentaries*, IV, 239 ff., discusses these laws in some detail.

<sup>80</sup> *Old Bailey Sessions Papers*, December, 1730. In the earlier volumes the cases are not numbered.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, June, 1748, no. 105.

<sup>82</sup> *Cf.* the following cases, Thomas Griffice, indicted for breaking the dwelling-house of Joseph Taper and stealing one cloth coat, value 50 s., one guinea and 21 s. in money, guilty of felony 39 s. but acquitted of the burglary, transported for seven years. *Ibid.*, January, 1748, no. 154. Benjamin MacMahone, a painter, stole gold ornaments, etc., value £10 and upward, from Diana West, daughter of Lord Delaware, from his dwelling-house. The accused asked to be transported. Lord Delaware agreed. He was found guilty, 39 s. *Ibid.*, December, 1749, no. 2.

shillings, two quart pots, value 1 shilling, and other things, his property. Both were found "guilty of felony only"; but Nicholas was burnt in the hand while Hammond was transported for seven years.<sup>83</sup> In this and many other instances the absence of the ground for discrimination may be due to the meagreness of the report. John Phillips, tried for stealing clothes estimated to be worth 61 shillings, was declared by the jury to have stolen 4 shillings 10 pence and so escaped death, whereas if the property had been admitted to be worth 5 shillings the offense would have been non-clergyable.<sup>84</sup> On the other hand, Thomas Beck was sentenced to death for stealing one handkerchief valued at 1 shilling and a cap, 8 pence.<sup>85</sup> This was grand larceny, and Beck, too, was very likely an old offender. There are numberless instances where the value of property usually taken from the person was estimated at 10 pence to bring the offense under the head of petty larceny.<sup>86</sup>

Many sentences where the culprit escaped death were peculiarly heavy, for example Edward Evans and George Potts were transported for seven years for stealing a pound and a quarter of ginger valued at 12 pence.<sup>87</sup> There are some quaint cases, for example William Lawrence was sentenced to death for enlisting John Davidson, alias David Birk, a six-foot man, for the service of the King of Prussia.<sup>88</sup> Frederick William's passion for tall grenadiers was very trying to various European countries. Another is that of John Leminghau, spelt Lemingham in the index, who was indicted for stealing from a book-shop a *Collection of all the Statutes now in Use*, value 4 shillings. His father, a Russian imperial chaplain who had left him in England to pursue his education, must have been

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, January, 1749, nos. 125, 136, and index. In the January sessions, 1748, there are two cases where persons stealing silver tankards valued at £7 and £8 respectively were found guilty of felony, the former culprit being burnt in the hand, the latter transported for seven years (*ibid.*, nos. 121, 133, and index), while in the following February one John Raven, possibly not a first offender, though it does not appear in the record, was sentenced to death for the theft of a tankard valued at £5 (*ibid.*, no. 162).

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, January, 1748, no. 92; cf. the case of Susannah Bailey, indicted for stealing seven linen caps, value 2 s., two muslin handkerchiefs, value 3 s., one pair of linen sleeves, value 3 s., two muslin stocks, six linen shirts, one linen shift, three towels, one flannel petticoat, the goods of John Smith in the dwelling of the said John Smith, guilty, 4s. 10 d., *ibid.*, September, 1749, no. 507.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, February, 1732.

<sup>86</sup> *E. g.*, Richard Jones, indicted for stealing a live dove and a bird cage, value 1 s., guilty 10 d. and transported for seven years, *ibid.*, January, 1748, no. 111, and Hannah Wilmot, indicted for stealing goods of the estimated value of 21 s., verdict 10 d., sentence, whipping, *ibid.*, no. 141.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, October, 1749, nos. 617, 618.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, April, 1738.

astounded at his son's zeal for learning. Sir J. F. Barrie rewarded John Shand with a wife and a parliamentary career for a somewhat similar offense; but poor Leminghau was privately whipped.<sup>89</sup>

We are fortunate in having a fairly complete record of a man who successfully pleaded his clergy once and was caught in an attempt to plead it a second time. In the *Old Bailey Sessions Papers* for September, 1749, Robert Davie and Richard Parker, lightermen, were indicted for stealing nine elephant's teeth weighing 450 pounds and valued at £40. Both were found guilty, but judgment was respited, and in the October sessions,

Davie was brought to the bar and asked what he had to say for himself. He desired that he might have benefit of clergy. He was told by the court that he had had it once before, and that there was a statute-law in this realm which forbids a person to have it a second time. To prove which, the record of his conviction was read for stealing, 30 April, in the twelfth year of his present Majesty (1739), sixty pounds weight of tobacco, value 40 shillings . . . tried at Justice Hall in the Old Bailey, Wednesday, 2 May, brought in guilty, 4s 10d, and that he then prayed for the benefit in such case made and provided, therefore he was transported for the term of seven years, this being a clergyable felony. Now on the testimony of witnesses who testified against his denial that he was the same person the jury found the issue for the King, that the prisoner was the same person. Accordingly he was sentenced to death.<sup>90</sup>

Eventually, the persistent efforts of Sir Samuel Romilly and Sir James Mackintosh to reform the bloodthirsty criminal code prevailed. Sir Robert Peel, before he resigned the office of Home Secretary in November, 1830, had reduced the number of capital penalties to about a score. As a consequence, benefit of clergy, which had practically served its turn in mitigating the terrors of the law, was done away with in 1827,<sup>91</sup> with the provision, however, "that no one convicted of felony should suffer death unless for felonies excluded from benefit of clergy, or made punishable by

<sup>89</sup> "There was a messenger came from the Russian Ambassador to assure the court that if his crime would admit of corporal punishment the Ambassador would order him a safe passage to Russia." *Old Bailey Sessions Papers*, January, 1749, no. 148.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, nos. 577, 661.

<sup>91</sup> 7 and 8 Geo. IV., c. 28, s. 6. As no reference was made to the act of Edw. VI. conferring the privilege on Lords of Parliament and Peers, there was doubt whether that remained. When Lord Cardigan—subsequently famous as the leader of the charge of the Light Brigade—was tried for felony in 1841 because of a duel with Captain Tuckett, it was alleged that he was to claim the benefit. Consequently, the statute was repealed (4 and 5 Vict., c. 22) and it was further enacted "that every Lord of Parliament or Peer against whom an indictment for felony might be found, should plead to it, and should, upon conviction, be liable to the same punishment as any other of Her Majesty's subjects". Pike, *House of Lords*, p. 263; Walpole, *England*, IV. 437-439.

death by some statute subsequently passed". Proper substitute punishments were provided.<sup>92</sup> By successive acts, passed at intervals during the next generation, capital penalties were steadily reduced, until after the consolidation acts of 1861,<sup>93</sup> the only offenses punishable by death were four, *i. e.*, treason, murder, piracy with violence, and setting fire to arsenals and dockyards.<sup>94</sup>

Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, for reasons worthy of serious consideration, expresses the opinion that "we have gone too far" in laying aside the punishment of death, and "that it ought to be inflicted in many cases not at present capital".<sup>95</sup> Be that as it may, no one would now defend the old barbarous system.<sup>96</sup> Nevertheless, in spite of ferocious laws and a certain number of capricious and disproportionate sentences, a fair degree of substantial justice was administered in the courts. Those who escaped capital punishment, if the evidence proved them guilty, were reasonably certain to receive some lighter sentence, and the prevalence and increase of crime was due in all probability to other causes than the excessive rigor of the code. That the system proved as workable as it did was due in no small degree to ingenious applications of that queer old exemption, benefit of clergy, so strangely distorted from its original purpose.

ARTHUR LYON CROSS.

<sup>92</sup> Stephen, *Criminal Law*, I. 472, and ss. 7 and 9 of the act.

<sup>93</sup> 24 and 25 Vict., ss. 96-100.

<sup>94</sup> Stephen, *Criminal Law*, I. 473-475.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, I. 478.

<sup>96</sup> For the arguments of Paley and Eldon to the contrary see Lecky, *England*, VII. 321, and Walpole, *England*, I. 169.

## THE STATES' RIGHTS DOCTRINE AND THE TREATY- MAKING POWER

THE possibility that the United States may have to face again a situation such as that which arose when the government of Japan protested at Washington against impending state legislation for limiting the right of Japanese aliens to hold land, gives renewed and added interest to the history of earlier contests over the authority of the federal government to regulate this matter by treaty. Certain aspects of the subject have been discussed recently in several monographs upon the relation between the treaty-making powers of the United States and the reserved powers of the several states, in which much emphasis has been placed upon decisions of the Supreme Court in cases arising under treaties governing the inheritance, possession, and disposal of real property by aliens.<sup>1</sup> But comparatively little has been said about the circumstances under which these treaties were made; and I believe that the history of their negotiation and ratification, particularly those concluded before 1860, may be a valuable complement to what has been written about their ultimate construction and application. In concluding them the presidents and the Senate actually interpreted the treaty-making clause of the Constitution, and their interpretation possessed an authority exceeded only by that of the Supreme Court. During the thirty years preceding the Civil War this interpretation was deflected from the nationalist to the states' rights position in an ever-increasing degree. The Senate, particularly, stood forth in its appointed place as the protector of the sovereign states, and went far toward recognizing the existence of wide powers effectively reserved by them from the treaty-making authority of the federal government. Thus, although a number of these treaties have been construed and applied since 1860 by judges whose decisions reflect the spirit of nationalism that has prevailed during the last generation, yet they actually were made by statesmen who lived and worked in a different political atmosphere and who were in the gravest doubt about their constitutional authority to do what they since have been declared to

<sup>1</sup> Burr, *The Treaty-Making Power of the United States and the Methods of its Enforcement as affecting the Police Powers of the States* (Philadelphia, 1912), sec. IV.; Corwin, *National Supremacy* (New York, 1913), ch. IV., V., VI., *passim*; Tucker, *Limitations on the Treaty-Making Power under the Constitution of the United States* (Boston, 1915), ch. VI.

have done. Their history affords a new illustration of the constitutional elasticity of the American government, and at the same time may throw some additional light upon one of the most interesting and important of our current political problems.

Between 1778 and 1860 the United States became a party to forty-four treaties containing articles governing the acquisition and disposal of real property, situated within its boundaries, by aliens, citizens of the other signatories, and vice versa.<sup>2</sup> The regulation of this subject by treaty was desirable because the municipal law of European countries either confiscated the real and personal property of a deceased foreigner to the exclusion of his heirs, or subjected it to a heavy succession tax,<sup>3</sup> while the laws of the American states placed aliens in a somewhat similar position in regard to real estate. Thus, although the removal of these disabilities by treaty was for the general welfare, it involved the possibility of a conflict between federal and state authority; and the provisions of the treaties actually made are, to some extent, an index to the views held by the presidents and the Senate upon the relation between the right of each state exclusively to control by its own laws the descent and disposition of land, and the power of the federal government to regulate the same subject by treaty. In eight treaties aliens are guaranteed the right to inherit and to possess real estate as well as personal property on an equality with citizens.<sup>4</sup> The remaining

<sup>2</sup> A discussion of the more important of these treaties will be found in Moore, *International Law Digest* (Washington, 1906), V. 175-179; see also Davis, "Notes upon Foreign Treaties of the United States", in *Treaties and Conventions concluded between the United States and Other Powers* (Washington, 1889), pp. 1237-1241.

<sup>3</sup> Davis, "Notes upon Foreign Treaties", p. 1241.

<sup>4</sup> Stipulations of this sort are found in treaties with France, 1778; the Netherlands, 1782; Sweden, 1783; Great Britain, 1794; New Granada, 1846; Salvador, 1850; the Argentine Republic, 1853; the Two Sicilies, 1855. *Treaties and Conventions between the United States of America and Other Powers* (Washington, 1909), I. 23, 203, 471, 597; II. 1235, 1540, 1727, 1817 (cited hereafter as *Treaties and Conventions*). None of these agreements provides that the heir must sell the property, or may do so, within a certain time, or at any time. In cases arising under some of the earlier ones this was construed to mean that he might hold it permanently: *Fairfax v. Hunter* (1813), 7 Cranch 603; *Chirac v. Chirac* (1817), 2 Wheaton 259; *Carneal v. Banks* (1825), 10 Wheaton 181. It seems to me questionable, however, whether the treaties with the Netherlands and Sweden actually apply to real estate. In an opinion given in 1819 to the Secretary of State, Attorney-General Wirt stated that, "The sixth article of the old treaty of amity and commerce between the United States and Sweden is understood as applying to personal property only". 1 *Opinions of Attorneys General* 275. Both this treaty and the agreement with the Netherlands provide that there shall be reciprocal equality between aliens and citizens in the disposition of "goods and effects". Evidently the Attorney-General believed that these terms did not include real

treaties do not put aliens on an equality with citizens, but provide that where they are disqualified for the inheritance of real estate they shall be allowed to sell the same and to withdraw the proceeds, without molestation or detraction, within a given period. The time specified varies in the different treaties, as follows: a reasonable time; the time fixed by the laws of the country, or in case the laws actually in force may not have fixed any such time, then a reasonable time; three years; two years, with a reasonable extension; such term as the laws of the state will permit; the longest period allowed by the law.<sup>5</sup> The consular convention of 1853 with France puts

estate. The question never was judicially decided. Corwin cites both treaties, without qualification, as applying to real property. *National Supremacy*, p. 61. The provision in the Jay Treaty applies only to "British subjects who now hold lands in the territories of the United States", and vice versa. In that with the Two Sicilies the right given is qualified by the provision that the alien heir "shall succeed to his personal property, and either to his real estate or to the proceeds thereof".

The convention of 1800 with France has been classed with the other treaties mentioned as belonging to this group. Article VII., however, renews the stipulations of article XI. of the treaty of 1778 only with a proviso that makes the right to hold property wholly dependent upon state law. The reservation could hardly be expressed more clearly than in the words used, "It is agreed . . . that in case the laws of either of the two States should restrain strangers from the exercise of the rights of property with respect to real estate, such real property may be sold, or otherwise disposed of, to citizens . . . of the country where it may be, and the other nation shall be at liberty to enact similar laws." *Treaties and Conventions*, I. 499. Corwin says, "The Treaty of 1778 with France was terminated by the brief hostilities of 1798, but the stipulations of Article XI. of that treaty were renewed in Article VII. of the temporary Convention of 1800, 'the most expressive of all precedents, it having passed through the hands, and received the approbation, of John Adams, John Marshall, Oliver Ellsworth, Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison, who, if anybody, should have understood the Constitution'." *National Supremacy*, pp. 78-79. The quotation is from Caleb Cushing, 8 *Opinions of Attorneys General* 415-416 (1857).

<sup>5</sup> Treaties with Prussia (1785, 1799, 1828), Spain (1795), Sardinia (1838), Hanover (1840, 1846), the Hawaiian Islands (1849) allow a reasonable time. *Treaties and Conventions*, I. 889, 895, 911; II. 1608, 1480, 1489, 1500, 1644. Those with Russia (1832) and Portugal (1840) allow the time fixed by the laws of the country, or in case the laws actually in force may not have fixed any such time, then a reasonable time. *Ibid.*, II. 1457, 1518. Those with Colombia (1824), Central America (1825), the Hanseatic Republics (1827), Chile (1832), Switzerland (1847), Guatemala (1849), Venezuela (1836), Peru-Bolivia (1836), Ecuador (1839) allow three years. *Ibid.*, I. 163, 174, 295, 424, 864, 903; II. 1377, 1763, 1834. In the last three treaties named the states seem to have been left free to levy any detraction they might choose by the provision that the proceeds of the sale of property might be withdrawn, "without molestation, nor any other charges than those which are imposed by the laws of the country". The conventions with Hesse (1844), Württemberg (1844), Saxony (1845), Bavaria (1845), Nassau (1846), and Austria-Hungary (1848) allow two years with a reasonable extension. *Ibid.*, I. 34, 57, 947; II. 1231, 1610, 1893. Those with Switzerland (1850), and



Frenchmen on an equality with Americans in regard to both the possession and disposition of real and personal property under certain conditions, which will be discussed below.

Diversity is, perhaps, the most striking characteristic of this entire group of regulations. At one extreme are found those which ignore the existence of state laws governing the inheritance and disposal of land by aliens; at the other those which make foreigners wholly dependent upon such laws for rights of any sort in real property. Between these extremes state authority is recognized in almost every possible degree. And while there is no steady and uniform development from one type to the other, this recognition is much more frequent and complete at the end than at the beginning of the period. The conclusion is that in these, as in many other affairs of state, action was determined neither wholly by a constitutional theory, nor entirely by the political exigencies of the moment: for while the executive and the Senate never adopted and consistently followed any definite policy upon the question of the power of the federal government to regulate by treaty the inheritance and disposal of real property, yet in the formulation of particular treaties they recognized more and more the exclusive nature of the rights of the states. The absence of a consistent policy upon such treaties may, perhaps, be attributed in part to fluctuating and sharply divided feeling on the question. Probably to a greater degree it is to be explained by the indifference of the Senate toward a function more or less routine, and the existence of a strong presumption in favor of the ratification in unmodified form of all treaties sent in by the President. Amendment was the difficult course; it would occur only in exceptional cases and as the result of unusual effort by those desiring change. Not only may this help to explain the absence of a fixed policy, but it furnishes reasonable grounds for attaching greater significance to the amendment or rejection of some agreements not in accord with the states' rights position, than to acquiescence in others of the same sort.

During the first forty-five years under the Constitution the presidents and the Senate seem to have been in agreement upon the constitutional question under discussion, for not until 1835 did the latter either amend or reject any treaty provision regulating the inheritance and disposal of real property. Such harmony did not exist, however, between the treaty-making power and the courts. In the early part of this period the Supreme Court repeatedly ruled that

Brunswick and Lüneburg (1854) allow such term as the laws of the state will permit. *Ibid.*, I. 157; II. 1766. That with Bolivia (1858) fixes the term as the longest period allowed by the law. *Ibid.*, I. 117.

the United States did possess authority to put aliens on a common footing with citizens in regard to real estate. In a series of cases arising under the treaties of 1778 and 1800 with France, and of 1794 with Great Britain, Marshall and his colleagues upheld the validity both of the pre-constitutional agreements and of those concluded under the new government, even when the former granted to aliens the right to inherit land and hold it permanently.<sup>6</sup>

This position is quite in harmony with the general character of the court under the great Chief Justice. The presidents and the Senate, however, did not follow the lead so clearly given by the Federalist bench. Instead they proceeded in the opposite direction, for with the exception of the Jay Treaty no agreement was made during these years which granted to aliens the right to hold real estate. On the contrary, when the old guarantee in the treaty of 1778 with France was renewed in the convention of 1800 it was with explicit recognition of the right of each state to prohibit what had been granted before without reservation, and all of the other agreements of the period contain a similar recognition in one form or another. There seems here to have been a distinct divergence between the opinion of the Supreme Court on the constitutional question and the practice of that part of the government charged with making treaties.<sup>7</sup>

The underlying cause of this divergence is to be found in the theory of state sovereignty and states' rights which, during the first half of the century, became one of the dominant forces in the life

<sup>6</sup> *Fairfax v. Hunter* (1813), 7 Cranch 603; *Chirac v. Chirac* (1817), 2 Wheaton 259; *Craig v. Radford* (1818), 3 Wheaton 594; *Orr v. Hodgson* (1819), 4 Wheaton 453; *Hughes v. Edwards* (1824), 9 Wheaton 489; *Carneal v. Banks* (1825), 10 Wheaton 181. In *Carneal v. Banks*, for instance, the court declared, "The alleged alienage of Lacassaign constitutes no objection [to the validity of the title]. Had the fact been proved, this court decided, in the case of *Chirac v. Chirac* (reported in 2 Wheat. Rep., 259), that the treaty of 1778, between the United States and France, secures to the citizens and subjects of either power the privilege of holding lands in the territory of the other." 10 Wheaton 189.

<sup>7</sup> The growing opposition to the position of Marshall and his associates is nowhere more clearly expressed than in an opinion given to the Secretary of State in 1819 by Attorney-General William Wirt, who stated that, "an alien can, in the United States, inherit, with the faculty of carrying away and alienating, every species of *personal* property, without being liable to any *jus detractus*. But he cannot inherit real or fast property at all: nor is there any power in the general government, as I conceive, to alter, either by law or treaty, the provisions of the particular States in this respect." 1 *Opinions of Attorneys General* 275. On the other hand, in 1831 Edward Livingston, secretary of state, informed the Russian chargé d'affaires that the power in question did appertain to the federal government. Moore, *International Law Digest*, V. 177, quoting MS. Notes to Foreign Legations, IV. 396. It is to be noted, however, that the power was most cautiously used in the Russian treaty, which was then under discussion.

of the United States. The conflict which the dogma engendered affected successively Congress, the presidents, and the courts. But the supreme federal tribunal responded to the movement far more slowly than did the political departments of government; until 1835-1837 the court remained as nationalist as was Marshall himself.<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, as the one arena in which the proponents of the doctrine faced no numerical odds, as the institutional guarantee of state integrity, the Senate early became the very centre of the struggle. It is but reasonable, then, to suppose that in many instances it must have exercised its control over treaty-making in the spirit of this contest, particularly when acting upon treaties which so directly involved the question of states' rights as did those containing provisions such as have been considered.

This control was first exercised in 1835. Early in the year previous George de Tschann, Swiss chargé d'affaires at Paris, had proposed to Edward Livingston, United States minister to France, a declaration stipulating that citizens of each country should be on an absolute equality with natives in the acquisition, possession, and disposition, by testament or otherwise, of real or personal property within the jurisdiction of the other, and that neither state should exact any duty of detraction upon the export of such property.<sup>9</sup> After conference with President Jackson, Louis McLane, then secretary of state, instructed Livingston to enter into negotiations with de Tschann. "Similar stipulations with regard to the disposal of the property of aliens", he wrote, "are, as you are doubtless aware, familiar to our diplomacy. . . . The tenth article of our recent convention with Russia is an example to which I beg leave to refer you, and may serve as a guide in the negotiation now proposed."<sup>10</sup> Thus Livingston was instructed to model a treaty with Switzerland upon the agreement which went farther than any which had yet been concluded in recognizing the right of the states to regulate the inheritance and disposal of real property. The convention was signed March 6, 1835, and consisted of two articles, which reproduced, almost literally, the provisions of article X. of the Russian treaty. Article II. stipulated that where the laws of a state or canton constituted alienage a bar to the possession of real property, the alien

<sup>8</sup> In this period of three years Marshall was replaced by Taney, and four new associate justices came to the bench.

<sup>9</sup> Edward Livingston to Louis McLane, February 13, 1834, MS. State Department, Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Despatches, France, XVII., no. 25; George de Tschann to Edward Livingston, February 10, 1834, *ibid.* The manuscript despatches, instructions, and notes cited below are to be found in this bureau.

<sup>10</sup> Louis McLane to Edward Livingston, April 30, 1834, MS. Instructions, France, XIV., no. 20.

heir should be "allowed the term prescribed by the laws of the said State or Canton", or "if no such term shall be prescribed a reasonable time to dispose of such property", and to export the proceeds without paying any other charges than those to which a native would be liable.<sup>11</sup>

The fate of the treaty is revealed by correspondence between the successors of McLane and Livingston. In January, 1838, Lewis Cass, then minister to France, forwarded to John Forsyth, secretary of state, a note from de Tschann inquiring into the matter. The letters throw an interesting light upon American diplomatic methods, or lack of them, in that day. Cass wrote:

I am entirely uninformed as to the arrangement entered into between Mr. Livingston and M. de Tschann, or why it was not ratified. I have told Mr. de Tschann that I have no authority to act upon this subject, but that I would refer the matter to the State Department.

P. S. May I ask to be informed as to the grounds of the objection of the Convention negotiated by Mr. Livingston that I may communicate them to Mr. de Tschann? I understand that neither he nor the Swiss Government has received any information upon the subject, and a proper comity would seem to require some communication should be made to them.<sup>12</sup>

The ignorance of the existence of the treaty on the part of the American minister and of its fate on the part of the Swiss chargé, was terminated eight months later. Early in September Forsyth wrote to Cass informing him of its rejection by the Senate two years previously, and adding,

The grounds of this decision are not officially known to me, and it would be useless now to enter into speculation concerning them. It is, however, understood that the vote of rejection was carried by such a majority as to render it hopeless that any agreement containing like stipulations would, upon presentation, meet a different fate.

He further declared that, should the sentiments of his constitutional advisers change, the President would be glad to reopen the matter.<sup>13</sup>

The rejection of the treaty was, indeed, a decisive one, the vote, twenty-three to fourteen, being almost a reversal of the two-thirds majority required for ratification. The vote itself is not without interest. The yeas were almost exclusively those of northern Democrats, Daniel Webster and Goldsborough of Maryland being the

<sup>11</sup> MS., State Department, Bureau of Rolls and Library, Unperfected Treaties, M<sub>3</sub>.

<sup>12</sup> Lewis Cass to John Forsyth, January 27, 1838, MS. Despatches, France, XXVIII.

<sup>13</sup> John Forsyth to Lewis Cass, September 3, 1838, MS. Instructions, France, XIV., no. 25.

only Whigs to support ratification. On the other hand, six southern and two northern Democrats joined with the Whigs in defeating the treaty.<sup>14</sup> If it be conceded that the issue was joined on the states' rights question this division seems perfectly natural. And it is extremely difficult to imagine any other reason for the rejection of the treaty, particularly by such a division. As McLane had observed, such stipulations were familiar to our diplomacy; indeed, they appeared in fourteen treaties which had been concluded since 1789. There is abundant evidence of the existence of a real need for such an agreement with Switzerland, and the correspondence shows that both Jackson and Van Buren desired to conclude one. On the other hand, why should the Senate reject a treaty with Switzerland upon these grounds, and at almost the same time consent to the ratification of treaties with other countries containing similar stipulations?<sup>15</sup> Perhaps, as Secretary Forsyth remarked in 1838, it would be useless now to enter into speculation concerning the reasons for such apparent inconsistency. This much may be noted, however, that in the other cases the provisions regulating the inheritance and disposal of property comprise only one article in general treaties covering a wide range of subjects, and of great value to the nation, while the sole purpose of the rejected Swiss treaty was to settle this one question. The difference is one that may well have affected the action of the Senate. The subsequent course of the Senate and of the President in concluding treaties with Switzerland containing stipulations of this sort exhibits the same want of consistency and is of even greater interest in general study of the subject.

A more immediate instance of positive senatorial action upon an agreement of this type is afforded by the amendment of the treaty of 1845 with Bavaria. This is one of six treaties regulating property rights negotiated with the German states by Henry Wheaton.<sup>16</sup> Of these agreements four were accepted by the Senate as negotiated, that with Bavaria was amended to make one of its provisions apply to personal property only, and that with Electoral Hesse never was

<sup>14</sup> *Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate of the United States of America*, IV, 559 (cited hereafter as *Sen. Ex. Journ.*).

<sup>15</sup> Russia, 1832; Venezuela, 1836; Peru-Bolivia, 1836; Sardinia, 1838.

<sup>16</sup> Almost a decade earlier Wheaton had been instructed to endeavor to conclude such agreements. Upon the rejection of the Swiss treaty of 1836 these instructions were countermanded. But the seventh article of the treaty of 1840 with Hanover contains practically the same provisions as those rejected in 1836. When it passed the Senate, Wheaton suggested that he be empowered to negotiate conventions with Saxony, Bavaria, Württemberg, Electoral Hesse, and the Grand Duchy of Hesse. Nassau was subsequently added. Henry Wheaton to H. S. Legaré, June 14, 1843, MS. Despatches, Prussia, III., no. 226.

acted upon at all.<sup>17</sup> The amendment of the Bavarian treaty seems to have been merely the rectification of a clerical error on the part of the American negotiator. The second article of each of the Wheaton conventions fixes the period during which the alien heirs of real estate may dispose of such property in those states whose laws will not permit them permanently to hold it. In every agreement except that with Bavaria the third article puts aliens upon precisely the same footing as natives in the acquisition and disposal of personal property. In the third article of the Bavarian treaty the words "real and" preceded the words "personal property". The effect of such a provision would be to render nugatory the preceding article and to make its inclusion in the treaty an absurdity. It seems obvious that the two words crept in through carelessness, perhaps in preparing the formal draft. This view is supported by a statement of Wheaton himself.<sup>18</sup> Upon motion of Senator Huger of the Committee on Foreign Relations, the Senate, by unanimous consent, resolved to strike out the words "real and", and then unanimously voted to advise and consent to the ratification of the treaty.<sup>19</sup>

In 1847 a second convention regulating property rights was ne-

<sup>17</sup> James Buchanan to Andrew J. Donelson, October 12, 1847, MS. Instructions, Prussia, XIV., no. 12; see also *Sen. Ex. Journ.*, VII. 140, 167. This convention does not differ in any material manner from the other agreements which were approved by the Senate. Buchanan declared that the State Department did not know why the Senate had failed to act upon it.

<sup>18</sup> Henry Wheaton to J. C. Calhoun, January 21, 1845, MS. Despatches, Prussia, III. (Wheaton), no. 257.

<sup>19</sup> *Sen. Ex. Journ.*, VI. 446-449; for the course of the treaty in the Senate see *ibid.*, VI. 339, 400, 429, 444. There are two curious circumstances in the subsequent history of this article. The first is found in the instructions with which Calhoun returned the treaty to Wheaton for the approval of the Bavarian government. The Secretary of State declared that, "The President would have had no hesitation in ratifying the Convention as it stood; and he hopes and believes that the amendment will not prove a fatal objection on the part of Bavaria". J. C. Calhoun to Henry Wheaton, March 27, 1845, MS. Instructions, Prussia, XIV., no. 68. In view of the character of the amendment which had been made, this statement seems hardly to be rational. It is not impossible that national politics rather than departmental affairs occupied the focus of attention in the mind of the Secretary at the moment when it was written. Such lapses have occurred since the days of Calhoun. But even more inexplicable is the fact that in all of the editions of the treaties and conventions of the United States with foreign powers appear the words ordered by the Senate to be stricken out. Notes afford the information that in the original treaty they are encircled with red ink, and Davis adds that they were stricken out by order of the Senate. Davis, "Notes upon Foreign Treaties", p. 1248. The presence of the red circle is simply explained: examination of the originals of the treaties of this period shows that it was the practice of the State Department to encircle with red crayon words stricken out by Senate amendments. In no other instance, however, do the words so excised appear in the printed treaties.

gotiated with Switzerland, and this agreement was unanimously approved by the Senate. Article II. follows the form which by that time had been used in various treaties. It provides that where a citizen of Switzerland shall inherit real property in the United States which he may not permanently possess because of alienage, a term of not less than three years shall be allowed him to dispose of such property and to collect and withdraw the proceeds thereof without paying any charges other than those to which a native would be liable under similar circumstances.<sup>20</sup> The convention of 1847, however, was solely upon the subject of property rights, and in 1850 instructions were sent to A. Dudley Mann, special agent of the United States in Europe, directing him to negotiate a general treaty of friendship, commerce, and extradition with the Swiss confederation.<sup>21</sup> Such a treaty was signed at Bern November 25, 1850. It was submitted to the Senate by President Fillmore in February of the following year with a message in which he made an absolutely explicit statement of his opinion that the treaty-making power had no constitutional authority to remove disabilities as to holding land, laid upon aliens by the states, and at the same time suggested certain amendments to this agreement. The President asked that the Senate strike out a clause in the first article which relieved Swiss citizens of such disabilities by guaranteeing to them in each state the rights of citizens of the United States. "This is not supposed to be a power properly to be exercised by the President and the Senate in concluding and ratifying a treaty with a foreign state", Fillmore observed. "The authority naturally belongs to the State within whose limits the land may lie." He also suggested that another clause of the same article, which provided that citizens of Switzerland might acquire, possess, and alienate real and personal property in the United States, be amended so as to apply to personal property only.<sup>22</sup>

Precisely the extent to which the Senate agreed with Fillmore's views of the constitutional limitations upon the treaty-making power can hardly be established to-day. The records show, however, that

<sup>20</sup> *Treaties and Conventions*, II. 1763; the course of the convention in the Senate may be traced in the *Sen. Ex. Journ.*, VII. 249, 250, 275, 397, 402.

<sup>21</sup> John M. Clayton to A. Dudley Mann, June 5, 1850, MS. Instructions, Special Missions, I. 310. The career of Mann was one of the most picturesque in the annals of American diplomacy. Upon a number of occasions covering a considerable period of years he was sent abroad upon confidential missions as "special agent" of the United States, and during the momentous years preceding 1850 he covered revolution-torn Europe from England to Italy as unofficial observer for the State Department. Most of his reports appear in the manuscript volumes entitled "Special Missions".

<sup>22</sup> Message dated February 13, 1851. *Sen. Ex. Journ.*, VIII. 289-290.

the amendments suggested were adopted with but three dissenting votes. The Senate, in fact, went further than the President had requested. Fillmore had been of the opinion that the provision of the fifth article granting to Swiss citizens the right to dispose of their personal property and real estate "would be no otherwise objectionable, if it stood by itself, than as it would seem to imply a power to hold that of which they are permitted to dispose". Hence he did not ask that it be removed. The Senate, however, struck out the words, "and real", leaving the article to apply to personal property only. At the same time article VI., which was of an executory nature, was amended to accord with the changes made in the preceding article.<sup>23</sup> After a delay of six months the amended treaty was returned to Mann with instructions to explain the situation to the Swiss government and, if possible, to secure acceptance of the changes which had been made.<sup>24</sup> Seventeen months later, February, 1853, it was again laid before the Senate, the amendments of 1851 as modified by the Swiss having been incorporated into the body of the treaty, which now was presented as a continuous draft.<sup>25</sup>

When the Senate had amended article V. so that it applied to personal property only, it had left the treaty without any provision regulating the inheritance and withdrawal of real property. In the modified draft now to be passed upon, the disposition of land was provided for by two paragraphs which had been added to this article. The first stipulated that the provisions of the article covering the disposition of personal property should be applicable to real estate in those states in which foreigners should be entitled to hold or to inherit land.<sup>26</sup> This was agreed to by the Senate without question. The second additional clause followed the commonly accepted form and provided that in those states where alien heirs could not hold real estate there should be "accorded to the said heir, or other successor, a term of not less than three years to sell" such property.<sup>27</sup> After the treaty had been discussed several times it was moved to amend article V. by striking out all of this clause. The vote stood seventeen to eleven in favor of the excision, but as the twenty-eight members present did not constitute a quorum the matter was carried over. Three weeks later the motion to strike out the clause was replaced by one offered by Senator Mason, veteran chairman of the

<sup>23</sup> *Sen. Ex. Journ.*, VIII. 289, 312, 315.

<sup>24</sup> Daniel Webster to A. Dudley Mann, September 25, 1851, MS. Special Missions, I, no. 2, p. 339.

<sup>25</sup> *Sen. Ex. Journ.*, IX. 25-26.

<sup>26</sup> *Treaties and Conventions*, II. 1765.

<sup>27</sup> MS. Treaties, no. 353 (Bureau of Rolls and Library).



Committee on Foreign Relations. The committee proposed to amend the clause by striking out the words, "a term of not less than three years", and inserting in lieu thereof, "such term as the laws of the State or Canton will permit". With this amendment, which was accepted without a division, it was unanimously resolved to advise and consent to the ratification of the treaty.<sup>28</sup>

This deliberate modification of the article is believed to indicate very strongly that the Senate of 1854 deemed the authority of the treaty-making power to regulate the inheritance and disposition of real property to be highly questionable. There is, moreover, the strongest sort of additional evidence supporting this conclusion, and at the same time absolutely proving that this was the position taken by President Pierce and his Secretary of State. In the letter of instruction with which Marcy returned the re-amended treaty to Switzerland, the Secretary declared:

Most of our treaties, including the existing one with Switzerland respecting the *Droit d'Aubaine*, contain the stipulation, word for word, which has been amended in the present instance; but the Government of the United States has not the power to carry the stipulation practically into effect in such states, the number having been reduced, it is believed, to three or four, as withhold their assent to such a procedure.<sup>29</sup>

This last statement can leave no doubt that the opinion of the executive branch of the government was that the power in question was reserved to the states, and was outside the sphere of the treaty-making power of the United States.

Additional interest is given to the circumstances under which this treaty was amended by the fact that the famous case of *Hauenstein v. Lynham* turns on the interpretation of the very clause which was modified by the Senate.<sup>30</sup> The question at issue, reduced to its simplest terms, may be stated thus: the treaty of 1850 guarantees to Swiss citizens inheriting real property in a state in which they may not legally hold such property the right to sell or withdraw it within the time allowed by the law of that state. In case the law of the state does not fix such term, may or may not the sale and withdrawal be made within a reasonable time, or at all? The Virginia

<sup>28</sup> *Sen. Ex. Journ.*, IX. 25, 26, 57, 81, 234, 320, 330.

<sup>29</sup> W. L. Marcy to T. S. Fay, June 8, 1854, MS. Instructions, Switzerland, I. 15, no. 12.

<sup>30</sup> 100 U. S. 483 (1879). This case is discussed at length in Tucker, *Limitations on the Treaty-Making Power*, pp. 161-165. Burr, *The Treaty-Making Power of the United States*, pp. 355, 357, and Corwin, *National Supremacy*, pp. 188-190, are primarily interested not in the manner in which the court interpreted the treaty, but in the decision that it was efficacious if interpreted so as to apply to the case.

court of appeals declared that it could not be.<sup>31</sup> The Supreme Court of the United States reversed the decision, and finally ruled that the right of withdrawal existed under the treaty independently of state legislation. Both courts, to a considerable extent, based their decisions upon their respective conclusions as to what the framers of the treaty had intended this clause to mean.<sup>32</sup>

In presenting the opinion of the Virginia tribunal Judge Moncure stated that it was the belief of the court that the framers of the treaty had intended it to be dependent upon state legislation for its operation and effect. He declared this to be the plain meaning of the language used, and argued that if it had been desired to give the alien heir a right to sell the property within a reasonable time, even in case the state should not choose to permit it, or to prescribe such time,

the term of time . . . would have been prescribed by the treaty itself, as had been done by the treaty between the same powers of May 4, 1848. . . . Why [he inquired] was not a similar provision made in the treaty of November 9, 1855?<sup>33</sup> Obviously because it was intended that the consent and co-operation of the state should be necessary to give effect to that part of the treaty. . . . May we not suppose that the framers of the treaty of 1855 intended to avoid the exercise of at least a doubtful power by omitting such a provision . . . and by inserting in its stead such a provision as is contained in the subsequent treaty of 1850?<sup>34</sup>

The Supreme Court, however, speaking through Justice Swayne, decided that it was clearly the intention of the framers of the treaty "to secure to the beneficiaries absolutely the right 'to sell said property', and 'to withdraw and export the proceeds thereof without difficulty'". The terms of the clause were held to "imply clearly that *some time*, and not that *none* was to be allowed". It was further observed that if the case were to be decided under the treaty of 1847 there would not be a doubt as to the result, and that the court thought the case equally clear under the treaty of 1850.<sup>35</sup>

Detailed study of these two opinions affirms the judgment that every point in the history of the article and clause in question directly and powerfully supports the position taken by the Virginia

<sup>31</sup> 28 Gratton 62 (1876).

<sup>32</sup> Judge Moncure said, "This case, therefore depends entirely on the true construction of the third clause of the fifth article of the said treaty." 28 Gratton 71. The Supreme Court declared that "The fifth article . . . is the hinge of the controversy between the parties." 100 U. S. 485.

<sup>33</sup> This was the date of the proclamation of the treaty, which was signed November 25, 1850. It is the practice of the State Department to identify treaties by the date of signature.

<sup>34</sup> 28 Gratton 71-72.

<sup>35</sup> 100 U. S. 483, 486-487.

court. Judge Moncure cites the provision of the treaty of 1847 allowing three years for sale and withdrawal, and asks, "Why was not a similar provision made in the treaty of November 9, 1855?" The mind successively recalls that such a provision was incorporated into the third clause of article V. of the latter instrument; that the Senate at first was inclined to reject the entire clause, but finally struck out this particular provision and substituted a phrase which fixed the time as the term permitted by the laws of the states and cantons; and that in explaining this amendment to the other party to the treaty the executive explicitly stated that the change was made because "the Government of the United States has not the power to carry the stipulation practically into effect" in those states whose laws did not permit aliens to hold real estate. Consideration of these facts certainly raises a very strong presumption that the Virginia jurist was right when he declared that the earlier provision allowing three years for the sale and withdrawal of real estate was changed "because it was intended that the consent and co-operation of the state should be necessary to give effect to that part of the treaty". Also it may be recalled that in the rejected Swiss treaty of 1835, as in the treaty of 1832 with Russia, it was provided that claimants should "be allowed the term prescribed by the laws of the said State or Canton, or if no such term shall be prescribed a reasonable time to dispose of" the sort of property here under discussion.<sup>36</sup> This alternative provision does not appear in the treaty of 1850, nor is there the slightest evidence that the Senate considered that the right which it might have explicitly granted was implied by the provision which it did substitute for the regulation which had appeared in the treaty of 1847. All the evidence leads to the contrary conclusion. Yet the clause was interpreted exactly as though the alternative phrase had been included.

Thus the Supreme Court took the position that the treaty-making organs of the government possessed and had intended to exercise the power to regulate the acquisition, possession, and disposal of land within the states. The history of the treaty, on the contrary, seems to prove that its makers believed that they did not possess the power in question and that they did not intend to exercise it. Had the Supreme Court taken this view it must have held that the treaty did not apply to the case, and have affirmed the decision of the Virginia tribunal. Obviously, such a decision would in no way have been a denial of the existence of the power in the federal govern-

<sup>36</sup> MS. Unperfected Treaties, M<sub>3</sub> (Bureau of Rolls and Library); *Treaties and Conventions*, II. 1518.

ment. It would, however, have reduced to the status of *dicta* any opinion expressed upon the constitutionality of the treaty.

The conclusion that the Senate had intended to handle with great caution the constitutional question involved in article V. of the Swiss treaty is strengthened by its action upon a convention negotiated in 1854 with Brunswick and Lüneburg, and by the very terms of this agreement. Article II. stipulates in words identical with those of the Senate amendment to the Swiss convention, that in case real property inherited by citizens of either party within the territory of the other cannot be held on account of alienage, "such term as the laws of the State or country will permit shall be allowed" for its sale and withdrawal.<sup>37</sup> Inasmuch as this phrase was written into the Brunswick agreement by Secretary Marcy while the ratification of the Swiss convention was still under consideration, it is reasonable to infer that he deemed it to be within the bounds of the extremely narrow limits which he had just placed upon the treaty-making power in his explanation of its inclusion in the latter treaty.<sup>38</sup> As might be expected, the Senate had no fault to find with this part of the convention. In amending the first article, however, the revising body went further than it ever had in protecting the right of the states to control all property within their borders. The provision was that, "The citizens of each one of the high contracting parties shall have power to dispose of their personal property, within the jurisdiction of the other, either by testament, donation, or *ab intestato*, or in any other manner."<sup>39</sup> These were the customary terms governing the disposition of personal property. But the Senate, by amendment, in this instance made the right "subject to the laws of the State or country in which the domicile is, or the property found".<sup>40</sup> It is to be noted that this article concerned personal property only. Attention is directed to its amendment because this is the only instance in which the Senate acted to bring a treaty grant of rights in the disposal of personal property into subjection to state law. It is hardly to be supposed that the body of men who went to this extreme in the protection of the states had intended to amend the Swiss treaty so as to heighten rather than diminish the questionable character of the grant made by it in the more delicate matter of real estate.

<sup>37</sup> *Treaties and Conventions*, I. 157.

<sup>38</sup> The advice and consent of the Senate had been given on the twenty-ninth of the preceding May, but the President did not ratify the convention until November 6. *Treaties and Conventions*, II. 1763.

<sup>39</sup> MS. Unperfected Treaties, no. 35 (Bureau of Rolls and Library).

<sup>40</sup> *Sen. Ex. Journ.*, IX. 435.

The attitude of the Senate of this period upon the question of the extent to which the treaty-making power authorized the federal government to control the inheritance and disposal of real estate, and even of personal property, is further revealed by two other treaties which came before it during the years when the Swiss treaty of 1850 was being considered. The first of these was negotiated with Belgium in 1852. This convention never was perfected and no copy of it is preserved in the Bureau of Rolls and Library. It is evident, however, that the first article regulated the rights of aliens as to personal property and the second their rights in land.<sup>41</sup> Although considered intermittently between August, 1852, and December, 1853, no progress was made towards ratification at this time.<sup>42</sup> Four years later, January, 1858, the convention was revived and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.<sup>43</sup> On the twenty-ninth of that month Secretary Cass informed H. de Bosch Spencer, Belgian chargé d'affaires, that the committee had agreed to report it, and submitted to him a transcript of an amendment which they intended to propose.<sup>44</sup> Late in July Spencer informed the Secretary of State that his sovereign had authorized the acceptance of the proposed amendment, and suggested that it take the form of an additional article, in the following words:

It is hereby understood that the stipulations of Article 1st, in as much as they concern immovable property, and that those of Article 2d, shall be applicable in those states only of the Union the peculiar legislation of which is not contrary to said stipulations.<sup>45</sup>

Six months later the Committee on Foreign Relations reported out the convention with an amendment substantially in this form. But although the Senate considered the convention twice, no positive action was taken, and on March 8 it was finally tabled.<sup>46</sup> The

<sup>41</sup> Apparently the Senate never returned the original treaty to the Department of State. Probably it still rests in the executive files of the former body. The nature of the agreement, however, is clearly revealed by the Senate amendment, and by the correspondence between the State Department and H. de Bosch Spencer, Belgian chargé d'affaires at Washington.

<sup>42</sup> *Sen. Ex. Journ.*, VIII. 447, 448; IX. 9, 57, 69, 181.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, X. 279.

<sup>44</sup> Lewis Cass to H. de Bosch Spencer, January 29, 1858, MS. Notes, to Belgian Legation, XVI.

<sup>45</sup> H. de Bosch Spencer to Lewis Cass, July 25, 1858, MS. Notes, from Belgian Legation, XIV.

<sup>46</sup> *Sen. Ex. Journ.*, XI. 45, 75, 92. The report of the Committee on Foreign Relations also appears in the *Compilation of Reports, Committee on Foreign Relations, Sen. Doc. No. 231*, 56 Cong., 2 sess., pt. 8, p. 62. It is here dated March 9, 1853, one of the many gross errors in this compilation. The date should be February 2, 1859.

failure of the Senate to consent to ratification in 1852-1853, the nature of the proposed amendment, and the final fate of the convention certainly are highly suggestive of reluctance to decide the constitutional question involved.

By its amendment of article VII. of the French consular convention of 1853, the Senate again revealed its extreme solicitude for the rights of the states as opposed to the treaty-making powers of the federal government. In its first clause this article provided that, "In all the States of the Union, whose existing laws permit it, Frenchmen shall enjoy the right of possessing personal and real property by the same title and in the same manner as the citizens of the United States." The clause further stipulates that French citizens are to be on an equality with Americans in the disposition of such property. In the second clause the President engages to recommend to those states by whose existing laws aliens are not permitted to hold real estate the passage of such laws as may be necessary for conferring this right. The third clause confers upon citizens of the United States the same rights within France with respect to real and personal property as are enjoyed by French citizens, with the reservation to the French government of the ulterior right of establishing reciprocity in the matter.<sup>47</sup> During the debate on the convention twelve senators, most of them Democrats, attempted to strike out all of article VII. The article was retained, but was amended by the insertion into the first clause of the qualifying phrase, "so long and to the same extent as the said laws shall remain in force". The clause then read, "In all the States of the Union, whose existing laws permit it, so long and to the same extent as the said laws shall remain in force, Frenchmen shall enjoy the right of possessing personal and real property by the same title and in the same manner as the citizens of the United States." With this alteration and with a minor change in the wording of the title, the resolution of advice and consent was passed, twenty-five to ten. The same group which had endeavored to secure the excision of article VII. voted against ratification.<sup>48</sup> The purpose of the phrase inserted by the Senate seems to be obvious. It was to reserve to those states whose existing laws put French citizens on an equality with Americans in the inheritance and disposal of land the right to withdraw the privileges of this position at any time without the possibility of being brought into conflict with a treaty of the United States.

The two important federal cases under the French consular con-

<sup>47</sup> MS. Treaties with Foreign Powers, no. 92 (Bureau of Rolls and Library).

<sup>48</sup> *Sen. Ex. Journ.*, IX. 53, 116, 122-123.

vention of 1853 are *Prevost v. Greneaux*, 1856, and *Geofroy v. Riggs*, 1889. Each turns upon the article which was amended by the Senate, in the interpretation of which they offer a striking example of the extent to which even the highest court reflects in its decisions the dominant political thought of the time. The opinion in the case of 1856, written by Chief Justice Taney, is states' rights to the core. That of 1889, from the hand of Justice Field, voices with equal distinctness the nationalist doctrine upon the question at issue. Each is thoroughly in accord with the political views of the court. Chief Justice Taney wrote:

In affirming this judgment, it is proper to say that the obligation of the Treaty and its operation in the State, after it was made, depend upon the laws of Louisiana. The Treaty does not claim for the United States the right of controlling the succession of real or personal property in a state. And its operation is expressly limited "to the States of the Union whose laws permit it, so long and to the same extent as those laws shall remain in force."<sup>49</sup>

On the other hand Justice Field, speaking for the court of 1889, took the position that the treaty did grant to Frenchmen a positive right independently of state law, namely, the right of possessing personal and real property by the same title and in the same manner as citizens of the United States in those states whose law permitted aliens to hold real estate at all. That is, if the law of a state allowed aliens to hold real estate, then the treaty guaranteed that Frenchmen should be legally capable of acquiring, possessing, and disposing of it upon an absolute equality with citizens of the United States.

This construction [the court observed] . . . gives consistency and harmony to all the provisions of the article, and comports with its character as an agreement intended to confer reciprocal rights on the citizens of each country with respect to property held by them within the territory of the other. To construe the first clause as providing that Frenchmen shall enjoy the right of possessing personal and real property by the same title and in the same manner as citizens of the United States, in States, so long as their laws permit such enjoyment, is to give a meaning to the article by which nothing is conferred not already possessed, and leaves no adequate reason for the concession by France of rights to citizens of the United States, made in the third clause.<sup>50</sup>

It will be noticed that Justice Field bases his interpretation of the article principally upon the ground that only such a construction would comport "with its character as an agreement intended to confer reciprocal rights on the citizens of each country with respect to property held by them within the territory of the other". As a

<sup>49</sup> 19 Howard 7.

<sup>50</sup> 133 U. S. 269-270.

matter of fact, was it understood, or stated, that the privileges granted were to be reciprocal? The third clause of the article shows clearly that they were understood not to be. It stipulates that,

In like manner, but with the reservation of the ulterior right of establishing reciprocity in regard to possession and inheritance, the Government of France accords to the citizens of the United States the same rights within its territory in respect to real and personal property, and to inheritance, as are enjoyed by its own citizens.<sup>51</sup>

Clearly, it was understood that France was granting more than merely reciprocal privileges, and it is explicitly stipulated that she should not be bound permanently to do so.<sup>52</sup> In *Prevost v. Greneaux* the court held that the French consular convention of 1853 was intended to grant no right not given by state law. In *Geofroy v. Riggs* the decision was that this treaty was expected to confer rights independently of state legislation. Between these two positions the issue is clear. Is it too much to say that the contemporary opinion correctly expresses the real intent of the makers of the treaty, while that written after the passage of thirty-three years and the decision of the Civil War represents what would have been meant by the President and the Senate in 1889?<sup>53</sup> I believe that it is not.

The seven instances in which the Senate rejected, dropped, or amended treaties regulating the inheritance and disposal of real property occurred between 1830 and 1860. No such action was taken before or after this period.<sup>54</sup> With reference to the con-

<sup>51</sup> *Treaties and Conventions*, I. 531.

<sup>52</sup> The alternative construction of the article is well stated in the argument of John Selden, attorney for the appellee, as follows: "The concessions, on the part of the United States, expressed in this article of the convention are: (1) The adoption as part of the supreme law of the land, of certain existing *state* laws, so long as they may remain in operation; and, (2) the engagement of the President, to recommend to those States by whose laws aliens are not permitted to hold real estate, the passage of enabling enactments." 133 U. S. 260.

<sup>53</sup> A concrete example of the change in attitude is an incident mentioned in Davis's "Notes": "In 1870 a proposal was made to the Department of State to open negotiations with a Foreign Power, with a view of conferring upon citizens of each the power of holding, disposing of, and succeeding to real estate in the territories of the other. In deference to the doubts suggested from the bench, the question was submitted to the Committee of Foreign Relations of the Senate for advice. After full consideration they advised the negotiation of a Treaty for that purpose if possible." Davis, "Notes upon Foreign Treaties", p. 1239.

<sup>54</sup> Provisions of the sort described appear in nine treaties subsequently concluded. Some apply the most favored nation principle to the rights of aliens in land, others put them on an equality with citizens, and others guarantee to them only such rights as may be given by the laws. These agreements are with Corea, Congo, the Dominican Republic, the German Empire, Italy, Nicaragua, the Orange Free State, Servia, and Venezuela. *Treaties and Conventions*, I. 329, 337, 405, 553, 976; II. 1282, 1311, 1614, 1847.



stitutional question of limitations on the treaty-making power when opposed to the right of each state to control exclusively its own land laws, I believe the history of these treaties to show, first, that the matter did not become the subject of acute political contention in the Senate until after 1830; secondly, that from then until 1860 the Senate and the executive entertained grave and increasing doubts concerning their authority to make treaties in this field; thirdly, that in this as in other phases of the states' rights struggle neither the Senate nor the executive ever assumed and maintained a clear-cut, definite position on the principle at issue; fourthly, that in every particular instance in which conflict arose the treaty in question was amended to bring it more nearly into accord with the states' rights theory. These conclusions would seem to indicate that during the thirty years preceding the Civil War the Senate and some of the presidents went much further than did the courts in reaction from the nationalist conception of the scope of the treaty-making power. Under the influence of this reaction a number of treaties were amended with the intention of making provisions regulating the inheritance and disposal of land dependent upon the laws of the states; and in one instance the Supreme Court interpreted such a treaty in this spirit. But, as Disraeli once said, finality is not the language of politics. Before these treaties were finally construed by the Supreme Court, nationalist sentiment had again become unquestionably dominant among the people, and in both the political and the judicial departments of the government. The treaties, therefore, bear to-day the stamp of the nationalist doctrines of the men who construed them, rather than of the states' rights dogmas which dictated the action of their makers. The authority of the federal government in this field is not fixed by the Constitution in absolute rigidity; more than one interpretation is possible. And so long as this is true the construction of the day, or of the generation, will tend to be in harmony with the dominant political beliefs of the American people.

RALSTON HAYDEN.

## NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

### LIMITATIONS OF GILD MONOPOLY

WRITERS in the field of English economic history usually accept the theory that the members of a craft gild generally secured and maintained a monopoly of working and trading in their particular branch of industry. Thus in his recent book, *The Economic Organization of England*, Professor Ashley writes:

The craft company was not simply an association *among* men of a town engaged in a particular occupation; it was the association, in idea and approximately in fact, of *all* the men so engaged. That means that, as soon as the company was solidly established, no man who did not belong to it could carry on the trade in the borough.<sup>1</sup>

This theory needs some modification by reason of the tendency of the men of one craft to intermeddle in the trade of another. To buy and sell freely, regardless of gild restrictions, was sometimes even claimed as a right attaching to possession of the civic franchise.

It cannot be denied, of course, that individual gilds sometimes secured monopolistic rights over those arts in which they specialized. As early as Henry II.'s time the Weavers of London were granted a royal charter which forbade anyone to engage in their occupation within the City unless he were a member of their gild.<sup>2</sup> Similar privileges were conferred upon the Weavers of York, the Tailors of Chester, and many other such associations.<sup>3</sup> In 1363, as the result of a determined effort to prevent the Grocers from buying up and selling all kinds of merchandise, Parliament enacted a statute which provided that in future merchants should use but one kind of merchandise, and "that Artificers, Handicraft People, hold them everyone to one Mystery, which he will choose betwixt this and the said feast of Candlemas".<sup>4</sup> So too, the famous Statute of Artificers, passed in the early part of Elizabeth's reign, would seem to sustain the exclusive privileges of the crafts, in that it expressly forbids anyone to exercise any trade then existing in England, "excepte he shall have been brought uppe therein Seaven yeares at the least as Apprentice".<sup>5</sup> Evidence of this character makes out a case for

<sup>1</sup> P. 37; cf. Gross, *Gild Merchant*, I. 114.

<sup>2</sup> *Liber Custumarum*, p. 33.

<sup>3</sup> Gross, *Gild Merchant*, pp. 114-115.

<sup>4</sup> 37 Edw. III., cc. 5, 6.

<sup>5</sup> 5 Eliz., c. 4.

those who contend that once a gild was firmly established, it monopolized the manufacture of, and trade in, its particular kind of goods.

The age in which the craft gilds flourished, however, was not one of highly centralized government and a rigid enforcement of laws. A judge might interpret a statute in such a way as virtually to nullify it.<sup>6</sup> Local custom might conflict with royal grant. Hence it is not surprising to find that there were forces working more or less successfully against the monopoly of the individual craft association. It was long a claim of the freeman of London that he might rightfully buy and sell without hindrance whatever goods he wished, irrespective of gild regulations.<sup>7</sup> Thus in 1335, when the Weavers accused the Burellers of violating the exclusive rights conferred on the former by the charter of Henry II., the Burellers took the ground that they were "freemen of the City, and as such" were "entitled to carry on any trade or mistery". The mayor and aldermen sustained their claim and decreed that all freemen might set up looms, weave cloth and sell at their will "saving to the king his yearly ferm".<sup>8</sup> So too the clause in the law of 1363, forbidding merchants to trade in more than one kind of merchandise was repealed the following year, and "all People" were to be "as free as they were (at all times) before the said Ordinance".<sup>9</sup> In spite of all efforts to prevent it this tendency to buy and sell without regard to the privileges of individual crafts persisted throughout the whole history of the London gilds and livery companies.

Much other evidence might be adduced from the records of London and other places to show how the men of one occupation interfered with the trade of another.<sup>10</sup> The letter-books of the metropolis furnish numerous instances of citizens who exercised, sometimes for years at a time, trades other than those to which they had been apprenticed, and of the companies to which they belonged.<sup>11</sup> The

<sup>6</sup> 4 Leon. 9.

<sup>7</sup> *Liber Albus*, I. 391; Johnson, *Hist. Drapers*, I. 173; Sharpe, *Cal. Letter-Books*, *Letter-Book E*, pp. 297-298; *ibid.*, *Letter-Book F*, p. 29; Riley, *Memorials*, pp. 420-421; Cro. Car., 361, 10 Car. I.; *ibid.*, pp. 516-517; etc.

<sup>8</sup> Sharpe, *Cal. Letter-Books*, *Letter-Book E*, pp. 297-298.

<sup>9</sup> 38 Edw. III., c. 11.

<sup>10</sup> *Liber Custumarum*, p. 385 ff.; Riley, *Memorials*, p. 157; Sharpe, *Cal. Letter-Books*, *Letter-Book G*, p. 167; *ibid.*, p. 23; *ibid.*, *Letter-Book K*, p. 43; stat. 2 Hen. VI., c. 7; stat. 19 Hen. VII., c. 19; Mayo and Gould, *Records of Dorchester*, p. 393; Lambert, *Two Thousand Years of Gild Life*, p. 158; etc.

<sup>11</sup> Sharpe, *Cal. Letter-Books*, *Letter-Books G, H, I, K*, *passim*; for example, a certain man "showed that whereas he had been admitted to the freedom of the City in the Mistery of 'Hornyers' . . . he had long used, and was now using, the Mistery of 'Bruers', as good men of the latter Mistery testified; he therefore prayed to be admitted to the freedom in that Mistery. His prayer granted." *Letter-Book K*, pp. 7-8.

careful historian of the London Drapers' Company points out that though the Drapers temporarily established their control in 1363-1364, nevertheless "their monopoly did not last, nor was it ever complete".<sup>12</sup> An ordinance of the crafts of Beverley in 1493 implies intermeddling, in that it provides that in future every man shall be "in clothynge with the crafte yat he moste getts hys lyffynge by".<sup>13</sup> Starkey, writing in the time of Henry VIII., sums up the situation thus: "For thys causyth much malyce, envy, and debate, both in cyte and towne, that one man meddylth in the craft and mystere of other."<sup>14</sup>

In some cases monopoly of manufacture seems to have been guarded more carefully than monopoly of trade. The tendency of those who have written in regard to the guilds has been to assume that these two kinds of monopoly necessarily went together. An examination of the references to charters given by Gross, however, shows that in the majority of instances it was not necessarily a monopoly of trade and manufacture, as he states it to be, that was granted to the guild; it may have been solely a monopoly of *manufacture*.<sup>15</sup> In the case of the "corvesarii" of Oxford no one outside of the guild was to be permitted to sell any *new work*; nothing is said in regard to trading in goods that had once been put on the market.<sup>16</sup>

The distinction between monopoly of manufacture and monopoly of trade is brought out more clearly, however, in the case of *Rex v. Bagshaw*, which came into court in the reign of Charles I. The question at issue was whether a citizen of London could lawfully exercise another craft than that to which he had been apprenticed. The defendant pleaded the custom of London, but verdict was found against him. The case is reported as follows:

The issue being joined, Whether there were such a custom as is pleaded? Littleton, the Recorder of London, certified, *ore tenus*, that there was not any such custom generally; for he said, that the custom is

<sup>12</sup> Johnson, *Hist. Drapers*, I. 99.

<sup>13</sup> Poulson, *Beverlac*, p. 256.

<sup>14</sup> Starkey, *England in the Reign of King Henry the Eighth: a Dialogue*, etc. (E. E. T. S., 1878), p. 158; in a case held before the Court of King's Bench regarding an alleged violation of the seven-years' apprenticeship requirement of the Statute of Artificers, it was held that if one had served an apprenticeship to any trade named in the act, he might exercise any other trade named therein. 4 Leon. 9.

<sup>15</sup> Gross, *Gild Merchant*, I, 114-115, and foot-note.

<sup>16</sup> "Quod nullus scindat in eadem villa Oxonie aut suburbiis ejusdem corduanum aut corium tannatum conreatum, nec novum opus ad officium predictum pertinens in eisdem villa et suburbiis vendat, nisi sit de illa Gilda, sub forisfactura manuoperis illius." From a charter of 12 Edw. II., quoted in Gross, *Gild Merchant*, I. 115.

not, that one brought up as an apprentice in the trade of a goldsmith, cutler, etc., being a freeman of London, by colour thereof may use any other manual trade; but one of a trade who useth buying and selling, may exercise another trade of buying and selling.<sup>17</sup>

A similar case the same year was decided in similar fashion.<sup>18</sup> Apparently London was more lenient toward promiscuous trading than toward promiscuous manufacture.

Even against those who were not of the freedom it was not always easy for the townsmen to enforce monopoly,<sup>19</sup> particularly where foreign merchants were accorded special privileges by the king.<sup>20</sup> But against those who lacked the franchise the municipal governments at least presented a solid front.<sup>21</sup> Admission to the freedom of London signified admission to what was, in the essential matter of monopoly, a *Gilda Mercatoria*,<sup>22</sup> whether or not it was called by that name. Against those freemen who wished to trade in the goods of misteries other than those to which they belonged, the individual gild might try to establish its monopoly; but the custom of buying and selling freely was never completely destroyed by these efforts. I have not attempted to determine whether the tendency rested on a legal basis in other towns than London; certain it is, however, that intermeddling of the character described was not confined to the metropolis. Even if it be admitted that the monopoly of the individual gild was the rule—a matter by no means completely established—the variations from it are too important to be neglected.

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#### THE ENGLISH RECUSANTS AND THE SPANISH ARMADA

THERE is a widespread and quite inexplicable misapprehension as to the part taken by the English Recusants in the preparation for defense made by England at the time of the approach of the Spanish Armada. It is asserted that in 1588 England, in response to the government's call for defenders against the threatened Spanish invasion, rose as one man, that Catholics fought side by side with

<sup>17</sup> Cro. Car. 361. 10 Car. I. (Croke, *English Reports*).

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 516-517. Appleton v. Stoughton.

<sup>19</sup> Sharpe, *Cal. Letter-Books, Letter-Book C*, pp. 19-20; *ibid.*, *Letter-Book E*, p. 13; *ibid.*, *Letter-Book H*, pp. 135, 449; Riley, *Memorials*, pp. 354, 468, 561; etc.

<sup>20</sup> Sharpe, *Cal. Letter-Books, Letter-Book D*, p. 225; *ibid.*, *Letter-Book F*, p. 14; *ibid.*, *Letter-Book G*, introduction, p. xiii; *ibid.*, *Letter-Book I*, p. 54, etc.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, *Letter-Book D*, introduction, pp. ii-iii.

<sup>22</sup> "The Gild was the department of town administration whose duty was to maintain and regulate the trade monopoly. This was the *raison d'être* of the Gild Merchant of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries." Gross, *Gild Merchant*, I. 43.

Protestants, that the bitter religious animosities of a half-century were forgotten, that the Lord High Admiral, the commander of the victorious English fleet, was himself an adherent of the Catholic faith. These statements are not based on satisfactory historical evidence; in fact the evidence forces one to an entirely opposite conclusion. Recusants were not enrolled in the English armies; they did not help man the English fleets; the Lord Admiral was not a Catholic. Whatever may have been the loyalty of the recusant portion of the population, the government, its very existence threatened by the foremost Catholic power of Europe, and fearful of the possibility of disaffection at home, denied to them the opportunity to serve the nation in the time of crisis.

The tradition that Admiral Howard was a Roman Catholic seems to have grown up at some much later time. Every contemporary indication is against it. He is known to have served frequently on commissions for the apprehension of Recusants. He took part in all the anti-Catholic governmental action of the period. There is in his whole career no contemporary record of any charge of nonconformity being brought against him, nor any evidence of his sympathy with the Catholics in their persecutions.<sup>1</sup> So strong is this cumulative evidence that unless some new and surprising body of material should be discovered to offset it, historians should not continue to picture Howard of Effingham as the protagonist of the Catholic patriots, the leader who, placing patriotism above religious conviction, led thousands of his co-religionists to the defense of the kingdom.

It is necessary at this point to give brief consideration to the general situation of these "co-religionists". As compared with the policies of Continental countries toward those of their inhabitants who dissented in religious matters, Elizabeth's treatment of the English Recusants cannot be considered to have been severe. Toward the Jesuits and seminary priests the governmental policy was rigid and unsparing, but this was due to the suspected political nature of their activities, not to their religious convictions. Toward the great mass of English Catholics, those who were not actually engaged in plotting for the overthrow of the government or the restoration of papal authority, Elizabeth's policy was one of surveillance rather than persecution. Punishment for non-attendance at the English Church was for the most part limited to the payment of fines. Recusancy was to be required to pay the expense caused by its own

<sup>1</sup> Cheyney, *History of England from the Defeat of the Armada to the Death of Elizabeth*, I. 43.

existence as a government problem, and if possible a little more—a typically Tudor attitude toward the subject.<sup>2</sup>

It is not to be inferred, however, that the comparative leniency of Elizabeth's government toward the Catholics was indicative of confidence in them. The constant surveillance which the government felt it necessary to maintain is a definite indication to the contrary. Lists of the Recusants living in each county were compiled and record kept of the financial condition of these individuals. At times of special stress directions were sent by the Privy Council that particular watchfulness be exercised.<sup>3</sup> Typical of the government's attitude is a letter sent by the Council to the lieutenants of Sussex at the time of the general preparation to resist the Spanish invasion. This letter, referring to those of Her Majesty's subjects who "most obstinately have refused to come to the church to prayers and divine service", states that "it is hardly adventured to repose that trust in them which is to be looked for in her other good subjects". The document proceeds to point out that "it is also certaine that such as should meane to invade the realme would never attempt the same, but uppon hope (which the fugitives and rebells abroad do give and assure them) of those bad members that alreadie are knowen to be recusants."<sup>4</sup>

This being the general attitude of the Privy Council, it is not surprising to find that as the danger of invasion from Spain became imminent the government should have taken steps to remove from among the soldiery those whose religious sentiments opened them to suspicion of disloyalty. At the same time provision was made to prevent the inclusion of Recusants in the new troops being organized. For the accomplishment of these purposes positive instructions were sent to muster-masters that the Oath of Supremacy should be administered to all officers and soldiers.<sup>5</sup> This oath of repudiation of the pope's authority was designed to test the loyalty of all who had enlisted. The same attitude on the part of the government is evidenced in the special instructions sent to the commissioners in Lancashire, that "none suspected in religion have the chardge of any number of soldiaurs".<sup>6</sup> Obviously if Catholics were to help resist the threatened invasion it would have to be in despite of government and conscience.

<sup>2</sup> Merriman, "Some Notes on the Treatment of the English Catholics in the Reign of Elizabeth", *American Historical Review*, XIII, 480 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Acts of the Privy Council*, *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> The Council to the Lieutenants of Sussex, January 4, 1587/8, in Wright, *Queen Elizabeth and her Times*, II, 358.

<sup>5</sup> Hist. MSS. Comm., *Rept. XV.*, app., pt. V., *Foljambe MSS.*, pp. 22-23.

<sup>6</sup> *Id.*, *Rept. XIV.*, app., pt. IV., *Kenyon MSS.*, p. 594.

But the Privy Council went still further. It was not held sufficient to keep Recusants out of the army. As private persons they might be a very real source of danger in the day of trial. To prevent any such possibility it was decided that all Recusants should be disarmed. As early as March, 1585, we have a note in Lord Burghley's writing in which reference is made to a general muster and the disarming of the Recusants.<sup>7</sup> In 1586 definite steps were taken toward this end. Orders were sent into the counties directing the justices of the peace to collect all arms and armor owned by Recusants and to keep the same in some safe place. This measure was not one of confiscation but rather of removing an element of danger until fear of invasion might pass away. Later, in 1588, when the invasion had taken definite form, the Council notified the lords lieutenant of all the counties that this armor which two years before had been sequestered should now be sold for a fair price to such of "her Majesty's well affected subjects" as were unfurnished. The money received was to be turned over to the original Recusant owners. The instructions further directed that all other armor remaining as yet in the possession of Recusants should be taken from them and converted to the same use.<sup>8</sup>

Up to this point the English Catholics, though disqualified for military service and deprived of arms and armor, had been secure in their persons. Now the government, probably actuated by the fear that the Spaniards having once landed might be re-enforced by this disaffected part of the population, took its third and most stringent step. The Privy Council decided to double its surveillance and to consign Recusants of note temporarily to prison. Orders to this effect were accordingly issued. The fact that the letters to the lieutenants of Sussex and Lincolnshire containing these directions are extant, and that we have direct evidence of the orders being carried out by the lieutenant of Derby, Stafford, and Nottingham, and by the City of London would indicate that the movement was not confined to any one locality; but that the orders were general.<sup>9</sup> The instructions to the lieutenants of Sussex may be taken therefore to represent a government policy and as such merit examination.

After explaining the government's lack of confidence in the English Catholics in time of danger the letter continues,

<sup>7</sup> Hist. MSS. Comm., *Salisbury MSS.*, III. 96.

<sup>8</sup> *Acts of the Privy Council*, XVI. 38; Hist. MSS. Comm., *Rept.* XII., app. pt. IV., *Rutland MSS.*, p. 246.

<sup>9</sup> The Council to the lieutenants of Sussex, January 4, 1587/8, Wright, *Queen Elizabeth and her Times*, II. 358; for London and Derbyshire, see *Rutland MSS.*, pp. 232, 238-239; for Lincolnshire, see Hist. MSS. Comm., *Rept.* XII., app. pt. I., *Cowper MSS.*, I. 8-9.



It is therefore thought meet in these doubtfull tymes, they should be looked to and restrayned, as they shall neither be able to give assistance to the enemie, nor that the enemie should have any hope of reliefe and succour by them. Wherefore her Majestie's pleasure is, your Lordship shall cause due enquirie to be made what number of recusants are in that countie, and what qualitie and abilitie they be of. Wherein such gentlemen as have been commissioners before in those matters, are able to instruct you. And therupon to cause the most obstinate and noted persons to be committed to such prysons as are fittest for their safe keeping. The rest that are of value, and not so obstinate, to be referred to the custodie of some ecclesiasticall persons and other gentlemen well affected, to remayne at the charges of the recusant, to be restrained in such sorte as they may be forthcoming, and kept from intelligence one with another.

The severe policy contained in these directions was rigidly carried into execution. A letter to the Earl of Rutland under date of December, 1587, contains a definite list of prominent Catholics and of the persons to whose custody they were assigned: "The Lord Vaux is committed to the Archbishop of Canterbury; Sir John Arundell to the Deane of Pawles; Sir Thomas Cornewallis to the Bishop of London; Sir Thomas Tresham to the Bishop of Lincoln; and so the other recusants of habite, severally comitted to the charge of severall persons."<sup>10</sup> The fact that this letter was written in the month preceding the directions from the Council to the lieutenants of Sussex may either indicate an earlier stage in the carrying out of the new policy, or merely that the orders to all the counties were not issued at exactly the same time.

We have an interesting bit of evidence as to the carrying out of the Council's orders in Derbyshire. On January 29, the Earl of Shrewsbury, who was lord lieutenant of that county as well as of Stafford and Nottingham, sent an order to his deputies for the apprehension of all Recusants.<sup>11</sup> The letter to the deputies in Derbyshire contains a list of persons under suspicion. The date and purport of this communication indicate clearly that it was written in pursuance of the general instructions received by Shrewsbury from the Council. The deputies in this instance must have proceeded very promptly, for within a week (February 4) the lord lieutenant followed up his first order by another letter, evidently in reference to certain Recusants already apprehended. He says, "No protection can be allowed, the matter having been determined by the absolute letters of the Council. I cannot grant to these who have been arrested more liberty than my warrant yields to them."<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> *Rutland MSS.*, p. 232.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 238-239.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

Similar evidence as to Lincolnshire leaves no doubt as to the enforcement of the government's severe policy in that county. Lord Burghley, lord lieutenant of Lincolnshire, had forwarded the Council's orders to his deputies. In carrying out these directions the deputy lieutenants were given grave concern by one John Thimelby, a prominent Recusant of Lincoln. They had required £300 bond of Thimelby, but he had unequivocally refused the condition which prohibited "conference with others of that sect". The deputies notified Burghley of the matter and informed him further that Thimelby "is now by the said deputies committed to the custody and safekeeping of Bartholomew Armin, Esquire . . . and in the mean time to have no conference or dealing willingly or wittingly with any other Recusant".<sup>13</sup>

There is no reason to believe that the policy so strenuously pursued in the spring of 1588 had been abandoned or relaxed when in July the Spanish fleet actually entered the English Channel. There is in fact direct evidence that the distrust and fear of the Recusants increased rather than diminished at the approach of the crisis.

On July 30, when the Armada, having failed to vanquish the English fleet, began its northward flight, Lord Shrewsbury wrote to John Manners concerning the urgent need for constant preparedness for an invasion that was still regarded as imminent. "Call before you the band of horsemen", the letter begins, "and see that they be completely furnished", and closes with the significant direction, "All those who have the custody of recusants must detain them close prisoners."<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> *Cowper MSS.*, I. 8-9, Willoughby and Thorold to Burghley, March 15, 1588.

<sup>14</sup> *Rutland MSS.*, p. 256.

## DOCUMENTS

### *Protocols of Conferences of Representatives of the Allied Powers respecting Spanish America, 1824-1825*

THE last of the treaties ensuing upon the downfall of Napoleon provided, as is well known, for a joint occupation of French territory by military forces of the allied powers, to continue during a period of at least three years. To supervise the execution of these provisions, a committee or conference was instituted, to consist of the regular diplomatic representatives of the allies at the French court. This committee held frequent sessions, from 1815 to the evacuation of France by the allies in 1818; the range of its deliberations naturally extended often to many other matters related to the peace of Europe besides merely those necessarily arising from the occupation of French soil.

The temporary revival of this institution or habit, for a special purpose, in 1824-1825, was the occasion of the following documents, found in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Paris by Mr. Waldo G. Leland, of the Carnegie Institution of Washington.

In the intervening years, the congresses or conferences of Aix-la-Chapelle, Troppau, Laibach, and Verona had made their various endeavors to repress revolution and fortify monarchical authority in Europe. The French invasion of Spain in 1823 had restored the absolutism of Ferdinand VII. in that country, and naturally revived in the Spanish government the hope of recovering the revolted colonies in America. The Russian ambassador at Madrid, General Tatishchev, seems to have been especially active in fanning those hopes. As early as August 23, 1823, Canning writes Rush that he has received unofficial notice "that so soon as the military objects in Spain are achieved . . . a proposal will be made for a Congress, or some less formal concert and consultation, specially upon the affairs of Spanish America".<sup>1</sup>

The actual invitation was issued on December 26, 1823, by the Spanish minister of foreign affairs, the Conde de Ofalia. It was sent in orders to the Spanish ambassador in Paris and the Spanish ministers at St. Petersburg and Vienna, of which a copy was enclosed to the British and Prussian ministers at Madrid; "the king

<sup>1</sup> *Writings of James Monroe* (ed. Hamilton), VI. 369.

has resolved upon inviting the cabinets of his dear and intimate allies to establish a conference at Paris, to the end that their plenipotentiaries, assembled there along with those of his Catholic Majesty, may aid Spain in adjusting the affairs of the revolted countries of America".<sup>2</sup>

The invitation to Great Britain was somewhat oblique, and though Chateaubriand, French minister of foreign affairs, made some efforts to persuade her to take part in the conference, Canning had no mind to do so.<sup>3</sup> The Monroe Declaration of December 2 was already on its way to Europe. Coupled with Canning's action toward recognition of the new republics, it operated at once to reduce within quite modest limits the scope of what the conference might reasonably hope to accomplish. Hugh Nelson, United States minister at Madrid, writes to Secretary Adams on January 16, 1824, that one of the diplomatic corps there had remarked to Appleton, secretary of the American legation, that the Declaration "had given the death blow to the proposed Congress at Paris for adjusting South American affairs".<sup>4</sup> Chateaubriand wrote in March to Polignac, French ambassador in London:

Si Sir Charles Stuart écrivait à M. Canning que nous avons repris des conférences, vous pourrez lui assurer qu'il ne s'agit que des anciennes et très-rares réunions que nous avons ici pour causer des affaires d'Espagne, comme de l'amnistie, de l'emprunt, de notre corps diplomatique à Madrid, des changements des ministres espagnols, etc.; mais qu'il n'est nullement question de conférences sur les colonies.<sup>5</sup>

Though the programme of the conferences was far from being so greatly reduced as Chateaubriand, perhaps not too ingenuously, had declared, it was now out of the question for it to take such large and decisive action, in the chief matter which it had been called to consider, as had been desired by Spain, and perhaps by Pozzo di Borgo. The main interest of the protocols which follow

<sup>2</sup> Ofalia to A'Court, December 26, 1823, in *British and Foreign State Papers*, XI. 54-57; Hansard, n. s., X. 713-714; *Annual Register* for 1824, pp. 102\*-103\*. Canning thought Metternich wrote the invitations; *Mémoires du Prince de Metternich*, IV. 97.

<sup>3</sup> Stapleton, *Political Life of George Canning*, II. 36. Canning to A'Court, January 30, 1824, in *British and Foreign State Papers*, XI. 58-63. See also his well-known conversation with Polignac, October 9, 1823, *ibid.*, pp. 52 ff. As to not including the United States, see Chateaubriand in Stuart to Canning, January 2, 1824, quoted by W. S. Robertson, "The Monroe Doctrine Abroad in 1823-1824", in *American Political Science Review*, VI. 552.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted by Robertson, *ibid.*, VI. 557.

<sup>5</sup> Chateaubriand, *Congrès de Vêrone; Guerre d'Espagne* (1838), II. 355. Chateaubriand fell from power, and was succeeded by Damas, a few days before the conferences began.

consists in their indications of what the allied powers would have liked to do if they could, in the vigorous but vain endeavors they made to show Ferdinand VII., in repeated lectures, the need of setting his house in order before embarking on ambitious projects of transatlantic reconquest, and in the full disclosure of what James Brown, American minister in Paris, proposed to the Comte de Damas, minister of foreign affairs, respecting Cuba.

RÉSUMÉ DE LA CONFÉRENCE DU 2/14 AOÛT 1824.<sup>6</sup>

La conference était composée de MM. le président du Conseil, le Ministre des affaires étrangères, les ambassadeurs de Russie et d'autriche, le Ministre de Prusse et M. Zea Bermudez, nommé ministre des affaires étrangères de S. M. C.<sup>7</sup>

Les representans des quatre Cours alliées ont adressé a M. Zea les observations Suivantes.

Que l'Espagne a besoin de s'occuper avec plus de succès qu'elle n'a fait jusqu'à présent, de concilier les esprits, et de retablir le calme parmi ses habitans;

Que les mesures prises à cet effet quoique dictées par les intentions les plus pures, n'avaient pas produit l'effet désiré; Les unes ayant été trop violentes et par consequent impraticables, et les autres mal executées par les autorités secondaires;

Que dans tous les pays où l'autorité royale a été rétablie après des revolutions qui ont compromis une grande partie de la population, la force des choses commande, non de chercher à augmenter les châtimens, mais de les réduire à tout ce qui est strictement indispensable à la sûreté de l'état, au bon exemple et à la satisfaction de la justice;

Que ce système offre plus de moyens de frapper les vrais coupables et dont l'impunité pourrait être dangereuse, qu'une persecution plus générale, parce que dans ce dernier cas le nombre amène la confusion, et parce que la justice s'arrête devant les punitions en masse;

Que le gouvernement, loin de s'associer aux irritations locales, justifiées ou non par les évènemens précédens, doit contribuer à les calmer et à les contenir.

Le Roi seul est juge de la conduite de ses sujets et à lui seul appartient d'appliquer les peines ou les récompenses et d'en déterminer la mesure et la durée. Si dans chaque ville et dans chaque bourgade le parti qui se caractérise de royaliste, s'arroge d'interpréter la volonté du souverain et d'en exercer l'autorité, sous quelque prétexte que ce soit, la monarchie est paralysée ou compromise, sans que le zèle de ses partisans atténué, par les intentions, le mal qu'il fait réellement.

Les représentans ont convenu qu'à la suite de l'exaspération produite par les troubles qui ont agité l'Espagne, il a du en résulter une reaction proportionnée, et ils aiment à convenir que cette circonstance doit être justement appréciée; mais ils pensent que l'action du gouvernement, loin d'encourager cette réaction ou de l'abandonner à sa violence naturelle

<sup>6</sup> Paris, Aff. Étr., Corresp. Pol., Espagne, vol. 727, fols. 323-327 v.

<sup>7</sup> Comte de Villèle, Baron de Damas, Count Pozzo di Borgo, Freiherr von Vincent, Freiherr von Werther, Don Francisco Zea Bermúdez (just appointed in place of the Conde de Ofalia).

doit chercher à la contenir, à la diminuer et finalement à l'éteindre, parce que toute résistance à l'autorité souveraine, n'importe quel en soit le prétexte, et tout sacrifice fait par le monarque à l'animosité des partis, le fait, pour ainsi dire, descendre de son trône et le met à la merci des passions de ceux qui doivent obéir aux lois et non pas les imposer.

Les représentans des alliés sont persuadés que c'est de la réconciliation des esprits et de la pacification intérieure de la péninsule que dépend le succès de toutes les autres mesures relatives aux différentes questions dont le Cabinet de Madrid et l'Europe sont si fortement occupés.

La tranquillité de la monarchie amènera le rétablissement de l'administration, facilitera le paiement des impôts, encouragera le crédit, et fournira au gouvernement les moyens d'agir sur les points éloignés, où son influence est attendue et désirée en vain depuis si long-tems.

La nécessité de contracter un emprunt sur des bases solides et d'adopter un système général de crédit, capable de procurer des ressources réelles à l'Espagne, a été également démontrée.

Les représentans ont observé que le discredit du gouvernement espagnol était l'effet de l'inconstance de son administration, de la transaction désavantageuse et illusoire faite avec la maison Guebbard,<sup>8</sup> de l'inquiétude sur la bonne foi des promesses et sur la validité des moyens de satisfaire aux engagements, enfin d'une foule de causes qu'il est instant de faire disparaître si l'on ne veut pas se condamner à l'impossibilité d'agir, et par conséquent à voir s'augmenter la faiblesse et la confusion dans laquelle on s'agite jusqu'à présent.

Après avoir indiqué en général ce qu'il serait désirable de voir exécuter immédiatement par le gouvernement espagnol et ce qui est applicable à la situation de la mère patrie, la conférence s'est occupée de la question et de la situation des colonies.

Les puissances du continent en reconnaissant les droits de S. M. C. sur ces vastes possessions, ont déclaré qu'elles devaient rentrer sous la domination de leur souverain légitime.

L'Angleterre, sans contester le droit primitif, a voulu le considérer comme éteint par le fait, et a menacé de reconnaître l'indépendance des pays insurgés. Cette résolution a été suspendue temporairement, sans néanmoins qu'il existe aucune donnée assez probable qu'elle le sera pour longtems.<sup>9</sup>

Le seul moyen de fortifier les principes de l'Espagne et de ses alliées, et de conjurer les dangers qui nous menacent à cet égard de la part

<sup>8</sup> Before the liberation and restoration of Ferdinand VII., the Spanish regency had contracted a loan of 334 million reals from the house of Guebbard in Paris, with disadvantageous results.

<sup>9</sup> The reference no doubt is to the expressions used in Canning's despatch of January 30, 1824, to Sir William A'Court, envoy extraordinary at Madrid, a despatch communicated to the foreign ambassadors in London on February 1, or to Liverpool's speech in the House of Lords on March 15. The text of the former is in *British and Foreign State Papers*, XI. 58-63; Hansard, n. s., X. 715-719; *Annual Register* for 1824, pp. 104\*-107\*. The latter is in Hansard, n. s., X. 992-1003. See also Wellington to Metternich, February 24, in *Supplementary Despatches*, II. 221-226. Also, Canning had on July 30 had a long talk with Zea Bermúdez, just before the latter left his post as Spanish minister in London to become minister of foreign affairs at Madrid. Stapleton, *Some Correspondence of George Canning*, I. 151.

de la grande Bretagne, consiste évidemment dans les efforts que le cabinet de Madrid sera capable de faire pour venir au secours de ceux de ses sujets américains qui sont restés fidèles, et pour mettre un terme à cette inaction qui est caractérisée d'impuissance absolue, et qui est regardée comme une renonciation de fait aux droits qu'on réclame sans cesse et qu'on ne fait valoir jamais. En examinant ce grand objet dans tous ses rapports, il est évident que le renouvellement du combat au Mexique et sur la côte ferme obligera les ennemis de l'Espagne à en attendre l'issue; dans le cas contraire, ils jugeront la question comme entièrement perdue par S. M. C. et se conduiront en conséquence, sans qu'il soit possible d'arrêter leur violence ou d'en appeler à leur équité.

En parlant de la soumission des colonies à la mère-patrie, les représentans des souverains alliés entendent que cet événement doit être accompagné de toutes les concessions commerciales capables de satisfaire aux besoins des habitans de ces contrées et aux justes réclamations des puissances étrangères; déjà S. M. C. a annoncé les projets les plus équitables sur ce sujet important.<sup>10</sup> La conférence renouvelle ses instances pour que les réglemens qui doivent s'y rapporter, ainsi que ceux concernant l'administration intérieure de ces pays, reçoivent leur développement, et pour qu'ils puissent être bientôt présentés aux deux mondes, comme un grand monument de la sagesse du Roi et un moyen triomphant de concilier tous les intérêts.

Il a été observé qu'il semblait s'élever en Espagne une opinion fautive et dangereuse, tendante à diviser le Roi Catholique de ses alliés et à exciter la discorde entre l'armée française et le peuple et les troupes espagnoles sous le prétexte de se défendre contre l'influence étrangère.<sup>11</sup>

Ces insinuations criminelles ne peuvent qu'être l'ouvrage des ennemis communs; les représentans des puissances sont persuadés que S. M. C. les juge avec la même sévérité et qu'elle prendra toutes les mesures pour punir ceux qui en sont les auteurs avec de mauvaises intentions, et pour éclairer les autres qui tomberaient dans les pièges des ennemis de notre union.

Tout loyal espagnol doit savoir que l'intervention étrangère n'a eu d'autre objet que celui d'aider la nation et le Roi à se délivrer du joug des révolutionnaires et que la présence de l'armée française est destinée uniquement à fournir le tems et l'occasion au Monarque de contenir les ennemis de son trône, et d'organiser une force loyale et suffisante parmi ses sujets, afin de remplir par ses propres moyens le but désiré.

L'époque où le sentiment de la sûreté fera souhaiter à S. M. C. la fin d'un tel secours, ne manquera pas de causer une satisfaction universelle, parce qu'elle sera la preuve que la révolution est vaincue et que l'Espagne, d'accord avec elle même, est rentrée dans son état naturel.

La conférence a pris également en considération la situation du Portugal. Les représentans ont convenu que la revolte du 30 avril

<sup>10</sup> Decree of the King of Spain, permitting foreigners to trade with Spanish America, February 9, 1824. *British and Foreign State Papers*, XI. 864-865. But, besides the decree of December 25, 1823, abolishing the constitution of 1820, King Ferdinand had also issued a decree, February 26, annulling the powers and acts of the commissioners sent by the late government to negotiate with the American colonies. *Ibid.*, XI. 862-864, 865.

<sup>11</sup> See Fr. Rousseau, "L'Ambassade du Marquis de Talaru en Espagne, Juillet 1823-Août 1824", in *Revue des Questions Historiques*, XC. 86-116.

dernier<sup>12</sup> et jours suivans, était criminelle par sa nature, et qu'elle pouvait devenir funeste à l'existence du Roi;

Que les mesures prises pour l'étouffer ont mérité l'approbation de toutes les cours;

Que néanmoins la promesse faite à la suite de ces évènements par S. M. T. F.<sup>13</sup> de vouloir convoquer les cortès du Royaume présentait des inconvéniens graves;

Que le projet communiqué par le M<sup>is</sup> de Palmela aux Ministres de l'alliance de vouloir proposer à ces mêmes cortès de nouveaux réglemens relatifs à la régence, en altérant les anciennes lois et en excluant les personnes qui y sont appelées de droit, paraissait devoir provoquer des divisions sanglantes;

Qu'au lieu d'encourager des démarches aussi hasardées il semblait plus prudent de conseiller, de suspendre les unes et d'écarter les autres, et surtout de se garder de porter dans des mesures aussi vitales un esprit de vengeance ou de réaction qui ne manquerait pas de provoquer les plus fortes résistances.

Les représentans ont recapitulé tout ce qui avait été écrit à Lisbonne sur ce sujet et, ils ont convenu de continuer à agir dans le même sens et de témoigner à S. M. T. F. les mêmes sentimens.<sup>14</sup>

M. Zea Bermudez a reçu toutes ces observations avec la gravité qu'elles méritent, et S. Exc. a promis de les porter à la connaissance de son auguste maître, des qu'elle sera rendue à son poste.

[RÉSUMÉ DE LA CONFÉRENCE DU 31 AOÛT 1824]<sup>15</sup>

[This conference was attended by those present at the conference of August 2/14, and also by the Marquis de Talaru, French ambassador to Spain, just returned from Madrid, and the Baron de Maltzahn, Prussian ambassador to Great Britain.

No American affairs were considered at this session.]

<sup>12</sup> Dom Miguel, second son of King John VI. of Portugal (the elder, Dom Pedro, was already emperor of Brazil) had on April 29-30, 1824, executed a *coup d'état* which had for a few days placed king and government in the hands of the absolutists. His exile, May 12, had been followed by decrees of June 4 and 5, annulling the acts of the recent constitutional Cortes and providing for the restoration of the Cortes of the kingdom under its ancient forms. Justice Biker, *Supplemento á Collecção dos Tratados*, XX. (XII.) 362-371; *British and Foreign State Papers*, XI. 855-860.

<sup>13</sup> It may not be superfluous to remind readers that "Sa Majesté Très-Fidèle", or in English "His Most Faithful Majesty", was the customary designation of the King of Portugal, analogous to "Sa Majesté Très-Chrétienne" and "Sa Majesté Catholique" in the case of the kings of France and Spain.

<sup>14</sup> The six paragraphs preceding, relating to Portugal, are printed in Justice Biker, *Supplemento*, XX. 452. They had been communicated before October 2 to the Marquez de Palmella, Portuguese minister of foreign affairs, by an agent of one of the allied powers. See his letter to A'Court, October 14, and his memorandum on these paragraphs, *ibid.*, XX. 444-452. The latter explained that whatever Palmella had proposed regarding the succession or regency was *not* contrary to the ancient laws of the monarchy. The desire of the ministry was to exclude the queen from the regency. *Mémoires de Metternich*, IV. 103. The action of the Paris conference was in effect to support the Conde de Suberra against the Marquez de Palmella, French and Spanish influence at Lisbon against British.

<sup>15</sup> Paris, Aff. Étr., Corresp. Pol., Espagne, vol. 728, fol. 111.



RÉSUMÉ DE LA CONFÉRENCE DU 8 JANVIER 1825.<sup>16</sup>

Les membres présens sont M. Le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, les Ambassadeurs d'Autriche et de Russie, et le Ministre Plenipotentiaire de Prusse.<sup>17</sup>

Le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères fait part à MM. les membres de la Conférence des communications verbales qui lui ont été faites par Monsieur l'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre<sup>18</sup> sur les dispositions de sa Cour envers l'Amérique Espagnole. Lord Granville lui a déclaré qu'un Traité de commerce allait être conclu par son Gouvernement avec le Mexique et la Colombie; il n'y aura pas de reconnaissance formelle, mais ce traité sera ratifié par S. M. Britannique.<sup>19</sup>

Mr. l'Ambassadeur expliquant les motifs de cette transaction a rappelé que dès le 8 février de l'année dernière son Gouvernement avait annoncé par une note officielle qu'il ne reconnaîtrait pas les nouveaux Etats, formés en Amérique, avant d'avoir reçu des renseignemens précis qui lui permettent de les considérer comme suffisamment constitués. Ces rapports sont arrivés: le Mexique et la Colombie ont affirmé leur existence: l'Espagne a refusé la médiation qui lui était offerte par l'Angleterre pour concilier ses différends avec eux; et les intérêts commerciaux de la Grande Bretagne exigent de la protection efficace de la part de son Gouvernement. Si les Anglais ont formé des établissemens dans ce pays, s'ils y ont augmenté les placemens de leurs Capitaux, l'Espagne elle même ne pouvait pas le désapprouver; elle avait reconnu la nécessité d'ouvrir le commerce de l'Amérique Espagnole aux autres Nations, et ces relations qui se suivaient, de l'aveu même de l'Espagne, sont devenues trop importantes pour continuer d'être dans une situation précaire. La Grande Bretagne ne peut point sacrifier tous les avantages commerciaux qui lui sont offerts. Elle ne prétend pas néanmoins en obtenir d'exclusifs; elle ne veut rien stipuler de contraire aux intérêts commerciaux de l'Espagne; elle continue de lui offrir sa médiation dans les différends qui subsistent entre l'Espagne et les Etats nouv. formés; et si elle avait pu attendre du Cabinet de Madrid une prompte détermination et une réponse satisfaisante aux propositions d'arrangemens qu'elle avait faites depuis un an, elle aurait pu suspendre encore ses démarches, mais les temporisations habituelles du Gouvernement Espagnol n'ont pas permis de l'espérer; et les avis que l'Angleterre avait donnés long-tems d'avance justifient pleinement sa conduite envers le Mexique et la Colombie. Buenos-Ayres étant dans la même situation rend nécessaire un arrangement de même nature. Il n'en est pas de même du Chili dont la situation n'est pas bien connue. Quant au Pérou où la lutte existe encore, le Gouvernement de la Grande Bretagne ne peut mécon-

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 731, fols. 55-58 v.

<sup>17</sup> Damas, Vincent, Pozzo di Borgo, Werther. King Louis XVIII. had died on September 16; Charles X. was now king.

<sup>18</sup> Viscount Granville, afterward the first Earl Granville, had in October succeeded Sir Charles Stuart as British ambassador in Paris.

<sup>19</sup> The treaty with Colombia was not signed until April 18, 1825, that with Mexico (rejected by Canning) not until April 6; but the intention of the British Cabinet was made known to the foreign ministers on January 1, 1825. Hertslet, *Treaties*, III. 61, 254. Canning to Bagot, December 31, 1824; Bagot, *George Canning and his Friends*, II. 277; Stapleton, *George Canning and his Times*, pp. 425, 428-432.

naître les droits de la mère patrie. Après avoir ainsi exposé à MM. les Membres de la Conférence les explications données par Mr l'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre, le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères leur a fait part de la réponse également verbale qu'il avait faite à cette communication. Ce Ministre a déclaré à Mr l'Ambassadeur que, s'il en était encore tems, il désirait que l'Angleterre réfléchit à toutes les conséquences d'une mesure si grave avant de l'adopter: mais que si son parti était irrévocable, le Gouvernement français ne pouvait que voir avec peine une Détermination qui tendait à briser les liens de l'Espagne avec ses possessions d'Amérique, et qu'il faisait des vœux pour qu'elle n'amenât point une nouvelle complication dans les affaires, en favorisant les déchiremens de cette monarchie. Quelqu'importance que l'Angleterre put attacher à ses intérêts commerciaux, d'autres intérêts devaient aussi être ménagés. Sans prétendre s'ingérer dans les motifs qui dirigeaient la politique du Gouvernement Britannique, il était permis de ne pas croire que les gouvernemens fussent obligés de céder sur des questions qui intéressent l'ordre social tout entier, aux vœux ardens et peu réfléchis d'une classe de mécontents. Le Commerce Anglais paraissait suffisamment protégé par les vaisseaux de cette Puissance. Quant aux offres de médiation que le Gouvernement Britannique avait faites, il n'y avait pas lieu de s'étonner que l'Espagne ne les eût point acceptées puisqu'elles établissaient pour condition première l'indépendance des nouveaux Gouvernemens d'Amérique.

MM. les Ambassadeurs d'Autriche et de Russie et le Ministre Plénipotentiaire de Prusse, après avoir entendu ces communications, ont déclaré qu'ils n'avaient pas d'Instructions directes de leurs Gouvernemens sur l'objet de la communication qui venait de leur être faite, néanmoins ils croient les sentimens de leurs Cours absolument conformes à ceux qui leur sont exprimés par le Gouvernement français. Ils pensent avec lui qu'il convient moins à l'Espagne de faire éclater ses plaintes et de s'abandonner au ressentiment que peuvent lui inspirer les dispositions de l'Angleterre envers ses possessions d'Amérique que de poursuivre avec calme sa restauration, que de relever ses ressources, son crédit, sa Puissance et de se mettre en état de profiter des chances favorables que peut faire naître l'avenir pour rétablir la Souveraineté de l'Espagne en Amérique.

La prospérité rendue à cette Monarchie ne peut qu'avoir une Salutaire influence sur toutes ses relations, et les mesures qu'elle prendra pour mettre en valeur les ressources qui lui restent peuvent seules lui donner les moyens de faire valoir ses droits et de reparaitre en Amérique avec plus d'avantages.

#### RÉSUMÉ DE LA CONFÉRENCE DU 20 JANVIER 1825.<sup>20</sup>

Les Membres présens sont MM. les Abassadeurs d'Autriche et de Russie, le Ministre Plénipotent're de Prusse et le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères.

Après s'être mutuellement donné connaissance des nouvelles qu'ils ont reçues de Madrid, les Membres de la Conférence, pénétrés des dispositions de leurs Souverains en faveur de l'Espagne, et des obligations qui en résultent pour eux, ont porté particulièrement leur attention sur le projet de réponse du gouvernement espagnol à la notification

<sup>20</sup> Paris, Aff. Étr., Corresp. Pol., Espagne, vol. 731, fols. 95-98v.

récente du Cabinet anglais, relative aux colonies insurgées de l'Amérique.<sup>21</sup>

Les Membres de la Conférence en approuvant les sentimens qui ont dicté ce projet, ne peuvent adhérer à toutes les dispositions qu'il renferme. Ils pensent que dans l'état actuel des choses, l'Espagne ne peut, sans manquer à sa dignité et à ce qu'elle doit à ses alliés, accepter, par des arrangemens avec ses colonies, la médiation isolée de l'Angleterre.

En effet, S. M. C'que, en déclarant qu'*Elle est prête à assurer aux Colonies qui rentreraient dans l'obéissance, tous les avantages de commerce et d'administration intérieure qu'elles pourront raisonnablement désirer, ou que l'on jugera utile de leur accorder*, veut et entend que ses Colonies rentrent sous son autorité. Le souverain qui a refusé jusqu'à présent la médiation de l'Angleterre parce qu'elle était offerte sous la condition qu'il reconnaîtrait l'indépendance de ses colonies, ne pourrait convenablement accepter cette médiation aujourd'hui qu'elle serait précédée de la reconnaissance même.

Le gouvernement espagnol doit donc à sa propre dignité de chercher de plus en plus à resserrer ses liens avec l'alliance, et à s'engager dans les voies salutaires qu'elle lui a indiquées. Les Membres de la conférence sont d'avis que sans attendre les déterminations qui pourront être prises par le Gouvernement britannique après qu'il aura reçu la réponse de l'Espagne, celle-ci doit se hâter, ainsi qu'elle le propose, de mettre à exécution le décret qui proclame la liberté du commerce de ses colonies, et d'adopter toutes les conséquences qui en resultent.

Les droits légitimes des peuples autant que l'intérêt de la Péninsule exigent encore que l'Espagne assure dès aujourd'hui aux colonies restées sous son obéissance les avantages d'administration intérieure qu'elles peuvent désirer et qu'il sera jugé utile de leur accorder.

Ces mesures proposées par le Gouvernement espagnol lui même dans le projet de réponse qui est sous les yeux de la Conférence, sont conformes aux vœux de l'alliance, parce que S. M. C'que ne peut rien faire qui s'accorde mieux avec les intérêts de ses peuples comme avec les sentimens de son cœur, ni qui soit plus propre à consolider son autorité.

L'opinion des Membres de la Conférence est que ces mesures doivent être prises indépendamment de tout sentiment personnel pour ou contre la nation qui reconnaît l'émancipation des colonies espagnoles; et que si l'Espagne effectuait l'espèce de menace renfermée dans son projet de réponse en refusant à l'Angleterre les avantages commerciaux qui seront offerts aux autres nations, elle compliquerait d'une manière nuisible l'importante question qui occupe la Conférence.

Par ces motifs, les Membres de la Conférence se déterminent à prier le Chevalier de Los Rios, Ministre de S. M. C'que à Londres de suspendre son départ jusqu'à l'arrivée du courrier qui doit lui apporter la réponse de son Cabinet,<sup>22</sup> afin que cette réponse dont ils pensent que le gouvernement espagnol voudra leur donner communication puisqu'elle touche aux grands intérêts sur lesquels ils sont consultés puisse, pour l'avantage même de l'Espagne, être examinée par les Ministres de ses alliés, avant d'être remise au Gouvernement britannique.

<sup>21</sup> Zea Bermúdez wrote to the British chargé d'affaires at Madrid, January 21, an official response to this same notification: Canning's rejoinder, of March 25, is in *British and Foreign State Papers*, XII, 909-915.

<sup>22</sup> Of January 21. Same account of it will be found in Stapleton, *Political Life of George Canning*, II, 81-82; extracts in Paxson, *The Independence of the South American Republics* (second ed.), pp. 245-246.

Il a été également décidé dans la Conférence que les Représentans des Cours alliées à Madrid seront invités à insister auprès du gouvernement espagnol pour qu'il s'empresse de suivre le système dont il a déjà reconnu lui-même la nécessité et pour qu'il détermine promptement les mesures qu'il se propose de prendre, soit afin d'améliorer l'administration de ses colonies, soit afin d'assurer l'effet de son décret sur la liberté du commerce, par l'établissement d'un tarif de douanes et par les autres dispositions qui doivent résulter de ce décret. Les Membres de la Conférence désirent que ces dispositions puissent leur être communiquées avant de recevoir leur exécution. Ils reconnaissent que pour négocier efficacement avec les populations insurgées de l'Amérique il faut que les Colonies fidèles commencent à jouir dès aujourd'hui des bienfaits d'une administration meilleure, et d'une liberté de commerce qui est devenue un besoin pour les peuples. Il faut que les actes d'une Administration sage et éclairée fassent regretter aux Insurgés l'autorité paternelle et bienveillante à laquelle ils se sont soustraits.

Une trop funeste expérience a dû apprendre au gouvernement espagnol tous les maux qui résultent de l'inaction où il est resté jusqu'à présent. Si le Cabinet de Madrid, plus confiant dans les conseils de ses alliés, avait adopté franchement, dès l'année dernière, les conséquences du décret qu'ils avaient obtenu de lui par [pour] la liberté du commerce; s'il avait, dès lors, accordé à ses colonies les avantages administratifs que ses alliés lui ont tant de fois demandés, il y a lieu de croire que le gouvernement britannique n'aurait point reconnu l'indépendance des Insurgés, peut-être même les populations rebelles, loin de persévérer dans leur révolution, ne songeraient maintenant qu'à rentrer sous la domination légitime.

Il est donc essentiel que le gouvernement espagnol adopte promptement la marche que ses alliés lui indiquent, car le moindre retard entraînerait de nouveaux malheurs aux quels il ne serait pas possible de porter remède.

Les Membres de la Conférence parlent avec d'autant plus d'assurance, qu'ils ont obtenu l'approbation de leurs augustes maîtres pour tout ce qui a été dit et fait dans les réunions de Paris. A ce sujet, Mr l'ambassadeur de Russie a lu une dépêche du 18/30 décembre dernier par laquelle S. M. Imp<sup>le</sup> donne une entière approbation aux avis donnés par la Conférence, regrette vivement que le gouvernement espagnol ait suivi trop long-tems un système si nuisible, et ordonne à son Ministre de redoubler d'efforts pour que ce gouvernement entre enfin avec une volonté ferme et une entière persévérance dans les vues de ses alliés, pour le bonheur des peuples espagnols et pour le rétablissement du trône de leur Roi sur des bases inébranlables.

Les Membres de la Conférence, heureux d'avoir rempli la mission qui leur était confiée, reconnaissent que S. M. C<sup>que</sup> seconde efficacement leurs efforts: déjà, grâce à sa sollicitude, on a vu s'affaiblir la domination des partis, domination qui résulte presque toujours du trouble et du désordre, mais qu'une main ferme sait arrêter; et le gouvernement espagnol, plus libre de leur influence, suit moins lentement la ligne de restauration qui lui est tracée. Un ordre royal a soustrait récemment les officiers appelés *Indefinidos*<sup>23</sup> aux mesures vexatoires aux quelles ils

<sup>23</sup> Army officers whom an ultra-reactionary administration had suspended from the service for the benefit of extremists of their own party, while the former were compelled to await a prejudiced inquisition into their politics.

étaient en butte. Cette mesure et plusieurs autres semblables qui se sont succédé[es] depuis près de trois mois, annoncent la ferme détermination d'arrêter les réactions: elles amortiront, si elles se multiplient, les haines particulières et ôteront aux factieux tout prétexte pour agiter les peuples. Sans doute des mesures si salutaires ne peuvent être prises sans quelques efforts; mais ces courageux essais accroîtront l'autorité de S. M. C'que. En dégageant le gouvernement espagnol d'une foule de soins, ils lui permettront de reconnaître et de détruire les nombreux abus de l'administration, de rétablir les finances et de préparer pour l'Espagne une restauration complète et générale.

RÉSUMÉ DE LA CONFÉRENCE DU 28 JANVIER 1825.<sup>24</sup>

Les Membres Présens sont MM. les Ambassadeurs d'Autriche et de Russie, le Ministre Plénipotentiaire de Prusse, Monsieur le Chevalier de Los Rios, Ministre Plénipotentiaire d'Espagne à Londres et le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères.

Les Membres de la Conférence se sont entretenus de la réponse faite par le Cabinet de Madrid à la communication qu'il avait reçue de l'Angleterre sur la reconnaissance des Colonies. Ils ont remarqué la dignité de cette réponse, la force des motifs que l'Espagne y fait valoir sur la légitimité de ses droits, sur les dangers de toute nature que leur violation peut entraîner sur ses avantages commerciaux dont les Etrangers étaient admis à jouir dans ses Colonies en vertu de ses ordonnances Royales, avantages d'autant plus assurés que ces Colonies seraient plus tranquilles sous l'autorité de la Mère-patrie.

Cette note qui a été remise à Monsieur Bosanquet, chargé d'affaires de la Grande Bretagne, à Madrid,<sup>25</sup> et qui doit être également remise à Mr Canning par Mr De Los Rios a été approuvée par MM. les Membres de la Conférence. Ils inviteront les Ministres des Cours alliées pres du Gouvernement Britannique à chercher les moyens d'appuyer les démarches de Mr De Los Rios.

Le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères a communiqué aux Membres de l'Alliance le sujet de sa dernière Conférence avec Mr l'ambassadeur d'Angleterre. Lord Granville lui a remis l'extrait d'une dépêche adressée par Mr Canning à Mr Bosanquet, portant que l'Angleterre s'engage à ne demander aux nouveaux gouvernemens de l'Amérique Espagnole aucun privilege en sa faveur. Il l'a informé des instructions que doivent recevoir les Commissaires anglais pour traiter avec ces Gouvernemens.<sup>26</sup>

Le Sens de ces instructions est que l'on ne traitera avec les nouveaux Etats qu'autant qu'ils auront la volonté ferme et inébranlable de ne jamais se soumettre à la Mere-patrie; qu'ils auront des moyens suffisans pour s'opposer à toutes les tentatives que l'Espagne pourrait faire, et que leur existence sera assez solidement garantie pour qu'on puisse établir avec eux des relations durables.

Une ancienne Depêche qui remontait au commencement de 1823, a encore été communiquée par Mr. l'ambassadeur d'Angleterre. Son gouvernement offrait alors à l'Espagne de garantir l'isle de Cuba de

<sup>24</sup> Paris, Aff. Étr., Corresp. Pol., Espagne, vol. 731, fols. 163-164.

<sup>25</sup> Bosanquet was chargé at Madrid from the time when A'Court went to Lisbon until the arrival of Frederick Lamb, appointed minister to Spain February 18, 1825. As to the reply of the Spanish Cabinet, see above, notes 21 and 22.

<sup>26</sup> See Bagot, p. 277.

toute attaque extérieure, il proposait de le faire avec ses vaisseaux, à ses dépens, sans demander l'occupation de quelque point de l'isle et sans stipuler aucun avantage en sa faveur. L'Espagne ne répondit pas, et cette proposition n'eut aucune suite. L'Angleterre ne communique aujourd'hui cette Dépêche que comme un gage de sa bonne foi, et afin de la constater par des faits.

Les Membres de la Conférence rendront compte à leurs Cours de cette communication.

#### RÉSUMÉ DE LA CONFÉRENCE DU 17 FEVRIER/I MARS 1825.<sup>27</sup>

Présens :

M. M.

L'Ambassadeur d'Autriche

Le Ministre des affaires Etrangères de France

L'Ambassadeur de Russie

Le Ministre de Prusse.

M. L'Ambassadeur de Russie a fait lecture à la conférence d'une dépêche de sa cour en date du 9 février dans laquelle sont articulés les motifs qui doivent décider les souverains alliés à persister dans les principes constitutifs et conservateurs de l'alliance et par conséquent dans la résolution prise, non seulement de ne pas reconnaître l'indépendance des Gouvernemens révolutionnaires qui se sont formés dans les différentes parties de l'Amérique Espagnole, mais de continuer à l'Espagne leur secours moral et de la mettre à portée de profiter de toute leur influence afin qu'elle parvienne à faire valoir et à rétablir ses droits de possession et de souveraineté sur les contrées insurgées.

Les Membres de la Conférence ont remarqué que cette dépêche indiquait l'urgente nécessité où se trouve le Gouvernement Espagnol de réorganiser le plus promptement possible l'administration intérieure du royaume; de réconcilier les habitants, d'établir l'ordre dans les finances, de coordonner enfin les forces de la Monarchie, de manière à les rendre disponibles et à les mettre en état de se porter partout où elles pourraient soutenir les droits de sa Majesté Catholique. En conséquence ils ont jugé qu'il sera infiniment utile de faire parvenir à M. le Ministre de Russie à Madrid<sup>28</sup> le contenu de la même dépêche avec prière de la communiquer à ses collègues dans le but de se concerter ensemble et d'arriver aux expédiens les plus propres à porter Sa Majesté Catholique et son Ministère à en adopter les maximes.

La Conférence a également pris connaissance de la dépêche du Cabinet de St. Pétersbourg adressée à M. le Comte de Liewen et destinée à servir de réponse verbale à la communication faite sous la même forme par le Ministère Britannique relativement aux traités de commerce qu'il fait négocier avec les Gouvernemens révolutionnaires de Buenos-Ayres, de la Colombie, et du Mexique, et à la reconnaissance de fait qui en serait le résultat.<sup>29</sup>

Les membres réunis regardent les principes consacrés par la note du

<sup>27</sup> Paris, Aff. Étr., Corresp. Pol., Espagne, vol. 731, fols. 331-332.

<sup>28</sup> Count d'Oubril.

<sup>29</sup> On this communication, and Canning's evasion of the efforts made with it by Count Lieven, Prince Esterhazy, and Baron Maltzahn, see Canning's amusing letter of March 4, 1825, to Granville, in Stapleton, *George Canning and his Times*, pp. 429-431.

Cabinet de Russie comme conformes au droit des gens et aux traités qui ont servi de base à la reconstruction politique et à la pacification de l'Europe, ainsi qu'aux doctrines professées à cet égard par leurs Cours respectives.

L'Ambassadeur de Russie a communiqué en outre à la conférence, une dépêche en date du 19/31 janvier dans laquelle l'Empereur son maître justement frappé des expressions du discours tenu par le Sr. Quartel qui se qualifie d'Agent du gouvernement des Pays bas auprès des autorités révolutionnaires de la Colombie, invite les cours alliées à faire des démarches par leurs représentans pour que Sa Majesté Néerlandaise veuille s'abstenir de tout acte de déclaration ou traité tendant à reconnaître directement ou indirectement l'indépendance des Gouvernemens revolutionnaires susdits. L'Ambassadeur de Russie a ajouté que son auguste maître empressé de prévenir toute détermination précipitée et contraire aux vues de l'alliance de la part du Roi des Pays bas, venait d'adresser des ordres supplémentaires au Comte Gourieff, son chargé d'affaires, à Bruxelles,<sup>30</sup> afin que celui-ci fasse connaître à cette Cour d'une manière amicale et confidentielle les intentions et la juste sollicitude du cabinet Impérial. Les Membres de la Conférence ont observé qu'ils avaient déjà pris cette matière en considération selon les principes et dans le but indiqué par la Cour de Russie. M. le Baron de Damas a ajouté que les mêmes vœux avaient été émis au nom du Roi, auprès du gouvernement des Pays-bas et que celui-ci ayant désavoué le discours attribué à M. de Quartel semblait désavouer aussi le projet qu'on paraissait lui supposer de vouloir reconnaître l'indépendance des autorités révolutionnaires.

M. l'Ambassadeur d'Autriche et M. le Ministre de Prusse ont déclaré n'avoir pas encore reçu de leurs Cours respectives les ordres nécessaires pour les autoriser à faire auprès du Gouvernement des Pays-bas les démarches proposées par le Cabinet de Russie. La Conférence s'est par conséquent réservé de prendre cet objet en considération lorsque les ordres susmentionnés seront parvenus.

#### RÉSUMÉ DE LA CONFÉRENCE DU 6 MARS 1825.<sup>31</sup>

##### Présens M M.

Les Ambassadeurs d'Autriche et de Russie, Le Ministre Plenip'e de Prusse et le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères.

Les Membres de la Conférence ont remarqué que la pénible situation de l'Espagne à l'égard de ses colonies d'Amérique se trouvait encore aggravée par les discussions de cette Puissance avec les Etats-Unis.

Les Américains réclament l'exécution pleine et entière du traité du 22 février 1819, en vertu duquel l'Espagne leur a cédé les florides; ils se plaignent de ce que les Archives et documents qui concernent la propriété et la Souveraineté de ces provinces ne leur ont pas été remis.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>30</sup> It will be remembered that at this time the capital of the kingdom of the Netherlands was Brussels. The young Count Guriev, son of the Russian minister of finance, was Nesselrode's brother-in-law, lately appointed to the diplomatic service.

<sup>31</sup> Paris, Aff. Étr., Corresp. Pol., Espagne, vol. 731, fols. 368-369v.

<sup>32</sup> The history of this matter may be traced in Hill, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Papeles de Cuba* (Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1916), pp. xxii-xxiii; in Pérez, *Guide to the Cuban Archives*, pp. 76-77; and in *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, IV, 740-808.

Et comme des Corsaires, illégalement armés dans l'isle de Cuba infestent les mers des Antilles, des propositions ont été faites au Congrès, pour qu'il augmentât le nombre des bâtimens armés en guerre et pour qu'il autorisât la marine des Etats-Unis à Poursuivre à terre les Pirates, et à bloquer les portes où ils se seraient réfugiés.<sup>33</sup>

L'opinion des Membres de la Conférence est que l'Espagne ne pourrait pas sans accroître encore ses embarras prolonger avec les Etats-Unis ses contestations, et qu'Elle doit leur remettre tous les documens indiqués dans le traité de Cession.

L'impunité des Pirates dans les Colonies qui lui appartiennent exposerait l'Espagne à des dangers encore plus graves. Ce Gouvernement ne saurait prendre de trop promptes mesures pour arrêter et punir la piraterie. La répression de ce fléau intéresse toutes les nations Commerçantes autant que ses propres sujets: il faut qu'il les rassure par la sévérité de ses lois contre les forbans, et surtout par des poursuites effectives. L'Espagne ne doit rien épargner pour Conserver l'isle de Cuba. Il est nécessaire d'envoyer et d'entretenir dans une Colonie, si importante par sa situation et par sa richesse, un nombre de troupes suffisant, pour faire respecter l'autorité et les droits du Souverain.

Les Membres de la Conférence ne peuvent trop insister pour que S. M. C. donne à son décret du 9 février 1824, sur la liberté du Commerce des Colonies,<sup>34</sup> toutes les suites qui dépendent encore d'Elle. D'importantes Colonies dans le golfe du Mexique et dans les mers de l'Asie, ont été jusqu'à présent inébranlables dans leur fidélité: Des dispositions bienveillantes et avantageuses maintiendront leur foi; et pourront avoir encore quelque influence sur les Colonies insurgées.

Les Conseils donnés à l'Espagne, pour préserver ses possessions de l'irruption des doctrines qui tendent à les séparer irrévocablement de la mère patrie, lui sont renouvelés avec instance; et les Membres de la Conférence reconnaissent plus que jamais la nécessité de prendre de bonnes mesures en Espagne, pour se retrouver en Amérique dans une position plus respectable. Ils espèrent que le Gouvernement Espagnol ne se laissera ni dominer ni décourager par les obstacles, et qu'après s'être préparé des ressources nouvelles par l'affermissement de la paix intérieure et par une bonne Administration, il évitera des mesures isolées, comblera l'emploi de ses moyens, et rendra ses efforts plus efficaces en les suivant avec persévérance.

#### RÉSUMÉ DE LA SÉANCE DU 19 AVRIL 1825.<sup>35</sup>

Présens, MM.

L'Ambassadeur de Russie

L'Ambassadeur d'Autriche

L'Ministre Plénipotentiaire de Prusse et le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères.

Après s'être mutuellement communiqué les nouvelles qu'ils avaient reçues de Madrid, les Membres de la Conférence, constamment pénétrés des dispositions amicales de leurs Souverains envers l'Espagne, ont examiné si, dans l'état actuel des choses, il pouvait être utile au service

<sup>33</sup> See *American State Papers, For. Rel.*, V. 489-505, 585, 589, and *Senate Journal*, January 13, 1825.

<sup>34</sup> See note 10, above.

<sup>35</sup> Paris, *Aff. Étr., Corresp. Pol., Espagne*, vol. 732, fols. 141-144v.



de S. M. C. qu'ils donnassent quelque direction nouvelle aux Représentans de leurs Cours à Madrid.

Ils ont reconnu avec une vive satisfaction que les conseils de ce Gouvernement étaient dirigés avec plus d'ensemble, plus d'unité, et tendaient à un but mieux défini. C'est à cette direction que l'Espagne doit l'amélioration sensible qu'on peut déjà remarquer dans plusieurs branches de son administration.

L'effet des mesures récemment adoptées, pour donner plus de régularité aux délibérations du Conseil, et pour conserver la trace de ses discussions, est d'assurer avec plus de certitude cette unité de vues et cette persévérance d'action, qui ont été constamment l'objet des vœux et des démarches des Cours alliées, et qui sont si nécessaires à la restauration complète de la Monarchie.

Les Représentans de l'alliance à Madrid continueront donc d'employer tous leurs soins, pour que S. M. C., libre de toute influence personnelle et intéressée, puisse immuablement suivre la voie qu'elle s'est ouverte, malgré des oppositions aussi hostiles que vives et multipliées.

La Conférence ne saurait trop insister sur une liberté d'action, sans laquelle le Gouvernement perdrait le pouvoir de faire le bien: Elle ne peut d'ailleurs qu'exprimer ses vœux sur les mesures d'administration intérieure ou extérieure, qui lui semblent devoir plus spécialement occuper le Gouvernement espagnol.

L'état de l'Administration, celui des finances, la Conservation des Colonies soumises, la situation de l'Espagne relativement à ses Colonies insurgées, Les relations de ce Gouvernement avec les Etats unis d'Amérique et avec la Regence d'Alger,<sup>36</sup> devaient particulièrement attirer l'attention de la Conférence.

L'accord qui tend à s'établir dans les Conseils de S. M. C. a déjà produit d'heureux résultats. Ainsi le Gouvern't Espagnol s'est vu en état d'occuper plusieurs Places, où jusqu'alors des troupes françaises avaient été jugées nécessaires: la paix publique n'a point été troublée; et quelque peu satisfaisant que soit le taux actuel des revenus de l'Espagne, néanmoins sa situation financière paraît améliorée. Rien ne prouve mieux la justesse des mesures prises par S. M. C., et les ressources qu'offrira l'Espagne, si les sujets fidèles de S. M. C. continuent de remplir ses vues, avec cette constance qui devient encore plus nécessaire, dans un pays où tant de troubles et d'agitations se sont succédé[s].

Jusqu'à ce moment les banquiers étrangers se sont refusés aux propositions qui leur étaient faites au nom de l'Espagne pour obtenir un emprunt. Il est probable que si le Gouvernement espagnol leur offrait enfin des garanties suffisantes pour assurer le paiement de l'intérêt et un certain amortissement, Cet emprunt serait facilement conclu. Après tant d'essais infructueux, il est difficile de croire que l'état actuel de la législation financière de l'Espagne soit de nature à procurer aux Capitalistes les sûretés qu'ils recherchent avec tant de raison. Le Gouvernement espagnol devrait donc employer tous ses soins à trouver des garanties différentes, et il semble qu'il pourrait les obtenir, soit par des

<sup>36</sup> The relations between the Regency of Algiers and the French government were particularly strained at this time, on account of exorbitant demands by the Dey in connection with the French concessions and because of affronts to the French consul. At the same time relations with other European governments were hardly less critical. Five years later came the French conquest of Algeria.

moyens d'Administration, soit en recourant au zèle du Clergé, soit en assurant mieux la valeur et le recouvrement de tous ses revenus publics. Les Membres de la Conférence sont convaincus que l'Espagne renferme en elle même toutes les ressources dont elle a besoin, et qu'elles demeureront comme ensevelies tant que des mesures administratives n'en favoriseront pas l'essor, en secondant le généreux dévouement et l'énergie dont la nation espagnole a donné de si honorables exemples.

Les Représentans de l'Alliance à Madrid devront saisir toutes les occasions, pour appeler l'attention du Gouvernement de sa M<sup>té</sup> C<sup>que</sup> sur cet objet important.

La Situation de l'Isle de Cuba mérite également toute sa sollicitude. Quelques renforts ont été envoyés à la havane;<sup>37</sup> mais les Membres de la Conférence croient que, dans l'état actuel des choses en Amérique, l'Espagne doit faire de nouveaux efforts pour mettre cette Colonie à l'abri d'une attaque étrangère ou d'une tentative de factieux, et pour rassurer le Commerce, effrayé par les actes de piraterie, dont la mer des Antilles est devenue le théâtre.

Quelles que soient les vues du Gouvernement Espagnol, à l'égard de ses autres possessions d'Amérique, leur accomplissement dépendra beaucoup de l'efficacité des mesures qu'il aura prises dans l'isle de Cuba. En se fortifiant sur ce point, il peut influer puissamment sur le sort des autres possessions; mais si ses efforts se divisaient la conservation même de cette importante colonie deviendrait incertaine.

Depuis longtems les Ministres de l'Alliance ont engagé le Gouvernement espagnol à s'occuper du sort de ses Colonies et à leur accorder toutes les facilités que doit faire désirer et que rend indispensables l'état actuel du Commerce. Ils ont souhaité que Ce Gouvernement adoptât toutes les conséquences de son décret du 9 février 1824; et en reconnaissant qu'il est entré dans cette voie, ils apprécient les dispositions généreuses et utiles que Sa M<sup>té</sup> C<sup>que</sup> a proclamées, mais le malheur des tems, de nombreux changemens d'administration, l'interruption fréquente des relations entre les Colonies et la Mère Patrie, la nécessité où se sont vûes les autorités locales d'adopter des mesures que les circonstances exigeaient, et sur lesquelles on n'avait pas le tems de consulter un Gouvernement trop éloigné, ont amené dans la marche des affaires, non seulement la Complication mais la Confusion. Ces circonstances ont privé de toute action régulière l'Administration, elles relâchent, avec une progression effrayante, les liens qui unissaient les Colonies à la Mère patrie et elles finiront par les anéantir, si le Gouvernement Espagnol ne s'empresse d'y remédier.

Les Membres de la Conférence sont vu avec plaisir les dispositions de la Cour de Madrid envers les Etats Unis d'Amérique, ils espèrent que le prochain départ de M. Herédia pour Washington,<sup>38</sup> et l'adoption des Mesures qui seront prises pour l'encouragement du Commerce et la répression de la piraterie, mettront bientôt un terme aux discussions de cette Puissance avec l'Espagne.

<sup>37</sup> Reinforcements consisting of 900 men from the Canary Islands and of two battalions from Spain were sent to Cuba in 1825. Guiteras, *Historia de la Isla de Cuba*, II. 296.

<sup>38</sup> Heredia, for private reasons, declined to go to Washington, somewhat embarrassing his government. Before the departure, however, of the American minister, Hugh Nelson, he was informed that Francisco Tacon, a naval officer, then in London, would be sent out. Boislicomte to Damas, July 12, 1825. MSS Aff. étr., Corr. Pol., Espagne, vol. 773, fols. 53-59. Tacon did not come till 1827.

La Conférence émet aussi le voeu que les différends entre l'Espagne et la Régence d'Alger soient terminés à l'amiable. Tout espoir de négociation ne paraît pas perdu, et dans la situation actuelle du Gouvernement espagnol, il semble qu'un arrangement pécuniaire devrait être préféré.

RÉSUMÉ DE LA CONFÉRENCE DU 26 JUIN 1825.<sup>39</sup>

## Présens :

L'Ambassadeur d'Autriche

L'Ambassadeur de Russie

Le Ministre des Aff. Etrang. de France

Le Ministre de Prusse.

Cette Conférence avait pour objet de s'occuper du danger qui menace les Isles de Cuba et de Porto Ricco, comme aussi des propositions que le gouvern't. des Etats unis a l'intention de faire à l'Espagne relativement à ces Colonies.

Le Ministre des affaires étrangères a fait un exposé succinct des informations parvenues sur ces différens points au gouv't. de S. M. T. C. et de l'opinion qu'il s'en est formée.

Il a annoncé à la Conférence qu'il se faisait un devoir de l'informer que les Etats-unis ont proposé à l'Angleterre de se concerter avec la France, pour offrir à l'Espagne la garantie des Iles de Cuba et de Porto-Ricco, fortement menacées par les indépendans de l'Amérique espagnole, sous la condition que l'Espagne accepterait aussi la médiation des trois puissances entre elle et ses colonies insurgées.<sup>40</sup>

Le Ministre a ajouté qu'en effet les nouvelles reçues depuis quelque tems s'accordaient à représenter l'île de Cuba comme placée dans une situation très inquiétante, tant à l'intérieur qu'à l'extérieur.

A l'intérieur, les impôts indirects sont fort élevés, et s'il faut en croire quelques rapports, l'entretien des dernières troupes arrivées d'Espagne a nécessité l'établissement d'un impôt foncier inconnu jusques là [et a servi] par la même fait pour augmenter les mauvaises dispositions des habitans.

Il paraît d'ailleurs que les habitans de Cuba liés d'intérêts et d'habitudes avec Ceux du Mexique et tentés par les succès des indépendans montreraient quelques dispositions à rompre avec une métropole qui ne peut plus accorder que faiblement à cette colonie la protection qui lui devient tous les jours plus nécessaire.

Les dangers extérieurs, dans l'opinion du gouvernement des Etats-unis, ne semblent pas moins menaçans, attendu que les succès obtenus dernièrement par les indépendans leur permettent de disposer de forces suffisantes pour attaquer l'île de Cuba avec avantage.

Le Gouvernement des Etats-unis pense donc que l'Espagne ne doit plus songer à reconquérir ses colonies : qu'elle est incapable de conserver Cuba avec ses propres forces, qu'en conséquence elle doit désirer une garantie étrangère, et que cette garantie ne peut être exercée utilement que par l'accord de la France, de l'Angleterre et des Etats-unis.

La conférence ayant exprimé le désir de connaître la pensée du gouvernement de S. M. T. C. sur cette proposition, le Ministre des

<sup>39</sup> Paris, Aff. Étr., Corresp. Pol., Espagne, vol. 732, fols. 399-404v.

<sup>40</sup> See J. M. Callahan, "Cuba and Anglo-American Relations", in *Annual Report of American Historical Association for 1897*, pp. 195-215.

affaires étrangères a répondu que quelle que soit la situation de l'Espagne vis-à-vis de ses colonies, son honneur et sa sûreté exigent qu'elle n'accepte point la garantie qui lui est offerte; l'honneur parce que l'Angleterre et les Etats-unis ayant reconnu, malgré elle, l'indépendance des Colonies insurgées, elle ne peut recourir à leur protection; la sûreté, parce qu'après la reconnaissance de l'indépendance de Buenos Ayres, de Colombie et du Mexique par l'Angleterre et les Etats Unis la garantie que ces puissances offrent pour Cuba pouvant nécessiter l'emploi de leurs forces contre les principes qu'ils ont ouvertement admis, les mettrait en contradiction avec elles-mêmes, et quelque bonnefoi qu'elles pussent y apporter, l'ordre naturel des choses les entrainerait; les principes d'insurrection mal combattus finiraient par dominer et par soustraire irrevocablement à l'Espagne une colonie qu'il est dans leur intérêt même qu'elle conserve encore. L'Espagne ne peut, ne doit donc pas accepter la proposition qui lui sera faite; s'il y a jamais médiation, l'Espagne ne peut prendre pour médiateurs que ses alliés.

Au reste, a-t-il ajouté, on ne peut dissimuler combien les circonstances sont fâcheuses pour l'Espagne et délicates pour l'alliance; car dans le cas où celle-ci prendrait sur elle de garantir à l'Espagne la possession de Cuba, si, comme on ne peut s'empêcher de le craindre, cette ile vient à suivre l'exemple des autres colonies insurgées, il est difficile de calculer tout ce qu'il en résulterait de pénible pour l'alliance et de fâcheux pour l'intérêt des principes qu'elle défend.

M. l'Ambassadeur de Russie a dit: que dans son opinion les dangers qui menacent les Iles de Cuba et de Porto Ricco sont encore éloignés et qu'avant qu'ils puissent se réaliser, l'Espagne pourra prendre les mesures nécessaires à leur conservation; qu'ainsi l'objet pressant est de savoir si les forces aujourd'hui entretenues dans ces Iles doivent suffire à leur défense, et dans le cas contraire d'inviter le gouv't espagnol a y en faire passer de nouvelles; mais que dans l'état des choses, c'est au secours des finances de l'Espagne qu'il faut courir. Le gouvernement anglais la presse de satisfaire aux réclamations qui résultent des créances particulières des sujets de la grande Bretagne; il est a craindre que, se trouvant hors d'état d'y satisfaire, le gouv't espagnol ne se croie obligé à quelques concessions nuisibles à ses intérêts présents, plus encore à ses intérêts futurs.

Douze millions environ suffiraient pour s'acquitter envers l'Angleterre. L'ambassadeur de Russie a demandé si la France ne pourrait pas en faire l'avance. Le Ministre des affaires étrangères a fait observer que la France ne pouvait être dans l'intention d'offrir à l'Espagne une somme qui n'aurait d'autre destination que le paiement de quelques créanciers anglais; que si une somme quelconque devait tirer le gouv't espagnol de la triste situation où il est, il serait facile de la fournir; mais qu'il est malheureusement certain que dans l'état où se trouve l'Espagne, cette ressource, très précaire, ne remplirait pas son objet. Les sommes prêtées seraient sacrifiées aux exigences du moment qui se renouvelleront tant que l'ordre ne se rétablira pas dans les finances et l'on ne doit pas espérer qu'il en soit fait un emploi véritablement utile. Un palliatif ne pourrait suffire, il rendrait la position mutuelle des deux gouvernements plus pénible et n'aurait aucun résultat satisfaisant.

Le Ministre a fait connaître qu'au reste la France n'en est pas moins disposée à aider l'Espagne, et qu'elle est prête à lui offrir de nouveau, et sous les mêmes garanties, l'arrangement qu'elle lui proposa l'année

dernière (conférence du 31 août 1824) et qui consistait à prendre, en paiement des sommes dont l'Espagne est redevable envers elle, un fonds en rentes dont le gouvernement français aurait fait la négociation. Cette mesure aurait l'avantage de créer pour l'usage du trésor d'Espagne une valeur qu'il dépendrait de lui d'accroître en mettant de l'exactitude dans le service des arrérages.

Au surplus, l'Espagne entre depuis quelque tems dans les voies qui doivent la conduire à une meilleure situation, et la marche du ministère actuel peut donner l'espoir de voir rétablir l'ordre dans les finances et conséquemment le crédit public.

A la suite de ces explications, l'opinion unanime de la conférence a été: que l'Espagne ne doit point accepter la garantie qui sera proposée par les Etats-unis et par l'Angleterre;

Qu'il convient de l'inviter à compléter les moyens de défense de Cuba et de Porto-Ricco ou à entretenir ceux qui y existent, s'ils paraissent suffisans, et enfin à prendre toute autre mesure propre à garantir ces colonies du danger qui les menace;

Que toutes les tentatives pour obtenir de l'argent par la voie des emprunts ordinaires ayant manqué, et les efforts inutiles qu'on ne cesse de faire depuis deux ans à cet égard contribuant à augmenter le discredit de l'Espagne, il semble indispensable d'avoir recours à quelque autre moyen propre à détruire par le fait les préventions fausses ou sinistres existantes contre le gouvernement espagnol;

Que parmi ces moyens le projet déjà proposé de créer des inscriptions de rentes affectées au paiement de la dette envers l'Angleterre et la France aux conditions qui seront arrêtées avec ces deux puissances, semble devoir établir un commencement de crédit susceptible de se développer par la suite d'une manière avantageuse;

Que l'intérêt de ces inscriptions serait payable à Londres et à Paris, par conséquent les inscriptions elles memes négociables principalement sur ces deux places, avec la faveur du public et celle des gouvernemens respectifs intéressés à les faire valoir;

Qu'à l'aide de cette émission l'Espagne pourrait en mettre en circulation pour son propre Compte, et moyennant l'exactitude à payer l'intérêt dans les lieux et aux époques convenues, établir un crédit nouveau qui ferait oublier les inconvéniens résultant des événemens passés;

Que cette opération, après avoir été concertée avec la France et l'Angleterre chacune pour ce qui la concerne, devrait être confiée à des maisons de banque d'un crédit reconnu dans les deux pays, qu'il conviendrait de charger aussi de toutes les autres opérations financières de l'Espagne à l'étranger, afin d'établir l'unité et la solidité des opérations susmentionnées;

Que le préliminaire de ce système ou de tout autre qu'il plaira au Roi Catholique de prendre, doit être l'accord parfait du ministre des finances avec les autres ministres, et leur coopération commune et sincère en faveur de ce qui aura été délibéré et arrêté.

Les membres de la conférence sont convenus que le présent protocole sera communiqué aux représentans des cours à Madrid, afin qu'ils en fassent l'usage qu'ils jugeraient le plus convenable pour le maintien des principes qu'il contient et pour l'adoption des mesures qui y sont indiquées.

RÉSUMÉ DE LA CONFÉRENCE DU 17 JUILLET 1825.<sup>41</sup>

Presens: MM:

L'Ambassadeur d'Autriche

L'Ambassadeur de Russie

Le Ministre des affaires étrangères de France

Le Ministre de Prusse.

Le Ministre des affaires étrangères a donné connaissance a MM. les représentans de l'Alliance d'une communication qu'il a reçue de M. le Ministre des Etats-unis le 12 Juillet, et de la reponse qu'il y a faite: en voici la substance.

Le Ministre des Etats-Unis a dit au nom de son gouvernement:<sup>42</sup>

"Personne n'ignore la situation respective de l'Espagne et de ses colonies: à la vérité l'ambition de Buonaparte a pu hâter la séparation qui s'est opérée entre les colonies espagnoles et la mère-patrie: Mais cette séparation même étant dans la nature des choses ne pouvait manquer de se réaliser un jour; et l'Europe a dû la prévoir, afin de s'éviter les complications qu'une révolution si importante devait amener a sa suite.

"Le gouvernement des Etats-unis a cependant vu avec peine la séparation de fait qui s'est opérée entre l'Espagne et ses colonies; Il a employé tous ses efforts pour empêcher ses citoyens de prêter des secours aux rebelles; mais l'Espagne ayant successivement perdu toutes ses possessions du continent, les intérêts du Commerce, l'esprit des peuples et la nature des institutions qui régissent le pays ne permettaient point a l'Union de méconnaître un fait devenu irrévocable.

"Le gouvernement des Etats-unis a donc traité et [a] du traiter avec les nouveaux états, Mais, comme la paix est le premier besoin des peuples, il fait des vœux pour que l'Espagne, en reconnaissant l'indépendance de ses colonies, consolide un état de choses qu'il ne lui est plus possible de changer.

"Ce sacrifice, bien pénible sans doute, pourrait cependant avoir de l'utilité pour l'Espagne, si, par la médiation de ses alliés, elle y trouvait des compensations qui l'aïdassent à sortir de l'état de gêne où elle se trouve.

"L'Espagne, d'ailleurs, doit mettre un grand prix à la conservation des Isles de Cuba et de Porto-Ricco, de la première surtout qui, riche de ses productions et si heureusement placée pour dominer la mer des Antilles, lui donne le moyen d'influer puissamment sur les transactions commerciales des contrées voisines; or, si l'état actuel des choses se prolonge, nul doute qu'avant peu l'Isle de Cuba ne passe aux mains de

<sup>41</sup> Paris, Aff. Étr., Corresp. Pol., Espagne, vol. 733, fols. 99-103v.

<sup>42</sup> James Brown was at this time minister of the United States in Paris. An examination of the MS. "Instructions to Ministers" in the State Department reveals that the only instructions relating to the Spanish colonies sent by Clay to Brown during this period consisted of a copy of the instructions to Middleton, at St. Petersburg, of May 10, 1825, a copy of which was also sent to King at London. These instructions are printed in *Am. St. P., For. Rel.*, V. 846-849. A careful reading of them forces the conclusion that in proposing to join with the maritime powers to guarantee the possession of Cuba and Porto Rico to Spain on condition that the latter accept the mediation of those powers between herself and her revolted colonies Brown exceeded the intent of his instructions; this of course assuming that his communication was correctly reported to the conference by Damas.

quelqu'un des nouveaux gouvernemens de la Colombie ou du Mexique, lesquels unis d'intérêt contre l'Espagne et pouvant disposer d'environ soixante mille hommes ne cesseront pas les hostilités tant que leur existence ne sera pas légalement garantie.

“ On connaît d'ailleurs la fermentation qui règne parmi les habitans de ces Iles; on sait que des députés ont été envoyés par ceux de Cuba au gouvernement de Colombie; et l'Espagne dans l'état où elle se trouve manque des moyens nécessaires pour conserver cette belle possession.

“ Les Etats-unis proposent donc à la France et aux autres puissances maritimes de garantir à l'Espagne la possession de Cuba et de Porto-Ricco; mais à condition qu'elle acceptera les mêmes puissances pour médiatrices entre elle et ses colonies insurgées.”

Le Ministre des affaires étrangères a répondu:

“ Les Etats-unis ne se sont point mépris sur les vœux et les sentimens de la France; elle ne perdra jamais une occasion pour aider l'Espagne de ses bons offices, mais dans la circonstance présente, le gouvernement des Etats-unis ne peut ignorer que la France a des engagements avec ses alliés; que, dans tous les cas, une offre de ce genre ne pourrait être faite à l'Espagne qu'avec le concours de l'Alliance: et que même en supposant que l'utilité de cette proposition fut reconnue par l'Alliance, on n'en pourrait espérer aujourd'hui aucun succès; car on a la certitude qu'elle serait repoussée par le gouvernement espagnol.

“ L'Alliance attache sans doute un grand prix à ce que l'Espagne conserve la possession des Iles de Cuba et de Porto Ricco: C'est pour maintenir l'autorité de cette puissance et pour diminuer les dangers dont elle est menacée, que l'alliance a conseillé à l'Espagne et a obtenu d'elle la suppression des lettres de marque qui jusqu' alors avaient été délivrées par les autorités espagnoles de Cuba:<sup>43</sup> Mais elle désirerait que le gouvernement des Etats-unis obtint une mesure semblable du gouvernement de Colombie. Il en résulterait une notable diminution du danger qui naît pour tous les états commerçans de ce grand nombre de corsaires qui se sont repandus et qui se repandront encore dans toutes les mers; Cette mesure préviendrait une complication que tous les gouvernemens doivent chercher à éviter.”

Le Ministre des Etats-unis a reconnu la justesse de cette observation: Il a pensé toutefois qu'il était fort difficile de faire aux états insurgés la proposition dont il s'agit par la raison que les peuples de ces contrées regardent l'entretien des corsaires qui composent la presque totalité de leur marine, comme l'unique moyen de forcer l'Espagne à leur accorder les conditions qu'ils desirant.

Le Ministre des Etats-unis a d'ailleurs ajouté que son gouvernement connaissait bien les obligations que l'alliance s'était imposées, et que loin d'y trouver un obstacle aux propositions qu'il adressait au gouvernement français il desirait qu'elle se réunît à lui pour l'objet dont il émettait le vœu.

Les membres de la Conférence ont adhéré aux principes qui ont dicté la réponse du Ministre: Ils se réservent d'en rendre compte à leurs cours respectives.

Après cette communication les membres de la conférence s'étant en-

<sup>43</sup> On May 6, 1825, Zea Bermúdez informed Boisilecomte, the French chargé d'affaires at Madrid, that it was the intention of the king to suppress all letters of marque and to prohibit the issue of privateers' commissions in the West Indies. Paris, Aff. Etr., Corresp. Pol., Espagne, vol. 732, fol. 201.

tretenus de l'état actuel de l'Espagne et ayant cherché les conseils qu'il pourrait être utiles de donner encore à cette puissance, sont tombés d'accord sur ce point: qu'après les améliorations déjà obtenues dans l'administration, le premier intérêt du gouvernement espagnol consiste à rétablir dans ses finances l'ordre nécessaire pour le dégager des exigences extérieures et des besoins intérieurs qui le tourmentent; qu'aucun des moyens qui ont été examinés jusqu'à présent n'est préférable à celui qui a été indiqué dans le protocole du 26 Juin; qu'en conséquence le gouvern't espagnol doit réunir tous ses efforts, toutes ses facultés, pour émettre tant en Angleterre qu'en France les rentes nécessaires pour s'acquitter envers ces deux pays:

Le placement successif de ces rentes lui permettra d'en émettre pour son propre compte, soit simultanément, soit dans la suite, en continuant d'offrir aux prêteurs les garanties qui seront nécessaires, et de fonder ainsi le système de crédit qui lui est indispensable.

Les membres de la Conférence reconnaissent les obstacles qu'il faudra vaincre pour obtenir ce résultat si désiré: mais il y va du salut de l'Espagne, et dès lors, quelles que soient les résistances, il faut les briser.

La Conférence a arrêté que les représentans de l'alliance à Madrid seront invités à donner lecture du présent protocole à M. le Ministre des affaires étrangères de S. M. C.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>44</sup> The protocols of two later conferences, October 7, 1825, and May 26, 1826, are to be found in the same series, vol. 734, fol. 37, and vol. 736, fol. 151, but have not been copied because deemed of insufficient interest. The conference of October 7 dealt with the question of Mexican clergy and Spanish opposition to the reception by the pope of their representatives. The conference of May 26 was more general.



## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

### GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

*Prolegomena to History: the Relation of History to Literature, Philosophy, and Science.* By FREDERICK J. TEGGART, Associate Professor of History and Curator of the Bancroft Library in the University of California. [University of California Publications in History, vol. IV., no. 3.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1916. Pp. 155-292.)

PROFESSOR TEGGART'S *Prolegomena* represents another attempt to prove that history is not a natural science, that it should be a natural science, but that it cannot be a natural science unless it abandons the methods employed up to the present by historians and adopts the methods employed by natural scientists. With all of which one might most heartily agree, while pointing out to Professor Teggart that the result of the application of the methods of natural science to past social data would give us sociology, the *laws of social development*, and not history, the *unique synthesis of social evolution*. Professor Teggart's argument against the present methods of the historian rests, it seems to me, upon a number of false assumptions. It is not true that *science* and *natural science* are synonymous; the former embraces the latter and something more, the synthesis of past social facts called *history* being quite as scientific as the synthesis of past social facts called *sociology*. It is not true that history is "the statement of an indeterminable number of concrete individual cases" (p. 241), nor is it a "current dictum" that "historical scholarship must confine itself at present to the collection of facts, so that from these, in an undefined future, the 'laws' of history may be formulated" (p. 160). It is interesting to note in connection with this last assertion that the citations of Professor Teggart from Monod, Freeman, Bury, Adams, and Jameson give no support to the assumption, these writers having in mind a future synthesis that shall rest on their partial investigations, and not the formulation of laws from the facts they had collected. This false conception of the task of the historian vitiates all the work of Professor Teggart, although at times he contradicts himself, stating correctly the task of the historian when he says, "the problem confronting every historian is how to bring the heterogeneous materials at his disposal within the compass of a unity" (p. 193), or "what constitutes it a masterpiece of historical writing is the wide vision that gives unity to the whole narrative". It is not true that history is "the manifestation of constant processes" (p. 246) nor is it the duty of the historian to investigate "the processes manifested in the concrete instances of history" (p. 241). It is not true that "a clear-cut

distinction must be made between historiography and historical inquiry" (p. 239) for the simple reason that they are inseparable; the end of historical research *is* historiography. It is not true that historians now advocate "that we should investigate the past with our minds a perfect blank as to what we wish to know" (p. 161), that is to say, that the historian does not set and solve problems. It is not true that "logic ignores the scientific possibilities of historical inquiry because the historian has not yet found a way to turn to account the opportunities which his materials present" (p. 221). It is not true that "the crux for logic was that history claimed to be a science, though it did not produce scientific results" (p. 219), but rather that history was a legitimate form of organized knowledge for which the current definition of science left no place. The problem was to distinguish between the logic of the organization of past social facts in the form of a synthesis displaying a unique evolution, and the logic of a series of generalizations or laws treating of the processes revealed by an examination of past social facts. History never claimed to be a *natural* science, hence it never employed the methods of *natural* science and as science is not *solely* "the systematic investigation of the processes manifested in phenomena", the method of *natural* science is not "the *only* method that can satisfy the ambition or provide an outlet for the activity of the investigator".

The demonstration of this series of theses would occupy as many pages as Professor Teggart has devoted to his *Prolegomena*. After all that has been said, it ought to be clear that the whole dispute turns upon the question of definition. Professor Teggart wishes to apply to past social facts the methods of natural science for the purpose of tracing the processes of social evolution. Well and good; it is perfectly legitimate and nobody objects. The historian wishes to do something quite different; he wishes to construct a synthesis displaying the unique evolution of man in his activities as a social being. That too is perfectly legitimate, that too is organized knowledge or science, although not *natural* science. Does the sociologist deny the right of the historian to construct such a synthesis? If not, why does he quarrel with the method employed when it is the only method that will give the historian what he seeks? That history "has perfected its methods", but "has not changed its nature" (p. 173) should be cited to its credit, not to its discredit. It could not change its methods as long as its nature was unchanged; it could only perfect them.

FRED MORROW FLING.

*A History of the Family as a Social and Educational Institution.*

By WILLYSTINE GOODSSELL, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Education in Teachers College, Columbia University. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1915. Pp. xiv, 588.)

WE have much needed a trustworthy book on the family, marriage, and related problems, sufficiently detailed but not too elaborate to serve

as an outline or text for the use of college students and to satisfy the swiftly growing interest of educated people in these vital questions. Such a book Dr. Goodsell has given us. It combines a well-analyzed discussion of the development of matrimonial institutions, from the earliest to the most recent phase, with a consideration of some of the more important social movements of the present hour. The historical chapters constitute the bulk of the work, small space being devoted to the present conditions. Indeed, an adequate discussion of the great social betterment problems which now concern the family-trinity, such as mother and infant welfare, infant mortality, mothers' pensions, eugenics, and equal suffrage, would have doubled the size of the volume; and that, of course, would not have suited the author's plan.

Professor Goodsell has drawn freely upon the literature produced by preceding writers, and has made helpful original contributions where there was most need of further research. The treatment is thoroughly "modern" in spirit. The institutions of the family are rightly viewed as social products, the results of human experience. Since they have been made by man, they may be changed by man with his advancing knowledge.

The short chapter on the Primitive Family deals with the hardest subject which students of social origins can tackle: the literature and the complex and conflicting theories of the genesis of matrimonial forms and usages. Swiftly and clearly the author has summarized the views of Bachofen, Maine, Morgan, McLennan, Grosse, Westermarck, Todd, and others. The theory of the "original pair-family" is favored as the most trustworthy explanation of primitive human mating; and, following Grosse, the dominant influence of economic conditions on the evolution of the family is accented. Wisely the teaching of Bachofen and many of his followers, that so-called mother-right or the "metronymic system" of kinship implies the supremacy of the female, is rejected. "In those instances where the husband lived and served among his wife's kindred the position of the woman was relatively high. She was protected by her male relatives from unjust divorce, from abuse, and from gross overwork." But "the maternal kinship system does not imply that women were in supreme control of the household nor even that they held a determining voice in the management of the affairs of the kinship group or clan." In this chapter, good use has been made of Hutton Webster's very able *Primitive Secret Societies*; and of Todd's enlightening *Primitive Family as an Educational Agency*.

Three meritorious chapters are given to the "patriarchal family" among the Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans, respectively; and these are a good example of the author's independent research. The very interesting discussions of the "Influence of Early Christianity upon Marriage", the "Family in the Middle Ages", and the "Family during the Renaissance" show Dr. Goodsell's alertness and industry in digesting a great mass of writings and in reaching thoroughly up-to-date conclu-

sions. The social evils arising in the canon-law doctrines of marriage and divorce, and the resulting teaching of Luther and the Protestant reformers are set forth in some detail; while in each stage proper attention is paid to the more intimate relations of the domestic life. The painstaking chapter on the English Family in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries covers ground but partially explored by preceding writers. This remark may apply also to that part of the chapter on the Family in the American Colonies, entitled "Homes and Home Life in Colonial Days".

The book closes with a short account of the Industrial Revolution and its Effect upon the Family; a chapter on the Family during the Nineteenth Century; another on the Present Situation; and a concise statement of Current Theories of Reform. These chapters, though brief and as already suggested not embracing some of the most important movements of the day, will prove very helpful to anyone who wishes to understand the spirit of our transition stage of social progress.

Each chapter has a well-selected bibliography; and this, together with the analytical table of contents and the full index, affords the reader an efficient apparatus for making good use of the book. Professor Goodsell's work is the best concise discussion of a big and hard subject which has yet appeared.

*Intercourse between India and the Western World from the Earliest Times to the Fall of Rome.* By H. G. RAWLINSON, M.A., I.E.S., Professor of English in the Deccan College, Poona. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1916. Pp. vi, 196.)

ALTHOUGH the author of this handy book is not impeccable (Alexander's entry into India was not in 329 B.C.) and his novel suggestions are not often acceptable, yet his errors are comparatively rare and his original contributions are fortunately few. In truth, almost everything contained in this volume has been known for years, a good deal of it for hundreds of years. Yet some of it is recent material which Professor Rawlinson has picked up out of the more or less hidden volumes of Oriental Societies and deftly welded with information provided by the author of the *Periplus* (whose date should be 60 A.D.), by MacCrimble, who in turn got his books out of Greek fragments, and by many other writers old and new, familiar to the Indologist but probably unknown to the general historian. We have always known, for example, that there were three great trade-routes connecting India with the West and that Indian products were sold in Babylon and popular in Rome; that a Roman emperor received an embassy from India; that Greek girls were sold in India in the first century of our era and that a Hindu emperor had a Greek wife in the third century B.C.; but it is only recently that we have had the native work on administration to compare with Megasthenes, or have learned about the converted Greeks who appear

(under Indian names) as beneficiaries of religious works in India; and it is only last year that Dr. Spooner showed how much greater than formerly supposed is the Persian element in ancient Hindu architecture. We knew of old that Darius "conquered India" (or thought he did) about 510 B.C., but we never knew and do not now believe that India gave tin to the Greeks or that Pseudo-Kallisthenes visited a bishop of Southern India; for Adule, where he lived, has now been identified with Massowah, so that the "Nestorian prelate" called Moses could not have lived where Professor Rawlinson locates him. From recent articles in Oriental journals some information also respecting philosophy and literature in India has been utilized by the author, who discards the notion that Pythagoras learned anything from the Hindus, as he discards the theory that Hindu drama came from Greek influence, though he admits the possibility of Hellenic influences in Western India upon one Hindu play and cites Marshall's opinion that Greek plays were acted in the Punjab.

As to the eternally recurrent question whether, to put it somewhat baldly, Christ was a Buddhist or the Buddhists were Christians, Professor Rawlinson notes that Clement (died 220 A.D.) was the first Western writer to show any real knowledge of Eastern philosophy. Parallels between the Gospels and the New Testament of India are unconvincing; Lamaist ritual may be due to the influence of the Christian church in Persia. In all that he says on this subject the author is sane and conservative. His bibliography might have included Brunnhofer and Franke (*Zeitschrift d. Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, XLVII.), but is complete enough.

As we have indicated, this work is not one of original investigation. But it is a very useful compendium of facts and divergent views and the author has strung these together to follow a chronological order, so that one may take up in historical progression the intercourse between India and the West from the Rig Veda and Solomon to the Bhagavad Gita and Kosmas Indikopleustes, a monk of the sixth century A.D., who wrote of Christianity in Ceylon and parts of India which he visited. For most of the facts here collected by Professor Rawlinson one has had hitherto to turn to ancient fragments and scattered articles by modern writers. It is therefore a modest but real service to have brought all this information together. We may add that it is imparted in a succinct but pleasant style and, barring a few errors, correctly. For specialists the book is a convenience and for the general historian it should be a boon.

*The Religious Thought of the Greeks from Homer to the Triumph of Christianity.* By CLIFFORD HERSCHEL MOORE, Professor of Latin in Harvard University. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1916. Pp. vii, 385.)

THIS volume is in the form of lectures. Eight lectures given before

the Lowell Institute in the autumn of 1914 are combined with material from a course delivered at the western colleges with which Harvard University maintains an annual exchange. The author describes his work as "nothing more than a sketch". Despite this modest disclaimer the book makes a worthy contribution to the subject. And it represents what, I venture to think, may properly be called the new humanism of classical scholarship. Without attempting universality or completeness it offers a treatment of Greek religion which is at once interesting and significant. Teachers of the history of thought should welcome for their pupils such an excellent organization of the more important aspects of the subject, while classical students will profit by the philosophical insight with which it is treated.

Beginning with Homer and Hesiod the development of Greek religion is traced through more than a thousand years to the triumph of Christianity. In addition to a treatment of the better known periods of classical literature, there are chapters on Orphism, Pythagoreanism and the Mysteries, on Oriental Religions in the Western Half of the Roman Empire, on Christianity, and on Christianity and Paganism.

Many readers will find especial interest in the author's account of the various mystical cults, the religions of redemption, all of which share the belief that only the initiate, the "twice-born" soul, attains the insight and holiness that bring peace and salvation. This conception of the religious life is first clearly seen in Orphism and the Eleusinian Mysteries. It reappears with added power not only in Christianity and Alexandrian mysticism but also in all the Oriental religions which flourished in the Roman Empire, especially in the worship of Isis, of Mithras, and of the Great Mother. It is significant that no other type of religion gained a foothold at Rome in the period of decadence. No one can read the account of these latter cults without perceiving that the triumph of Christianity was hastened by the wide diffusion of a mode of religious thought and practice spiritually akin to much of its own teaching.

The story of the initiation of Lucius, the hero of the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius, into the Isiac rites, offers, the author tells us, "the fullest account which we possess of an initiation into any of these oriental mysteries". The summary of this account (p. 273 ff.) is highly instructive. Only in our own day has the study of psychology enabled us to understand with what transforming power submission to such rites could work in the life of the youthful initiate, how it could give temporary release from the sway of the senses, could free him "for the moment from the tangled net of daily life", and seem to offer a "very foretaste of immortality".

One comment of the author concerning mysticism, that it is "the very opposite of individualism" (p. 47), seems to me to require qualification. This statement does unquestionably express one aspect of the matter, for mysticism has always allied itself with a monistic theory of being; the individual devotee seeks to merge his petty existence in the

one divine life. But mysticism has also at the same time inclined to an individualistic theory of religious insight. The state of illumination, of enthusiasm, or ecstasy, it has insisted may be quite unique and yielding a revelation not to be shared with any fellow-mortal. Thus it was that throughout the Middle Ages Christian mysticism wrought against ecclesiasticism in favor of individualism. It insisted that no priest or potentate could come between God and the individual soul, so that its leaders were justly hailed as "reformers before the reformation".

The final chapter offers an excellent account of how Christianity was compelled to defend itself in a world dominated by the intellectual conceptions of the Greeks, and how it was itself Hellenized in the process. Platonic tradition naturally played the chief rôle in providing the *formulae* for Christian dogma. It may be added that in this ecclesiastical setting these *formulae* have displayed a vitality quite disproportionate to their validity.

In concluding this brief review of Professor Moore's book the reviewer may perhaps voice the sentiment of other readers in expressing regret that some portion of the time spent, during college days, in the study of the Greek language, could not have been devoted to such an instructive volume.

WALTER GOODNOW EVERETT.

#### BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

*History of the Franks*, by Gregory, Bishop of Tours. Selections, translated with Notes by ERNEST BREHAUT, Ph.D. [Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1916. Pp. xxv, 284.)

THIS is the third volume which has thus far appeared in the series, *Records of Civilization*, and, like the other two, it has the same merits of attractive form and clear print. The work might well be entitled *Selections from the Writings of Gregory of Tours* for it contains selections not only from the *History of the Franks* but also from the *Eight Books of Miracles*. However, as the title indicates, the bulk of the work is concerned with the former of Gregory's writings, of which the skeleton is preserved entire. Many of the chapters have been translated in full. These include most of the passages usually cited in general histories of the medieval period and amount in total to somewhat less than half of the original work. The other chapters are translated by title, or are briefly summarized. In some cases, also, brief passages which seemed to the translator important have been translated and added to the summaries. In all, 248 pages are devoted to the translation of the *History of the Franks*. The selections from the *Eight Books of Miracles* occupy but fourteen pages and were chosen, as Dr. Brehaut indicates, primarily to illustrate Gregory's personality and point of view. The introduction, twenty-five pages in length, presents to the general

reader a brief discussion of Gregory's life, his language, and his conception of religion in its application to various phases of social activity. Thirteen pages of notes, directed likewise toward the general reader, are unobtrusively appended, together with three genealogical tables (genealogy of Merovingian kings, families of Clothar and Chilperic, and Gregory's family), a map of the Frankish dominions, and an index of proper names. A brief bibliography, supplemented by numerous bibliographical references in the notes, opens the way to further study for the interested reader.

The editor of the series in a brief preface anticipates "the protest which is sure to come from the medievalist when he sees the work of desecration at last accomplished", and seeks to justify the plan of selection in preference to a translation of the whole work not only on material grounds, but also on the basis of "a new social value". There are still enough old-fashioned folk, not yet fully submissive to the "higher law" in the publication of historical monuments, to raise the question whether the reader of this translation would have been seriously inconvenienced by a carefully indexed translation of the whole *History of the Franks*. Those who see in the work not only the reflection of Gregory of Tours as a figure and a man of his time, but for want of other material are compelled to glean from it a knowledge of the times also, are inclined to quarrel with it, not because it is too full, but rather because it is not full enough. The invaluable testimony which it affords to the gradual fusion of Latin and Teutonic institutions will remain important as long as European civilization is interested in the origin and formation of its fundamental social institutions. The persistent demand for the translations of Bede, of Froissart, of Joinville, and other like works would seem to indicate that this interest is not confined to "erudite medievalists", "who should in any case go to the original". It is hoped that the editors of the series may be able in the works now in preparation to make a more generous allowance for these other readers as well.

This is the most serious objection which may be offered to the work, the more so because Dr. Brehaut has been for some years occupied with a study of the period of Gregory of Tours and might have easily rendered a translation of the whole work. However, the volume, as it is, should prove very useful. The selections have been made with discrimination. Persons interested in legal procedure may regret that the compurgation of Fredegunda in proof of the legitimacy of young Clothar (bk. VIII.) was not translated in full, but most of the famous passages have been translated entire. The translator has undertaken the very difficult task of reproducing Gregory's vagaries of style and grammar without unnecessarily confusing the reader. In this he has been fairly successful, though it must have required real courage to translate *Hispanias* "the Spains", for elsewhere he translates the same word by the common "Spain". The smoothness of the translation is somewhat marred by unnecessary lack of punctuation-marks, and the work as a



whole suffers from needless errors in proof-reading: *c. g.*, Alemanni, Alamanni; Syagrius, Siagrius; and varying use of capital letters.

As a whole, however, the work will be welcomed by many both in the schools and without. Gregory's varied genius as a writer and as an historical figure is amply illustrated, and much of the *History of the Franks* is now accessible to those who do not read Latin. Others, who desire more, fortunately may consult the more complete translations in other languages which are listed in the bibliography.

A. C. KREY.

*Epidemics resulting from Wars.* By Dr. FRIEDRICH PRINZING. Edited by HARALD WESTERGAARD, Professor of Political Science in the University of Copenhagen. [Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History, John Bates Clark, Director.] (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1916. Pp. xii, 340.)

THE author states that a large number of authors have dealt with epidemic disease among the combatants in war, but that this is the first serious attempt to trace the effects of these epidemics upon the civil population involved. While few pictures of the horrors of war have a proper place in a scientific treatise like this, the statistical marshalling of the pestilences of the Napoleonic Wars, or of the siege of Paris, should bring home to the thoughtful the terrible realities of war as vividly as a painting by Verestchagin, or a narrative by von Suttner.

A short reference is first made to the diseases which have most often been connected with military operations, especially during the last century. The interpretation of medical terms becomes progressively more difficult as one goes back into the history of epidemics and this is fully appreciated by the author, who, wisely, has not attempted to determine in all cases the exact nature of the "plague" or "fever" referred to by contemporary writers. It is sufficient to show the extent of the epidemics of the Thirty Years' War without attempting to decide just how much there was of bubonic plague, or of typhus fever, or of smallpox, or to determine what proportion of the typhus fever of the Napoleonic Wars was really typhoid fever. Original sources of information have been consulted as far as possible and, of course, as one approaches the present, these become more numerous and reliable. The amount of work involved in the entirely new study of smallpox in the Franco-German War must have been enormous. The thesis, throughout, is well supported by a large volume of convincing statistical evidence.

A short chapter deals with the somewhat legendary accounts of such matters as the influence of the Crusades in the distribution of leprosy through Western Europe, of the spread of syphilis by soldiers during the latter part of the fifteenth century, and of the extension of typhus fever in the next century as a result of the wars with the Turks. A

more considerable chapter deals with the Thirty Years' War. Though the diagnosis was more accurate than in the Middle Ages, most of the chroniclers were non-medical men, so that the extent of disease is better known than is its nature. The long period covered by these wars and the marching and remarching, not only impoverished the country, but afforded the fullest opportunity for the spread of disease. It has been estimated that from fifty to seventy-five per cent. of the people of Germany perished and other countries suffered, too, from the extension to them, particularly, of typhus fever, dysentery, and bubonic plague.

During the Napoleonic Wars the most important disease was typhus fever, which from the frequency with which it appears among troops, has often been called camp fever. Abundance of evidence is given to show how contact with troops, or more often with prisoners, was the starting-point of extensive outbreaks among the civil population.

Particularly interesting is the detailed account of smallpox during and following the Franco-German War of 1870-1871, an account which occupies nearly a third of the work. It is shown how little smallpox there was in Germany at the outbreak of the war, while it had for a year or two been increasing in France and at the beginning of hostilities had become widespread. Owing to lack of vaccination the French army suffered terribly, as did the civil populations, during the sieges of Metz and Paris. A careful study of the different districts and cities in Germany shows most clearly that smallpox was introduced into a large number of places by French prisoners. These foci of infection became the starting-points of a most severe epidemic which ravaged all Germany. Brief reference is made to the Crimean War, our Civil War, after which it is believed that many parts of the North were infected with typhoid fever and dysentery by returning soldiers, the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878, and other wars in which there is evidence of the infection of the civil population.

Although methods of controlling these diseases have vastly improved, the author points out the necessity of the greatest care during and immediately after the present war, a warning which has been amply justified by the great outbreaks of typhoid fever in Serbia and Asia Minor.

C. V. C.

*History of the Jews in Russia and Poland from the Earliest Times until the Present Day.* By S. M. DUBNOW, translated from the Russian by I. FRIEDLAENDER. Volume I. *From the Beginning until the Death of Alexander I. (1825).* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America. 1916. Pp. 413.)

WHEN, after the conquests of Alexander the Great, Judea became a part of the Hellenistic Orient, and sent forth the "great Diaspora" into all dominions of the Seleucids and Ptolemics, one of the branches of this Diaspora must have reached as far as distant Tauris [the northern coast

of the Black Sea]. Following in the wake of the Greeks, the Jews wandered thither from Asia Minor, that conglomerate of countries and cities—Cilicia, Galatia, Miletus, Ephesus, Sardis, Tarsus—which harbored, at the beginning of the Christian era, important Jewish communities, the earliest nurseries of Christianity.

From this region the author follows the wanderings and settlements of the Jews in the kingdom of the Khazars, in the early Russian principalities, in the Tartaric khanate of the Crimea, in Poland and Lithuania, to about the year 1500. This interesting account of sixty-five pages is intended, more or less, as a background for what comes later. About half of the work is devoted to the history of the Jews in Poland and the other half to their life in Russia after the partition of Poland. Both for Poland and for Russia there is an adequate discussion of the political, social, economic, intellectual, and religious life of the Jews, of the racial and religious antagonisms between them and their Christian neighbors, of the blood accusations, of the pogroms, and of the massacres.

This work "was especially prepared by Mr. Dubnow for the Jewish Publication Society of America . . . and was originally scheduled to appear at a later date. The great events of our time, which have made the question of the Russian Jewry a part of the world problem, suggested the importance of earlier publication." This perhaps explains in part its tone. It would be more accurate to call the book, "History of the Persecutions of the Jews in Russia and Poland"; for this is the main theme of the writer. There is little said which is to the credit of the people among whom the Jews lived. It is hardly worth while to mention the charges which are brought against the Catholic Church, the Orthodox clergy, the Jesuits, the Germans, the Poles, the Russians, and others. There is little doubt but that the author can make his case good. Nowhere, however, unless when quoting, does he say a derogatory word about Jewish intolerance, bigotry, superstition, and ignorance—which differs only in kind from that of the gentiles under condemnation. It is surprising and disappointing that in a work of this kind there is no attempt made to discuss in an impartial and in an intelligent manner the Jewish problem, which is neither simple nor one-sided.

The book is full of facts of the kind indicated and smacks somewhat of the doctor's thesis (which it is not). It has no lights and shadows and no generalizations, of the kind that one has a right to expect. Although authorities are not always quoted there is no reason to question the author's accuracy and honesty and one may accept his statements of fact. The work is valuable so far as it goes; but the reader cannot help wishing that the author had gone deeper and had given something more than mere information. The translator seems to have done his work well, and it is probably not his fault that the book does not read more easily.

*Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History*. Edited by PAUL VINOGRADOFF, M.A., Corpus Professor of Jurisprudence in the University of Oxford. Volume V. *The Black Death*. By A. ELIZABETH LEVETT and A. BALLARD. *Rural Northamptonshire under the Commonwealth*. By REGINALD LENNARD. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1916. Pp. xi, 220, 135.)

THE studies here published are of the kind which constitute the foundation of English agrarian history. The workmanship throughout is minute and painstaking, the *finesse* of arithmetic and tabulation being everywhere visible. Mr. Lennard examined enough documents to convince him that "the most interesting fact which emerges from a study of these surveys is the great variety of conditions which obtained, even though the manors surveyed were all within a single county and all belonged to the Crown" (p. 130). The Northamptonshire surveys in question were those of royal estates offered for sale when the Commonwealth government needed to increase its income. Some twenty of these, dated about 1650, deal with 15,492 acres of land. One of them is examined in detail and compared with earlier sixteenth- and seventeenth-century descriptions. As a whole, Mr. Lennard's monograph thus supplements Tawney's *Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century*. In the matter of tenures he shows that freeholds and copyholds persisted on a half-dozen manors, while on others royal policy had created leases for years, the tendency being to shorten their term to thirty-one years. Of these 160 leaseholds (areas of copyholds and freeholds are wanting), one-half contained between fifteen and one hundred acres, only seven more than two hundred acres, only four more than four hundred. Engrossing of farms, therefore, had not gone far. Arable farming too was persistent. Exclusive of the area of four parks, the arable stood to the meadow and pasture in the ratio of 44:56. Evidence regarding enclosure is slight but the author thinks that in Northamptonshire the process went slowly on. Information regarding this and other matters could have been found in enclosure awards and land-tax assessments of the eighteenth century. Without the incorporation of some such material the monograph seems incomplete.

Miss Levett's restricted use of available documents is still less justifiable than Mr. Lennard's. Having at her disposal the admirable records of the bishopric of Winchester, which relate to some sixty manors situated in six counties of England, she confined her study to eighteen manors largely in Somerset and Hampshire. Detailed as is the reproduction of the ministers' accounts of the eighteen for the period 1346-1356, it carries us only a little way in our knowledge of the effects of the Black Death. Nor is the exposition always lucid. Estimating the loss of population at Bishop's Waltham, Miss Levett seems to argue as follows (p. 80): The heriots paid indicate roughly the number of tenants who died, the fines roughly the number of survivors who became tenants.

To the latter we should at least add an equal number of surviving dependents. Hence "it is obvious that a loss of one-third of the population is an over-pessimistic estimate". Although the first premise is correct, the second one and the conclusion are mysterious. Why should we assume that only tenants died and none of their dependents? Although from such arguments we get no satisfactory estimate of the mortality caused by the pestilence (and a reasonable estimate is possible from the data), a few tentative conclusions do emerge from Miss Levett's study. Most obvious is the circumstance that no break occurs in the ministers' accounts of the sixty manors during the critical years; trained accountants everywhere maintained the full and neat record of manorial economy. The severity of the plague further varied greatly from place to place and those whom it assailed were more often cottagers than substantial tenants. It is clear, too, that on the eighteen manors in question, though the loss of life was great and the change of holdings extensive, the adjustment was prompt and before long complete. In the worst year only a small fraction of the vacated holdings was left in the lord's hands, while by 1354 the number of such holdings was almost negligible. Old tenures were soon restored. Miss Levett therefore questions at length Page's contention that the Black Death precipitated a commutation of services, finding, as she does, that there was no marked tendency in this direction during the decade after 1349. Nor does sheep raising seem markedly to have displaced arable farming. On only seven manors out of thirteen did arable land decrease before 1354 and on these the shrinkage was but fifteen per cent., whereas at Hull the increase of arable was about thirty per cent. As to wages, many increased twenty-five to thirty per cent., although in only one instance did they surpass those paid at some time during 1346 or 1347. They were distinctly higher too than the rates fixed by the Statutes of Laborers. Change in the prices of commodities Miss Levett does not discuss. On the whole her researches tend to show that the Black Death had fewer far-reaching effects than have often been ascribed to it. Considerable as was the immediate loss of life and the dislocation of industry, the disaster was largely obliterated before a decade had passed. How the Pestilence affected three of the bishop's estates is told by the late Mr. Ballard. At Witney in Oxfordshire two-thirds of the population died, and soon, it would seem, services were commuted and the demesne leased. On a manor in Berkshire and on one in Wiltshire little permanent change occurred. The diversity of these results indicates how much more investigation is needed before we shall know what in general were the effects of the Black Death.

H. L. GRAY.

*Slavery in Germanic Society during the Middle Ages.* By AGNES MATHILDE WERGELAND, Ph.D., Late Professor of History in the University of Wyoming. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1916. Pp. xvi, 158.)

*History of the Working Classes in France: a Review of Levasseur's "Histoire des Classes Ouvrières et de l'Industrie en France avant 1789"*. By AGNES MATHILDE WERGELAND, Ph.D., Late Professor of History in the University of Wyoming. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1916. Pp. vi, 136.)

THESE two studies, reprinted in accessible form after Dr. Wergeland's death, serve as the fitting memorial of a woman of unusual ability and have, moreover, a recognized historical value to students of medieval civilization. The suggestive essay on *Slavery in Germanic Society during the Middle Ages*, which is the more important of the two, and to which Dr. Jameson has written a sympathetic and appreciative introduction, is based upon a study of the Germanic laws and northern sagas, the circumstances of Miss Wergeland's birth and training giving her peculiar qualifications for the interpretation especially of the Scandinavian evidence. Medieval slavery is discussed under the heads of Reduction, Restitution, and Liberation. Under Reduction are described the origins of slavery—conquest, purchase, and crime—and its traits as a state more or less permanent, before change has set in. Slavery in its most absolute form Miss Wergeland finds in the North where Roman influence did not extend: in the South the slave became more easily a serf. In its actual and essential characteristics, however, she believes that Germanic slavery did not differ from Roman. "If there is any difference, it is temperamental, manifested in carrying out the letter of the law, rather than juridical, in establishing the line of conduct." Greater interest lies, perhaps, in the discussion of the second and third points, the terminations of slavery, the influences tending "to break the awful monotony and create true change", and the resulting amelioration in the condition of the slave. Students of English institutions, whose records say comparatively little of slavery, will notice and perhaps question the large place claimed by Miss Wergeland for the upward movement of the slaves in Germanic society in general in producing medieval serfdom. The downward movement of freemen is not disregarded, but comes probably less clearly within the field of study. Of interest also is the emphasis laid on the uncertainty regarding the general criteria of serfdom, and a suggestive, although far from exhaustive, study of the degrees of unfreedom among different peoples. In this connection it should be noted that Miss Wergeland's essay was written some years ago and that it is definitely described by its author as a "generalization", and should not, therefore, be regarded as a contribution to controversial literature. Many difficult matters regarding social organization are left untouched or are only suggested. The somewhat philosophical point of view from which the subject as a whole is regarded is well shown in the discussion of the growth of the distinction between the lord's economic and moral responsibility for his slave, a distinction made inevitable by the increasing recognition of the slave's personality and responsibility

to society, and leading ultimately, in part through the influence of Church and King, to his transference from the position of a chattel to that of a person under "conditional guardianship". The discussion of the accompanying economic change incident to the slave's possession of *peculium*, taken by Miss Wergeland to include the purely precarious usufruct of the lord's land, is less clear, but the slight evidence collected from the laws regarding agricultural work performed by the slave for the lord should be noticed.

The second essay presents in convenient form some of the main points of Levasseur's great work for the medieval and modern period. It is a summary, clearly and vigorously written, rather than a criticism, Miss Wergeland telling us that the information and careful investigation of the author have compelled her to keep in abeyance any dissenting opinion. The review reproduces admirably the picture of the vivid life and varied activities of the guilds and fraternities of the Middle Ages and has the literary excellence of the other study.

Medievalists must regret that the circumstances of Dr. Wergeland's life made her work in her chosen field so limited in amount. Her clearness and vigor of thought, her love of scholarship, and her power of generalization mark the studies that she has left with an unusual distinction.

N. NEILSON.

*Histoire Corporative de l'Horlogerie, de l'Orfèvererie et des Industries Annexes.* Par ANTONY BABEL, Docteur en Sociologie. [Mémoires et Documents publiés par la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Genève, tome XXXIII. (Geneva: A. Jullien; George et Cie. 1916. Pp. vi. 606.)

As early as 1477 we have official record of the presence of diamond-cutters in Geneva. This early mention appears in a list of the more well-to-do inhabitants of the city, drawn up when the Swiss levied a contribution upon it because the Genevans had allied themselves with Charles the Bold of Burgundy and with the Duke of Lorraine against the Swiss. In the list several of the citizens have the qualification *diamantarius* (p. 7). While it must be admitted that at a later period this was a general designation of those who cut the precious stones set in watches or in goldsmith-work, the term must originally have had a narrower meaning, referring particularly or exclusively to diamond-cutters. That such a designation should be not uncommon in Geneva in 1477 shows that the art of diamond-cutting, the initiation of which has been rather too hastily attributed to Lodowyk Berken of Bruges about this time, had probably been practised for a long time previous to the date of the Genevan list.

The important uses to which diamonds and precious stones are put

in the manufacture of watches makes the valuable contribution of M. Antony Babel to the history of Genevan horology of interest for all who have to do with precious stones.

There were already goldsmiths in Geneva in the thirteenth century and the craft must have flourished there, for in 1477 one of them owned a house worth 1200 florins, the highest priced house in the city being one valued at 7000 florins. None of these early goldsmiths seems to have made or even repaired clocks or watches. In 1556, however, it is recorded that the clock of St. Pierre was put in order by a certain Sermet Bronge of Geneva. The advent of French watchmakers was mainly due to the religious persecutions after 1550. This was probably the case with Charles Cusin of Autun, accepted as resident of Geneva July 12, 1574. His father Noel Cusin, with whom he served by apprenticeship, made round and oval watches.

The guild of horologists was definitely organized in 1601. The first article of their regulations directs that when they meet they shall pray God to keep them from doing or saying anything not "in His honor or for the well-being of the city".

An interesting episode in the history of Genevan watchmaking is Voltaire's partially successful effort to found a watchmaker's colony at near-by Ferney. Several of the craft having left Geneva because of civic dissensions Voltaire had a dozen houses erected near his Ferney chateau, increasing the number later to forty, and turned them over to the Genevans for an annuity of from five per cent. to seven per cent. on his investment. His private theatre was converted into a workshop, and watches ranging in price from \$12 to \$168 were made. However, in spite of his powerful influence he found it increasingly difficult to dispose of the output. He even had a shop opened in Paris for the sale of Ferney watches. After his death the local industry soon died out.

The early Genevan watchmakers had long hours. In 1684 a horologist engages to work assiduously eleven hours each day, "reserving the rest of the time for his repasts and for such use as may please him". The wages were low. In 1643 one who paid his own living expenses gets about \$173 a year, equivalent however to three times as much to-day. In 1663 an exceptionally skilled worker receives as much as \$154 a year.

Of the employment of women M. Babel writes:

In the second half of the seventeenth century some Genevan women timidly found entrance into the industry. They served an apprenticeship as chain-makers or polishers. Little by little they began to gain a surer footing in the craft, and sought to enlarge their sphere of activity, until finally the day came when the men became alarmed and organized for defence. This was an easy matter; all that was needed was to add a few articles to the corporative ordinances after having them sanctioned by the Council of Geneva, and the women were excluded from mastership in the craft.



The book is a genuine treasure-house of information in the field it illustrates. It is to be hoped that the few items we have been able to present in this short notice will serve to draw the attention of all who feel interest in the history of watchmaking in Geneva.

GEORGE F. KUNZ.

*Personality in German Literature before Luther.* By KUNO FRANCKE, Ph.D., LL.D., Litt.D., Professor of the History of German Culture in Harvard University. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1916. Pp. ix, 221.)

THIS volume, consisting of six chapters originally delivered as lectures at the Lowell Institute in Boston (January, 1915), presents a more detailed survey than was possible in the author's *History of German Literature* of the evolution of German letters from the days of Chivalry and Minnesong to the turbulent period of the Reformation. As the title implies, and indeed in conformance with the writer's bent of mind, the book is a contribution to the history of civilization rather than to that of belles-lettres, a study of the growth of personality as mirrored in the literature of the period rather than of the evolution of literary forms.

The trend of the discussion leads toward a criticism and a contradiction of that theory of the contrast between Medievalism and Renaissance which was best expressed by Jacob Burckhard fifty years ago that in the Middle Ages "man was conscious of himself only as a member of a race, people, class, family or corporation—only through some general category. In . . . the Renaissance . . . man became a spiritual individual and recognized himself as such." Professor Francke, while by no means exaggerating the individualistic tendencies of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, proceeds to show by an analysis of such personalities as Walther von der Vogelweide and Hartmann von Aue; the mystics Tauler and Suso; Wolfram's Parzival and Gottfried's Tristan; popular song, the drama and the satire, that in Germany at least, individual methods of seeing and expressing had begun to manifest themselves early in the Middle Ages (one hundred years before Dante), and had experienced a steady growth to the days when Hutten and Luther stood out boldly from the dogmas of class and Church, proclaiming the autonomy of the human spirit. Perhaps we might add to this array of early individualists the character of Hagen in the Nibelungenlied. Whoever limned this figure, certainly had the gift which our author lauds in the singers of the folk-songs of setting forth character throbbing with life and viewed with freshness and precision of observation. We heartily approve of the emphasis given to the *Meyer Helmbrecht*, that caustic depiction of the disintegration of chivalric life. Probably few English readers are aware that we have here a great forerunner of the Village Tale (*Dorfgeschichte*).

As in his other writings Professor Francke reveals in this study a rare gift for sympathetic appreciation. This is perhaps best exhibited in the presentation of Walther von der Vogelweide, the Volkslied, and that complex and wayward yet inspiring soul, Ulrich von Hutten. Much insight also is afforded by the comparison of Wolfram's *Parzival* with his sources, betraying a far greater individualism in the treatment of older motives. A similar originality is found in the sermonizing of Berthold von Regensburg and in the pantheistic theology of Master Eckhart. In the characterization of Erasmus as well as in that of Hutten we are glad to see that the Latin writings of these leaders of sixteenth-century thought are treated as an integral part of German letters—a proceeding sometimes lacking even in German histories of literature.

Particularly elucidating is the correlation frequently found on these pages of the architecture, sculpture, and painting with the prose and poetry of the time to reflect the spirit of an epoch. Thus the folk-song and the simple strength of the Adam Krafft sculptures, the mysticism of Suso and of the Cologne school of painters, Dürer's "Knight" and Wolfram's *Parzival* reveal themselves as fruits of the same spirit of striving after a personal interpretation of life. How important it is that these manifestations of German artistic vitality and high accomplishment should be emphasized in a book which seeks to interpret the meaning of this period, appears from a chance remark found in the letters of Professor Charles Eliot Norton written in March, 1902, when lamenting the establishment of a Germanic Museum at Harvard: "If the Germans had ever produced a beautiful work either of painting or sculpture, the prospect [of a Germanic museum] would be less distressing." Such an exclamation emanating from such a pen shows that Professor Francke's work is worth doing.

Perhaps the quotations from the folk-songs would have been more valuable had they been translated, even though only into prose. The average reader can hardly be expected to master the intricacies of Middle High German. And it is precisely in bringing to the consciousness of the reader of average culture (not the specialist) this older and heretofore but little known period of German letters and German art that Professor Francke's great contribution lies. Leslie Stephen could say with justice in his essay, "The Importation of German" (found in *Studies of a Biographer*), that in the eighteenth century Englishmen could not be expected to struggle with the difficulties of the German language, when Germans themselves (quoting Frederick the Great and others) did not feel that they had any literature worth studying. Lately a change has been wrought in this respect even outside of Germany, and Professor Francke by his writings, his lectures, and his able directorship of the Germanic Museum has done much to help us in America to a juster understanding of early German letters and art.

CAMILLO VON KLENZE.

*Jean Bodin, Auteur de la "République"*. By ROGER CHAUVIRÉ, Docteur ès Lettres. (Paris: Honoré Champion. 1914. Pp. 544.)

*Colloque de Jean Bodin des Secrets Cachez des Choses Sublimes entre Sept Sçauans qui sont de Differens Sentimens*. Edited by ROGER CHAUVIRÉ, Docteur ès Lettres. (Paris: Honoré Champion. 1914. Pp. 213.)

Two important contributions to the literature of Bodin appear at the same time, and not without good reason, for the author of the biography builds largely with materials found in the work which he edits. Furthermore, the *Colloque de Jean Bodin* is less familiarly known than his writings on political science and his views on religion have substantial grounds of their own for publication.

The colloquy on "the hidden secrets of things sublime" is an extended dialogue between seven learned men of different sentiments who in turn defend the various sects of Christianity and the great religions of the world, with a scheme of natural religion as well. This was a work of the later years of Bodin's life and was considered so dangerously heretical that it remained in manuscript until the nineteenth century. Its circulation in copies and translations was, however, considerable in learned circles and was the subject of comment and refutation by defenders of the faith like Hugo Grotius. The present edition is printed from a manuscript translation dating from the early part of the seventeenth century, the editor believing that this is more truly representative of the original work than the faulty Latin texts from which the printed edition of 1857 was made. Furthermore M. Chauviré has confined his labors chiefly to the fourth book of Bodin's work, providing for the other four a brief synopsis only. The author's interminable prolixity is sufficient ground for this selection and even Liber IV, which contains the gist of the discussion is subject to liberal excision. The extent of the favor thus conferred upon the reader is realized when one attempts to absorb any portion of the 358 closely printed pages of the Latin edition. Notwithstanding these repellent features of the book, the editor points out that from an artistic point of view the *Colloque* is the most successful of Bodin's works. Without extraneous description or comment, but simply through the words of their respective parts in the dialogue, Bodin has made seven characters stand out in vivid distinctness. They not only represent the theories of a group of religions but depict the living personalities of typical devotees. Of this result the fourth book here printed is sufficient evidence.

In his larger work M. Chauviré devotes about one-fifth of his space to the external biography of Bodin, a similar amount to his intellectual development, and some three hundred and fifty pages to the sources and theories of his *Politique*. Concerning Bodin's origin and family connec-

tion there has been considerable dispute, it being asserted on the one hand that his Christian father had married a Spanish Jewess, and to this was to be ascribed his evident predilection for Hebrew ideas. Documentary evidence of his birth is wanting, but M. Chauviré points out that Bodin's affection for the Old Testament is of slow development, that as author of the *Method of Historical Study* at the age of thirty-six he is clearly a Christian, and that his favorable views of Judaism appear chiefly in the *Colloque* written at the end of his life. The tradition seems to have resulted from an attempt in later time to explain the presence of these unpopular and heretical leanings. It is clear that in early youth he enjoyed the friendship and protection of eminent members of the clergy, and that throughout his life he conformed to the established religion.

In tracing the intellectual attitude of Bodin the author draws copiously from the *Colloque*. As to which of the characters in that work stood for the writer's own opinions there has also been extensive controversy. Equally accused of being Solomon the Jew, Toralba the advocate of natural religion, or Senamy the devotee of all the gods that are, the guilt of any one of these would make him a dangerous enemy of society in the sixteenth century. He was suspected of sympathy with the Protestant movement and was marked for persecution with its followers. At the same time, while conforming outwardly to the government which gave him official position, he was composing a treatise which invoked the toleration of all religions under the shadow of St. Bartholomew.

In discussing the sources of Bodin's *Republic* the author touches upon the great authorities in political science whose traces can be found in the work, from Aristotle to Calvin and his contemporaries. That he made use of the records of the States General and was familiar with a great quantity of the pamphlet literature of his day is equally evident, and this chapter lends valuable suggestion for the study of opinion in this period. To fit into the politics of that time the scientific views of this great theorist is a more difficult task, for the determination of the extent of their influence in his lifetime is elusive, but toward this end this book has made a conspicuous advance.

J. M. VINCENT.

*The Institution of the Archpriest Blackwell: a Study of the Transition from Paternal to Constitutional and Local Church Government among the English Catholics, 1595 to 1602.* By JOHN HUNGERFORD POLLEN, S. J. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1916. Pp. x, 106.)

MOST of the books on the Archpriest Controversy have been written from the secular point of view; Father Pollen's volume therefore adds definitely to the literature on the subject a conspicuously moderate,

though brief, narrative, written from the Jesuit point of view, but without any reflection of the rancor of the disputants from which none of the accounts written from the secular angle have been entirely free. He insists that acrimonious personalities were then and still remain beside the point. To him the real subject is "the establishment of a form of Church government" and to that "all else was secondary". The second Appeal is for him therefore a study in legislation rather than a judicial inquiry: the real object of the hearings at Rome was the discussion of the adequacy of a previous analysis of the English Roman Catholic situation and the consequent value of an administrative expedient already adopted to meet it. The significance of the final decision of the pope lay not in the affirmation of the interpretation by the appellants of the Constitutive Letters or in the censure of Blackwell and the interdiction of close relationship with the Jesuits, but in the decision of the pope to continue the missionary form of organization and in the confirmation of Blackwell's tenure of the office of archpriest. In describing the events leading to the issuance of the Constitutive Letters, Father Pollen holds that the decision to appoint an archpriest was reached by the pope himself independently of the Jesuits, for Parsons and the leading English Jesuits favored an episcopal organization. He hints (p. 23) that the Seculars made no consistent attempt to present to pope and curia in 1597 their arguments in favor of a bishop. By this and by other statements he implies that the opposition to the office of archpriest rose entirely after its institution and was the result of Blackwell's personal deficiencies and of the sixteenth-century tempers of all concerned.

This is of the utmost importance. If the office of archpriest was created in the teeth of Jesuit opposition, obviously the interpretation of the Constitutive Letters by the appellants and their subsequent defenders was and is a purely gratuitous inference, a reading into them what was not meant to be there, and resulted rather from the tactless conduct of Blackwell than from any intention of the Jesuits to retain control of Roman Catholic organization in England. Indeed, the Seculars are thus represented as quarrelling with the only Catholic authorities who agreed with them in desiring a bishop. Their opposition to the Jesuits becomes at once foolish, illogical, inexpedient, and wrong. Their assumption that the pope himself was not responsible for the Letters was an error of the first magnitude. Father Pollen has handled the subject definitely and temperately, but this conclusion is none the less strongly enforced.

It is perhaps surprising that he deals with this really crucial point in a few casual sentences (p. 25) and assumes its proof as an easily demonstrable fact rather than demonstrates it. He quotes no corroboratory evidence and merely refers in his foot-notes to some of the well-known papers, used by all previous writers, as if their meaning was beyond dispute. His willingness to dispense with conclusive evidence on so essential a point is the more astonishing because he sees clearly that hearsay evidence is not enough to convict Parsons of anything beside indiscretion

in his treatment of the first appellants in 1598 (p. 43). As a matter of fact, is it not uncritical to assume that because the English Jesuits can be shown to have discussed in their letters the question of episcopal organization and because Parsons had before him schemes for the introduction of bishops, that he and his order actually argued with the pope in favor of bishops and against the archipresbyterate in 1597? The Seculars at the time undoubtedly believed the contrary; the conduct both of Blackwell and of Garnet scarcely agrees with such an interpretation; the letter of Parsons to Garnet quoted in Usher's *Reconstruction of the English Church*, I. 182, from the original in Stonyhurst Archives, is hardly compatible with such a view. Does not this evidence raise a presumption too definite to be disposed of so casually and without the production of new evidence?

Father Pollen has made elaborate researches in the archives at the Vatican, at Simancas, at Brussels, and at Paris without discovering information of importance. Material considerable in amount but mainly corroborative and illustrative of what was already demonstrated from other sources he found in various collections but chiefly in the archives of the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. Nevertheless, the amount of new material utilized is not important and Father Pollen's account has retold the story with different emphasis rather than changed it.

ROLAND G. USHER.

*A Political and Social History of Modern Europe.* By CARLTON J. H. HAYES, Associate Professor of History in Columbia University. In two volumes. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1916. Pp. xxvi, 597; ix, 767.)

THE plan of these volumes springs from a special conception of the requirements of a college course in modern European history. Professor Hayes feels that the collegian is often fed "so simple and scanty a mental pabulum that he becomes as a child and thinks as a child". To piece out or amplify the brief general statements of many texts by means of supplementary reading, without leaving bewildering gaps, is, he believes, next to impossible. He has, therefore, not shrunk from producing a text-book in two volumes, aggregating thirteen hundred pages, with statements sufficiently full on many topics to reduce the need of further reading, or, at least, to change the problem. His choice of facts and manner of exposition are clearly suited to the intellectual maturity of older college students and of the reading public beyond university walls.

A second feature of the plan is the emphasis upon recent times. Although the volumes portray four centuries of European development, they give about five-twelfths of the space to the period since 1867. The point of view is predominantly social, because the rise of the bourgeoisie is confessedly "the great central theme". Another main interest appears in the titles of parts IV. and V., "Democracy and Nationalism"

and "National Imperialism". The appreciations of nationalism are obviously prompted by reflections upon the causes of the Great War.

The style is open, lively, forceful, carrying the reader along rapidly, especially after the first quarter of the second volume is reached. Certain words, like "amazing", perhaps appear too frequently. In a few places we are treated to rhetoric rather than to a well-balanced statement of the facts of a situation. The word "reactionary" is overused, and often means persons unable to adjust themselves fast enough to social and political change. By a sort of optical illusion they seem to be moving backward, just as does a slow train when we rush past it in an express.

The second volume gives more scope to the author's qualities as an historical interpreter than does the first. In the second volume interest centres in chapters 21-25, which set forth the "Social Factors in Recent European History, 1871-1914", and explain the special form these factors took in England, France, Germany, Russia, and the minor states during that time. The author calls this the Era of the Benevolent Bourgeoisie, or, rather, he quotes the designation. The name suggests his apparent attitude toward the triumphant middle classes, which he represents as disconcerted occasionally by the confused, sometimes angry, cries from below, and as trying in a well-meaning but unimaginative way to make the least dangerous of the inevitable concessions. The twenty-first chapter also describes the interplay of Christianity and Politics, including "Clericalism" and "Anti-Clericalism", the "New Science", and its influence upon religion, and finally Karl Marx and Modern Socialism. This is a remarkably successful effort to co-ordinate certain characteristic tendencies in a clear, succinct, and vigorous statement.

The chapter on Russian problems is a refreshing exception to most accounts in English, because it is sympathetic and fair. In the explanation of the French Separation Act exception may be taken to the assertion that "it confiscated the bulk of ecclesiastical property". Had the pope permitted the *associations cultuelles* to be formed, as the majority of the French bishops, it has been alleged, desired, no new confiscation would have taken place. The cessation of the payment of stipends, it is true, reopened the old wound made by the nationalization of ecclesiastical property in the first revolution.

In dealing with the bourgeoisie the author seems at times dangerously close to the error for which he blames Bentham. He declares that Bentham was not democratic because "he had little faith in men", or, in other words, "believed them to be actuated by purely selfish motives". The passage on the Anti-Corn Law League is a case in point. To quote:

Richard Cobden owned cotton-printing works at Manchester and Sabden. John Bright was the son and partner of a Rochdale mill-owner. Cobden supplied the arguments, Bright the passionate oratory. They well knew that cheaper flour would benefit their own class, the factory-owners, and they eloquently demonstrated to the workmen that the Corn Laws were responsible for the sufferings of the poor.

This is much the same as saying that they were not merely self-seekers but charlatans as well. Fortunately Bright is better treated in connection with the Reform Acts.

The first volume traverses more familiar ground and necessarily re-states what has been described many times before. It is curious to read an account of the Protestant movement without any clear indication that it had a bearing upon the development of freedom of thought. The statement that "the new [Protestant] theology was derived mainly from the teaching of such heretics as Wycliffe and Hus" is as old as the sixteenth century and is no more accurate now than it was then. It may also excite comment that only the advantageous results of the Inquisition and the Index are mentioned.

In the sections on France in the eighteenth century, especially during the Revolution, are statements which need revision: for example, the reference to the poll or capitation tax as "trifling", the treatment of Adam Smith as a disciple of Quesnay, the remark that the defenders of the Bastille (implying all) were slaughtered, and the statement that the men who overthrew Robespierre were more conservative than he. The insurrectionaries of the 13th Vendémiaire are loosely described as "populace" and General Bonaparte, who repelled the attack on the Convention, is called a "captain". Furthermore, the legislation abolishing the feudal system is described as completed and accepted by the king "within a week". The facts are that the king did not formally accept the August decrees until November 3, and that a beginning of legislation to carry them into effect was not made until the following March. The decrees only abolished feudalism in principle. More serious are the argument that the atrocities of the Reign of Terror were "natural and inevitable" and the implication that their victims were all "royalists and reactionaries".

Each chapter of both volumes is furnished with a full bibliographical statement, many of the titles being accompanied by suggestive comment. There is an abundance of well-executed maps, eighteen in the first volume and thirty-eight in the second. Altogether these volumes will do much to stimulate the study of history among older college students.

H. E. BOURNE.

*The Century of the Renaissance.* By LOUIS BATIFFOL. Translated from the French by ELSIE FINNIMORE BUCKLEY. With an Introduction by JOHN EDWARD COURTENAY BODLEY. [The National History of France, edited by Fr. Funck-Brentano.] (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1916. Pp. xxix, 429.)

OF the usefulness of a history of France in half-a-dozen volumes of moderate size, written by French scholars of ability, unfolding the story of French life and thought and art, and adequately translated into English, there is no question. The great *Histoire de France*, edited by



Lavisse, is too large for the general public, and it is inaccessible to all who do not read French; while the attempt to crowd the narrative within the pages of a single volume has thus far always resulted in rigorous restriction to the well-beaten paths of politics, war, and diplomacy. Here, then, in this new series, one might well expect the work for which there has been an unmistakable need. But if the other volumes in the *National History of France* do not rise considerably above the level of M. Louis Batiffol's *The Century of the Renaissance* the hope of the seeker for such a history will find in them only disappointment.

M. Batiffol's book deals with the history of France from the death of Louis XI., in 1483, to that of Henry IV., in 1610. Of its ten chapters, notwithstanding its title, seven are devoted to politics, to details of the personal appearances and the comings and goings of royalty, to wars, and to the minutiae of international government negotiations. And in the three other chapters, despite the promise in the introduction of "many a page" to readers other than serious students, who look "for artistic or romantic *diversion*" (the italics are the reviewer's), not a great deal is to be found that has to do with the Renaissance. Clearly the author's conception of history is the one condemned almost half a century ago by John Richard Green—the political history of the state and the personal history of its rulers, with scant attention to the progressive life of the people.

One chapter has for its title the Drama of Protestantism. But nowhere is the subject of humanism, which paved the way for Protestantism, as well as for other things, adequately dealt with; and there is no evidence to show that the author is aware of the contributions to theological thought of the humanists whose names are mentioned in dealing with the first act of that drama. With a single exception nothing at all is said about the thought of these early humanists; and in the one case in which the thought of the scholar is indicated, that of Étienne Dolet, the author is mistaken. With the avowed heretics our author is no more at home. The amazing statement is made that Luther "contributed not so much to the founding of a new 'religion' as to the overthrow throughout Christendom of the ancient compact faith of the Middle Ages". Surely the founding of a new "religion" was Luther's essential work. "Lutheranism to the subjects of Francis I.", continues M. Batiffol, "was merely the right to criticize Catholicism". After this it is scarcely necessary to say that the doctrine of justification by faith alone is nowhere mentioned in the volume. "It was reserved for Jean Calvin", our author says, "to formulate *the* [the reviewer's italics] creed of Protestantism". Of the deluge of such creeds there is no indication. And, again, nowhere are Calvin's theological ideas enumerated and described. When the leading reformers are dealt with thus summarily the reader is not surprised to find Servetus dismissed with the statement that he "attacked some of Calvin's ideas"; nor is he astonished when he comes upon the artless statement that "it was some time" before Sebastian

Castellio's noble plea for religious tolerance "was accepted by the reformers".

The Renaissance in France fares no better at the hands of M. Batiffol than does the Reformation. He pauses for the briefest moment to wonder how much of it was due to the recovery of the classical heritage and how much was indigenous to the soil of western Europe. But never does he commit himself to an opinion. Of the forces that produced the great movement he seems unaware; of its subtler and more essential characteristics he apparently knows nothing. The Renaissance is defined as "that transformation, chiefly in the realm of the arts, by which the realistic, varied, picturesque, fantastic Gothic style, with its undisciplined freedom and disorderly appearance, gave way to an art that was idealized, regulated, subjected to geometrical canons and a well-balanced discipline". Such a definition is touchingly ingenuous. To speak of Gothic art as undisciplined and disorderly is to reveal the fact that one has never understood it; and to regard the spirit of the Renaissance as being, in its essence, one of idealization subjected to control that was mathematical in precision is to mistake it almost completely. Little wonder, then, that such men as Rabelais and Montaigne are dismissed with a few lines in which no attempt is made to explain their thought and indicate their influence, while several pages are devoted to the details of the assassination of Henry of Guise and almost as many to the mistresses of Francis I.

The translation is fairly adequate. It makes no pretension to literary excellence, seeking only to convey the statements of the author in a business-like manner. Scattered throughout the pages are a number of minor errors, but none of importance. The most useful part of the book is the final chapter, which gives a cross-section of France at the end of the sixteenth century. The various governmental institutions are there briefly, and, in most cases, clearly described.

It is not for the Renaissance, then, that one must look in this volume, but for the details of the political doings of the time. No single thread is missed from that somber tapestry of human passion. The new world of seemingly boundless intellectual possibilities is scarcely glimpsed by our author; the wakeful soul of the time, increasingly conscious of power and increasingly eager for possession, has largely escaped his attention. What he is interested in is the transitory, the fugitive, the contingent.

EDWARD MASLIN HULME.

*Portraits of Women.* By GAMALIEL BRADFORD. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1916. Pp. xi, 203.)

EIGHT of the nine portraits in this engaging volume are of women well known to the reading world; but it would be none the less gratifying to have some clue to Mr. Bradford's principle of selection. "Haphazard" is the word he applies to it in his preface; but a biographer

does not choose nine stars out of the female firmament without being moved by personal preference, or by some delicate sense of congruity. The ladies so honored are usually his own intellectual harem, or they form component parts of an indissoluble group, each one serving to illustrate the characteristics and the circumstances of all.

Mr. Bradford's group lacks symmetry and coalescence. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Lady Holland, Madame du Deffand, and Madame de Choiseul fall together as notable women of the world. Madame de Sévigné stands apart by reason of her incomparable talent—the letter-writer par excellence of France. Madame D'Arblay and Jane Austen join hands, the one as a good, the other as a great, novelist. Eugénie de Guérin, exquisite and solitary soul, is, and must ever be, comradeless in a bustling world. And Mrs. Pepys—well, Mrs. Pepys was the wife of Mr. Pepys, a good-looking, fairly good-tempered, tolerant, thrifty wife, whose worth was admitted by her husband. Her presence in the volume destroys the theory of a literary seraglio. A man might reasonably be in love with seven of the nine ladies. No man of taste could help being in love with Madame de Sévigné, for whom, indeed, most men of taste have confessed a tender passion. But the excellent Mrs. Pepys stands outside the exalted circle. A fatal tendency to tell “long stories, though nothing to the purpose, nor in any good manner”, exiles her from the society of the elect.

One effort Mr. Bradford makes to link his portraits in a family piece. He probes the spirituality of each and every woman; he strives to ascertain, by the help of her spoken and written words, what God meant to her. It is a curious quest for a casual biographer, inasmuch as the supreme secret of the world is the attitude of the human soul to its creator. The confessants who have bared this secret are few and far between. Eugénie de Guérin writes with amazing candor, but her letters and journal were not meant for alien eyes. They have been given to the public, but at the cost of her betrayal.

The sovereign claim of Mr. Bradford's book upon our regard is its readableness. “Great men taken up in any way are profitable company”, says Carlyle. Brilliant women taken up in any way are also profitable company, and we cannot do better than linger a while with them in this agreeable volume. Mr. Bradford writes sympathetically. He sees his subjects through the eyes of their clever contemporaries. His anecdotes are few and well told. His quotations are many and well chosen. He recognizes the valor of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's fight for inoculation. He shows how Lady Holland, for all her vaporous fears, met death “with resolution and perfect good humor”. His analysis of Madame D'Arblay's character, her moral courage and intellectual timidity, her easy emotions and strong social instincts, is exceedingly happy and convincing. Of Madame de Sévigné, he says wisely, “She took nice and constant counsel for the welfare of her soul.” And of Madame de Choiseul, that even her desire for affection was tactful:

"She never intruded her feelings at the wrong place or time." However well we may have known the nine ladies whose portraits are painted in this book, we know them better when we have read it.

AGNES REPPLIER.

*The Commonwealth of Nations: an Inquiry into the Nature of Citizenship in the British Empire, and into the Mutual Relations of the Several Communities thereof.* Edited by L. CURTIS. Part I. (London: The Macmillan Company. 1916. Pp. xix, 722.)

THE study of which the above volume forms the first part, is designed to provide a scientific and historic basis for the effort to develop the British Empire into an actual cohesive commonwealth. It is in essence a report made up from the discussions of the "Round Table Groups", which were formed in 1910 and after, in the various British colonies, for the purpose of studying the nature of citizenship in the empire and, if possible, of suggesting some solution of the more pressing imperial problems. Topics were distributed among the various groups, preliminary studies were made, and the results of the investigations and discussions collected. The matter thus gathered is now given us in part by Mr. Curtis, who has edited the first division of the main report. This division deals with the origins of the British Commonwealth, with the causes which led to its partial disruption in 1783, and with the establishment of a separate commonwealth in America. Part II., as projected, will deal with the subsequent growth of the dismembered British Commonwealth; in part III. it is proposed to examine the principles upon which the members of the widely scattered colonies may retain their status as British citizens in a common state.

The character of the investigation is anything but narrow in its scope. The present volume presents what really amounts to a survey of imperialism in its relation to democracy from the sixth century B.C. to the nineteenth century of the Christian era. After a brief introduction setting forth the chief characteristics of the existing British Empire, it begins with a survey of the rise and fall of city states in Greece, a description of the imperialism of Rome, and a discussion of the later Holy Roman Empire; a brief sketch of the English Commonwealth is followed by a general narrative of the opening of the seas and the beginnings of modern imperialism, and an analysis of the eighteenth-century commercial system. The report then deals with the inclusion of Scotland in the British Commonwealth, gives an account of the American colonies, and a general sketch of the Irish problem from Henry II. to the Union. The last two chapters are concerned with the American Revolution and its effects, and with the growth of the American Commonwealth to the Civil War.

The intrinsic interest of the subject and the editor's gift for sug-

gestive, if not invariably accurate, generalization save the book from dullness. But it is not easy to visualize the audience to which it is addressed. The lay-reader, despite the clearness of style, the auxiliary plans, and the handsome appearance of the book, will hardly be attracted to the seven hundred pages of solid matter. Nor will the scholar be apt to find it of great use. It is essentially an edition of reports, lengthy but marked by serious omissions, made by industrious and intelligent laymen, and drawn from familiar secondary material. Thus the second chapter, dealing with the English Commonwealth, is based almost exclusively upon Freeman's article, "History of England", in the tenth edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, and upon Dicey's *Law of the Constitution*. The chapters covering the commercial system and the American colonies are based almost as exclusively upon Beer and Lecky. The main portion of the chapter upon Ireland is drawn from Lecky's *History of Ireland*; the discussion of the American Revolution is chiefly based upon Marshall's *Life of Washington*.

The book is, in appreciable part, a compilation, as is indicated by the large amount of matter directly quoted. Quotations of a page or more in length are frequent; excerpts extending over three or four pages of print are not rare. The fourth chapter of Dicey's *Law of the Constitution* and the fifth and sixth chapters of Beer's *British Colonial Policy* are printed intact; in addition there is a quotation extending over thirty-four pages from the latter work, while the editor also gives us *in extenso* the Articles of Confederation and the federal Constitution with all its amendments.

The purpose of the work is warmly to be commended, but its value to historical scholars is at least questionable.

CHARLES SEYMOUR.

*Ireland under the Stuarts and during the Interregnum.* By RICHARD BAGWELL, M.A. Volume III., 1660-1690. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1916. Pp. xi, 351.)

WITH the appearance of the third volume of his history of Ireland under the Stuarts, Mr. Bagwell brings to a conclusion the second part of his monumental labors in Irish history. More than thirty years ago there appeared the first installment of his history of Ireland under the Tudors—which in fact was much greater than its title would imply, as it began with the first invasion of the Northmen. Since then he has added to his work till we now have an account of Ireland during the sixteenth and the greater part of the seventeenth century filling some five considerable volumes. It is, perhaps, almost unnecessary to say that this surpasses in extent and, what is more important, in accuracy, the work of any other Irish historian on this period, and that Mr. Bagwell, in consequence, has achieved at least such distinction as falls to the lot of an exhaustive "authority" within his chosen field. One may only

hope that he may be able to continue his work with Ireland under the later Stuarts and the Hanoverians, and give us his rendering of the story told by Lecky and Froude.

Meanwhile we must be grateful for the first adequate account of Ireland during the Restoration. For that, in a sense, is the chief contribution of this present volume. Irish history during the reign of James II. and the early reign of William and Mary is an oft-told tale, and the labors of many historical workers, headed by the genius of Macaulay, have been spent especially on those years which culminated in the battle of the Boyne. The same is measurably true of the Cromwellian period. But hitherto, as in English history, we have lacked an equally comprehensive account of Restoration Ireland. This want Mr. Bagwell has now supplied and the present history which covers the years from 1660 to 1690 in somewhat more than three hundred pages is a welcome addition to the rapidly increasing body of historical literature relating to the island.

The subject of the present volume, like that of its predecessors, offers a peculiar problem to its historian, akin to that which Gardiner faced, and solved by not dissimilar processes. The Restoration settlement of Ireland, like the Cromwellian and Elizabethan settlements before it and William's settlement thereafter, forms a peculiarly controversial subject, amid whose pitfalls one must walk warily. Mr. Bagwell, like Professor Gardiner, has, by mental habit or necessity or both, solved his problem by sticking to the facts. From his pages are eliminated that passion which has made most Irish history all politics, and that memory of wrongs which has made most Irish politics all history. His narrative is plain and simple to baldness, and amid the infinite complexities involved in the words "claims and claimants", "Nocents and Innocents", "cases and dissatisfaction", opposition, remonstrance, disputes, riots, abuses, retaliation, discontent, intolerance; evils, and—to sum up the whole—"incompatibility", which fill his pages, and whose very enumeration in a sense determines and describes the period he treats, the author makes his cautious, unemotional but observing way.

In his hands the Restoration settlement appears just what it was, an effort foredoomed to failure to satisfy claims wholly incompatible, in a situation made impossible by what had gone before. To that was added the beginnings of a protective system in the Cattle Bill against Irish importation which made the case all but hopeless for prosperity as it had long been hopeless for peace. To the twenty-five years of this unhappy period of Ireland under Charles II. Mr. Bagwell allots rather less than half of the present volume. The five crowded years between the accession of James II. and the battle of the Boyne receive a similar amount, and the remainder of the book is taken up with chapters on society and the churches during the period. The allotment is significant. Ormonde's first administration from 1660 to 1668 and his second from 1677 to 1685 form the real backbone of the period as of its history.

The rule of Robartes and of Berkeley and of Essex were but an interregnum. And in these pages Ormonde becomes not merely what he appears in English history, a staunch and honest Protestant royalist, but an unusually able and sincere public servant. The others come off less happily, Berkeley in particular. Of the events the Irish Cattle Bill is naturally the chief and it may be said in passing that here is to be found the first account which can be called even reasonably adequate of that important measure. In striking comparison with that is such a chapter as that describing the siege of Londonderry. "It was the remark of a brilliant writer", says Mr. Bagwell, "that trying to describe the siege of Londonderry after Macaulay was like trying to describe the siege of Troy after Homer. No elaborate copy need be attempted here." There, in a sense, you have the measure of the book after it reaches 1685. It is far from being a copy of Macaulay. The style, throughout, is ragged and inconsequent, it abounds in isolated statement of fact; unless one were interested in the subject to begin with it might well be unreadable. Yet there is much of "the root of the matter" in it. It abounds in sentences and phrases which reveal the author. "A cloud of Irish witnesses continued to obscure the truth." "The lame foot of justice halted until 1694." And, however inspired by Macaulay's third chapter—and however different from it—no one can read the present account of Social Ireland between the Restoration and the Revolution without interest, amusement, and improvement. It would be easy to indicate a score of places in which a reviewer would differ with the author in questions of perspective, of the relation between English and Irish affairs during this period, or of the bearing of the less tangible factors of politics upon events. It might be possible to make out a case for, let us say, the Irish Popish Plot; and one may well regret the omission of reference to the subterranean activities which centred in the Whites, and their relations to the Duke of York. But, making allowance for the lack of style, no student of Irish history, or of the late seventeenth century, but must be more than grateful for the mass of information here brought together, and no future historian but must take account of Bagwell, as he has taken account of Macaulay.

W. C. ABBOTT.

*Lord Granville Leveson Gower (First Earl Granville): Private Correspondence, 1781 to 1821.* Edited by his daughter-in-law, CASTALIA COUNTESS GRANVILLE. In two volumes. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1916. Pp. xxviii, 510; ix, 597.)

In a rather indefinable way these volumes are of absorbing interest. As a collection of letters alone, they well repay reading.

Lord Granville appears principally as the person written to, so that the title used by the editor does not quite bear out the substance of the

text. For the correspondence proceeds chiefly from one of Granville's friends, Lady Bessborough. An unconventional attachment between the two, begun in 1794 when Lady Bessborough was already thirty-three and Granville scarcely twenty-one, occasioned the almost daily letters that passed between them. The ardor of their intimacy, which remained throughout irreproachable, spent itself in the passionate interest Lady Bessborough bestowed upon Granville's political career. Of the two, as these letters show, hers was by far the keener mind, the finer ambition, and the stronger will. Fate perversely ordained her the beneficent genius of this undeniably handsome, spoiled, and quite second-rate statesman.

Lady Bessborough's associations were with Holland House. Granville was a follower of Pitt and Canning. But as Granville's correspondent, Lady Bessborough remained always impartial in her selection of news; in fact she kept in touch with every political clique in London. Often her ability or luck in acquiring information at first-hand seems phenomenal. Canning once complained that he was obliged to have recourse to her for what passed in sessions of the Cabinet, as Pitt did not divulge to him the results of ministerial deliberations. Many of her letters then are new and authentic disclosures from inside the official political circle.

But the more general value of the collection is derived from Lady Bessborough's own remarkable character. The critic who said of Mrs. Browning that she was not a poetess but a poet, drew a distinction which applies to Lady Bessborough as a political correspondent. There is in her letters such strength and discerning sympathy and spirited judgment; such evidence of a cultivated intellect suffused with feeling; that only the society of pre-Revolutionary France can furnish a comparable example.

It is no small pleasure and no small gain to be able to view the great characters of this period (1794-1821) through the eyes of an observer of Lady Bessborough's temperament. For purposes of research a limited portion only of what she writes may be actually new and useful; yet the period is made richer when its men and events stand out in an epistolary style of such unexceptionable quality. It is impossible not to catch eagerly at every impression Pitt, Canning, Fox, Sheridan, the Prince Regent, Lord and Lady Holland, and a dozen others make upon Lady Bessborough's mind; especially as she writes with a delightful absence of self-consciousness, and as one within the circle.

The miscellaneous character of the correspondence as a whole, including the letters from Granville's family and his political acquaintances as well, make a critical valuation difficult. In the 90's Pitt appears in the background as a cold, Olympian presence, felt rather than seen. When Lady Bessborough says of one of his speeches: "It was the most brilliant, spirited, and *unfeeling* I ever read", we welcome the phrase as a genuine and telling expression of opinion. The picture of Pitt after



1801 is clearly that of the "Superior Being" fallen from his high estate, and forfeiting the respect of his friends by a too obvious manoeuvring to retrieve lost ground. But there is a crescendo of admiration as Pitt nears his end; the long letter on his death is most minutely circumstantial, and will probably supersede any previously published description. Canning's repellent air of self-conscious rectitude appears nowhere more clearly than in one of his own letters to Granville describing his having fallen in love. He writes as though defending himself from the Opposition for a lapse of official conduct. A distressful picture of Sheridan as a drunken blackguard, persecuting Lady Bessborough with attentions, balances an equally distressful picture of the Prince Regent grovelling before her with an amorous proposal. Granville's part in Malmesbury's peace missions to the Directory, and his own missions to Berlin and St. Petersburg, and Lady Bessborough's descriptions of Paris society in 1802-1803, are noticeably good. Countless small points, such as—the slump in the London stock market when word of Jefferson's election was received, the report of Lord Selkirk's appointment as minister to Washington in 1806, the bungled arrangements at Nelson's funeral, etc., will be new to many; and a letter of 1812 is fresh material for the episode between Lady Bessborough's daughter, Lady Caroline Lamb, and Lord Byron. The descriptions of Holland House and its society are as vigorous as Sidney Smith's and deserving of equal recognition. One or two letters from Ireland epitomize with sympathy for the peasant the difficulties of the land question.

Lady Granville's work as editor has been conscientiously done; the task was by no means a light one, especially as parts of letters sent through the diplomatic bag of the Foreign Office required deciphering. The date of the *Anti-Jacobin* (I. 195, note) is incorrectly given. The index, essential to the use of such scattered material, is, with one or two exceptions, fully adequate.

C. E. FRYER.

*The Chartist Movement in its Social and Economic Aspects.* By FRANK F. ROSENBLATT, Ph.D. Part I. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of Columbia University, vol. LXXIII., no. 1, whole no. 171.] (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1916. Pp. 248.)

*The Decline of the Chartist Movement.* By PRESTON WILLIAM SLOSSEN, Ph.D. [Columbia Studies, vol. LXXIII., no. 2, whole no. 172.] (*Ibid.* 1916. Pp. 216.)

*Chartism and the Churches: a Study in Democracy.* By HAROLD UNDERWOOD FAULKNER, Ph.D. [Columbia Studies, vol. LXXIII., no. 3, whole no. 173.] (*Ibid.* 1916. Pp. 152.)

It is a little over sixty years since a book wholly devoted to the history of the Chartist movement was issued from the English press; for

not a single book on the subject has appeared in England since Gammage published his history in 1854. Gammage's history, a history written from inside the movement, has been reprinted at least once in England, and in a much larger form than the small, closely-printed volume published for Gammage by Holyoake, who was also of the Chartist movement. A German and a French study of the Chartist movement have been published; and the movement has had some attention in review articles and in books on the history of socialism in England. But despite the great and persistent activity of the working-classes in England in political life since the extension of the parliamentary franchise in 1885, and particularly since 1900, no English student of politics in the nineteenth century has so far attempted a detailed history of the remarkable working-class agitation of 1837-1854. With the havoc that the war is making among the younger generation of students of history in England, it is unfortunately not probable that any book on Chartism by an English student can be forthcoming for a long time. Under these circumstances students of history all over the English-speaking world are under an indebtedness to Messrs. Rosenblatt, Slosson, and Faulkner, and to the department of history at Columbia University, for these distinctly serviceable studies of the Chartist movement.

Mr. Rosenblatt's book on the social and economic aspects of the movement is the most detailed of the three studies. It is planned on a much larger scale than either Mr. Slosson's treatment of the decline of the movement, or Mr. Faulkner's study of the attitude of the churches toward Chartism. Mr. Rosenblatt in his two-hundred-odd pages of text carries the history of the movement only from 1837 to the Chartist riots at Newport, South Wales, in November, 1839, and he intimates in his preface that his original intention was to publish an extensive study covering the whole of the movement—a movement that did not completely die out until 1854. Such a plan involved a sojourn in England to collect additional material. This was frustrated by the war; but Mr. Rosenblatt promises a second volume at a later date. As far as it goes his study is, on the whole, a satisfactory piece of work. It is particularly so as regards the sketches of the leaders of the movement, and of the spirit in which they preached the gospel of revolt. He is less successful when he describes the political, industrial, and social conditions that gave birth to the Chartist movement. Peterloo is an old and oft-told story, and from the time the wide-spread popular agitation for a reform of the old representative system began in the decade of the American Revolution until the eve of the Reform Act there was only one Peterloo, and no one year in which it could be said that "revolt and anarchy reigned supreme in all the manufacturing districts". Looseness of statement is also obvious in the assertion—again in Mr. Rosenblatt's description of political and social conditions in the three decades that preceded the Chartist movement, that "executions for high treason became common events". In the chapter on labor legislation and trade unionism, Mr.

Rosenblatt, in describing the attitude of the House of Commons towards those Radicals who continuously interested themselves in the fortunes of the wage-earning classes, makes the statement that "even Francis Place, the champion political wire-puller and labor lobbyist, for a long time could hardly secure a hearing in Parliament". No wonder, for Place never was of the House of Commons.

Mr. Slosson's title, *The Decline of the Chartist Movement*, does not quite adequately describe his book. Such a title suggests a study of the movement only from the failure of the great petition of 1848. Mr. Slosson's best work, it is true, is of the years that followed the fiasco of the Kennington Common mass-meeting of 1848. But his story of the movement as a whole is singularly complete and quite comprehensive. If there were no other book on Chartism in existence, Mr. Slosson's study would serve most students of English political movements of the nineteenth century. It certainly would serve to the full those students who are already familiar with industrial and social conditions in England from the American Revolution to the first decade of Queen Victoria's reign. Clearness of presentation is the characteristic of Mr. Slosson's work. This is obvious and of much advantage when he is describing the attitude of the Chartists towards the agitation of the Anti-Corn Law League, and the relations of the Chartists to Sturge and Miall and other middle-class reformers, who unsuccessfully sought the aid of the Chartists in securing an extension of the parliamentary franchise which should include the wage-earners. Clearness both of statement and of reasoning are also obvious when Mr. Slosson is discussing to what extent greatly improved industrial conditions after 1848 accounted for the disappearance of the Chartist movement, and again when he is examining the advantages, direct and indirect, that accrued to the wage-earning classes of England in the last half of the nineteenth century from the Chartist agitation of 1837-1854. Mr. Slosson's sympathies are with the movement. But his sympathies have not biased his judgment, and his statement of these gains has a good basis. He makes out a case for each; and in this survey—one of the most permanently valuable features of his book—he omits only one other advantage that can be credited to the Chartist movement. It was the most effective movement for popular political education that ever influenced English life before the organization of the present-day labor parties in English politics.

*Chartism and the Churches*, Mr. Faulkner's contribution to these studies, is much shorter than either Mr. Slosson's or Mr. Rosenblatt's book. Mr. Faulkner's field was not nearly as large as those of his colleagues. He has worked it with intelligence, resourcefulness, and thoroughness; and has written a book of which the full value is not stated when it has been said that it is an excellent, almost indispensable companion volume to those of Messrs. Rosenblatt and Slosson. It is a distinct contribution also to the history of the Established Church, the

Roman Catholic Church, and the Nonconformist or free churches of England and Scotland in the first ten or fifteen years of Queen Victoria's reign. It deals with an aspect of organized Christianity in Great Britain which has been generally ignored by church historians, and scarcely mentioned by the general historians of the nineteenth century. The attitude of each church towards the Chartists is examined by Mr. Faulkner; and about the only criticism of his presentation of the results of his research in a field hitherto unexplored, is that it might have been well in describing the attitude of the Chartists toward the Established Church in England to have added a page comparing the church to-day with the church at the beginning of the Chartist agitation. Then even readers who have no intimate knowledge of the Established Church in the first half of the nineteenth century would at once realize why the Chartists were much more bitter against the Church of England than against the Catholic and the Nonconformist churches. In 1837, the year in which the Chartists began their agitation, the Established Church was almost as much in need of reform as the representative system had been from the reign of Queen Elizabeth to 1832.

EDWARD PORRITT.

*Memoirs of M. Thiers, 1870-1873.* Translated by F. M. ATKINSON. (New York: James Pott and Company. 1916. Pp. 384.)

THIS is an extremely interesting book, both because of the personality of the author and because of the events of which he treats, and of which he was himself a large part. The book is a chapter in autobiography, that chapter being far and away the most crowded, the most intricate, and the most useful of a long career. It fell to the lot of Thiers to render an exacting, a painful, and a splendid service to his country after the allowable threescore years and ten had run out. Emphatically the end crowned the work.

The text of these *Memoirs*, of which this is an accurate and satisfactory translation, first appeared in 1903, although it had in fact been printed two years earlier. Several persons had already seen it, and particularly Hanotaux, who reproduced several passages in the first volume of his *Contemporary France*, which "indiscretion" is said to have hastened the publication entire of these notes and recollections.

The volume consists of four parts, unequal in length, naturally enough, as the events described were of unequal significance. First we have a clear, compact account of Thiers's diplomatic journey to England, Austria, Russia, and Italy during the Franco-Prussian War in search of diplomatic or military aid for France. This account consists of notes written in the form of a journal and covering the period from September 13 to October 28, 1870. The notes are precise, detailed, and entirely contemporaneous. They give us clear indications as to why the various nations either did not care, or did not dare, to furnish the aid desired. It was a fruitless but illuminating voyage. One thing came of it. Eng-

land and Russia promised to support any steps Thiers might take to bring about an armistice with Prussia.

These attempts form the second section of the volume. The purpose of the armistice was to permit the election of a National Assembly, which might give a legal basis to the revolution of September 4, and thus invalidate Prussia's contention that she did not know with whom she could negotiate. From November 1 to November 7, the negotiations went on between Bismarck and Thiers. Bismarck was not opposed to the idea of an armistice, but the terms he granted were so unfavorable that the negotiations fell through. During the discussions Bismarck's attitude toward the intervention of neutrals in this war was emphatically and repeatedly indicated. Briefly, this was none of their business, nor would they be permitted to take any part in it if he could prevent it.

The third section of the book contains a brief and vivid account of Thiers's preliminary negotiations for peace with Bismarck in February, 1871, which were the basis later of the treaty of Frankfort. During the negotiations Bismarck described the demand for an indemnity of six milliards as "very modest" since the cost of the war came to four milliards. Thiers contested this statement with spirit and with facts, and asserted that such a sum would mean at least three milliards of profit for Prussia, which would thus turn the war indemnity "into a mere financial speculation". During these negotiations the Swiss minister, Kern, wishing to point out the interests of his country, had an interview with Bismarck in which he was very badly received. "What are you coming here for?" Bismarck asked. "What are you trying to meddle in? This is a question to be settled between France and us; and you neutrals are not to meddle at all with it."

The larger part of this book, over 200 pages, is devoted to an account by Thiers of his term as president from February 17, 1871, to May 24, 1873, an account written after his fall from power. It is in the best sense *pièce justificative*, an *apologia pro sua vita* as head of the state during the most difficult and trying period. The contents are so weighty, the form of the narrative so admirable, in order, brevity, and clarity, the tone so free from rancor, or from boasting, yet so candid, that it should be read in full. Indeed it is indispensable for anyone who desires to know the political ideas of Thiers, the history of his government, and the highly critical infancy of the Third Republic.

I doubt if there could be a more truthful summary of the presidency of Thiers than that furnished by himself in the concluding paragraph of this volume, written after his overthrow: "Next day I hastened to make preparations for my departure, and to return to Paris after an absence of three years, during which I had governed with moderation and firmness, in the ways of rectitude, sustained by the confidence of France and the esteem of Europe."

CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN.

*Contemporary Politics in the Far East.* By STANLEY K. HORNBECK, B.A., Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Political Science in the University of Wisconsin; Sometime Instructor in the Chekiang Provincial College and in the Fengtien (Mukden) Law College. (New York: D. Appleton and Company. 1916. Pp. xii, 466.)

PROFESSOR STANLEY K. HORNBECK has given us a really valuable study in the field of Far Eastern politics. And this is saying a good deal, for the literature of the Far East is overloaded with works of appalling superficiality or misleading partizanship. The prevailing ignorance in the West of Eastern affairs gives the opportunity to writers of the first class, while it seems to be quite as difficult to consider with even mind the relations between China and Japan as it was—and is—to consider those between France and Germany. In the preparation of *Contemporary Politics in the Far East* Professor Hornbeck had the advantage of unusual opportunities for observation in China and of research both there and at the University of Wisconsin. His statements are based upon the best available authorities, and although the reader may detect where his sympathies lie, he has rarely permitted his feelings to affect his judgment. For the period it covers, his book will win a place as a sound and useful work of reference. But it contains a striking example of the dangers of prophecy in the Far East, even when the course of events seems plainly marked out—in a second edition chapter VI. will probably bear a new title in place of "China: the Return to Monarchy".

The volume is divided into two parts or books. The first, dealing with politics in China and in Japan, devotes six chapters to a survey of Chinese political development between 1911 and 1916, and four chapters to Japan since the coming of Commodore Perry in 1853. In both cases the chapters on contemporary politics are well handled, while the attempt to condense fifty years of Japanese progress into twenty-five pages of text has occasioned most of the few errors in fact found in the volume. The second book deals with the contemporary relations of China, Japan, and the United States, and this in turn is divided into two sections. One, the recent past, treats of the expansion of Japan into Korea and South Manchuria, of the scramble for concessions in China, and of the open-door policy; and the other, the recent past and the present, considers such immediate questions as Japan and Germany, Japan and China, Japan's Monroe Doctrine for Asia, Japan and the United States, and China and the United States. It is in the latter section that the author has yielded slightly to the temptation to do something which, he tells us, is not the purpose of the book, "to pass judgment upon policies or to offer possible solutions for problems; the task in hand is that of setting forth facts". In dealing with contemporary events it is so difficult to get the facts, and so easy to deal with probabilities and possibilities, that even so thoughtful an investigator as Professor Hornbeck has been unable to cleave to the line. This leads to certain assumptions. Thus, the open-

door and integrity-of-China agreements "may as well be acknowledged to have become, potentially at least, so many 'scraps of paper'" (p. 242). "The American government in its official advocacy of the open-door policy assumed a position of responsibility. . . . This responsibility makes imperative something more than mere reiterated protestations of friendly interest. It calls for most careful consideration and substantial, constructive political and economic effort" (p. 403). "The question of the peace of the Far East lies with the fate of China. If China can develop strength to defend her own integrity, the peace of the Orient may be preserved." "Unless the powers *do* interfere in one way or another, it would seem that one of two things must happen: either China will pass under the tutelage—if not the vassalage—of Japan; or China will have to fight to preserve herself from national extinction" (p. 357). These statements seem to be "judgments upon policies" and "possible solutions for problems", and as such they will stimulate thought, if not win complete endorsement. Certainly it would be of interest to learn what sort of "political and economic effort" the United States should make to give vitality to the "scraps of paper".

PAYSON J. TREAT.

*Histoire Diplomatique de l'Europe depuis le Congrès de Berlin jusqu'à Nos Jours.* Par A. DEBIDOUR, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris. Première Partie. *La Paix Armée (1878-1904)*. [Bibliothèque d'Histoire Contemporaine.] (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1916. Pp. xii, 359.)

THIS volume forms the continuation of M. Debidour's well-known *Histoire Diplomatique depuis l'Ouverture du Congrès de Vienne* and is to be followed shortly, he tells us, by another which will cover the decade immediately preceding the war. He will thus have completed his survey of international relations during the century between the Napoleonic Wars and the present titanic struggle. M. Debidour's history of the earlier period has been recognized generally as the standard brief account of European diplomacy from 1814 until 1878, and his continuation will doubtless be accorded the same position for the later epoch. It is comprehensive, concise, and well proportioned; furthermore, the matter is arranged and presented in that vein of lucidity which in works of a synthetic character has often seemed to be a monopoly of French writers.

Taking up the narrative upon the morrow of the Berlin Congress, the author sketches the unsatisfactory nature of the settlement of 1878 in the Near East and the rivalry of Russia and Austria; he is thus brought to a consideration of Bismarck's negotiations with the latter power which culminated in the Dual Alliance of 1879. Without losing sight of the continued chaos in the Balkans and its effect upon Austro-Russian enmity, he traces the development of the Dual Alliance into the Triple Alliance by the accession of Italy in 1882. A survey of the colonial

policy of the Powers, with emphasis upon the growing tension between France and England, which resulted from the Egyptian imbroglio, is followed by a sketch of the beginnings of Germany's colonial ambitions and the last years of Bismarck's chancellorship. The author devotes much attention in this part of his work to the long-continued Bulgarian crisis, with its effects upon Russo-German relations, and lays emphasis upon the financial origins of the Franco-Russian Entente. The inception of that new alignment in European diplomacy and its development into the Dual Alliance of 1894 form the chief subjects of the survey of the years which followed Bismarck's disgrace. Without breaking the continuity of his narrative, the author interjects phases of Italy's and Great Britain's colonial activities in Africa and the rivalry of each power with France. In his last chapters he describes the British struggle with the Boers and shifts the scene rapidly to the Far East and the Russo-Japanese War, indicating the effects of each upon the relations of the European states. His final chapter is devoted to the reconciliation of France with Italy and the Anglo-French Accord of 1904.

M. Debidour has adopted the strictly chronological method in the presentation of his material, synthesizing the diplomatic events as they occur, almost year by year. The work suffers from the obvious defect of this method, which in the hands of a less skillful writer would perhaps be fatal. The diplomatic history of Europe is extremely complicated and most historians, in seeking to attain clarity of exposition, have felt the need of finding a single thread upon which to string their facts: sometimes it has been the development of Germany, sometimes the spirit of *revanche* in France, sometimes the Eastern Question. Such a factitious aid to his exposition is disdained by M. Debidour. In a single chapter he skips from the British and Italians in Africa to the internal affairs of France and Russia, from the treaty of Shimonoseki to the French in Madagascar, from the Jameson Raid to Armenian atrocities and the Turkish-Greek War of 1897. This method of exposition, although the transitions are invariably clear, is perhaps not suited to the convenience of a beginner in recent history. But the author has gained immeasurably thereby in freedom; he can treat his topics pragmatically, giving each the amount of space and the emphasis which its intrinsic importance demands; he is not forced to subordinate any of them from fear of breaking the thread of continuous narrative, and he can achieve that comprehensiveness which hitherto has not been attempted by any writer dealing with the recent diplomatic history of Europe. For this reason M. Debidour's work will prove invaluable as a book of reference. In no other single volume of small compass is there collected information upon such a wealth of diplomatic topics during the period following the Congress of Berlin.

Besides its comprehensiveness, the book is notable and praiseworthy in the highest degree for its impartial tone and unbiassed judgments. Events are treated from the French point of view, but every page bears



witness to the fact that the author is writing as a scholar rather than as a French patriot. He treats as coldly and judicially of Bismarck and Delcassé as he would of Otto the Great or Clovis; he describes Fashoda and the policy of William II. with an equal detachment. One might have expected that recent events would affect the tone of a French historian, that he would unconsciously display bitterness toward Germany and a certain leniency towards Russia, Italy, and Great Britain. There is nothing of this to be discovered in M. Debidour's treatment. As between Russia and Germany he is strictly impartial; Italian ambitions are frankly criticized. The fact that he is dealing with the policy of a power now closely allied with France, does not prevent him from passing openly hostile judgments upon many of Great Britain's actions. British policy in Egypt draws from him the sarcastic phrase, "Gladstone, despite the principles of morality and liberalism which he had so often advertised, was too good an Englishman to give up possession [of Egypt]". Nor does he mince his words in discussing the aggressive spirit of the British in their dealings with the Boers. German policy is handled coldly and succinctly, and always without animus.

The brevity of the treatment allotted to Germany must, perhaps, be counted as a defect. Germany's policy of tempting Russia Asiawards in the Nineties, in order to strengthen her own diplomatic position in Europe, is indicated. But there is little upon her economic development and aspirations for sea power, and nothing upon the Bagdad Railway or German plans for power and expansion in Turkey and the Middle East. It is possible that M. Debidour purposes to discuss the origins of German world-policy in his next volume; but the omission of this important topic from his present work unquestionably weakens his exposition of the beginnings of the Anglo-French Entente. Another defect results necessarily from the limited space which the author has allowed himself: he is forced to disregard almost entirely the significance of personality in diplomacy. There are brief characterizations of Delcassé and Edward VII., to whom due credit is given for the Entente of 1904, and also of Cecil Rhodes, Nicholas II., and William II. But in general the author leaves the reader in the dark as to the personality of the sovereigns and diplomats; even when he speaks of them by name he is apt to treat them as chessmen on a board.

American readers will also regret the absence of exact references. A useful list of general authorities is given at the beginning of each chapter, but it is only in rare cases that citations are put in the footnotes. Following the unfortunate French custom in works dealing with recent history, there is no index.

CHARLES SEYMOUR.

*Diplomatic Documents relating to the Outbreak of the European War.* Edited with an Introduction by JAMES BROWN SCOTT. In two volumes. [Carnegie Endowment for International Peace,

Division of International Law.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1916. Pp. lxxxii, 767; xcii, 771-1516.)

*Official Diplomatic Documents relating to the Outbreak of the European War: with Photographic Reproductions of Official Editions of the Documents (Blue, White, Yellow, etc., Books) published by the Governments of Austro-Hungary, Belgium, France, Germany, Great Britain, Russia, and Serbia.* Introduction, Daily Summaries, Cross-References, and Foot-Notes by EDMUND VON MACH, A.B., Ph.D. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1916. Pp. xxii, 608, appendixes 650 pp.)

THE important causes of the European conflict are not the events of the five weeks just before the beginning of the struggle, but vast forces whose gradual development attracted more and more attention after 1871. The most striking single factor was the prodigious increase of Germany and the resulting difficult process of adjustment in European relations; while the enmity of Slav and Teuton, the rivalry of Germany and England, differences in birth-rate, pressure of population, excessive nationalism, and the mere circumstances of the earth's geography, had much to do in producing the result. While these things will in the end be more considered, and rightly so, yet the immediate causes of so mighty an event cannot fail to be studied with greatest care. This is already possible because the diplomatic intercourse of the last critical days has been largely published by the respective governments in successive books or papers. There is no doubt that the information thus afforded is not complete, but it is evidently the basic source-material for any investigation at present, and it is probable that no large additions will be made to it for some time to come. It has, therefore, been examined and interpreted in several excellent studies, while many of the documents have before now been assembled in collections, the best being the admirable *Collected Diplomatic Documents* published by the British government.

The two publications here examined constitute a distinct advance over anything hitherto accomplished, and one of them, at any rate, that given forth by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, should be the standard collection on the subject for some time to come. It is simply an assemblage of sources, brought together in two superb volumes, beautifully printed and well arranged. The work of the editor has scarcely gone beyond obtaining the originals and reproducing faithfully the best English translations. For some of the papers he has made tables of contents, but the documents are printed without annotation. Evidently it is the purpose of this work to furnish the student with the best and most comprehensive collection of the sources, but not to assist him further in the study of them, except that there is a large and excellent index. The documents are printed from the originals, when these are in English, and when in other languages from the official English

translations. This collection is the most complete hitherto published, and contains beside the documents usually assembled the second *Austrian Red Book*, concerning relations with Italy, most of the *Second Belgian Gray Book*, the second *British Blue Book*, relating to the rupture of relations with Turkey, the *Italian Green Book*, and the second *Russian Orange Book*, concerning relations with Turkey.

Dr. von Mach's volume<sup>1</sup> is also, in spite of grave faults, a noteworthy addition to the source-collections for this subject, and it not only possesses striking features as regards arrangement and material included, but in addition it undertakes to supply critical apparatus and commentary in the numerous notes which are added. He realizes, as everyone must who enters upon the study of this material, that it is an intricate task to thread one's way through the maze of the various despatches, where constantly in one there is allusion to another, and where frequently one can best be understood in the light of information contained in another. He has, therefore, printed them somewhat as a chronicle, grouping together in alphabetical arrangement all of the despatches written on a particular day under the date of that day. I believe this to be of considerable assistance, though nothing but prolonged study and exact attention will enable one to surmount the difficulties which inhere in this task. But the most striking feature, and the one which gives to the volume its particular merit, is that the second half of the book is given over to facsimiles by photographic reproduction, of the originals of the various *Books*, and I know of nothing else that affords so conveniently the English translations for easy comparison with the original French of the Belgian, French, Russian, and Servian documents, and the original German of the Austrian and German governments. It should be said that the English translations are throughout the official British version, which the editor declares to be excellent. In respect of contents, it should be noticed that this collection is much less inclusive than that of the Carnegie Endowment, since it contains few documents after the first fateful days in August.

The annotations, which are very numerous, are the unsatisfactory part of the work, and it is probable that the editor's reputation for historical scholarship would have been greater had he omitted them entirely. They make specious attempt at avoidance of partizanship, but scarcely anywhere does he question the motives of Austria or Germany, while constantly the sayings of opposing statesmen are examined with elaborate scrutiny and considerable suspicion. I believe that there are few mistakes in direct statement, but there is throughout a tendency, perhaps involuntary, toward unwarrantable implication, and there is a great deal of inconsequential observation, flimsy reasoning, careless statement, and improper deduction. Perhaps a large amount of labor has been devoted to this comment, and some of what relates to correction of chronology

<sup>1</sup> We understand that the publishers have withdrawn Dr. von Mach's book from publication because of inaccuracies discovered in it.

or the explanation of allusions will be of real assistance, but the remainder is either too obvious to be of much importance, or of such character that it will be rather a hindrance than a help to correct understanding of the documents noticed. These notes are not, what the editor seems to wish them to be, the necessary apparatus explanatory of a reliable source-book, but, either unintentionally or because he could not help it, merely an exposition of the German point of view, expounded more ably and with more moderation and restraint than it has been expounded by most of the partizans who have written in this cause, but possessing nevertheless most of the faults which have debased their presentation.

EDWARD RAYMOND TURNER.

*La Belgique et les Juristes Allemands.* Par CHARLES DE VISSCHER, Professeur à la Faculté de Droit de l'Université de Gand. Préface de M. J. VAN DEN HEUVEL. (Lausanne and Paris: Payot et Cie. 1916. Pp. xix, 134.)

*Belgium's Case: a Juridical Enquiry.* By CH. DE VISSCHER, Professor of Law in the University of Ghent. Translated from the French by E. F. JOURDAIN. (London and New York: Hodder and Stoughton. 1916. Pp. xxiv, 164.)

THIS study is of great value, and is the best on the subject. The author is so fitted for his task that in all places he can speak with authority and decision. He does not debase his science to plead, but having a case to expound, he proceeds through exposition with exact knowledge, wealth of illustration, and calm analysis of theories and statements. What Belgians must regard as an awful crime committed upon their country may have filled his heart with bitterness, but there is no trace of it in the writing; and his erudition and critical judgment are equalled by a calmness and detachment which might pertain to disquisition academic about events of a great while ago. In the end temperateness no less than ability renders most of the conclusions irresistible. The translation, not literally faithful with respect to some details, is nevertheless accurate and good.

The author distinguishes between *Notwehr*, self-defense, and *Notrecht*, right which necessity may induce, characterized by conflict of rights and duties. With this latter many have defended the invasion of Belgium. Josef Kohler says that there is right of necessity where ordinary rules of juridical organization suggest no way of resolving the problem: "*Law must bow before Fact* and side with the conqueror: *factum valet.*" The author, however, has no difficulty in showing that Germans made very different statements as to what their need might be. Self-defense against alleged imminent invasion of Belgium by France was advanced along with mere necessity founded on strategic conditions. But no satisfactory proofs were ever given of the first, while the second, he says, has

no proper place in international law, since it strikes across the independence and equality of sovereign states. *Notrecht* might be justified where public common interest conflicts with private individual interest, with law courts to decide; but there is no court as yet allowed to be arbiter for nations. Rather, as in the past, necessity is "the tyrant's plea". Many pages are given to examination of this theory, for of such was the chancellor's plea, made immediately after the violation, and, though afterwards seemingly withdrawn, still the most important explanation of Germany's action.

The remainder of the book examines later justifications attempted by the imperial government, by German juridical writers, and some Americans, apologists and propagandists—that the treaty of neutralization was not binding, that the German Empire had not succeeded to the obligations undertaken by Prussia in 1839, that the treaty was obsolete in accordance with the doctrine *rebus sic stantibus*, that Belgium had herself violated her permanent neutrality. These excuses, proffered when the original exculpation failed to satisfy the opinion of the world, have been disposed of by other writers, but no one has dealt with them all so thoroughly, or so cogently shown the contradictions which they involve, how lamely they have been stated, and how some of them can be made only with data unsatisfactory and incomplete, with careless ignorance or deliberate suppression of many of the facts.

The international significance of the violation of Belgian neutrality, dealt with in a final chapter, is touched by J. Van den Heuvel in an introduction. This writer notes that after Germany had trodden down Belgium in vain effort to avoid the fortified places and strike at the heart of France, eighteen months later she found herself, nevertheless, struggling against an enemy prepared at last by the impregnable ramparts of Verdun.

EDWARD RAYMOND TURNER.

#### BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

*The Memorial of Fray Alonso de Benavides, 1630.* Translated by MRS. EDWARD E. AYER. Annotated by FREDERICK WEBB HODGE and CHARLES FLETCHER LUMMIS. (Chicago: Privately Printed. 1916. Pp. xiii, 309.)

NEW MEXICO in 1630 was separated from the northern frontier of continuous settlement in New Spain by two hundred leagues of territory uninhabited by Europeans. Somewhere beyond, in the minds of the Spaniards, stretched the long-sought Strait of Anian. To the east lay the kingdoms of Quivira and Aixaos, between which and the English and Dutch settlements on the Atlantic coast a thriving trade was reputed to exist. On all sides, from one to three hundred leagues, extended the country of the Apaches—common enemies of all settled peoples. The colonists themselves were little affected by conditions in the mother-

country, or even in New Spain, five to six years often elapsing between communications from either. Within this New Mexican oasis of Spanish domination an insufficient number of missionaries looked after the spiritual needs of thousands of neophytes; the *encomenderos* collected from each household one *manta* of cotton cloth and one *fanega* of corn annually.

Aside from local conditions, dealt with in pleasing and historically important detail, such, in summary, was the general situation of New Mexico as described by Fray Alonso de Benavides, provincial custodian of the Franciscan missions, later bishop of Goa, in India, in his *Memorial* addressed to the King of Spain in 1630. This semi-romantic, partially exaggerated account, written primarily to induce the king to send more missionaries to New Mexico, must, because of other recommendations therein, be ranked as a state paper of prime importance. The danger from the English and the Dutch and the need for a direct route between Havana and New Mexico were alike real to Benavides; hence the recommendations that Quivira and Aixaos be settled and that a bay on the Gulf coast, known as Espíritu Santo, be occupied. While present-day knowledge of the geographical situation discredits Benavides's fear of the English and Dutch, his knowledge of their general activities "on the side of Florida" cannot be questioned. Time, moreover, justified his fear of foreign aggressors from that direction, and a half-century later, when news came that the French instead of the English and Dutch were threatening New Mexico and the whole northeastern frontier of New Spain, the unheeded recommendation that Espíritu Santo Bay be occupied became a live subject for statesmen at Madrid and Mexico City, and directly influenced the later international relations of France and Spain. Nor had statesmen forgotten Fray Benavides's *Memorial* a century and a half later, recent historical investigation having shown that it was used to promote the occupation of Alta California in 1776 (Chapman, *Founding of Spanish California*, p. 335).

The *Memorial* of Fray Benavides was published at Madrid in the latter part of 1630, and was evidently reprinted shortly afterward. Within four years translations appeared in French, Dutch, Latin, and German. The first complete English translation, also by Mrs. Ayer, was published at Los Angeles in 1900-1901 in serial numbers of *The Land of Sunshine*, a magazine largely local in its interests and circulation. Next to the original the present edition is the most valuable that has appeared in any language. Besides the English translation there is a photographic reproduction of the title-page and of the complete text, page for page, of the original 1630 edition, a rare copy of which is in the famous and rapidly growing Edward E. Ayer Collection at Chicago. The title-pages of the French, Dutch, Latin, and German editions are also reproduced. In the translation Mrs. Ayer has given what is generally regarded as a literal, or, according to Mr. Lummis in the introduction, an "accurate" rendering of the Spanish into English, the object

having been to reproduce as nearly as possible the atmosphere of the original.

An important feature of the book consists of nearly one hundred small-typed pages of annotations, of which Mr. Hodge is the chief contributor. The subjects annotated range from St. Francis of Assisi to government meteorological records of New Mexico and to Pojuaque, one of the least important of the New Mexican pueblos. In these annotations are included the latest and most scholarly conclusions of different investigators, with supplementary bibliographical data thereon. As a result the annotations themselves constitute a storehouse of information, historical, ethnological, and bibliographical. The book is fully illustrated, many of the photographs having been taken by Mr. Lummis. These are in keeping with the general technique of the entire book, which from every standpoint is well-nigh perfect and artistic in every detail.

CHARLES W. HACKETT.

*Documentary History of Yale University under the Original Charter of the Collegiate School of Connecticut, 1701-1745.* Edited by FRANKLIN BOWDITCH DEXTER, Litt.D. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1916. Pp. xviii, 382.)

*The Beginnings of Yale, 1701-1726.* By EDWIN OVIATT. (*Ibid.* 1916. Pp. xxxi, 456.)

*The Book of the Yale Pageant, 21 October 1916, in Commemoration of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Removal of Yale College to New Haven.* Edited by GEORGE HENRY NETTLETON. (*Ibid.* 1916. Pp. x, 243.)

YALE UNIVERSITY is fortunate in the enjoyment of the competent and tireless services of Professor Dexter in the collection, investigation, and publication of the records of its history and of the lives of its graduates. His *Yale Biographics and Annals* has long been recognized as monumental. The present volume is of no less importance, for in it "are included the more important documents, known to be in existence, relating to the history of Yale University, of a date earlier than that of the present charter, of May, 1745". Its value is not limited to the history of Yale University or of collegiate education in America, for the student of the colonial history of Connecticut or of American church history will also find much material of which he will need to take account. The 372 pages of text contain 218 documents, which include the minutes of trustee meetings, the record of all legislative acts, and numerous letters immediately relevant to the corporate history of the institution. Documents 1-19 refer to the founding of "the Collegiate School", 1701-1702; 40-99 relate to the crucial years 1716-1718 in which the transfer from Saybrook to New Haven was effected and the famous benefaction received which caused the adoption of the name Yale College; 127-151 deal with the defection of Rector Cutler to "episcopacy" and the long

interregnum of search for a successor, 1723-1725; 152-196 belong to the administration of Elisha Williams, 1726-1739; and 197-218 are from the early years of President Clap's term, 1740-1745. The documents are drawn from the university archives and from various other sources, printed and manuscript. The editing has apparently been done with minute accuracy; but for the uninitiated, a larger amount of editorial annotation would have been acceptable, including brief biographical notes identifying the various persons named. It is to be hoped that Professor Dexter will continue this *Documentary History* in further volumes.

For those who may find Professor Dexter's work too recondite, Mr. Oviatt has written *The Beginnings of Yale*. While the former volume is for historians and antiquarians who demand the original materials, the latter has been written by the editor of the *Yale Alumni Weekly* for his regular constituency. Mr. Oviatt has successfully addressed the *Weekly* to the graduates of an institution of learning rather than to athletic "fans", and in the present volume has assumed that the history of his alma mater is a normal concern of an intelligent alumnus. He has tried, not without success, to produce a book that the alumnus will not merely purchase but read. The first 152 documents of Professor Dexter's collection are developed into a narrative which takes due account of personalities and of the thought, custom, and material conditions during the first generation of Yale. The author has been diligent to inform himself accurately and is always careful to distinguish from the documented facts, the liberal drafts upon his imagination which he makes for the interpretation of the facts. Only persistent delving in antiquarian lore could enable the writer to depict so faithfully the setting of the events. A meticulous reader will note an occasional error in some statement of trifling relevance as on page 290 where Bolingbroke is mentioned as secretary of state under William and Mary. The least satisfactory portion of the volume is the first 133 pages devoted to the career of John Davenport and the history of New Haven prior to 1700. Possibly it would have been wiser to have told more succinctly New Haven's educational history in the seventeenth century. The volume is delightfully illustrated by Theodore Diedricksen, jr., but occasionally the historical verisimilitude seems a bit dubious.

These two volumes were published in commemoration of the two-hundredth anniversary of the transfer of the college to New Haven. This event was splendidly commemorated by the city and the university in the pageant in the Yale Bowl on October 21 last, for which the Yale University Press also published *The Book of the Yale Pageant*. This attractive volume contains not only the text for the several historical scenes then depicted, but also thirty essays by eminent Yale men on the history of the activities of Yale and Yale graduates in many different lines, such as "Yale in Public Life" by Professor Hiram Bingham.

GEORGE MATTHEW DUTCHER.



*Extracts from the Itineraries and other Miscellanies of Ezra Stiles, D.D., LL.D., 1755-1794, with a Selection from his Correspondence.* Edited under the Authority of the Corporation of Yale University by FRANKLIN BOWDITCH DEXTER, Litt.D. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1916. Pp. vi, 620.)

ALL who enriched themselves from Stiles's *Literary Diary*, published in 1901, will welcome the addition of these copious memoranda related in large part to Dr. Stiles's journeys and therefore labelled by him "Itineraries". The index shows a wealth of names both of persons and of places and the accomplished editor furnishes identifications of the more obscure with such brief explanations as will save a student much toil.

These miscellaneous notes illustrate afresh the wide-eyed curiosity of Stiles about the world in which he lived and the pains he took to gratify it. It was essentially a scientific curiosity regarding social conditions and social changes and he was not contented with vague general impressions. Where official reports could be had he copied them, but for the most part he sought exact data by personal count or observation or questioning. There is a peculiar pleasure in satisfying a scientific impulse by a chat with friends, and a slight flavor of gossip brightens the facts which in our time are so coldly and severely tabulated by professional statisticians. Modern tables of vital statistics possibly tell a tale no better than the phrase "last small pox", meaning 1752, or the opinion of a Boston pastor that two-thirds of his congregation had smallpox in that year. Doubtless the economic historian can ascertain as Stiles did the valuation of properties in Rhode Island, the number of polls, and the tax levied, but this minister of the standing order takes pains to see what proportion the Episcopalians pay in Newport. Himself a prudent and provident man, he makes count of the "wealthy ministers" of Connecticut and notes that while no minister was more than half supported by salary or people, there were "only 4 really poor and suffering out of say 170 ministers". It is the citizen Stiles, not the clergyman, who copies prices for wheat, flour, bread, beef, beer, iron, tobacco, and records the catch of whales, the growth of mulberry trees, the fluctuations of the price of silver. He who can cope with colonial currency will learn the price of a suit of clothes when wool is bought at a pistareen a pound, when the spinning, weaving, fulling are hired and the wife dyes it blue at home. It is easy to imagine the intelligent dullness of Hingham, Mass., in 1792, when we are told population, employment, wages, school statistics and curriculum, salaries of teachers and clergy, and the complete absence of Dissenters or friction in the church. Dr. Stiles's interest in survivors of the Indian population discovers present respectability after a most immoral past. There are several plans of wigwams and maps of Connecticut towns.

Naturally church affairs take the first place and Stiles had a passion for membership lists, numbers of baptisms, burials, marriages, and the

complication of denominational loyalty with political elections. There is evident concern about the Sandemanian heresy and it is clear that even at the end of the colonial period Congregationalism was still an experiment. In Connecticut it was in unstable equilibrium. The tendency to actual schism on theological grounds, Old Light or New Light, prepares us for the final division of Orthodox and Unitarian engendered in Massachusetts by a man from Connecticut, and the strength of the earlier movement in Connecticut to unite Congregationalists and Presbyterians explains why Jedediah Morse coquetted with this project as soon as he settled in Massachusetts. In 1766 there is actual danger in Connecticut of coalition with Presbyterianism or with Episcopacy (p. 451). The ultra-Calvinism of the New Light party was driving people to the milder haven of Episcopalian churches. Even Charles Chauncy, doughty foe of Episcopacy, writes that New Light divinity is as bad as paganism and that he would rather be an Episcopalian than a Hopkinsian.

Education, too, is a theme, both Yale and Harvard being in view, while the letters which close the volume are of value in connection with the history of Princeton and the University of Pennsylvania. The letters are naturally more interesting than the miscellaneous jottings, especially a letter by Joseph Meigs describing the Bermudas.

FRANCIS A. CHRISTIE.

*The Life of John Marshall.* By ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE. Volumes I. and II. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1916. Pp. xxvi, 506; xviii, 620.)

It is a hundred years since John Marshall reached the summit of his career, and for many years he has been accepted as one of the first men of his day. Yet through all this period we have had no adequate account of his deeds or his personality. That part of his life which came before his appointment to the Supreme Bench was chiefly devoted to the practice of law. He served during this period only about four years in prominent station. He took a leading part in the debate on the adoption of the Constitution by the Virginia convention, but lapsed into private life immediately afterwards. He began to attract notice by his defense of the administration in regard to the Jay Treaty and then took position as the leading Federalist in his state. He was sent to France as a commissioner in the X Y Z affair and was elected to Congress in 1798. He made himself disliked by the Essex Junto and their friends in the Federalist party because he opposed the Sedition Law and refused to assail John Adams; but he took a strong position among the moderate Federalists. He was taken into Adams's Cabinet in May, 1800, and was made Chief Justice a month before his superior gave up office. This was a small amount of meat for a biographer.

Small as it is, Mr. Beveridge has made it serve for two large volumes.

The first, with the subtitle *Frontiersman, Soldier, Lawmaker*, takes the story from 1755 to 1788; the second, *Politician, Diplomatist, Statesman*, takes it to Marshall's appointment to the Supreme Court Bench, 1801. It is not possible to secure this large treatment without introducing much matter that is not strictly upon the subject. The author is conscious of the fact, and justifies himself on the ground that he is writing for persons who are not well informed in the history of the times. "To say that Marshall took this or that position with reference to the events and questions of his time, without some explanation of them, means little to anyone except to the historical scholar." And the preface goes on to say that to know Marshall we must know much about the men with whom he came into contact. "His life finally became so interlaced with that of Jefferson", we read, "that a faithful account of the one requires a careful examination of the other." These are good words if not taken too literally. The "reading public", using Mr. Beveridge's own term—and it is for that part of the people that he writes—needs to have things made plain. Probably he has made them so plain that they are diffuse. For example, the discussion of Marshall's part in the adoption of the federal Constitution, naturally brings up the general attitude of the people toward union, and that brings up the difficulties of communication, whereupon Mr. Beveridge introduces a chapter, thirty-eight pages, on Community Isolation. In a similar manner twenty-four pages are given to the army at Valley Forge and only four of them refer to Marshall, then a "captain-lieutenant". On the same principle we may justly expect that in the succeeding volumes *Fletcher v. Peck* will be preceded by a history of the Yazoo Company, which may demand a discussion of society in Georgia, and that *McCulloch v. Maryland* will be introduced by a history of the Bank of the United States, together with a discussion of the functions of a bank in society, which may necessitate another discussion of the functions and history of state banks. All this will be very interesting, and Mr. Beveridge will doubtless do it well, as he has done the discursive chapters in the two volumes before me, but is not all this going far afield for a man who announces his book as a *Life of Marshall*?

Although the book is not for historians, but only for the "reading public", the historians will not disdain to use it. They will find much to commend in the industry with which the published materials have been sought out and used. Although little that is new has been found, we are left with the impression that a careful search has been made. The foot-notes are abundant and very informing. The bibliographies are good, although we must wonder why the *Life of Marshall* by Magruder is not mentioned in either volume. At least one draft of the book has been read by twelve distinguished scholars, including two presidents of the American Historical Association and at least one who is going to be a president, which shows with what care the author has sought to eliminate grounds for criticism. His pages are unusually free

from those small slips which mar many otherwise good books; but the name of Stevens Thomson Mason, stumbling-block to many a printer, appears as "Stephen H. Mason" in one place (II. 115), as "Stephen Thompson Mason" in another (II. 151, note 2), and as "Stephen T. Mason" in the index. Many a good author has had trouble with this unusual name.

Probably the best parts of the book are those which deal with the debate in the Virginia convention for the adoption of the Constitution of the United States and those that refer to the X Y Z affair. The contest over adoption is presented by a man who knows how forensic battles are fought and who has a remarkable power of visualization. The reader is shown the strategy on each side. It is a fine feature of the story that Marshall is not the dominating personage on the Federalist side: he is only one of several great debaters taking his place in a procedure which more astute persons are directing. In the four chapters on the mission to France, 160 pages, we have the clearest and most satisfactory story that has been told of that interesting incident. I do not think, however, that the author has been equally successful in discussing the events which followed, and this is particularly true in regard to the rivalry which then sprang up between John Adams and the extreme Federalists, leading to the disruption of the Cabinet and the conclusion of a new treaty with France. Mr. Beveridge does not escape from the ancient Federalist leaning, though he evidently tries to escape. He speaks of the resistance of American ships against the outrages of the French navy as a war against France, an inaccuracy into which enthusiasm for our fighting ability has led many other writers.

Probably his best service is that he has given us a picture of a very human man. It is pleasant to know that Marshall was jovial and witty, that he laughed at the complaints of his fellow-sufferers at Valley Forge, that he excelled them in sports and equalled them in bravery, that in spite of his slovenly appearance he was the delight of women and of men, and that in any assembly of politicians he won more votes by his jovial personal manner than others won by their arguments. Even when he was fighting to the utmost to circumvent Patrick Henry in the debate on adoption of the Constitution, the two men were on the best terms personally. In fact, the older man loved the younger so greatly that when Marshall was running for Congress in 1798 and was in imminent danger of defeat, Henry came to his rescue in an earnest letter which probably turned the scales in the election. The chief justice who could win and hold friends in this way was likely to dominate any bench over which he presided.

Excellent use is made of account-books kept by Marshall in his early life. The entries bear witness to his simple living and his adjustment to the life around him. He was not unlike other young Virginians of his day. Although connected with the leaders in government, he was poor, and his income from his profession the first year of his practice was

£9 9s. from four fees. His purse received added substance from his salary as member of assembly, a position he secured through the influence of his father. The account-books tell us that he purchased all sorts of things: wine, rum, a teapot, "edging", "2 pieces of bobbin", as well as sugar, stockings, corn, and candlesticks. Here we read, also, that he lost and won money at cards, in social games, no doubt. Now it was "whist 30/", and "poker 6/", again it was "backgammon 6£", and still again, "Col. Monroe and self at the play 1—10". At nearly one and the same time he paid his dues to the parson, his subscription to the races, and his share in the expenses of the ball.

Dramatic power is one of Mr. Beveridge's strong qualities and it is well displayed in this book. He has known how to make the reader see and remember the kind of man he has in mind. He is not free from some of the evils of the striking writer. He strives for effects, probably without realizing it; and he frequently heightens the light to strengthen his picture. He is not a balanced thinker, and he shows little appreciation for understatement, the finest flower of scientific history. He does not see the other side of Jeffersonian republicanism. He characterizes the discontent for which Shays spoke as "the mobs erupting from this crater of anarchy now located in New England" (I. 299), and he does not seem to realize the yearning of the small farmers of the Middle and Southern States for their part in government that underlay the organization of the Republican party. Either love of effects or indifference to good usage leads him to employ many inept phrases. We read, for example, that a certain date "is jammed in" (I. 179), that "Pinckney rode Gerry hard" (II. 328), that Bushrod Washington "had no more political acumen than a turtle" (II. 413), that "the President grasped by the forelock this possibility for peace" (II. 423). Even "the reading public" has a right to expect that the historian shall do his part in preserving the dignity and chasteness of the language we use. Nor can I think of any line of reasoning by which the expression "bi-yearly" (I. 200) is justified. If it springs from hostility to the classics, why not demolish the prefix also? Mr. Beveridge can dominate the reader without employing such phrases.

JOHN SPENCER BASSETT.

*With Americans of Past and Present Days.* By J. J. JUSSERAND.  
(New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1916. Pp. ix, 350.)

THE author of this book is an accomplished diplomat and scholar, and truly a representative of the French to the Americans. His sympathy with our history and especially with the alliance between France and the United States which won the Revolution has found expression in a book which must increase the friendly feeling between the two nations. For thirteen years, as he tells us in his preface, he has been the French ambassador at Washington, a longer service than any of his predecessors had, and during that time he has delivered several

addresses to American audiences which he has gathered together and now publishes.

Upon reading the book the first thought is, Why cannot Americans write as Mr. Jusserand has written? The sparkle and gracefulness of style are not shallowness and the play of humor is not flippancy. On the contrary, there is philosophy in the book and the serious purpose of the author is never lost sight of. Yet the narrative flows easily and the attention is pleasantly stimulated. You read with enjoyment and you remember what you have read. It is a pity that as much can be said of so few of our own writers of history.

The longest of the papers is that on "Rochambeau and the French in America", the chief basis for which is the unpublished Rochambeau papers and the transcript of Von Clausen's diary in the Library of Congress. To these American sources Mr. Jusserand has added his own familiarity with the careers of the French officers in France before and after the American war. Rochambeau died in his castle of Rochambeau in 1807 when he was eighty-two years old, luckier than many of his companions in the American war, for Lauzun, Custine, d'Estaing, Broglie, Dillon, and others perished under the guillotine.

Mr. Jusserand describes with good humor the prejudice which existed in America against the French and shows how it was overcome by the tact of the French officers and the good behavior of the French troops. The argument which runs through the essay is that the alliance was a disinterested act on the part of France inspired by enthusiasm for liberty and not by hatred for England. The quotations to this point are skillful and by themselves would establish it.

An example of the American prejudice against the French was General Washington himself, as Mr. Jusserand shows in his paper on "Washington and the French". When Washington heard of Lafayette's arrival he wondered what he should do with the Frenchman; but he admitted him and several other Frenchmen into his most affectionate regard, after he came to know them. The French estimate of Washington is brought out by Mr. Jusserand and especially what was said of him in that French epic poem on America by L. de Chavannes de La Grandière which preceded Joel Barlow's *Columbiad* by three years.

The essay "Major L'Enfant in the Federal City" throws much new light on L'Enfant himself and is the best presentation that has thus far been made of a subject on which a great deal has been written. Mr. Jusserand freely admits the contentious nature of L'Enfant, but insists upon his genius and the debt owed him for his plans of the National Capital.

The essay on "Abraham Lincoln" shows the French contemporaneous view of Lincoln and the sentiment for the Union cause which existed in France during our Civil War.

"The Franklin Medal", "Horace Howard Furness", and "From

War to Peace", which complete the volume, hardly belong in the category of history, but are none the less agreeable reading.

GAILLARD HUNT.

*The Mississippi Valley in British Politics: a Study of the Trade, Land Speculation, and Experiments in Imperialism culminating in the American Revolution.* By CLARENCE WALWORTH ALVORD. In two volumes. (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company. 1916. Pp. 358; 396.)

HISTORIANS have, for some time past, pretty well understood certain phases of British policy in dealing with the territory acquired from France by the Peace of Paris. Professor Alvord has himself published a study of the Proclamation of 1763. It is a commonplace that troops were retained in America to defend the new possessions, and that the Stamp Act was intended to raise money to pay for the troops. Some of the many projects for western colonies have been more or less carefully investigated; and twenty years ago Professor Coffin gave us an excellent history of the Quebec Act of 1774. But hitherto no one has attempted a comprehensive study of the many problems involved in the possession of the western territory, or of the British policy of dealing with these problems, during the whole period from the Peace of Paris to the opening of the Revolution. To this task Professor Alvord, as his friends very well know, has given many years of unwearied and enthusiastic research; and the two substantial volumes which embody the results of his labor constitute an important contribution to the literature of the American Revolution.

The book is not one of those which, being made by rule, might have been made by any intelligent and well-trained historical researcher. "Clarence W. Alvord, his Book"—this, if it were inscribed on the title-page, would not be a misnomer. "A glance at the 'Bibliography'", the author says, "will prove that the attempt has conscientiously been made" to master an immense mass of material. I have glanced at the bibliography without being convinced of anything except that a very comprehensive list of titles had been got together and printed, with intelligent comments by the compiler. But I have read the book carefully (not an altogether superfluous statement for a reviewer to make, I dare say), and with great interest, and this it was that convinced me that the author had not only made an attempt to master his material, but that he had very well succeeded, which is quite a different thing. He has so far mastered his material that he seems to know the events and the people he describes, and not simply to know about them. For example, he says that Hillsborough, in forming his interpretation of the Proclamation, "was influenced by its consequences rather than by its antecedents. Of the genesis and original purposes of its provisions he was and remained ignorant, obstinately so." This, particularly the casually

thrown in "obstinately so", has the flavor of a contemporary judgment of Hillsborough by some one who had worked with him. And in general, by virtue of having lived long and intimately with his subject, of having at every step asked hard questions of his documents, of having impertinently dogged the steps of his aristocratic acquaintances until he knows them even if they refuse to recognize him, Professor Alvord has really assimilated his material, has as it were made the subject a kind of personal possession. The narrative accordingly has the breath of life in it; it seems to flow from the author's mind rather than to be a mere rescript of his notes. Decidedly, this is Professor Alvord's book, and a mighty good one it is.

The merit of the book does not consist in having achieved what might be called structural perfection. For this, the subject itself is partly responsible; being, as the author says, "double headed", it is not easily moulded into an artistic whole. Besides, Professor Alvord has not, I dare say, what some people would call the synthetic mind. He is so full of his subject that facts and ideas come crowding in, of their own accord as one may say, getting in each other's way at times, so that in the reader's mind at least the main drift and trend of the story is a little obscured by the very fullness of the narrative. Nevertheless it is this fullness that makes the book so interesting, and that gives it its chief value. Professor Alvord is at his best in dealing with the particular episode, in unravelling some tangled thread of personal intrigue or of factional politics, or in tracing the complicated and troubled fortunes of such an enterprise, for example, as that of the Vandalia Company. And therefore, if in the end one is not very clear what the British policy in dealing with the West really was, one has at least a lively sense of the conflicting interests which made the problem of the West a difficult one, as well as of the sort of influences which were bound to have a great part in determining British policy, whether in the West or elsewhere.

But if one finishes the book with no clear idea of what the British policy was, the real reason after all is that there was nothing which one can call a British policy; there was only a consistent vacillation between unworkable combinations of inconsistent policies. The Grenville ministry began with a policy of expansion under strict imperial control; control of the Indians, of Indian trade, of land grants, and of settlement. This policy depended upon an American revenue which was not forthcoming; and when the Stamp Act was repealed the Rockingham Whigs seemed to be, and Townshend clearly was, in favor of renouncing this policy; in favor, that is, of recalling the troops from the West, of abolishing the Indian Department, and of confining settlers to the region east of the Alleghanies. But Shelburne, as secretary for the Southern Department, got the ministry to agree to his own plan, which was different from either the Grenville or the Townshend plan. Shelburne favored expansion, but not under strict imperial control; he proposed to withdraw the major part of the troops and to abolish the Indian Depart-



ment, but instead of reserving the West to the Indians he wished to establish two new colonies there and let the Indians get on as best they could. Shelburne's plan, so carefully worked out, and almost adopted, was nevertheless "still-born"; for when the Bedford faction entered the Chatham ministry Hillsborough was made colonial secretary, and the plan which was really adopted was nobody's plan, but a combination of all plans, a kind of broad-bottomed plan, the effect of which was to abandon the West and the Indians to the tender mercies of the Americans. The result was "chaos"; and when, in 1773-1774, the ministry once more changed its policy, it completed the circle by attempting, in the Quebec Act, to "throw the protection of the imperial power over at least a part of the Mississippi Valley". With all these plans the author has dealt very fully, seeking for their origin and describing their fate "within the kaleidoscopic changes of ministries and underneath the hot strife of factions". It was indeed not a British policy, but "British muddling in the West", that failed in the end.

What was the connection between "British muddling in the West" and the Revolution? Professor Alvord often implies that the connection was important; but I confess not to have understood very well what he thinks the precise nature of that connection was. "I have a vision", he says in the preface, "of some future critic chuckling over my rashness in writing a drama of the pre-revolutionary era with several well known Hamlets omitted". But at the end of the second volume he says:

Thus there culminated at the same time two series of events, one eastern and one western, which had for years run parallel, so closely interwoven that any attempt to understand the one without a knowledge of the other must inevitably fail. If historians would interpret rightly the causes of the American Revolution and the birth of the new nation, they must not let their vision be circumscribed by the sequence of events in the East.

To this I agree; but then I don't see where the rashness comes in. If, however, Professor Alvord wishes us to understand that of the two parallel series of events the western series is the central and all-important one, and that this pre-revolutionary drama is alone a sufficient prelude to the Revolution, why then he is indeed most rash. For certainly anyone who, knowing only that war broke out between Britain and her colonies in 1775, should read Professor Alvord's book to find out the causes of the war, would still be absolutely at a loss to understand why there should have been any war.

I take it that Professor Alvord's rashness is mainly confined to the preface, a firecracker which he has thrown out to disturb conventional people. Later on he says that the revenue measures shifted the burden of discussion

from the comprehensive program to these particular phases of it. Upon an incident of the colonial policy there was formed a battle line and by

the smoke of the engagement the original purposes of the ministry were so obscured that only occasionally did a later minister catch a clear view of what the real issue *should have been*.<sup>1</sup>

The sense of this seems to be that if ministers had been wise and patriots not perverse there would have been no revolution. Agreed. But the fact is that ministers were not wise and patriots were perverse, and the question of taxation appeared so momentous that, as Professor Alvord says in another place, "the critical situation of the West was often totally obscured". That, in any question of the pre-revolutionary drama, is to put the problem of the West, whatever its academic importance may have been, precisely in its proper place historically; while it had a bearing, and at times an important bearing, upon the conflict over taxation and legislative independence, it was in fact largely obscured by this conflict, and must for that very reason occupy, in any explanation of the causes of the Revolution, a strictly subordinate place. That place, however, cannot henceforth be denied it, thanks to Professor Alvord's book. But I wish Professor Alvord would explain why the writing of a good book is likely to be regarded, even in this conventional world, as a rash act.

CARL BECKER.

*David Thompson's Narrative of his Explorations in Western America, 1784-1812.* Edited by J. B. TYRRELL. [Publications of the Champlain Society, vol. XII.] (Toronto: The Society. 1916. Pp. xcvi, 582.)

THIS beautiful and well-appointed volume is designed to give to the public, in permanent and creditable form, David Thompson's narrative of his own travels and explorations in the Canadian Northwest and in the old Oregon Territory. It embraces only the period of his active service with the Hudson's Bay and Northwest Fur companies, and terminates at about the year 1813, or almost exactly midway of Thompson's career.

The value of the *Narrative* as historic authority is of course quite different from that of the *Journals* which have been separately published. The *Journals* are definite records, set down at the time of the events to which they relate, and thus constitute fixed and unalterable data. To such data must always be assigned the highest historic value. The *Narrative*, on the other hand, was written late in life (the author was between seventy and eighty) and deals with recollections of men and events of a period which closed more than thirty years before. Naturally such reminiscences are liable to inaccuracies of memory and to a new coloring as seen through the misty, and often painful, light of advanced age. But Thompson seems to have kept himself free, to a remarkable extent, of these dangers. His note-books were always at

<sup>1</sup> I. 228. Italics mine.

hand for the verification of facts, and there seems to have been complete freedom of anything which might savor of complaint or prejudice in his review of the past. The *Narrative* is thus a most useful supplement to the *Journals*, for it fills in the bald record of daily events and the interminable grind of scientific observations with touches of human interest in which the *Journals* are largely deficient.

Thompson's literary style is very defective from an artistic point of view, though it has generally the quality of clearness. The chief value of the *Narrative* will doubtless be in its descriptions of the country, the native inhabitants, and the fauna and flora, the varied phenomena as witnessed in the hard life of the trader, and the accounts of incredible hardships of a type of existence which is now a thing of the past. It is a never-ceasing wonder, in reading these accounts, how human beings could have survived such experiences. In these intimate pictures of an extinct order of things will be found, we believe, the real interest of the *Narrative* to posterity.

The voluminous descriptions of plant and animal life will always have a certain scientific value, and the lengthy (and almost intolerable) accounts of interviews with native tribes will be useful to the ethnologist. But for the most part such data have been supplanted by the more exhaustive researches of later times. It is a melancholy feature of a career like that of Thompson that it dealt with a very ephemeral order of things. The rapid progress of settlement has overswept and engulfed it. It served a very great purpose in its day; it was one of the most remarkable scientific accomplishments in the field of geographical knowledge that history records; and it entitles its author to everlasting recognition. But the work itself pertained to his day and generation and is now largely superseded by the better work which the wealth and leisure of later times have made possible.

We think that the editor is unduly pessimistic concerning the alleged neglect of recognition of Thompson's work by his contemporaries and by posterity. On the contrary, Thompson has always stood out as one of the great characters in northwest history—trader, explorer, astronomer, geographer, and man of profound religious convictions—and wherever we come across his name in the literature of the Northwest, it is with expressions of the highest respect. He was appreciated in his time; he is appreciated still. The suggestion for a suitable monument is excellent; but the best monument of all, in our opinion, will be the book here under consideration.

And this brings us to a specific survey of the book itself. We may say at once that it is altogether a splendid work, showing a true conception of what such a work should be, and gotten out with a painstaking care which is beyond praise. It is in one volume—a rather bulky book of nearly seven hundred pages all told. It is bound in attractive red, and is throughout a creditable piece of bookwork. There is a brief preface setting forth the circumstances leading to the publication and

giving credit for assistance. This is followed by an introduction which summarizes in excellent form the salient features of Thompson's career and will be found very useful to many who cannot find time to pore through the *Narrative* itself. Next comes a condensed itinerary giving the comings and goings of Thompson during his active career as a trader. All this preliminary matter—ninety-eight pages—is by the editor of the book. Then follows the *Narrative* itself—560 pages—which comprises the bulk of the book. A brief bibliography of authorities follows, and the body of the work closes with a careful index prepared by W. S. Wallace, one of the editors of the Champlain Society publications. An account of the society, sponsors for and publishers of the work, together with a list of membership, is the closing feature of the book.

The foot-notes are throughout an important and valuable feature. The editor has wisely avoided the fault of overloading the text with notes and still there seem to be all that are really necessary. They are generally quite brief, always clear and concise, and are truly elucidative of the subject. Besides the editor's notes there are others by several collaborators, among whom we may particularly mention Mr. T. C. Elliott of Walla Walla, who has made himself an authority upon the exploration of the Northwest.

The illustrations consist for the most part of modern photographs of localities which figure prominently in the *Narrative*. They are all beautifully reproduced. In the back of the book there is a reproduction of three of Thompson's sketches of different sections of the mountain ranges. It is impossible to assign any particular value to these sketches and there seems to have been no useful reason for reproducing them.

In the introduction there is a section of a map of the world at the time of Cook's third voyage (1784). The purpose of its insertion is to show the state of geographical knowledge of North America at the time when Thompson began his labors.

In a pocket in the back cover of the volume will be found the map (in four sections) of Northwestern America prepared by Thompson for the Northwest Company soon after the completion of his explorations in 1812. It was a work of great value in its time and for two generations afterward. It was of immense use to the traders in enabling them to distribute their trading houses more intelligently than could be done by the ordinary guess work of the voyageur. The maps also served as a basis of all similar work almost to our own day.

Of the book as a whole the writer has only one criticism of importance to offer. It would have been of great assistance to readers if there could have been an additional map of the country embraced in Thompson's explorations on a scale small enough to have required only a single sheet. Upon this map there should have been shown, in as little detail as possible, the salient features of modern geography, including the trunk railway lines, the boundaries of states and provinces, the more important towns, and modern names. Superimposed upon this in dif-

ferent color there should have been the routes of Thompson's travels with the years noted thereon, and the trading posts which existed in the country at any time during the period covering these travels.

No one can realize, until he has tried the experiment, how great a help such an arrangement is. Thompson's map, remarkable as it is, is very obscure. The lettering is put in in a peculiar way which causes more or less confusion and requires careful scrutiny properly to identify locations. It needs the aid of an interpreter, so to speak, and there could be no other interpreter so effectual as a key-map such as is here suggested. It would be a splendid thing, even now, if the Champlain Society, which has made such a monument of this book, could perfect it by preparing such a map and sending a copy to each possessor of the *Narrative*, for insertion in the pocket with Thompson's map.

H. M. CHITTENDEN.

*A History of the Presidency from 1788 to 1916.* By EDWARD STANWOOD, Litt.D. In two volumes. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1916. Pp. vi, 586, 396.)

THIS work, at least in part, has been known to a generation of readers. It was first published in 1884 as *A History of Presidential Elections*. Slightly amplified in a second (1888), a third (1892), and a fourth (1896) edition designed to meet the quadrennial interest aroused by successive presidential elections, it reappeared in 1898 under a new and very much more comprehensive title, *A History of the Presidency from 1788 to 1897*. Not differing essentially from the earlier work, the volume of 1898 revealed some degree of reconsideration especially in the opening chapters and, by way of enlargement, contained two new chapters, the Convention System (XIV.) and the Free Silver Campaign (XXXI.). Twice since then, in 1912 and 1916, it has been issued as volume I, with, however, no marked alterations except, for example, the insertion (p. 273) of a short final paragraph to the first Republican platform of 1856. Volume II, was first printed in 1912 and brought the story with comparatively greater elaboration down to the opening of President Taft's administration in March, 1909. This volume now appears in a second edition. It includes a single new chapter, the Republican Schism (1909-1913), together with an appendix giving names of candidates, dates and places of conventions, and the party platforms associated with the recent presidential canvass of 1916. But beyond a passing reference to the Underwood tariff and to a few other matters of small consequence, there is no consideration of the accomplishments of President Wilson's first term.

To anyone who will read the first volume of this latest reprint in the light of the original edition of 1884, it will be clear that the work has never been thoroughly revised or corrected in the light of recent scholarship. In the second volume the author writes with greater freedom and

has made rather careful use of the presidential messages. But throughout the entire work, the lights and shadows of the presidential office are well-nigh lost in the disproportionate space devoted to party platforms and to the discussion of legislation. Much of the comment has very little bearing upon the presidency. The concluding chapter, the Evolution of the Presidency, affords a summary in some respects admirable; but it is based upon no extensive knowledge of the sources nor upon contributions to the theme by younger scholars. As a whole the book is a useful manual on the statistics of presidential elections with more or less enlightening comment on party legislation. Mr. Stanwood has given particular care to the disputed election of 1876 (I. 356-393). It is likely to stand as an accurate, brief, and very useful account. The title adopted in 1898 remains a misnomer, for the work is not a history of the presidency.

The following points may serve to illustrate the sort of revision that a future edition calls for. No account is taken (I. 2) of the Pinckney draft of May 29, 1787, as it is to-day understood. Vice-President Adams took the oath of office (p. 30) on June 3, 1789. The official record of Vice-President Clinton's oath, presumably taken in 1809 (p. 96), has never been discovered. See *New York Nation*, March 1, 1917 (p. 249). Monroe was first commissioned Secretary of State (p. 98) on April 2, 1811. The caucus which nominated John Langdon to the vice-presidency was held on May 18, 1812 (p. 99). The first convention approaching in organization our present nominating conventions (p. 101) was held in 1808 (*American Historical Review*, XVII. 744 ff.). There is no ground to-day for believing that Plumer's vote for J. Q. Adams in 1820 (p. 118) had anything to do with his "jealousy of Washington's record of unanimous election" (*Amer. Hist. Rev.*, January, 1916, XXI. 318). General Jackson was formally nominated in July, 1822, not in "May or June, 1823" (p. 127). See *National Intelligencer*, August 16, 1822. William Wirt (p. 156) sent a letter to the Anti-Mason Convention gathered in Baltimore in September, 1831—he neither entered the convention nor "delivered" an address (*Niles' Register*, October 1, 1831). The name Whig (p. 179) can be found in public prints at least as early as 1832. The Tennessee legislature formally presented the name of Hugh L. White as successor to Jackson (pp. 180-181) in October, 1835. A convention of Liberty men met at Warsaw, N. Y. (p. 202) on November 13, 1839. Thomas Earle of Pennsylvania was not named for Vice-President until the meeting of the convention at Albany on April 1, 1840. Clay's "Raleigh" letter and another from Van Buren (p. 210) were both published in Washington on the same day, April 27, 1844. Wright's declination of the vice-presidency in 1844 (p. 214) was preceded by John Langdon's declination of the same office on May 28, 1812 (*National Intelligencer*, June 11, 1812). The Whig convention, meeting in Baltimore in May, 1844, chose as temporary chairman Arthur Francis Hopkins of Alabama (p. 220). In October,

1848, the Liberty party met in convention at Buffalo, N. Y. (p. 232). Would it not be fair to recall to the reader that Douglas got his doctrine of popular sovereignty (p. 258) from Lewis Cass? The Ostend Manifesto (p. 261) was disavowed by Secretary Marcy. To say (p. 271) that the selection of Frémont by the first Republican convention was due "in no small degree to the fact that he had already been nominated by the seceding Know-Nothings" is to ignore factors of far greater importance. The joint resolution referred to (p. 309) was not passed by both Houses until February, 1865. The twenty-second joint rule of February 6, 1865, was in force for eleven, not "sixteen", years (H. R. *Journal*, 44 Cong., 1 sess., Appendix, p. 1542). It is inaccurate (p. 333) to say that "the legislation of the Forty-first Congress was accomplished with every State in the Union fully represented". Was Secretary Belknap "more sinned against than sinning" (p. 357)? "Nobody", says Mr. Rhodes (*History*, VII. 191), "had any doubt as to Belknap's guilt. His disgrace was complete." Joseph B. Foraker, not "Lucius Fairchild" (p. 432), was one of three nominees for the vice-presidency voted on by the Republican convention of 1884. Three references (pp. 450-451) to the act of succession of "1791" should read 1792. The succession law of 1886, drawn up by G. F. Hoar, was approved on January 19. "John" (p. 508) should read H. Clay Bascom. There are various inaccuracies in the statistics to be found on pages 285, 289, 325, 379, 409, 440, and 538. The Dingley tariff bill was approved (II. 7) on July 24, 1897. The word "eighteenth" (p. 9) should read nineteenth. "June 7" (p. 23) should read July 7. President Wilson (p. 304) took the oath of office in March, 1913, directly east of the dome of the Capitol, not "to the east front of the Senate wing". The first casting vote of July 18, 1789 (p. 311) was the result of a tie, 9 to 9. The whole section devoted to a consideration of the President's power of removal (pp. 307 ff.) could be more significantly based on such statistics as were compiled by Dr. C. R. Fish in 1899 (*Amer. Hist. Assoc., Report*, I. 67-86).

HENRY BARRETT LEARNED.

*Francis Asbury: the Prophet of the Long Road.* By EZRA SQUIER TIPPLE. (New York and Cincinnati: The Methodist Book Concern. 1916. Pp. 333.)

DURING 1916 the various Methodist bodies throughout the United States, celebrated the one-hundredth anniversary of the death of Francis Asbury, the first bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America. The most ambitious volume called forth by this celebration, is the one now under review, by President E. S. Tipple of Drew Theological Seminary, who has long been a student of the life and work of the pioneer bishop of Methodism. A number of lives of Asbury have previously been written; the first by Strickland in 1858; another by Rev. E. L. Janes in 1872; a third by Briggs in 1879, while in recent years two other brief

biographies have appeared. There have been three editions of Asbury's *Journal*. The first began to appear during Asbury's life, though it was not completed until 1821; the second edition was published in three volumes in 1854, while a last, abbreviated edition was issued some fifteen years ago, edited by President Tipple under the title, *The Heart of Asbury's Journal*. In preparing the present volume, President Tipple has drawn extensively upon his intimate knowledge of Asbury's *Journal*, and he has also made good use of unpublished manuscript sources in the library of Drew Theological Seminary, known as the "Emory Collection".

The author says, in his introductory chapter, "this book is not so much a biography as it is an estimate of the man", and as a matter of fact the book is a collection of more or less connected essays, which however succeed in giving a clear-cut, interesting picture of this bishop of the wilderness. Asbury is very evidently the author's hero, yet one finishes the book with a distinct feeling that the bishop deserves about all of the author's eulogies.

The chapters dealing with Asbury's relation to the American Revolution, and the one entitled the Long Road, are particularly interesting, especially to the student of history. When the American Revolution began, all the English Methodist missionaries returned to England, except Asbury, who states in his *Journal*, "I can by no means agree to leave such a field for gathering souls to Christ as we have here in America" (p. 126). But although he remained, Asbury refused to identify himself with the patriot cause, but rather kept aloof, and was suspected of being a Tory, as indeed were all the Methodists, during the whole of the Revolutionary period, this suspicion being largely due to Mr. Wesley's staunch support of the policies of Lord North and George III.

Immediately after the Revolution, Mr. Wesley made provision for the separation of the Methodist societies in America into a church, independent of the English societies, and Asbury was designated by him to be the general superintendent in America, though he refused to take that office until he had been elected by the preachers. From the time of Asbury's election, at the Christmas conference in 1784, until the day of his death, he was continuously on the road. "His home was on the road. . . . He had no other. When he came to America he rented no house, he hired no lodgings . . . but simply set out upon the long road, and was still travelling forty-five years later when Death finally caught up with him" (p. 159). He visited every nook and corner of the United States, not once but many times. "He went into New York state more than fifty times; New Jersey over sixty; Pennsylvania seventy-eight; Maryland eighty; North Carolina sixty-three; South Carolina forty-six; Virginia eighty-four; Tennessee and Georgia each twenty" (p. 162). He crossed the Alleghanies eighteen times, and everywhere he stopped in the homes of the people. In crossing the mountains in 1803 he speaks of seeing "men, women and children, almost naked, paddling



bare-foot and bare-legged along", making their way over the mountains, into the new states (p. 167). He travelled six thousand miles a year, and kept a journal.

Chapters IX. and X. give an admirable summary of the frontier type of Methodist preaching, while chapter XI. is an estimate of Asbury as a superintendent. Like his great spiritual father, Wesley, Asbury was primarily an organizer: "He had a face like flint against disorder and irregularity", and it was through his tact and strict adherence to regularity, and his skill as an ecclesiastic, that the Methodist Church was spared any serious schism during its early years.

W. W. SWEET.

*Jeffersonian Democracy in New England.* By WILLIAM A. ROBINSON, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Political Science in Washington University. (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1916. Pp. vi, 190.)

DR. ROBINSON has found a new subject, and handled it exceedingly well. The history of New England between 1790 and 1815 has, quite naturally, been written largely from a Federalist viewpoint. Federalism there was more than a party, bound up as it was with the dominant church, interests, personalities, and press, well rooted in the structure of New England society. Yet the section was never politically "solid". As soon as the personal factions of the eighties died down, Jeffersonian Democracy arose to dispute the supremacy of the "wise and good and rich". Dr. Robinson has carefully traced this development, keenly analyzed the party basis and structure, and given the party of Jefferson its due place in New England history. His principal materials were contemporary newspapers and pamphlets. He was hampered by lack of printed and manuscript party correspondence, the great abundance of which on the Federalist side so enlivens the annals of that party. The diaries of William Bentley and Nathaniel Ames partially fill this gap.

In 1792 New England was practically a unit behind Washington and Hamilton. The Republican party arose from within, through various groups separating from dominant Federalism partly on local issues, partly on foreign policy, and finding their natural place under the Jeffersonian standard. In New Hampshire, for instance, Republicanism began when the Langdon family connection was refused a bank charter. Even Connecticut, the most completely Federalized state in the Union, had to admit the thin end of a Jeffersonian wedge before 1800.

The most informing chapters in this monograph of consistent excellence are those on the Party Basis, and Religious Liberty. Outside the Maine district of Massachusetts, where the landlord-and-tenant relations between the settlers and leading Boston Federalists were the basis of opposition, the rise of Republicanism in New England cannot be ex-

plained by the favorite formulae of sectionalism and economic interest. Dr. Robinson's maps show that the Connecticut River, in general, watered Federalist territory. But the conservative belt includes most of the hill country on either side (except in Vermont), while some of the most fertile parts of the valley itself were Democratic. Of the mercantile centres, Portsmouth was Democratic, and Salem evenly divided. Old Middlesex County, near Boston, was more staunchly Democratic than any interior or frontier county in New England, while Washington, the newest county, in Maine, remained faithful to Federalism. In general, the Yankee Democracy seems to have been a dissenting and lower-class movement, deriving its earliest strength from Baptists, Methodists, and those whom the Federalists were pleased to term the "dregs of society". The principal local issue of the opposition was that of religious liberty: the destruction of Congregational privilege. A Baptist town was usually a Democratic town. John Leland, Baptist minister of Cheshire, Mass., promoter of the famous mammoth cheese, was a pamphleteer for religious liberty, democracy, and an elective judiciary.

After 1800 Republicanism increased rapidly. Otherwise-minded Rhode Island went Democratic in 1801, for which the Boston *Centinel* called her a "wart on the body of New England". But Vermont quickly followed, and by 1807 the despised Jacobins had captured New Hampshire and Massachusetts. Then came reaction. Jefferson's embargo gave the Federalists a new lease of life, the ground so hardly won was gradually lost, and the function of Jeffersonian Democracy in New England became that of a nationalist check to the separatist tendencies of Federalism. During the war, its vote never fell below forty per cent. of the total cast in the three northern states. As Dr. Robinson concludes, this well-organized minority, "preaching loyalty and nationalism throughout the fourteen years when the opposing party was steadily tending in the opposite direction, was an important factor in the national life".

S. E. MORISON.

*Andrew Johnson, Military Governor of Tennessee.* By CLIFTON R. HALL, Ph.D., Assistant Professor in History and Politics in Princeton University. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1916. Pp. 234.)

PROFESSOR HALL'S book shows the author to be a somewhat daring person. He deliberately chooses to write on a narrow subject that has already received pretty full treatment in Fertig's monograph on *The Secession and Reconstruction of Tennessee*; and he deliberately chooses to make his theme the "personality" of a politician when we all know that personality as an element of history has no longer any significance except so far as it can be discerned in a man's bank account, investments, and other paraphernalia of the fashionable economic interpretation. Professor Hall does not tell us anything of consequence about Andrew

Johnson's private finances; yet the judicious reader will undoubtedly find much that is well worth while in the book despite this omission. Nor is the duplication of Fertig's study a valid basis for an indictment of the volume; for, as Professor Hall explains, the Johnson Papers have become available since Fertig wrote, and further, as Professor Hall with proper modesty refrains from explaining, there are sundry other quite obvious reasons why the earlier work should not be regarded as the last word on the subject.

It can be said at once with emphasis that the purpose with which Professor Hall wrote his book has been achieved. He has given us a clear, straightforward, agreeably formulated tale of Johnson's personal service in the conquest and reconstruction of Tennessee. The story is one of all the bitterness, hatred, violence, and lawlessness that accompany the disruption of a community by civil war. Johnson was sent to the state in 1862 as military governor, with the rank of brigadier-general. His duty was to effect a reorganization of the state politically, creating a government on the basis of that part of the population, a minority, that remained, or could be induced again to become, loyal to the Union. This duty was not fully accomplished until the winter of 1864-1865, after Johnson had been elected Vice-President of the United States. It was not because of any lack in the military governor of energy, courage, or tenacity, that success in his task was so long delayed. When he assumed office the state was pretty well cleared of Confederate troops. Soon afterward, however, it became the hard-contested battle-ground of great armies, and it remained so, with but short intermissions, till the destruction of Hood's force at Nashville in December, 1864. During these bloody years every attempt at political reorganization was interrupted and thwarted by the fluctuations of the military situation. When at last the way was clear the governor's time was short and his patience and normal respect for constitutional procedure were exhausted. The long-sought loyal government was organized; but the process was one of dictatorial main force.

Professor Hall's narrative throws a clear light on the problems and the difficulties that confronted the military governor, and not less on the qualities displayed by Johnson in dealing with them. No one who tries to understand the career of Johnson as president should fail first to study his administration as governor. At Nashville, as later at Washington, he was a narrow, bitter, fearless, hard-hitting politician, devoted with passionate intensity to the task of restoring as speedily as possible, and without too refined scruple as to the means, the Union as it was before the secession. His methods as military governor made bitter enemies both in Tennessee and at Washington, but, as Professor Hall shows in admirable detail, he never lost the confidence and cordial support of President Lincoln. It is pretty well established that Lincoln's influence had much to do with his nomination as Vice-President. The relation of these facts to the persistence with which Johnson clung to

Lincoln's policy and Lincoln's advisers, even the unspeakable Stanton, needs only to be suggested.

If, as is said on page 27, Johnson in the Senate at Washington "broke lances with Davis [and] Benjamin" on March 2, 1861, it must have been by absent treatment; for Davis and Benjamin were pretty busy just then at some distance from Washington. Again, the author should reconsider the statement (p. 46) that "at Shiloh . . . Grant drove Beauregard's army across the Tennessee river"; as the Union army was between Beauregard and the river, even Grant's tactical genius would have been unequal to the achievement ascribed to it.

Professor Hall's concluding chapter, summing up his views as to the policy and personality of Johnson, is interesting and eminently judicious. I wonder, however, if the author really thinks that Carl Schurz's otherwise illuminating recollection is convincing as to Johnson's drinking (pp. 219-220). The most trustworthy information on this point that has come to my attention is that contained in the recollections of Ben R. Truman, printed in a Los Angeles paper and partly reproduced in the *Century Magazine*. Truman was closely associated with Johnson in Tennessee as a secretary. Professor Hall seems not to have seen Truman's contributions.

WM. A. DUNNING.

*Reminiscences of a War-Time Statesman and Diplomat, 1830-1915.*

By FREDERICK W. SEWARD, Assistant Secretary of State during the Administrations of Lincoln, Johnson, and Hayes. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1916. Pp. x, 489.)

THE recollections of a lifetime, narrated by an American whose first experience of travel was a three-days' journey by post-coach from Auburn to Albany, N. Y., in 1833, and who was still watching the procession of events in the second year of the present world war, could hardly fail to be interesting, even though of no considerable value as history. Mr. Seward's reminiscences are pleasantly written, touching chiefly the activities of his father as governor, senator, and Secretary of State, with a few references to his own childhood and youth and to certain occurrences after his father's death. The parts dealing with William H. Seward contain little historical material that has not already been published in his so-called *Autobiography* and his *Works*. Such additions as appear here for the first time are gossipy details which, at best, contribute a human side-light to the interpretation of matters of more importance, like, for example, the description by the elder Seward of a visit to Louis Napoleon and Eugénie in 1859, when Eugénie's impulsive expression of her sympathy with the American abolitionists was quietly rebuked by her husband as an imprudence. We are treated also to the younger Seward's childish impressions of Andrew Jackson, when taken as a boy to the White House, where the President sat in a study lined with por-

traits and busts of himself, and held the lad on his knee while railing in characteristic fashion at the Senate, and snubbing Secretary Dickerson's interjection of a charitable word.

The most notable events in Secretary Seward's Cabinet service were the *Trent* affair and the purchase of Alaska; but the version given in this book of each incident is merely a repetition of what we find in *Seward at Washington*, from the same pen. In connection with the Alaska purchase the author challenges the mention in John Bigelow's *Retrospections* of enormous lobby fees used to push the necessary legislation through Congress; this he attributes to a confusion, in the memory of Mr. Bigelow, of some of the fugitive gossip of the period with sundry inside facts received directly from the Secretary—quite ignoring President Johnson's similar quotation of the Secretary, preserved in a memorandum of a conversation which took place between them while the purchase appropriation was still a fresh topic. His keenness to discredit this scandal makes the more surprising his silence regarding the "little bell" which, according to tradition, the Secretary boasted he had only to tinkle in order to consign a traitor in the North to prison. And the surprise increases as we read his candid account of the methods by which Maryland was kept from joining the Confederacy, in spite of the majority of secession sympathizers in her legislature. The freedom with which this element advertised their views simplified the task styled by Mr. Lincoln "separating the sheep from the goats", when he privately instructed General Dix, commanding the eastern part of the state, and General Banks, commanding the western part, to watch the legislators starting to attend a session called to meet at Frederick City in September, 1861, to let the Union men pass unrestrained, but quietly to turn the secessionists back to their homes. With such discretion were his orders executed, that the session adjourned without anyone's having so much as proposed an ordinance of secession. The fact that the administration's "high-handed usurpation" is still a subject for invective among a certain local class who never became reconciled to the result, leads Mr. Seward to justify such forcible interference with the business of a legislature on the ground that this particular body was preparing to invite the public enemy to plunge the state into anarchy.

L. E. F.

*An Introduction to the Study of Organized Labor in America.* By GEORGE GORHAM GROAT, Ph.D., Professor of Economics, University of Vermont. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1916. Pp. xv, 494.)

PROFESSOR GROAT'S *An Introduction to the Study of Organized Labor in America* is divided into six parts. In part I. (the Background) he reviews very briefly in turn the Beginnings in England, the Beginnings in America, Wage Theories, and Modern Industrialism; in part II.

(the Structure) he deals with the Knights of Labor, the American Federation of Labor, the American Trade Union, Trade-Union Statistics, and Women and Unionism; in part III. (Collective Bargaining) he discusses Strikes, Arbitration, the Boycott, the Closed Shop, the Trade Agreement, Restriction of Membership and Output, and Trade-Union Benefits; in part IV. (Political Activity) the subjects of the four chapters are Legislative Methods, Labor Legislation, a Political Labor Party, and Legislation versus Collective Bargaining; in part V. (Transitional Stages) Trade-Union Jurisdiction, Industrial Unionism, and Revolutionary Unionism are considered; in part VI. (Conclusions) Professor Groat's estimate of labor organizations and concluding remarks are found.

Those interested in the historical aspects of the labor movement will find little of value for their purposes in the book under review, for the author has not undertaken to provide "in any sense a history of the organized labor movement" (p. vii). His purpose has been rather to give in part I. and elsewhere the minimum of historical fact regarded as necessary to explain organized labor as a present-day institution. *An Introduction to the Study of Organized Labor in America* is to be taken for what the title suggests, *viz.*, a text-book for college and other students beginning their studies of one part of the field of labor problems. For such students an introductory text has been sorely needed. In spite of its many good points, however, Professor Groat's text falls short of the desirable. The author has shown less of insight than of industry in gathering materials and opinions from many sources, and his book must be regarded as a useful store of fact rather than as a really helpful text.

In the opinion of the reviewer, the first shortcoming of Professor Groat's text is that it fails to bring out adequately the spirit of the labor movement. The chapters on "beginnings" are too brief and some of the others, for example, that on the Knights of Labor, are not well done. What is a wise selection of materials is a matter of judgment, but in the opinion of the reviewer it would have been much better to leave out some of the things requiring considerable space in order to treat the historical phases at greater length and to discuss some things passed over entirely. The chapter on wage theories might have been omitted without loss. Perhaps the student would rather have had statistics relating to the relative numbers of unionists and others by industries and occupations than those given at great length on pages 124 to 134. Certainly he will expect to find a discussion of injunctions, an analysis of the Clayton Act, and a discussion of the eight-hour philosophy and the shorter-hours movement, all of which have been neglected by the author.

The discussion of trade-union structure is not complete. Industrial unionism is discussed at great length, but the attempts of craft organizations through allied trades councils and other local federations and through national federations to meet problems requiring new methods

of attack do not receive adequate treatment. Indeed, some of these institutions of importance in trade-union structure are not discussed at all, while the *why* of the several departments of the American Federation of Labor is not made clear.

A fourth, and greater, defect of the book is in its organization. There will be no general agreement as to what is the best organization, but the organization of part III.—Collective Bargaining—which begins with strikes, then deals with arbitration, boycotts, and the closed shop in order, and only then takes up the trade agreement, will seem to most to be unfortunate. At several other points the organization of the book must be regarded as only less defective.

While errors have crept in here and there, as in writing Uriah S. Stevens for Uriah S. Stephens (p. 75 and elsewhere) and in the statement that the Stove Founders National Defense Association further developed into the National Founders Association (p. 66), the book is fairly accurate in statement of fact. Perhaps the most questionable important statement of fact is found in the discussion of the position of the courts with reference to the lawfulness of the strike and the boycott. Here the author finds the courts quite inconsistent. While it is true that the courts are not always consistent, the question may be raised whether they are so inconsistent as to ignore the intent of the strike and to refuse to accept the boycott because of its intent (pp. 264-266). The truth is that the strike may be questioned by the courts because of its intent or because of injury to third parties, while some forms of the boycott, as the term is used by Groat, may be regarded as legal. In his discussion the author permits the sympathetic strike and the strike for the closed shop to fall out of view, while he narrows the boycott to the secondary boycott. In this connection it may well be questioned whether Judge Taft was inconsistent in his reasoning in *Toledo, A. A. and M. R. Co. v. Pennsylvania Company*, 54 Fed. 730 (p. 265).

Finally, Professor Groat's book is defective in that he has not as a rule given references where another writer's work has been regarded as of sufficient value to discuss or quote, and has not given selected reading lists for the further study of the subjects discussed. Few will agree with the author that it is "best to keep the pages of an Introductory Study free from the interruptions of such references" when the book is to be used chiefly by students who are well along with their college course.

Inasmuch as numerous adverse criticisms have been made of this *Introduction to the Study of Organized Labor in America*, it is well in concluding the review, to state once more that this text has its many good points and will serve as a useful storehouse of fact.

H. A. MILLIS.

- Memorias de un Oficial de la Legión Británica: Campañas y Cruceros durante la Guerra de Emancipación Hispano-Americana.* Translated by LUIS DE TERÁN. [Biblioteca Ayacucho bajo la Dirección de Don Rufino Blanco-Fombona.] (Madrid: Editorial-América, Sociedad Española de Librería. 1916. Pp. 245.)
- Diario de su Residencia en Chile (1822) y de su Viage al Brasil (1823): San Martín, Cochrane, O'Higgins.* By MARÍA GRAHAM. [Biblioteca Ayacucho.] (*Ibid.* 1916. Pp. 453.)
- Memorias del Regente Heredia (de las Reales Audiencias de Caracas y México), divididas en Cuatro Épocas: Monteverde, Bolívar, Boves, Morillo.* By J. F. HEREDIA. [Biblioteca Ayacucho.] (*Ibid.* 1916. Pp. 303.)
- Memorias del General Rafael Urdaneta (General en Jefe y Encargado del Gobierno de la Gran Colombia).* Prólogo de R. BLANCO-FOMBONA. [Biblioteca Ayacucho.] (*Ibid.* 1916. Pp. xxxi, 444.)
- Memorias de Lord Cochrane.* [Biblioteca Ayacucho.] (*Ibid.* 1916. Pp. 301.)

THE first of these additions to the *Biblioteca Ayacucho* is a curtailed translation of a partial French version of an English original entitled *Campaigns and Cruises in Venezuela and New Grenada*, etc., covering the period from 1817 to 1830 and published in 1831. The present volume is cut off at 1821, when the author entered the naval service of Chile. Undesirable as a translation of a translation is apt to be, its shortcomings are all the more visible here in view of the fact that portions of the English text, together with some ten pages of notes appended to it, are omitted without comment, and that the French version is none too felicitous in its rendering of what is left.

The narrative of this English soldier of fortune does not contain a record of campaigns so much as a series of lively impressions about the strange people and curious things he saw or heard in a region full of "local color". At times this chromatic feature fades too far away from the truth; hence the translator has introduced foot-notes that supply the needful retouching. Whenever the author discusses actual events, however, his attitude is calm, impersonal, and dispassionate, even if he does not appear entirely to relish his situation or to appreciate the martial deeds in which he was a participant.

Although he wrote anonymously, internal evidence, supported by Hippius's *Narrative of the Expedition to the Rivers Orinoco and Apurú*, etc., would show that the name of the narrator was Vowels, and his official position in the Venezuelan army, at the outset, that of a lieutenant of lancers. On this point the editor, in his introduction, surmises that the author concealed his identity because of "skepticism" arising out of the circumstance that he had had no personal share in numerous



incidents that he relates. Whether the surmise be correct or not, the assertion (p. 6) that Hippisley took the same course of action is obviously erroneous. Nor is the editor's allusion to that officer quite fair when one remembers the latter's well-known retraction of his earlier opinions about Bolívar. "Campains and Croissers" (p. 8), furthermore, is hardly a correct form for the title of the English original of the work under consideration, and the same is true of "Memorias de un Oficial de Marina" as a running title, since the *Memorias* are made to end precisely at the point where the author becomes a naval officer.

Maria Dundas Graham, Lady Callcott, published in 1824 her *Journal of a Residence in Chile during the Year 1822, and a Voyage from Chile to Brazil in 1823*. This was translated into Spanish by J. Valenzuela D., a Chilean, in 1902, and is reproduced in the *Biblioteca Ayacucho* with the title slightly changed. Prologues by Juan Concha and the translator pay tributes of appreciation to the authoress and her work, and provide a biographical sketch. Numerous explanatory and critical foot-notes, also, are supplied; but the proof-reading of English words (e. g., pp. 259, 260) is none too careful.

At the time she composed her journal, Lady Callcott was the widow of an English naval officer who died on a voyage to Chile. Spending about nine months in the country, she utilized her stay to record impressions of the social and political life which, in the opinion of Sr. Concha, are "strong, admirable in precision and penetration of observation, beautiful and imperishable". Occasionally, however, both editor and translator (pp. 242, 339) criticize her statements in a manner indicating that a few more of the same kind would have rendered the work of infinitely less value.

Upwards of one-fourth of the book is given over to a sketch of the history of Chile, almost wholly between 1808 and 1822, with particular emphasis upon the career of Lord Cochrane. The journal proper, extending from April 28, 1822, to March 13, 1823, has much to say about scenery and botany, and is interspersed with reflections on history and with quotations from English and French literature. Here again it is patent enough that, to his feminine compatriot, what Lord Cochrane did was of paramount importance and what he thought about men and events, and notably about such a man as San Martín, of unquestionable truth. With this exception, and apart from a prinly Anglican aversion to certain practices of Roman Catholicism, many of Lady Callcott's characterizations display a genuine gift of psychological analysis which in expression is devoid of either flattery or sarcasm.

José Francisco Heredia, father of José María Heredia, the Cuban "poet of Niagara", was assessor of the intendancy of West Florida when, in 1809, he received an appointment to membership in the "audiencia", or supreme court, at Carácas, of which he became regent. Later he was transferred to the "audiencia" of Mexico. His memoirs were composed at Havana between 1818 and 1820. As first published

at Paris in 1895 under the editorial direction of Enrique Piñeyro, they bore the caption *Memorias sobre las Revoluciones de Venezuela*, and were prefaced by an extensive biography as well as followed by a considerable number of documents. Neither of these important features is reproduced in the present edition, which departs from the original in still another respect by dividing the text into epochs named after the dominant military figure in each. It differs, also, from all the other volumes published thus far in the *Biblioteca Ayacucho* in what seems to be a rather curt omission of any reference on the part of the editor to the author or his work.

Of primary value for the history of Venezuela between 1810 and 1815, the memoirs of Heredia set forth the experiences and opinions of a staunch royalist whose judicial mind, nevertheless, enabled him to be fairer in his attitude than most of his contemporaries. Naturally a hostile critic of the revolutionists and their cause, he evinces a spirit altogether remarkable for its lack of hatred and vindictiveness. He does not hesitate even to condemn acts of cruelty committed by partizans on his own side. Solely in the case of Miranda does he appear to cherish a sharp dislike for the "father of Spanish-American independence", much as he may have wished to treat him justly.

Rafael Urdaneta was one of the few lieutenants of Bolívar who remained faithful to the Liberator throughout his days of glory and adversity. Displacing Mosquera as supreme head of Great Colombia, only to be ousted in turn by Caycedo, he took up his residence later in Venezuela, where from tilling the soil he was called to high station in the public service. His memoirs were prepared originally as a collection of notes confirmative of the material assembled by O'Leary. After undergoing much elaboration they were published by two of his sons at Carácas in 1888.

However praiseworthy their purpose, the method of presentation adopted by the editors proved to be extremely confusing. Since the author's own notes in reality dealt only with the eighteen years from 1813 to 1831 and were too brief for readers unfamiliar with the details of the period, it was decided to eke them out with documents, comments, and other explanatory matter running backward to 1810 and forward to 1845. As a result the interpolated items in many cases were far longer than the corresponding text itself. Such a procedure simply swamped the original in a mass of addenda, especially since no effort was made to distinguish between them by the employment of different kinds of type.

In order to overcome these disadvantages, the present edition has limited the portion of the *Memorias* selected for reprinting to the events of the period 1813-1831, as narrated by Urdaneta himself and as descriptive of his actual share in them. It has effected a redistribution of the items, whereby editorial notes and comments have been removed from the body of the text and placed, in complete or summarized form, at the bottom of the page; and most of the documents have been relegated to an appen-

dix where they have been rearranged in topical fashion. Also to facilitate reading, the text itself has been divided into numbered sections with appropriate titles and dates. Useful though these changes are, it may be doubted whether they compensate altogether for the lack of a good index from which all the volumes of the *Biblioteca Ayacucho* suffer.

Granted that Urdaneta may be worthy of the praise bestowed by Sr. Blanco-Fombona—praise more eulogistic by far than that accorded to any other hero of the revolution whose memoirs have been printed in the present collection—the reviewer does not understand just why this particular work should have been singled out as a vantage-ground on which to discuss at length the place of Venezuela in the movement for emancipation. However serviceable an explanation of the sort may be in providing an historical environment for the soldier-statesman in question, it would seem properly to belong to the initial volume of the *Biblioteca Ayacucho*. Whether Venezuela, furthermore, actually started the revolution, whether it was in fact the first to depose and expel the Spanish authorities, to establish an independent government, to convoke a national congress, and to declare its independence is a series of questions (p. xvii) which, if submitted in their entirety to the judgment of Colombians, Ecuadorians, and Paraguayans, might provoke a different set of answers.

Sharply in contrast to the character of Urdaneta and to the spirit of his work stand Thomas Cochrane, tenth earl of Dundonald, and his *Memorias*. "The greatest of the naval heroes of the Pacific during the war of American emancipation", as Sr. Blanco-Fombona calls him, published in 1859 a *Narrative of Services in the Liberation of Chili, Peru, and Brasil from Spanish and Portuguese Domination*. Of this account the first volume was translated into Spanish the following year, underwent several other editions in that language, and was carefully reprinted in 1905 as a volume in the *Colección de Historiadores i de Documentos relativos a la Independencia de Chile*, of which the present work is a reproduction.

The memoirs cover the period from 1817, when Cochrane took charge of the Chilean navy under the general direction of San Martín, to 1823 when, at hopeless odds with his superior officer and deprived both of his command and of the property granted him as a reward for service, he enlisted under the banner of Brazil. The latter part of the work describes his efforts to secure reparation for the treatment he had received from Chile.

That Cochrane had a "violent disposition and a fiery temper" is a fact that requires no especial emphasis in this connection. Great as his contribution to the cause of Spanish-American independence was, it suffered some diminution, in the moral sense at least, from the fierceness with which the British sailor assailed anyone or anything that crossed his imperious will. Those who idolize San Martín certainly will find the present *Memorias* unpleasant reading. But, as the editor remarks (p.

8), it was not British folk alone who had no love for that officer. The majority of his military subordinates, and the very countries for which he did so much, entertained scant regard indeed for a man who had "neither the gift of command nor the gift of deceit"; nor even, it might be added, the gifts of persuasiveness and of popularity. The inclusion of Cochrane's work, therefore, in the *Biblioteca Ayacucho*, along with that of Heredia, which is almost as severe in its treatment of Miranda and Bolívar, exemplifies the desire for impartiality characteristic of the collection in general.

WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD.

#### MINOR NOTICES

*Assyrian Historiography: a Source Study.* By Albert Ten Eyck Olmstead, Associate Professor of Ancient History in the University of Missouri. [The University of Missouri Studies, Social Science Series, vol. III., no. 1.] (Columbia, Mo., University of Missouri, 1916, pp. vii, 66.) Professor Olmstead is deservedly well and honorably known among students of the history of the ancient Orient, for his *Western Asia in the Days of Sargon of Assyria: a Study in Oriental History* (New York, 1908) is still the best monograph on the reign of any Assyrian king. He has now essayed the task of making a source-study of the historical materials from the reigns of Tiglathpileser I., Ashurnazirpal III., Shalmaneser III., Shamshi-Adad V., and the Synchronistic History, Sargon, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, Ashurbanipal, and the Babylonian Chronicle. Those of us who have most been occupied with the attempt to reconstruct and present the history of Assyria will be most ready to attend gladly to his presentation of the results of a very close analysis of the material, such as it is, upon which we must, for the greater part, depend, nor shall we be disappointed, for Professor Olmstead has much of importance to say. It is, however, most unkind of him to say that: "in nearly every reign it has been the latest and worst edition which has regularly been taken by the modern historians as the basis for their studies" (p. 8). As Artemus Ward would say, "this is 2 mutch". We must be thankful for the "nearly" in this scarifying sentence and deny the "regularly"; feeling confident that we could present just enough cases to require the substitution of "occasionally" for the more offensive adverb. As to the rest we must make Kingsley's plea of "ignorance". Concerning the dictum which Olmstead expresses in bold italics thus: "Now it would seem that all Assyriologists should have long ago recognized that *any one of these editions is of value only when it is the most nearly contemporaneous of all those preserved. When it is not so contemporaneous, it has absolutely no value when we do have the original from which it was derived*" (p. 8), I feel some doubt. This would indeed simplify our problem, for we should need only to know in what year any document was written and might then follow it against all others.

Without denying the general validity of the method one might venture to say that it surely cannot absolve us from a critical study of even the later documents which may surely in some cases supply a better version, nor doubtless would Professor Olmstead press the judgment to the ultimate. However it may go with so sweeping a statement, there cannot be two opinions about the value of the results which he has already achieved by the sifting to which he has submitted the documents of these reigns. The mastery of the literature cited by Olmstead is complete; scarcely anything has escaped him. In the matter of Boissier's Zürich texts which Olmstead studied in the brief reference in the *Proceedings* of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, but intimates that he had not seen (p. 33, note 2), Boissier, *Notice sur quelques Monuments Assyriens à l'Université de Zürich*, I am able to assure him that he has lost nothing of value, for I have the little book before me at this writing.

ROBERT W. ROGERS.

*Plutarch's Lives.* With an English Translation by Bernadotte Perrin. Volume IV. *Alcibiades and Coriolanus, Lysander and Sulla.* [Loeb Classical Library.] (London, William Heinemann, New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1916, pp. ix, 467.) The appearance of the fourth volume of Perrin's translation of Plutarch's *Lives* has followed close upon that of the third, which was discussed in last October's issue of the *Review*. What was said then with regard to the general characteristics of this edition is equally applicable to the new volume. Here we have the *Parallel Lives* of Alcibiades and Coriolanus, Lysander and Sulla. The translation of the *Alcibiades* is that which appeared in the author's *Plutarch's Nicias and Alcibiades* (1912), but the other three versions are now presented to the public for the first time. Fresh and vigorous, their style maintains the high level of the translator's previous efforts.

The work of connotation has been done with great care and accuracy; consequently, there are few errors of any sort to be noted. However, in note 1, page 19, the date of the duration of the siege of Potidaea should be 432-430, as is regularly accepted from Thuc., II. 70. What is obviously a slip occurs on page 461, where Antemnae is said to have been "some three miles south", instead of north, of Rome.

These volumes from the pen of Professor Perrin have shown that there was still room for a new translation of the "immortal *Lives*".

A. E. R. BOAK.

*Dio's Roman History.* With an English Introduction by Earnest Cary, Ph.D., on the basis of the version of Herbert Baldwin Foster, Ph.D. Volume IV. [Loeb Classical Library.] (London, William Heinemann, New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1916, pp. 502.) The first three volumes of the Loeb translation of Dio bear the imprint 1914. The fourth volume—there are to be nine volumes in all—has just appeared under the date 1916. This welcome addition to the Loeb classics con-

tains the Greek text and English translation on opposite pages—as do all the volumes—of books XLI–XLV. of Dio's *History*. From the day the first volume of the Loeb series appeared there has been regret expressed that a new font of Greek type as good as that used in the new *Oxford Classical Texts* had not been cast expressly for such a splendidly ambitious project; regret that the paper was not more opaque; and regret that the books were to cost so much. But the merit of the undertaking and its proved value so much outweigh minor shortcomings, that each new volume is acclaimed not only by the profession, but by every one interested in historical literature.

It may be worth while to recall the fact that Dio Cassius Cocceianus (epigraphically proved correct, although the Greek form, Δίων ὁ Κάσσιος, gave Dion Cassius widespread currency) had not been translated into English until H. B. Foster brought out his six-volume translation (Troy, N. Y., 1905–1906) under the title *Dio's Annals of Rome*. The present translator has followed Foster pretty closely, with such changes as a more modern text seemed to demand, enough changes, he believes, to have warranted the use of a different title.

The text follows Boissevain's 1895–1901 edition, and the variants at the bottom of the Greek page are carefully chosen. The last ten years have seen very little critical work on Dio, in fact, only one article of consequence, namely, van Herwerden's "Spicilegium Dioneum" (*Rheinisches Museum*, 1909), and this seems not to have been used. The translation is good, well up to that of the previous volumes.

R. V. D. MAGOFFIN.

*A Guide to the Study of the Christian Religion.* Edited by Gerald Birney Smith. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, [1916], pp. x, 759.) A dozen scholars, all excellent authorities in their respective fields, have joined in producing this *Guide* under the general editorship of Professor G. B. Smith of the University of Chicago. Their primary purpose has been, to help students to understand the meaning of the various aspects of education for the Christian ministry. They have also wished to help pastors to keep in sympathetic touch with the latest scholarship. But so largely has the Christian religion been shaped by its history, so largely must the explanation of its various features rest on historical study, that nearly two-thirds of the book is historical in character. The volume may well be invaluable to many an historical professor or student who, unable to undertake prolonged or special studies in the history of Christian literature, organization, thought, and practice, yet wishes, under guidance which he knows to be competent, to extend his knowledge of these fields, and to know how he can approach, and where he can find, the most modern views respecting them. Such persons, amateurs in the history of religion though perhaps professional students of history in general, will be delighted with the essay of Professor Shailer Mathews on the Historical Study of Religion, those of Professor J. M. P. Smith

and E. D. Burton on the Study of the Old and New Testaments respectively, that of Professor S. J. Case on the Study of Early Christianity, that of Professor F. A. Christie on the Development and Meaning of the Catholic Church, that of Professor George Cross on the Protestant Reformation, and that of Professor Errett Gates on the Development of Modern Christianity. The statements are clear, comprehensive, and judicious. The successive essays are kept remarkably uniform in method and in texture. Frequent brief bibliographies at the end of sections—perhaps two hundred of them—describe the books most useful to readers of the classes for whom the manual is designed. The book is well conceived and well executed.

*Phases of Early Christianity.* Six Lectures by J. Estlin Carpenter, D.Litt. [American Lectures on the History of Religions, vol. XII.] (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1916, pp. xvi, 449.) The title of this book is scarcely an adequate guide to its purpose or importance, though it is easier to criticize it than to suggest an alternative. "Phases of Early Christianity" might mean so many things that it almost ceases to denote anything in particular. Nevertheless the task which Dr. Carpenter has undertaken is extremely important, however hard it may be to define it in a phrase.

He has started with the fundamental fact that Christianity was from the beginning a religion of salvation. Men were oppressed not only by the daily cares and troubles of life, but by the fear of the unseen and unknown both in this world and after death. This fear, partly at least natural, was stimulated by a theology which explained the unseen and unknown by an enormous apparatus of demons and gods, and was nourished by the credulity of that intelligent and imaginative ignorance which characterized the Graeco-Roman world.

The search for salvation—for rescue from this world of nightmares—was as central in Christianity as in heathenism, and Dr. Carpenter elaborates the early history of the phases of thought and practice which were thus produced. It is a misfortune inherent in the plan of his book that he could not describe heathen methods as fully as he has Christian ones.

The first chapter deals with the relation of salvation to the individual. The second elaborates the history of thought concerning the Saviour, the third treats of the idea of the Church as the sphere of salvation, the fourth discusses the Sacraments, the fifth explains "Salvation by Gnosis", and the last summarizes the state of Christianity in the third century.

Every one of these chapters is full—almost too full—of exact and scholarly information. There is no book in English which is even in the same class. It is marked by cautious yet vigorous judgment, and when an opinion is given on controversial issues attention is clearly drawn to the rejected alternatives.

Such a book inevitably suggests the great contrast between the gen-

eral religion of the modern world and this early Christianity. Religion to most men now means the stimulation of life in the direction of goodness by an emphasis on "ultimates". It may be mystical, or ethical, or intellectual, or whatever adjective may be fashionable, but it is in any case an integral part of life. One of the Christian poets of the last century sang that "the daily round, the common task, will furnish all we ought to ask". No early Christian would have said that: as Dr. Carpenter shows, the whole point of early Christianity was that the "daily round" does *not* furnish salvation, and the generation to which it belonged was not looking for strength to do its duty, but for supernatural blessings apart from its common task. The mystics of the nineteenth century saw a vision which illuminated ordinary life from within. Even when their vision appeared to them to be separate in origin it merged in the end into the "light of common day". But to the mystics of the third century the opposite was the case. They looked for a vision which was superimposed on the "light of common day" and extinguished it altogether by its supernatural brightness.

KIRSOPP LAKE.

*Christianity and Nationalism in the Later Roman Empire.* By E. L. Woodward, M.A. (London and New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1916, pp. vii, 106.) The author states his problem thus: "How far was the struggle between Orthodoxy and Heresy, in the later Roman Empire, really a political struggle between the central authorities of the Empire and the different nations of which the Empire was composed?" (preface, p. vi). It is an attractive problem to consider, and its solution calls for the careful study of a period in which religion and politics were almost inextricably mingled. In spite of the author's belief that "no explanation suffices to account for a complex historical situation" (p. 5), he has given his subject fresh and interesting treatment. But he does not claim that the discussion is either conclusive or exhaustive. He hopes to complete it in a later publication.

After a general introduction on the growth of the Christian empire, Mr. Woodward proceeds to examine the connection between heresy and nationalism in Africa, Egypt, Syria, and the West, interjecting an appropriate chapter on Justinian's attempt at central control. The races and peoples which fall under review are those which embraced one or another of the Donatist, Arian, Nestorian, and Monophysite heresies. The work is based upon independent study of the sources, from which there are frequent citations, but recent French literature on the subject has been freely utilized. The book is furnished with an index.

So far as the author reaches a definite conclusion, it is this: "The championing of particular heresies by particular nationalities was due . . . to causes other than intellectual" (p. 102). By this he means, for example, that the Goths were Arian, not because of theological preference, nor merely because they had been converted by Arian teachers, but



because political conditions in the Western Empire "made devotion to Arianism synonymous with Gothic patriotism" (p. 70). Similarly in the East, the Armenians embraced Monophysitism and used it "as a barrier to defend their nationality" (p. 48). Everywhere the author finds "political discontent expressing itself through religious channels" (p. 39).

This unprincipled use of heresy, if one may so describe it, is found in connection with practically all the national churches of the ancient world. It even finds indirect expression in the empire itself, when Justinian and Theodora "adopted different sides in the Monophysite controversy out of arrangement" (p. 55). The author appeals to Evagrius in support of this conjecture, which in itself is not improbable. But in justice to Evagrius it should be said that he offers an alternative explanation equally possible, when he tells us that Justinian upheld the Chalcedonian decree, while Theodora favored the Monophysites, "either because such were their real sentiments . . . or by mutual understanding" (*Ecclesiastical History*, IV. 10).

The reader will agree with Mr. Woodward in recognizing the constant interplay of religious and political motives in the history of the Eastern Empire during the fifth and sixth centuries. And he will accept the statement that "If Christian orthodoxy was a unifying influence, it naturally followed that the heresies were disruptive of the Empire as a whole, quite apart from any local and incidental trouble they produced" (p. 101). This perhaps is as far as one can safely go in attempting to explain the historical situation.

JOHN WINTHROP PLATNER.

*The Book of the Popes (Liber Pontificalis): I. To the Pontificate of Gregory I.* Translated with an Introduction by Louise Ropes Loomis, Ph.D. [Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1916, pp. xxii, 169.) In the series of *Sources and Studies* planned by professors of Columbia University and edited by Professor Shotwell appears a translation with notes of the *Liber Pontificalis*, the indispensable if not altogether trustworthy foundation for every study of early papal history. The author, Dr. Louise Ropes Loomis, has undertaken to present in English form a simplified and somewhat abbreviated version of the original. She follows in the main the text and the comparative method of Mommsen in his edition published in the *Monumenta Germaniae (Gesta Pontificum, I.)* in 1898. She has compared this text with that of Duchesne published in 1886 and has made extensive use of his long introduction and notes. The result is a compilation which will serve well the purpose intended, namely, to give intelligent readers and general students of history a comprehension of the kind of material upon which the formal record of the papal institution has been based. The special student will, of course, still have to consult the original.

The compilers of the *Liber Pontificalis* had several objects in view. They wished first to establish a chronology of the Roman bishops, a matter of considerable uncertainty and obviously manipulated so as to make the lists come out right at certain fixed points. Then they were interested in fixing dates for the beginning of certain practices in the Church, the earlier the more impressive, as, for instance, the order that consecrated vessels might be touched only by the clergy, ascribed to bishop Sixtus I. (?117-126), and the decree of Eleutherius (170-185) that no rational food should be prohibited to Christians, "because God created it". The nationality of the bishops was regularly stated if it could be ascertained, and their deaths and burial places noted, together with the certification of martyrdom in nearly every case until the time of Constantine. At this point the entries naturally become fuller and the interests of the recorders widen. With Bishop Sylvester begins the recording of gifts to the Church, which Miss Loomis wisely omits after giving as specimens those made to Sylvester himself. Finally, the number of his ordinations, without specifying either names or places, is regularly attached to the record of each bishop.

The work of the translator was rendered the more difficult by the entire absence of precedents, for this is the first attempt to render the *Liber* into a modern tongue. The originals abound in grammatical impossibilities, and a considerable latitude must be given to the translator's common sense and understanding of the historical situation. Miss Loomis has acquitted herself of the task with distinct credit. She has been well advised in not striving after "originality" in her renderings, but rather in choosing her guides well and following them intelligently.

E. EMERTON.

*History of the Alien Priors in England to the Confiscation of Henry V.* By Chester William New. (Menasha, Wis., George Banta Publishing Company, 1916, pp. x, 96.) This doctoral dissertation contains an enumeration of the grants of English property to French religious houses (chapter I.), a catalogue by classes of the alien priories (chapter II.), their history in chronological order from 1204 to 1414 (chapters III.-V.), and a table which displays among other things the location, origin, classification, value, and ultimate disposal of each priory (appendix). The addition made to our store of knowledge is considerable. The relations of the alien priories to the English government receive the fullest treatment yet accorded them, while the first two chapters constitute a valuable supplement to portions of Dugdale's *Monasticon*. The information about individual priories and their possessions, however, is not easily accessible, because there is no index, and the author uses ancient or modern forms of place-names indiscriminately. Some forms, indeed, appear to be original with him.

Mr. New brings together for our use material obtained by the industrious perusal of many manuscripts and printed sources; but his exten-

sive searches were not exhaustive. He cites, for example, several cartularies kept by alien priories, but in the depositories frequented by him there are a dozen and more which he does not mention. He could have consulted some of these fruitlessly perhaps, but not all (*e. g.*, British Museum, Add. MS. 15668). Neither did he squeeze dry the evidence which passed through his hands. An illustration is his failure to indicate whether the values in his appendix represent annual income, annual income and movables, or something else. The omission renders them useless for comparative purposes. This lack of thoroughness is regrettable, but not reprehensible, since he did not intend the study to be definitive (introduction).

Blunders occur, however, which ought to be in no historical work. The titles in the bibliography (pp. vii-x) often do not correspond with the title-pages of the works cited. The place or date of the publication is occasionally included, but rarely do both appear, and both may be absent. Many words in the titles are misspelled. After liberal allowance for typographical troubles the author must still take the responsibility for those repeated time after time (*e. g.*, "Gifford" for Giffard). These slips are so numerous as to make difficult the location of the author's sources. The attempt to find specific references given in the foot-notes leads to additional obstacles. Titles not found in the bibliography appear from time to time (*e. g.*, pp. 92-94), often in abbreviated forms, difficult—if not impossible—of interpretation (*e. g.*, "Tax. Norwich, 1225", p. 30, note 95). The volume, the page, or the folio is frequently omitted or stated erroneously. Despite this gross carelessness, the verification of about one hundred references selected at haphazard left the reviewer with the impression that Mr. New had generally recorded his evidence with much greater accuracy than he had noted its location.

W. E. LUNT.

*Menno Simons: his Life, Labors, and Teachings.* By John Horsch. (Scottsdale, Pa., Mennonite Publishing House, 1916, pp. 324.) This is a welcome addition to religious literature, since there is no other life of Menno available in any language. It is gratifying, too, that such a book should be produced by an American scholar. It is not Mr. Horsch's first literary adventure; some years ago he published an outline of the history of Christianity, and he has contributed valuable articles to current newspapers and periodicals. That he had almost virgin soil to break is probably due to the fact that the material for a real biography of Menno is so slight. After all the author's diligence, the facts regarding Menno might have been stated in a single page; and he has really established but one fact not previously known, namely, the probable date of Menno's baptism, certainly of his renunciation of Romanism, January 30, 1536. He has been compelled to devote most of his space to an account of Menno's opinions and extracts from his writings. To this he has added refutations of many things falsely charged against Menno,

most of them quite convincing; and discussions of the relation of Menno to other radical leaders of the time, like Melchior Hofmann and John of Leyden. He is quite successful in vindicating the Mennonites from any sympathy or complicity with the men of Münster, without, however, showing full comprehension of the ideals and purposes of the latter.

In saying these things, one should not be understood to criticize Mr. Horsch or his book; it is rather an attempt to describe accurately what he has done. The subtitle is just: "the life, labors, and teachings", of Menno; mainly the labors and teachings, because so few facts have been preserved about the life. But the historical value of the book is very considerable, the author's diligence is exemplary, and a quantity of material has been brought together from various sources that has never before been printed in English. One of the interesting documents of the sort indicated is the decree published by Charles V. on December 7, 1542, in which Menno is mentioned by name as guilty of Anabaptism, one of the worst crimes possible in the judgment of all European governments of that time.

The author's diligence and good sense are more in evidence than is literary skill. The book is unnecessarily jejune and dry, because of the great preponderance, in parts, of quotations from documents, the interest of which to a reader is in inverse ratio to their value to a student of history. It is to be feared that this quality will limit the number of readers unduly. Many sentences are awkwardly constructed, and their idiom, together with the use of words like "inreasonable", suggests that the writer may be more at home in the German language than in English. It is in many ways so good a book that it is a pity it was not made a better.

HENRY C. VEDDER.

*The Golden Book of the Dutch Navigators.* By Hendrik Willem van Loon. (New York, the Century Company, 1916, pp. xii, 333.) When the Dutch began to push out into the sea, it seemed as if the Spanish and the Portuguese had almost monopolized the field of colonization and discovery. But being accustomed to adversity the Dutch first occupied what had been neglected by their predecessors, and then, when they had grown bolder and stronger, seized whatever else they could. Jan Huygen, who had spent five years with the Portuguese at Goa, stimulated the first Dutch expedition which sailed for the East Indies in 1594. Although this voyage, led by Cornelius Houtman, was unsuccessful, another expedition set out from Holland in 1598. This time the island of Mauritius was discovered, and the ships returned heavily laden with the precious spices. In the meantime Huygen, Barendsz, and Heemskerck, in their zeal to find a nearer and safer way to the Indies, tried the northeast passage in vain, but they have the discovery of Spitzbergen and other places in the Arctic Ocean to their credit. Schouten and LeMaire, by their discovery of Cape Horn in 1616, made it unnecessary

for ships to undertake the terrors of the Straits of Magellan. Tasman, who was employed by the East India Company, discovered the island which bears his name, and made the first careful exploration of the coast-line of Australia. To this list should be added the various voyages which enabled the Dutch to chart the map of the Southern Pacific.

Narratives of the voyages of these early Dutch discoverers make up the contents of this book. But Dr. van Loon also describes the inevitable attacks on Spanish and Portuguese settlements in the East Indies, in the Philippines, and on the west coast of South America. The sea life and the enormous difficulties which attended it come in for a large amount of space. For navigation in those days was extremely uncertain, and many a vessel went down in the storms. The lack of fresh food almost invariably produced the dreaded scurvy. Indeed when once a man had sailed for the Indies his chances of return to the homeland were not at all favorable. One need not wonder, therefore, that only the cast-offs of the earth could be induced to undertake the lot of a common sailor. But even if these early heroes of the sea were extremely rough men the Dutch are largely indebted to them for their colonial and maritime greatness, and it is well that the English-speaking world should have a better knowledge of them than it has had.

The author has obtained his information from contemporary accounts, which hitherto have not been available in English. He has chosen those portions which are important or which tell a good story. A more deliberate attempt to entice the reader's interest with anecdotes told in the language and style of the newspaper is seldom found in serious historical writing. It cannot be denied, however, that the author has been successful, and it may be expected that his book will appeal not only to the historical student but also to the general reader. The book is well supplied with reprints of contemporary cuts.

GEORGE F. ZOOK.

*A Brief History of Poland.* By Julia Swift Orvis, Associate Professor of History in Wellesley College. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1916, pp. xix, 359.) The character of Professor Orvis's book is best indicated by the words of her preface:

This is not the book of an investigator. It is simply an attempt to present the results of much work already done by others on a difficult and complicated subject, in such a way as to reach and interest the many to whom Poland's great past as well as her present problems and their wide significance, are practically unknown.

The attempt has been eminently successful. Among the short histories of Poland that we now possess in English (Morfill's, Bain's, Phillips's), Miss Orvis's work seems to the reviewer by far the best.

One can scarcely overestimate the difficulty of compressing within little more than three hundred pages, and yet of presenting in a clear

and readable manner, one thousand years of history, especially the history of a people whose constitutional development, political problems, and international relations have been so vastly different from those familiar to Western readers. No one who has faced such difficulties will fail to recognize the skill which the author has shown in condensing, eliminating superfluous details, keeping just proportions, emphasizing essentials, and enlivening her narrative by occasional, well-chosen quotations from the sources.

The book is, in general, accurate and scholarly. It is to be regretted, however, that the author's spelling of Polish names is often incorrect: *e. g.*, "Dobzyn" (p. 46), "Dobryzn" (p. 55) for Dobrzyń, "Maciego-wice" for Maciejowice (p. 236), "Wielpolski" for Wielopolski (p. 273), etc. Some errors of fact have crept in here and there, such as the assertion that Sigismund III. "reigned for two years as Czar of Muscovy" (p. xiv), or that in 1697 "a large party in the Diet . . . had proclaimed Stanislaus Leszczynski king, and the first act of Augustus was to drive him out" (pp. 155-156). The account given of the migrations of the early Slavs is open to grave objections, and the author's description of the appanage system of the twelfth century would apply to Russia much better than to Poland. Finally, one hardly knows what to make of the statement that the Hohenzollerns acquired in 1793 "the vast region known to-day as South Prussia" (p. 227), and in 1795 "the territories which to-day make up New East Prussia and New Silesia" (p. 237). Such errors, however, are not sufficiently common to mar seriously what is, on the whole, a very interesting and praiseworthy historical work.

R. H. L.

*Losses of Life in Modern Wars: Austria-Hungary, France.* By Gaston Bodart, LL.D. *Military Selection and Race Deterioration.* By Vernon Lyman Kellogg. Edited by Harald Westergaard, LL.D. [Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History, John Bates Clark, Director.] (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1916, pp. x, 207.) *Losses of Life in Modern Wars* presents an analysis of direct war losses—killed and wounded—in Austria-Hungary and France for a period of three hundred years. The data are collected from many sources, partly by original research, and arranged chronologically, principally in tabular form, with brief text summarizing the duration, causes, participants, and results of each war.

Austria and France seem to have been selected because they rank first in the number and significance of modern wars waged by the military powers of Europe. The Austrian record is forty-nine wars, occupying 161 years out of the three centuries; that of France eighty-eight wars, occupying 148 years. This, as Dr. Bodart observes, is a "gloomy distinction". From 1600 to 1850, the longest period of peace enjoyed by Austria-Hungary was fourteen years, by France thirteen. Hence, as some wounded men must have expired annually even during these

longest periods of peace, the direct war loss was continuous for two centuries and a half. Inspection of this exhaustive study suggests:

1. That the bewildering frequency of European wars since 1600 is no more impressive than the kaleidoscopic shifting of alliances, by which, like changing partners at a dance, the allies of one campaign become adversaries in the next.

2. That the great powers of Europe have survived continuous blood-letting for nearly three centuries, exhausting and often amid barbarous conditions, and developed the prosperous and populous Europe of this century.

Bound with this paper is Professor Kellogg's preliminary report on Military Selection and Race Deterioration, occupying forty pages. This study in particular develops proof of three points: the formation of armies from the best human material, actual deterioration resulting from withdrawal or death of this element, and the prevalence of race-injuring diseases. The record within the same covers of three centuries of human loss is complete and appalling enough to prove points one and two. Yet how does it happen that the progeny of the survivors of 1700 pitched battles, and of disease and captivity, has raised Europe to the pinnacle of civilization thus far attained, and contributed millions of emigrants to America, mostly superior in strength and fertility to our peace-fed stock?

It is to be hoped that Professor Kellogg's final report will include the larger aspects of this subject. Of course war is appalling, but somehow along with it, men and their best qualities have grown stronger. What of the race deterioration of peace? We need an essayist who shall point the way to make peace wholly a blessing.

*The Navy of the Restoration from the Death of Cromwell to the Treaty of Breda: its Work, Growth, and Influence.* By Arthur W. Tedder, B.A. (Cambridge, University Press, New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1916, pp. ix, 234.) It is no easy matter to evaluate a book whose author, in his preface, presents a plea in confession and avoidance of "active service conditions which have greatly delayed publication" and may serve to "partially excuse the more palpable faults and omissions which under happier circumstances I should have hoped to correct and repair". Against such a case it would not be possible to plead, whatever the offense. Fortunately it is not necessary. Among the numerous writings on naval affairs which recent years have produced, this unpretentious essay must hold an honored place, not merely in itself but in what it represents. It covers some nine years' history of the English navy, and that not fully since it omits, avowedly, the western operations of Holmes and Harman, and it covers, in one chapter, much of the ground already traversed by Corbett in his *England in the Mediterranean*. The author, moreover, has not had access to the manuscript materials in foreign libraries, one set of which, at least, would have, perhaps, some-

what modified his statements. But so far as he has gone in the materials he has used and the method employed, in his spirit and presentation, no less than in his investigation, his little essay may well be a model and an inspiration to young historical scholars. The sound foundation of all such work, his bibliography, is admirable, his grasp of the essential elements of his task—the situation and spirit of the navy, its status and its activities, and the part it played in public affairs during these critical years—are clearly and convincingly set forth. It would be easily possible—and, under the circumstances, unpardonably invidious—to call attention to matters of detail where, as in the account of the Dutch attack in 1667, further investigation would have cleared up certain points like the attack on Harwich, and the peculiar incident of its commander—who, by the way, Clowes seems to have discovered in another connection, and named incorrectly. But, taken all in all, this little study could hardly have been improved in its essentials, and one may only hope that its author may be spared to continue work he has so fortunately begun and for which he seems so eminently fit.

W. C. ABBOTT.

*The Great Comet of 1680: a Study in the History of Rationalism.* By James Howard Robinson, A.M., B.D. (Northfield, Minn., 1916, pp. 126.) Much as we have known of the fear of comets, it was by scattered episodes. An excellent idea it was to set a Columbia *doctorandus* at gleaning what was thought about some single comet; and no comet could have been so happily chosen as that which more than any other marks the turning-point between superstition and science. The author prefaces his task, indeed, with a survey of the superstition prior to 1600 and with a more careful study of the progress of thought as to comets in the first three-quarters of the seventeenth century; but it is to the comet of 1680 that all this leads. In turn he tells us what was thought of it in Germany, in England and her American colonies, in France and Holland. A whole chapter is given to the rationalizing influence of Bayle. A brief final one traces "the victory of science and reason" thenceforward. An appended bibliography lists the enormous body of contemporary publications on the comet of 1680.

The author's work is done with zest, and often with humor—as might be expected from a pupil of Professor James Harvey Robinson. The country printer's slips are sometimes rather grievous (he prints that word "grevious"). A few crudities, one fears, must be the author's—as the constant use of semicolon for colon before a quotation. He should learn, too, that the *en* of such names as that he prints "Schultzen" (p. 48) is only the old inflectional ending of the German oblique case, and that to print a German name with a middle initial, as "George S. Virling" (p. 33), is to give it a needlessly American look—the more so in this case as "George" should be "Georg" to match the unchanged German of adjoining names and as the man's name was really not even



Georg, but only Samuel. In his bibliography, too, nominatives might better have replaced the genitives and locatives of Latin and German names of author and place; and it could have done no harm to modernize the place-names. In general, however, he uses care; and, though there are many marks of haste, the book is a real and a substantial contribution to the history of superstition and of its overthrow. It belongs to the literature of entertainment as well.

G. L. B.

*Charles the Twelfth, King of Sweden.* Translated from the Manuscript of Carl Gustafson Klingspor. By John A. Gade. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1916, pp. xv, 371.) Hitherto Voltaire's *Charles XII.*, of unstated literary charm, and the late R. Nisbet Bain's useful sketch in the *Heroes of the Nations* series have been the only attempts to write, in a non-Scandinavian tongue, the stormy career of one of the most picturesque and striking figures in modern history. Now comes Mr. Gade. In the words of the publisher's announcement: "This account of the adventurous life and tragic death of Sweden's great King . . . makes a story of absorbing interest and one that has never before been adequately presented to English readers." The author, who has the advantage of a considerable linguistic equipment, particularly in Swedish, has, to some degree at least, fulfilled the above promise. He has certainly written an epic which grips the attention and warms the blood. However, the style, generally vivid and at times eloquent, is not altogether even; there are, especially in the earlier part of the book, passages which are too rapturous and overwrought. Moreover, the occasional lapses into the historical present and the plethora of trite figures of speech will irritate the fastidious.

The peculiar method adopted makes the work difficult to appraise in this *Review*; for Mr. Gade has assumed the rôle of translator of the contemporaneous manuscripts of one Carl Gustafson Klingspor, devoted follower and companion in arms of the king. While the "translator" provides an index and a very considerable bibliography, abounding in Scandinavian titles, his manner of writing, his soaring enthusiasm, and his penchant for dramatic effect suggest the historical novelist rather than the orthodox historical biographer. This may be illustrated by the following extracts:

And therefore I shall busy myself not only to tell the whole exact truth, but also to purge His Majesty's memory of every malevolent and belittling vilification which thoughtless or ignorant foreigners have sought to cast upon it. . . . God grant that what I write may spread the everlasting glory and honor of my late beloved Master (pp. 2, 3).

We are impressed with the chivalry, piety, high spirit, and courage of Charles, but are confirmed in the impression that he was a belated knight-errant, who wasted the blood and money of his country in futile exploits.

Those who, in spite of the grim realities of the present conflict, still yearn for a true tale of military adventure, in the main well told, will welcome this book; but it still leaves the way open for an exhaustive critical biography. The volume is handsomely bound and printed, while of errors there are comparatively few, though 1588 should be 1688 (p. 22).

A. L. C.

*The Eighteenth Century.* By Casimir Stryiński. Translated from the French by H. N. Dickinson. [The National History of France.] (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1916, pp. 345.) France in the eighteenth century is a great subject and the late M. Stryiński was counted among those who knew the subject best, but this book is a disappointment. As a piece of historical writing it is of a type not so popular now as in the boudoirs of half a century ago. The reader moves almost continuously in the atmosphere of the ante-chamber, among princes and princesses, dukes and duchesses, counts, cardinals, and abbés. The scant attention paid to anything besides court politics and intrigues hardly justifies the inclusion of the volume in a series called the *National History of France*. This does not mean that M. Stryiński has written an uninteresting book. He has sketched many of the personages of the century with a sure touch and a sense of proportion. The reader will be in no doubt about the selfishness and *insouciance* which perverted the career of Louis XV. The chapter on the Royal Family when the king's daughters were young is charming. But whenever the writer turns to the problems of society and government his comments are brief, often vague, if not misleading. For example, in reference to Turgot's abolition of the guilds, he remarks that "superficial observers" looked upon them "only as hindrances to commerce and industry, without understanding the profound reasons for which centuries of experience had imposed them on Western Europe". It is difficult to discern the light that the second of these criticisms throws upon the reforms. Again, apropos of the decrees freeing the grain-trade, the statement is made that the old obligation to sell grain solely in the markets "was only profitable to the middlemen and monopolists". It seems to have profited chiefly the local market officials. How middlemen and monopolists could make any special gains through the system is not clear. Furthermore, Necker's *Compte Rendu* is said to have "enabled the public to read in black and white the situation of the finances", although it transformed an ominous deficit into a handsome surplus. The narrow scope of the work is partly corrected by a separate chapter on the Arts, the Sciences, Literature, and the Salons.

H. E. B.

*Germany, 1815-1890.* By Sir Adolphus William Ward, F.B.A., Litt.D., Master of Peterhouse. Volume I, 1815-1852. (Cambridge, University Press, New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1916, pp. xiv, 591.) A history of Germany since 1815 by J. W. Headlam was announced over

twenty years ago in the *Cambridge Historical Series*. The task of writing such a work has now been undertaken by Professor (now Sir) A. W. Ward. No one would question Dr. Ward's high qualifications, for few living English writers have given evidence of more versatile and exact scholarship than the Master of Peterhouse.

This volume on Germany from 1815 to 1852 is, however, a grievous disappointment. It is one of the most jejune handbooks ever produced by English writers, who furnish no mean competition in such compilations. The style is prolix and involved, loaded with details and unimportant names, broken by parentheses and totally unrelieved by emphasis. Inclusion by mere enumeration replaces discrimination and selection. The fourteen and a half double-column pages of index devoted chiefly to proper names, most of which are mentioned but once, give some faint idea of the confusion in the text. Of one hundred names taken in order from the index, the reviewer's impression fortified by reference to the text indicated that fifty per cent. might have been omitted to advantage.

The first two chapters undertake to say something of every German state and of every German statesman still alive in 1815. They read like a digest of the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*. The whole 120 pages might have been omitted without loss or reduced to an introductory sketch in one-fourth the space. The remaining chapters may be used as a work of reference for political chronology. Twenty pages on the Zollverein make available the chief political facts in proper order. The great central events of 1848 are treated in such a way as to make a general view impossible and no faintest conception is given of the high hopes and real significance of this "spring-time of German nationalism".

The bibliography will be useful but is not above criticism. Some works listed have little or nothing to do with the period. Hintze's recent volume on Prussian history, Fischer's *Die Nation und der Bundestag*, Oncken's *Lassalle*, Goyau's *L'Allemagne Religieuse*, Matter's *Bismarck*, A. Schmidt's *Preussens Deutsche Politik*, Jessen's manual of the Schleswig-Holstein question, and the autobiographies of Mohl, Schurz, and Gustav Körner are omissions worth noting. Böhm, not Bohn, is the editor of *Fürst Bismarck als Redner*. Marwitz memoirs should be cited in the complete edition by Meusel. G. (not E.) Schmoller's essay on the Prussian tariff law of 1818 appeared in 1898 not in 1808. The translation of Seignobos is more often available than the French original and if such manuals are to be listed, those by Bulle, Andrews, Denis, and Hazen should certainly be included. The brief chapters in Helmolt are more useful for a brief account of Germany in the nineteenth century than those in some general histories cited.

A succeeding volume prepared in collaboration with Spenser Wilkinson will carry the account to the fall of Bismarck. Let us hope that it will not be burdened with so much of unnecessary historical impediments.

GUY STANTON FORD.

*Jewish Disabilities in the Balkan States: American Contributions toward their Removal, with particular Reference to the Congress of Berlin.* By Max J. Kohler and Simon Wolf. [Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society, no. 24.] (Philadelphia, the Society, 1916, pp. xi, 169.) This paper, amplified from the form of its original reading before the society and fortified by voluminous foot-notes, is valuable chiefly because of its compact summary of the legislation now existing in Rumania to the detriment of the Jewish population of that country; and, in consequence, thus formulating the terms of the problem which will arise when the present war in Europe is ended and further efforts are made to ameliorate the lot of the unhappy people whose well-being was the object of the labors which are here so sympathetically described.

The contributions of the United States to this problem have been almost continuous, beginning a full half-century ago with Mr. Seward's note to Turkey and ending, so far as official communications are concerned, with Mr. Hay's striking exposition of the practical arguments which enable this country to intervene in what a narrow construction would interpret as merely the internal concern of a foreign nation.

All of these efforts, however, as Mr. Kohler shows, were instigated by one or another of the organizations designed to further the political and other progress of the Jewish race; but it is none the less to the credit of American statesmen that the spirit of our diplomacy so readily and generously responded to the appeal. The recital is suggestive in view of the indicated conference which will be to this generation what the Congress of Berlin was to the period with which Mr. Kohler especially deals.

The personnel of that conference may not be forecasted. Its aims, however, are well known. While it will deal particularly with boundaries and will have a large regard for commerce, it cannot fail to scrutinize and to deal with the larger problems which are based on race and religion, which the Congress of Berlin touched only incidentally, and the failure to solve which at that time contributed, more than anything else, to bring on the present war in Europe. These problems, it is true, had to do with the differences between the various elements in the Orthodox Greek Church and with its rivalry with Catholicism—and they still remain. To them will now be added the problem of liberating the Jewish population of the Balkan Peninsula and of other parts of Europe—and for the solution of this problem Mr. Kohler has marshalled a line of impressive precedents which point the way for American influence to make itself felt beneficently.

GEORGE H. MOSES.

*The Balkan Wars, 1912-1913.* By Jacob Gould Schurman. Third edition. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1916, pp. xl, 140.) In this compact

little volume we have, following a preface and an introduction of forty pages which discuss the part played by the Balkan Peninsula in the present European war, some thirty pages devoted to a sketchy treatment of the events leading up to the War of 1912, thirty pages on the war itself, and finally, some seventy pages on the second war, the War of 1913. This means a brief account, in fact, the briefest, the author aiming at nothing more than the laying down of the general lines of Balkan development with particular reference to the disastrous second war. The causes and consequences of this war (not its military course) form the climax of his presentation and the real *raison d'être* of his book. The main cause, as is well known, was Macedonia, and the Macedonian situation is set before our eyes, not only in the light of history and of the best available contemporary statistics, but also with the aid of personal observations made on the spot at the very height of the crisis of 1913. From the scholar's viewpoint the Macedonian section is the most important feature of the book, unless it be the few pages (35-48) conceded to the discussion of the policy of the Greek prime minister, Venizelos, just prior to his plunge into the War of 1912 on the side of Bulgaria and Serbia.

But a book, or rather an essay of this extreme conciseness, is not primarily concerned with conveying newly discovered information. His problem, as the author saw it, was to trace the stream of historic development so definitely and clearly that the grave present-day issues should outline themselves to the intelligent reader without more ado. This the writer has accomplished in pages uniformly distinguished by moderation, sympathy, and a total absence of that inhuman bias in favor of one or another of the Balkan nations, which throws its sinister shadow across almost every book dealing with this corner of the world. The present war, the author holds, was, in consequence of the resentments created by virtue of the treaty of Bucharest (1913), as good as inevitable and has unhappily reduced the whole group of the Balkan states to the rôle of mere pawns of the Great Powers (p. xxxv). He sees no escape from the dilemma of either a Germanic or a Russian control (pp. xii-xiii), but he hopes, with more benevolence than conviction, that the present European war "may put no unnecessary obstacle in the way of the normal political development of all the Balkan nations" (p. xxxviii).

FERDINAND SCHEVILL.

*Les Conditions de la Guerre Moderne.* Par Général Bonnal. (Paris, E. de Boccard, 1916, pp. 294). General Bonnal, whose name will be recognized by military students as an author of interesting books and as a former chief of the School of War in France, presents a collection of short articles on the war in Europe, not from the point of view of a participant but rather of an observer at a certain distance. The articles are short, discursive, and show many indications of having been hastily prepared for the daily newspapers, after the manner of military experts

who prepare daily and weekly summaries of events, principally based on the official bulletins. We will not therefore look here for the clearness of vision, the orderly statement, the accurate information, the valuable deductions from the "conditions of modern war" which only come after the events described. When all the facts are known, it is to be hoped that the distinguished author will find time, as he has done in previous wars, to continue his historical studies.

There is in fact more glorification of one side and passionate denunciation of the other side than is necessary for a curious search into the mysteries of military art, as now being developed in this world's great field of battle. Some of the language would not look well in English but the general line of thought is safely shown by the following. The Kaiser is almost always given an epithet such as "liar", "monster", "snob", "weak", "bighead", "degenerate". The Germans are "malingeringers", "abject slaves", "barbarians", "thieves", "pillagers", "vulgar", "enfeebled", "brainless", "vengeful", "machines", "industrials", "polluted", "vicious", "little civilized", "atrocious", "asleep in imperialistic folly", "crazy with Pan-Germanism", "only understanding the scourge", "like certain animals, only respect the blow", "square-heads", "sickly", "rapers", "sneaking".

On the other hand a warm admiration is expressed for his own comrades. "Men and officers throw themselves into each others' arms! In what other army will you find this brotherhood of the battle", "Incomparable dash", "warlike", "impregnated with heroism", "moral superiority", "tenacious", "will to conquer", "fine endurance", "glorious", "unequaled", "admirable". "The French soldier carries the loftiest warlike virtues that the world has ever known." "How like the French is this joyful waiting for the fight." The Russians are "good and brave". Albert is a "great" king. The Serbians had "superior combative value". Italy fights for "right and justice".

The victory of the battle of the Marne is defined by the author as "strategic rather than tactical", thereby opening the question as to the proper use of those terms.

EVEN SWIFT.

*Patriots in the Making: What America can learn from France and Germany.* By Jonathan French Scott, Ph.D., Instructor in History in the University of Michigan. (New York and London, D. Appleton and Company, 1916, pp. xv, 262.) The lesson here urged upon the United States is the need of more conscious and more systematic attention to the teaching of patriotism in the schools, especially those forms of patriotism which are directly related to military preparedness. For this conclusion the reader is prepared by a brief sketch of "national self-expression" in French education from the time of Louis XIV. to the present, an extended analysis of appeals to patriotism in school-books and school programmes of the Third Republic, and a somewhat superficial examination of similar

appeals in Germany. The conclusion is followed and emphasized by a special chapter on military training in Europe and by two appendixes of quotation relating respectively to "the military value of a psychology of patriotism" and "a day's work in the Swiss army". There are references to about eighty French text-books, including books on morals and civics, reading books, histories, and geographies. From these the author shows in the course of three chapters how, with the sanction of official programmes, a "psychology of defense" and loyalty to the republic have been molded, and how, without official sanction, hostility toward Germany has been inculcated. Some counteracting influences are recognized, among them scientific history and pacifism, and to these an additional chapter is devoted. The account of conditions in Germany (Prussia would be more descriptive) is crowded into a single chapter with references to school programmes, collections of school regulations, and about a dozen text-books, including reading books, geographies, and histories. It discloses highly organized and somewhat offensive effort to inculcate love of country, loyalty to the reigning house, pride of race, disparagement of Great Britain, dislike of France, and Pan-Germanism.

There are some errors, chiefly in the foot-notes, and some lapses in translation (for examples see references on pp. 36, 52, and 115 to Jost and Braeunig, *Lectures Pratiques*, Paris, 1899), but these are unimportant and do not impair the essential accuracy of any statement of fact. The general atmosphere of the book produces, however, an uncomfortable feeling of exaggeration. The difficulty of using isolated extracts with fairness to the spirit of the context seems to have been surmounted too easily. No distinction is drawn between the ideals of elementary instruction and those of secondary instruction. Most of the text-books mentioned are books used in the elementary school. This suggests that the patriotic motive, at least in France, may after all be less pervasive than the author seems to think. There is no hint of first-hand observation of actual teaching either in France or in Germany and little reference to French or German self-criticism of results. This invites a degree of caution perhaps greater than that displayed by the author in judging the vigor and success of school effort. But the main contention of the book that French and German experience in the making of patriots points a lesson of high importance to the United States is thoroughly established. The book is readable, and in its revelations of patriotism in the elementary school-books of France a contribution to American educational literature.

HENRY JOHNSON.

*American Patriots and Statesmen from Washington to Lincoln.* Edited by Albert Bushnell Hart, LL.D., Professor of the Science of Government, in Harvard University. In five volumes. [The Collier Classics.] (New York, P. F. Collier and Son, 1916, pp. 383, each volume.) The *Collier Classics* are to consist of a series of books in litera-

ture, science, history, and contemporary belles-lettres, under the general editorship of Professor W. A. Neilson. The series is to be supplementary to the *Harvard Classics*, of "five-foot shelf" fame. The present work, a set of five volumes, is described by the editor, Professor A. B. Hart, as an effort "to gather into one set a vital selection of American patriotic utterances". In a short foreword, President Eliot gives his answer to the question "What is an American?"

The "patriotic utterances" cover a wide range of time, subject-matter, and authorship, extending from a narrative of the Wineland Voyages, to a group of passages of writing by Abraham Lincoln or about him. But patriotism, however broadly interpreted—and Professor Hart's interpretation is neither partizan nor sectional—is an uncertain thread with which to bind together more than five hundred pieces of varied type, and opinions will differ as to the inclusiveness and emphasis which Professor Hart exhibits in making his choice. All will agree, however, that one topic—military preparedness—does stand out above all others, and is emphasized particularly by the titles employed by the editor. One wonders if this characteristic, however much it may accord with the feeling of the hour, will contribute to the permanent value of the work.

As to type, paper, and binding, the format of the work is satisfactory, but the proof-reading and, in some cases the editing, leave much to be desired. Misprints are frequent: *e. g.*, "Alexander" Hamilton for Andrew Hamilton (I. 195); "Barrett" for Bassett (I. 287); "me" for we (I. 343, line 20); "on" for of (II. 351, in the title of no. 22). In the introductory note in volume III., page 110, the word "gagging" is obviously an error; on the title-page of volume IV., the name of President Polk appears as James King Polk. In the table of contents, it is explained that poetical selections are to be denoted by an asterisk, but several of these are not so marked (I. 61; II. 255; III. 54). In some selections the old-fashioned long *s* is used; in others of the same period and style it is not employed. For the Mayflower Compact (I. 67) the old spelling is used, but without complete accuracy; and quite remarkably, there has crept in at the end a totally extraneous passage, apparently from the first charter of Virginia in 1606. In connection with the frontispiece of volume IV., it is stated that the picture is derived from a daguerreotype, "the only one known to have ever been taken of President Jackson". This statement is open to doubt.

ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT.

*English Influence on the United States.* By W. Cunningham, D.D., F.B.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, Cambridge, University Press, 1916, xii, 168.) To appraise even approximately the contribution to American life of any particular national or racial group is a hazardous, though fascinating, adventure. We have had a flood of "filio-pietistic" literature from variously qualified Americans, each exalting the peculiar virtues of the stock to which



his ancestors happened to belong. This literature has given us some useful material; but, with rare exceptions, its *tendency* has excited the suspicion of scientific historians. This particular book by an eminent authority on English economic history is quietly written and on the whole does not overstate the English element in American civilization. Indeed the most obvious elements in our English inheritance are touched very lightly, or not at all. There is nothing about language with all that it implies for the commerce of ideas, nor the common law, nor the representative institutions and legislative procedure which carry our thoughts back to the Mother of Parliaments. On the other hand, there are interesting chapters on such topics as town-planning, public buildings, and the "college course", containing curious and suggestive facts from the author's generous store of English antiquities.

Naturally enough the discussion of American developments indicates a more limited range of knowledge and less insight. Local government is considered in a chapter on the township; but the county is passed over and, in dealing with the American town, the author keeps his eye too closely on New England. There are some sweeping generalizations like the following: "The colonists failed to carry with them the English sense of public spirit." Here the English situation is idealized; to Americans, thinking, let us say, of town life in Massachusetts, or the contributions of Franklin to the municipal life of Philadelphia, the contrast will seem unjust.

In the chapters on Modern Social Problems and the Responsibilities of National Power and Influence, the author is impressed by American failure, so far, to reach the English standard, and his generalizations again seem insecure. For instance, a comparison of the tariff policies of the two countries since 1846, or of liquor legislation, might lessen somewhat the emphasis on American devotion to *laissez faire* ideals. Is it certain that when the conditions which in England produced the factory acts have become correspondingly serious in America, the response has been much slower here than there? What is said about England's "mission" has an important element of truth; but it is one-sided and does not wholly avoid that suggestion of superior national virtue which men of other nationalities find annoying and which often prevents just appreciation of really fine ideals of service. Dr. Cunningham is critical of American neutrality in the present war: "No nation can justify a claim to leadership in promoting the cause of humanity which is content to look on at the troubles of a neighbour as if they did not concern her." One wonders whether the comparative judgment of America here suggested would be confirmed by a dispassionate historian writing at some safely distant time and passing in review the conduct of the European powers in the past hundred years.

E. B. G.

*Some Cursory Remarks made by James Birket in his Voyage to North America, 1750-1751.* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1916,

pp. vi, 74.) A stay of full seven months, travelling by slow and difficult methods over eleven hundred miles along the coast from New Hampshire to Maryland, visiting over thirty port towns, "baiting" at numerous taverns, meeting many and various people, many of them of importance, with whom he dined and talked, gave this merchant from Antigua among the Leeward Islands good opportunity to gather much information and many impressions of the land and people of the northern tide-water area on the eve of the last French war. Birket seems to have enjoyed sight-seeing, and with it he displayed an accurate and observing mind, a spirit of detachment, and an eye to the curious as well as the prosaic. The publication in neat form of his "cursory remarks" gives to the student of the period a profitable and valuable insight into colonial life.

Because of the mercantile bent of his mind, he is especially instructive on such matters as the quality and productions of the soil, industries, prices, the wharfage and warehousing facilities of the chief ports, the economic relations of the port towns to the surrounding country, inter-colonial and overseas trade. At Bristol he found many transient French merchants as well as considerable contraband trade in Dutch goods, and at Philadelphia the chief men "drove on a very large and Contraband Trade with the French". On the social side one finds interesting material about the lay-out of the towns, the character of the houses, the kind of lives people lead, the number of churches, the quality of taverns which range from "very good" to a "sorry house". One gets glimpses of Yale and Harvard. It is interesting to note how badly divided the Puritan church was into the New Light and Old, but, says Birket, "tis hard to say which sees best". The Church of England seemed to him "to gain Ground all over New England", and to be the "most fashionable religion" in New York "as well as in most other parts of North America". In dress he considered the "men and Women are too Expensive" in Boston, "very gay" in New York, and in Bristol the Quakers "not to be known by their Language dress or behaviour".

The recent publication of the records of eighteenth-century travellers in North America is much to be commended.

W. T. Root.

*The Commerce of Louisiana during the French Régime, 1699-1763.* By N. M. Miller Surrey, Ph.D. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Columbia University, vol. LXXI, no. 1, whole no. 167.] (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1916, pp. 476.) The publication before us is a scientific study of economic conditions in Louisiana during the period 1699 to 1763. As such, it is gratifyingly concise, and gratifyingly complete. The sources drawn upon consist of contemporaneous manuscripts, contemporaneous printed material, and later publications containing source-material. Of these various sources the material in manuscript form—especially from the archives of the Min-

istry of Foreign Affairs, the library of the Arsenal, that of the Ministry of the Colonies, the archives of the latter ministry, the *Archives Nationales*, and the *Bibliothèque Nationale*—constitutes a very considerable proportion; nearly one-third, perhaps.

The chronological scope of the monograph, as its title discloses, is the period of the first French régime—sixty-four years. The topics treated are embraced under three main (implied) divisions: Means of Communication (waterways, highways), Means of Exchange (barter, credit, money), and Trade. Each such division is broken into appropriate subdivisions, the division Trade possessing in its sub-portions the greatest breadth, and hence the most interest. Here an admirable work has been done. Chapters XII. to XIV., which deal with trade between France and Louisiana, and chapter XV., which deals with slavery both as related to the native Indians and to negroes imported from Senegal, are fresh in information; while chapter XVII., on the trade of the Illinois Country, is no less so. Chapter XVIII., on New France in the Fur-Trade of the Mississippi Valley, and chapter XIX., on the Fur-Trade of Louisiana, abound in facts of the most useful kind. It should be added that chapters XX. to XXIV., dealing respectively with trade with the French West Indies, with Mexico, with New Mexico and Texas, with Florida, and with Cuba, cover ground but little broken by previous studies.

Besides its careful research—research full yet not redundant—Mrs. Surrey's monograph possesses style. In other words, it is good in its English and in its construction; and, being so, is readable; readable, that is to say, in the way a publication avowedly reference in character may and should be.

We have said that the monograph is gratifyingly complete. The sources used, however, are confined to those in the French and English tongues. Whether—so far as the economic relations of Louisiana with Mexico, New Mexico and Texas, Florida, and Cuba are concerned—an examination of Spanish sources would, for this early period, have yielded much of value, may be a question.

The volume possesses an excellent analytical table of contents, and a careful bibliography, but no index of any description.

IRVING B. RICHMAN.

*The Graves Papers and Other Documents relating to the Naval Operations of the Yorktown Campaign, July to October, 1781.* Edited by French Ensor Chadwick, Rear-Admiral, United States Navy. [Publications of the Naval History Society, vol. VII.] (New York, Naval History Society, 1916, pp. lxxviii, 268.) The inclusion in this volume of other material supplementing the Graves Papers makes the book a highly satisfactory and doubtless nearly complete documentary naval history of the Yorktown campaign. The Graves correspondence occupies considerably more than half of the 245 pages of documents. It begins March 13,

1780, about two months before the admiral's departure for America and ends May 4, 1782; he was then in the West Indies, having left North America soon after the abortive attempt to relieve Cornwallis in October, 1781. The other documents comprise extracts from log-books and journals both French and English, the former having only recently been unearthed in the French archives; also several letters of Rodney and Hood, most of them bringing out in the clearest manner the ill-feeling of these officers toward Graves. The latter makes a partial defense against the attacks of his critics in a letter of May 4, 1782, not, however, mentioning the battle of September 5, 1781. Possibly Graves's memorandum of September 6 (*Navy Records Society*, XXXV. 260) might advantageously have been included among the documents; it would perhaps have been a help in understanding the Graves side of the controversy which followed the battle. Graves was far from being a great commander; in failing to attack the French van at the outset he missed the opportunity of a lifetime. Nevertheless, he seems to have been trying to the best of his small ability to apply the new tactics, but was handicapped by his own incapacity and by lack of co-operation on the part of Hood and others.

Admiral Chadwick's introduction of sixty pages, much longer than that of any of the preceding volumes of the Naval History Society, discusses the question of tactics and signals and gives a very interesting account of naval life in the eighteenth century and conditions in the British navy, with a description of the ships and guns of the period. What is more important, however, especially for the general reader, is that it contains an admirably clear and succinct story of the whole participation in our Revolution of French forces, military and naval, as far as concerns operations in North America, beginning with the arrival of D'Estaing in 1778. The discussion of the movements and events leading up to the final concentration of all the fleets and armies about the Chesapeake and the narrative of the battle of September 5th, with the manoeuvres of the following days, are exceedingly interesting and instructive.

An appendix contains biographical sketches and an account of the battle by officers of the French fleet. Five illustrations, including portraits of Graves, De Grasse, and Hood, add to the value and interest of the book. The continental frigate *Trumbull* (p. 32, note) was not on her first cruise when captured in 1781; it will be recalled that she made a cruise in 1780, during which she fought a severe action with the British ship *Watt*. The name Hood occurs on pages xlix and lxxvii where Howe seems to be intended.

G. W. ALLEN.

*A Brief History of Panics and their Periodical Occurrence in the United States.* By Clement Juglar, Member of the Institute. Third edition, translated and edited with an introduction and brought down

from 1889 to date by DeCourcy W. Thom. (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1916, pp. 189.) In 1893 Mr. Thom published a translation or, rather, an adaptation of that part of M. Juglar's *Des Crises Commerciales* which deals with the experience of the United States. He added an introduction in which he presented in brief form for the benefit of American readers Juglar's theory of panics, *viz.*, that the panic is a stoppage of the rise in prices and is due to (1) rapid changes in note circulation, (2) rapid shrinkage of credit, (3) the locking up of capital in useless enterprises. To this list of causes Mr. Thom added a fourth, and "the most important cause", general changes in our tariff laws. The French version which ended with 1889 was supplemented by a discussion of events from 1890 to 1893.

In the present edition Mr. Thom brings the narrative down to date and adds to the numerous tables in his own introduction statistics for recent years. In spite of the fact that the earlier translation contains misprints and errors of statement, it appears to have been reprinted without change. Likewise, Mr. Thom's original introduction remains untouched, although a large part of it is given over to a discussion of tables which have been brought down to date. It is needless to remark that the result is incongruous. M. Juglar's record of American experience with panics undoubtedly suffered by its segregation from the rest of his discussion. Standing apart, it only emphasizes the fragmentary character of the treatment of our financial history as well as the author's general unfamiliarity with American conditions. The author's thesis that a commercial panic is always a financial panic leads him to treat our whole experience from the banking standpoint and thus to ignore equally important commercial and industrial factors. Mr. Thom has added little of value to the original work, either in his introduction or his portrayal of events subsequent to 1889. His contention that every important change in the tariff, save that of 1846, has caused a panic is based largely upon what are considered to be nothing more than some striking coincidences. The portion of the historical matter contributed by Mr. Thom shows a much more intimate understanding of American conditions, but the treatment is so scrappy as to be of little value either to the casual reader or to the serious student of our financial history. Some important events are dismissed with a mere allusion, while numerous minor details are given undue emphasis. In so far, however, as one is interested in obtaining the personal point of view of a veteran stock-broker with reference to recent financial developments, the new matter in the present edition is well worth reading.

G. W. DOWRIE.

*The Life of John A. Rawlins, Lawyer, Assistant Adjutant-General, Chief of Staff, Major General of Volunteers, and Secretary of War.* By James Harrison Wilson, Major General, U. S. A. (New York, Neale Publishing Company, 1916, pp. 514.) Gen. James Harrison Wil-

son adds another to his list of brilliant and instructive works on the Civil War period, in which he played a brilliant part and of which he is almost the last important living witness. This time he gives us the life of John A. Rawlins, who was the close companion of Grant during the most eventful period of his career.

To those who feel that it is best to idealize the characters of our great men the book may be considered of almost too frank a nature. They will say that flaws in character are given undue prominence because of that fact alone, and that the greatness of results should be the test of character.

Although we may doubt if the most careful investigation of Grant's habits has proved that he would have performed his duty differently if he had been the most abstemious man in the world, it is unquestionable that there was a widespread distrust of him which came near accomplishing his ruin. It is clear also that this clamor of criticism was not taken by Grant as seriously as it should have been taken and did not impress him with the necessity of being above suspicion. Again there are ample facts to prove that Grant was of too simple and unsuspecting a nature to cope with men of lower type; and this also often worked to his disadvantage. Under these circumstances it was fortunate indeed that Rawlins seems to have been selected by some strange fate to stand at the elbow of Grant during all the critical days of his career. To this self-appointed task Rawlins gave all the energy of his soul, perhaps his life, and the author has done well in the performance of his promise to do justice to the memory of his friend. Napoleon had his Berthier, Blücher had his Gneisenau, Ney had his Jomini, and William had his Bismarck, Moltke, and Roon. Rawlins's relation to Grant was different from any of these, but none the less important and deserving its place in history.

That Rawlins like his chief was far from infallible, however, is shown by his changing estimate of men with whom he came in contact. Moreover the army may never agree with his ideas of the conduct of the War Department, in practically eliminating the general of the army, and exalting the power of the bureaus.

EBEN SWIFT.

*A History of Banking and Currency in Ohio before the Civil War.* By Charles Clifford Huntington, Ph.D., Professor of Economics and Sociology in the Ohio State University. [Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications.] (Columbus, F. J. Heer Printing Company, 1915, pp. 312.) In the history of banking in Ohio previous to the Civil War two periods are distinguishable, the first extending from 1803 to 1843 and the second from 1843 to 1863. In the first of these the course of events closely paralleled that of the history of banking in the other states and is characterized by Mr. Huntington as the ante-inflation period, 1803-1814, the inflation period, 1815-1817, the crisis of 1818-1819, the

period of depression and recovery, 1820-1830, the second period of expansion, 1831-1836, and the panic of 1837 and the resulting depression. During this entire period the note-issues of the banks were protected by their general assets and at the close of the period their numbers and resources were reduced to very low figures.

The second was a period of reform measures, characterized by the passage of a general banking law, February 24, 1845, which provided for the establishment of the State Bank of Ohio and for so-called independent banks and by the adoption of a new constitution and the passage of a free banking law in 1851. During this period note-issues were protected in some of the banks by deposits of bonds and in others by a safety fund.

The author's treatment of the first of these periods is more satisfactory than that of the second but in neither has he achieved marked success in the attainment of one of the objects he had in view, namely, the tracing of the relations between the development of banking and "the general economic and political history of the state". He has juxtaposed a number of interesting facts from each of these fields but his analysis and interpretation of these leave much to be desired. In the judgment of the reviewer he would have accomplished more had he investigated and analyzed the business methods of each period and attempted to discover precisely the rôle the banks played, keeping quite distinct in his analysis the need for hand-to-hand money and the need for capital. He constantly confuses these, with unfortunate results both to himself and to the reader.

The author has also been guilty of loose writing and careless proof-reading. Examples of the former may be found on pages 47, 72, 85, 104, 214, 221, 222, and 236, and of the latter on pages 82, 91, 97, 101, 106, 186, 191, 202, 205, 220, 222, 225, 227, and 231.

WM. A. SCOTT.

*The New Purchase, or Seven and a Half Years in the Far West.* By Robert Carlton, Esq. (Baynard Rush Hall). [Indiana Centennial Edition, edited by James Albert Woodburn.] (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1916, pp. xxxii, 522.) "The New Purchase" was the name applied for many years to the central quarter, more or less, of Indiana, bought from the Indians in 1818 in the treaties of St. Mary's. This book, pseudonymous throughout, describes experiences in a westward journey and a residence of some ten years (1822-1832) near Gosport and in Bloomington, Indiana. The author, Baynard R. Hall, was the first principal of the state seminary and taught in Indiana College (later Indiana University), which grew out of it. He purposely distorts chronology and gives free rein to personal animosities, especially in his caricature of President Wylie as Dr. Bloduplex, but his work is invaluable for its local color and its sympathetic description of manners and customs.

The first edition, in two volumes, appeared in 1843; a second, in one volume and omitting about 130 pages (chiefly Bloduplex matter), was arranged by Hall in 1855. Both have long been out of print. Professor Woodburn and the Princeton University Press have put not only Indians but all others interested in the Old Northwest under obligations by this handsome new edition.

The editorial work, however, scarcely comes up to Professor Woodburn's usual standard. Several passages are rendered unintelligible (p. xix, line 17, p. 4, lines 15-16); words are exchanged ("ginseng" for ginsling, p. 16, line 6; "boarding" for bordering, p. 182, line 34; "no" for up, p. 257, line 12); disguised ("quater" for greater, p. 406, line 5); inserted ("wild", p. 87, line 26); or omitted ("I", p. 6, line 35; "end", p. 99, line 2 from bottom; "so", p. 199, line 17; "they", p. 311, line 24). The large number of such mistakes is especially annoying in a reprint. The editor's notes are not distinguished as they should be from the author's. Some unnecessary notes are given (pp. 178, 233, 433, 501), while many obscure terms are not explained ("fip-penny bit", p. 214, "horse sorrel pies", p. 375). "Limestone" (p. 48) is editorially called "probably Louisville", though the author himself identifies it with Maysville, thus showing that he combines in his narrative his earlier trip to Kentucky for his bride with his later journey to Indiana. There is no index and no list of illustrations. The paging of the original edition should have been given in the margin for purposes of citation and verification. The editor's key to the characters in the book is carefully worked out and adds materially to the value of the edition. The map, portraits, and reprints of views are also of interest.

*The Rise of Ecclesiastical Control in Quebec.* By Walter Alexander Riddell, Ph.D. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University, vol. LXXIV., no. 1.] (New York, Columbia University, 1916, pp. 195.) Stated in his own words, here is the proposition which the writer of this monograph undertakes to prove:

The golden age of the Roman Catholic church in Quebec is to-day generally believed to have been during the French régime. That this is not warranted by the facts of history is shown by a comparison of the status of the church in the two periods, French and British. It was not until after the conquest by Great Britain in 1759, that the Roman Catholic church in Quebec received that legal status which is responsible for giving to it a control without parallel among the other Roman Catholic churches of the world (p. 131).

Historians have in a general way recognized that Quebec Catholicism owes more to the new régime than to the old, but the point has not hitherto been brought out so clearly or supported by so much evidence as in this study. Dr. Riddell has no great difficulty in establishing his main thesis, but like too many writers of doctoral dissertations he feels impelled to take such a long running start that half his book is finished before he reaches the first hurdle.



To begin with, there is a chapter on demographic features as affecting the homogeneity of the population in New France. In this there is nothing new save the attempt to refute the commonly accepted claim that Normandy furnished the lion's share of the settlers who came to Canada before 1759. On this point the author makes out a good case; he has examined the marriage registers in more than eighteen hundred cases and finds that the colonists, so far as these records give indication, came with a fair degree of evenness from all over France. This is data which the historian of the future cannot afford to overlook. Then there is a discussion of the social and moral solidarity of the colony under French rule, chiefly a reiteration of what every student of French-Canadian history has always known, namely, that the people spoke the same language, gave allegiance to the same church, and went to the same schools when there were any. Extracts from various official memoirs and from contemporary printed sources are strung together without much co-ordination, and when Dr. Riddell presents conclusions from his material they are usually of the sociological sort, as for example his assurance that the French colonists "were largely of the ideo-emotional type of mind and less dogmatic-emotional than their descendants of to-day" (p. 69).

The real service of the book is performed in the last two chapters, where there is more attention to history and less to sociology. The early rise of church influence in the affairs of New France and its later decline during the first half of the eighteenth century are traced out with care and clearness. The position of the Church when Quebec passed into British hands, the attitude and policy of the new suzerains, the great increase in power which the hierarchy gained by the Quebec Act, and the chain of events which finally put the Catholic Church in this province on the firm rock of constitutional privilege—all these things are explained fully and with judicious temper.

While Dr. Riddell has used good materials, the tendency to be inaccurate in little things is a serious blemish. A writer who refers to the first seigneur of Beauport as "one Giffard" (p. 26), and to Laval's great teacher at Caen as "one Berniers" (p. 77) throws suspicions upon the extent of his own historical background. The term "Sovereign Council" (p. 117) ought not to be used after 1703, and the expression "gentilshommes de compagne" (p. 51) is an obvious mistranscription for "gentilshommes de campagne". Readers of a critical turn, moreover, will not like the way in which the author spells many of his proper names, Saint-Valier (pp. 122-123), for instance, or Latterrière (p. 50), or Loreau (p. 194).

WILLIAM BENNETT MUNRO.

## COMMUNICATION

TO THE MANAGING EDITOR OF THE *American Historical Review*:

*Dear Sir:*

PROFESSOR FLING's review (XXII. 133-135) of the three papers on the *Origin and Treatment of Discrepancy in Trustworthy Records* and on *Fundamental Processes in Historical Science* (I. and II.), published by the Royal Society of Canada, is open to reasonable objection in details and in general. Thus he says (p. 133):

The "orthodox" method attempts to harmonize discrepancies in a record. In his first study Dr. Bowman proves from an examination of twenty-six cases, that "where the circumstances of the discrepancy are unknown", an attempt to harmonize them "is a mere groping in the dark" and "the scientific requirement in such cases is silence concerning the point in contradiction". Why silence?

The inference which any reader must draw from the above is that the author based his conclusions on an examination of twenty-six cases of discrepancy found in records. On the contrary he gathered from actual intercourse twenty-six typical cases in which statements that were conflicting were yet true; and when the harmonization of these statements was tested under assumed conditions corresponding exactly to those under which the harmonization of conflicting statements is attempted in records, the results were found to be in every instance and in every respect untruthful. The number of such results in similar cases can be extended *ad infinitum*; therefore these attempted harmonizations in records are shown experimentally to be worthless, and silence, as the only alternative, ought to be observed.

The general objection to Professor Fling's review is that it does not give "a clear and comprehensive notion of the contents" of the papers. This is required in the directions sent to every reviewer of a book for the *Review*; and without it, in this case, further discussion by the reviewer whether by way of dissent or approval must be, as Professor Fling's review actually is, unintelligible to the reader.

The distinctive feature of these papers as a whole is an effort to submit history to the general and ordinary tests of science. Other sciences use fundamentally a correct process or correct processes, *i. e.*, a process which, if there be no deviation by the operator from its own requirements, must give a correct result. The clearest instances of such processes are in mathematics. What would be said, *c. g.*, if it were possible for an operator in adding a column to observe all the requirements of the process of addition correctly and yet get an incorrect result? But this is exactly what occurs with the fundamental processes in the pre-

vailing historical method. All the requirements of the process of harmonizing discrepancies in records and of the other processes by which historians reach their conclusions on the basis of probability in general may be fulfilled to the letter, and yet the results produced by them are experimentally and accurately shown in the first and third of the above papers to be chronically wrong. In the second, five fundamental and scientifically correct processes are located, *i. e.*, five requisites of trustworthiness in individuals are located experimentally, and the ground is taken that the exemplification of these requisites as continually detected in the spoken utterance of men can also be detected in their written utterances or records. The tracing of their exemplification in records constitutes the fundamental correct process or processes of historical science because, if the tracing of this exemplification be correctly done, the historian must get a correct result.

Professor Fling, in his concluding paragraphs, says: "Because the prevailing method insists that the best kind of a source is the record of an eye-witness, Dr. Bowman insists that it makes 'contemporaneity' the chief test of trustworthiness and ignores all others". A natural conclusion will be that I insist on drawing this conclusion specifically on the ground given. But this is not the case. I noted that Professor Fling rates Aeschylus's *Persians* as a more valuable account of Salamis than that of Herodotus because the poet wrote seven years, and the historian fifty years after the event (*i. e.*, a theatrical play of 1870 would be a better authority for occurrences in the Civil War than an historian writing to-day); and I drew attention to the fact that Bernheim after retorting contemptuously to Lorenz, "Every half-way sensible historian recognizes contemporaneity as only one of many things to be considered", failed himself to bring forward these "many other things" and instead in his treatment of trustworthiness he laid not only much stress, but much the most stress, on contemporaneity. What indeed are the other things and "all the other tests" for determining the trustworthiness of statements in authentic or genuine records? Seignobos, a fundamentally scientific writer who declares the attempted harmonization of discrepancies to be "contrary to the scientific spirit" and dismisses contemporaneity as a "superficial test", began the answer to this question. After noting rightly that the initial attitude toward even an authentic record should be systematic doubt, he analyses two major series of ten reasons for doubting the sincerity and accuracy of such a record's statements and a minor series of three reasons which render untruthfulness and error in such statements improbable. But why stop at these negative or semi-negative tests? Why not go further and locate the positive reasons for accepting the sincerity, accuracy, and truthfulness of statements in genuine records? It is these positive tests and the principles governing their application that the above papers seek to locate experimentally under the name of requisites of trustworthiness.

H. M. BOWMAN.

## HISTORICAL NEWS

### AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Plans for the thirty-third annual meeting of the Association, to be held in Philadelphia probably on the dates December 27-29, are well in hand and there is every reason to believe that the coming meeting will be one of the most interesting and agreeable in the history of the Association. The American Political Science Association and the Archaeological Institute of America have decided to hold their meetings at the same time and place. It is expected that the American Society of Church History, which has not met with the Association for many years, will join with it in the Philadelphia meetings. It will probably be possible to publish a forecast of the programme in the July issue of the *Review*.

Volume I. of the *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association for 1914, after a long and unfortunate delay, is at last off the press and is being distributed by the Superintendent of Public Documents. Volume II. will contain the cumulative index to the *Papers and Reports* of the Association from 1885 to 1914 and will probably be published during the early part of 1918. The *Annual Report* for 1915, in one volume, is well advanced in the process of going through the press and it is hoped that it will be possible to distribute it in June. The committee on publications is making every effort to publish the *Annual Report* for 1916 before the next annual meeting.

The papers presented at the Panama-Pacific Historical Congress, 1915, have been gathered by Professors H. Morse Stephens and Herbert E. Bolton into a volume entitled *The Pacific Ocean in History* (Macmillan). The initial paper, by Professor Stephens, the Conflict of European Nations in the Pacific Ocean, is followed by contributions from Rafael Altamira, Theodore Roosevelt, James A. Robertson, David P. Barrows, K. Asakawa, Joseph Schafer, Aurelio M. Espinosa, Frank A. Golder, and others.

*The Leveller Movement*, by Theodore C. Pease, of the University of Illinois, to which was awarded the Herbert Baxter Adams prize in 1915, has now been published and may be obtained from the secretary. The new volume differs materially as to format, type, and paper from its predecessors in this series of *Prize Essays*.

Owing to the length of time it has taken to make the necessary arrangements for the publication of the "Quarterly Bulletin" of the Association, reference to which is made elsewhere in this issue, it has proved impossible to publish the first number as early as had been

planned. The first number will, however, appear during the month of April and the second number, which will contain the directory of the Association, will probably be issued in May or June.

The committee to consider the advisability of establishing an American Review of European History, or of providing enlarged opportunities in some form for the publication in this country of articles on European history, which was provided for at a conference on the subject at the Cincinnati meeting of the Association, has been constituted as follows: Professor Dana C. Munro, chairman, and Professors J. T. Shotwell, W. E. Lingelbach, W. S. Ferguson, and E. R. Turner. The members of the committee will be glad to receive suggestions or expressions of opinion which those who are interested in the proposed plan may care to send them.

In accordance with the new arrangements respecting the conference of historical societies adopted at the annual meeting of the Association in Cincinnati, December 28, 1916, Mr. A. H. Shearer, secretary of the conference, has prepared and sent to the several societies a brief account of the thirteenth annual conference, together with a résumé of the reports of historical societies for the year 1915.

#### PERSONAL

Mgr. Paul Allard, who died some weeks ago at the age of seventy-five years, was the author of *Les Esclaves Chrétiens depuis les Premiers Temps de l'Église jusqu'à la Fin de la Domination Romaine en Occident* (1876); *L'Art Païen sous les Empereurs Chrétiens* (1879); *Histoire des Persécutions du I<sup>er</sup> au IV<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (5 vols., 1885-1890); *Le Christianisme et l'Empire Romain de Néron à Théodose* (1897); *Julien l'Apostat* (1900-1903; third ed., 3 vols., 1906); *Saint Basile*; and *Saint Sidoine Apollinaire*. He was also a frequent contributor to the *Revue des Questions Historiques* and other reviews. He was not a trained historian, but his works were scholarly in character, though strongly marked by his religious sympathies and convictions.

Count Carlo Cipolla, professor in the University of Turin, died November 23, 1916, aged sixty-two years. He was the author of several monographs and the editor of numerous volumes of documents relating to Italian history in the Middle Ages, especially to the history of his native city, Verona.

Dr. Maude A. Huttman has been promoted to be an associate professor of history at Barnard College.

Professor J. F. Baldwin of Vassar College has leave of absence for the second half of the present academic year, during which he expects to complete a volume of *Select Cases before the King's Council*, to be published by the Selden Society.

Professor George M. Dutcher of Wesleyan University and Professor

Frederic L. Paxson of the University of Wisconsin will offer courses in the summer session of the University of Pennsylvania.

Professor William E. Lunt of Cornell University has been elected to the new chair of English constitutional history at Haverford College.

Professor Carl Becker of the University of Minnesota has accepted an invitation to become a professor of history in Cornell University, succeeding to the chair made vacant nearly three years ago by the death of Professor R. C. H. Catterall.

At the University of California, Professor Herbert E. Bolton has become curator of the Bancroft Library, in place of Professor Frederick J. Teggart, who has resigned this curatorship but remains associate professor of history in the university, giving courses in theory, bibliography, and historical geography.

#### GENERAL

It is again necessary to report that no materials have been received from Germany and Austria, while the amount of materials received from the other European countries is the smallest in any quarter since the beginning of the war. Notes of a number of German publications are derived from Swiss and French journals.

*A History of Ornament, Ancient and Medieval*, by Professor A. D. F. Hamlin of Columbia University (Century Company, pp. 430) traces the origins and developments of decorative design from prehistoric times to the close of the Middle Ages. There are 430 illustrations.

Sir Charles Stanford and Cecil Forsyth are joint-authors of a *History of Music* published by the Macmillan Company, which discusses such topics as the origins of music, its development in antiquity, in the Dark Ages, and in the period following, folk-songs, and nationalism in modern music.

The January number of the *Journal of Negro History* (no. 1 of vol. II.) contains as its leading article a study of Slavery and the Slave-Trade in Africa, by Professor Jerome Dowd, of the University of Oklahoma, largely concerned with the trade of the Sudan, the Sahara, and northwest Africa at the close of the eighteenth and throughout the nineteenth century. Mr. H. E. Baker, assistant examiner, United States Patent Office, contributes an article on the Negro in the Field of Invention; Mrs. Alice Dunbar-Nelson continues her study of People of Color in Louisiana, and the editor, Dr. C. G. Woodson, adds interest to the Letters of Benezet published in the section of "Documents" by an excellent account of Benezet's life.

The pages of the January number of the *History Teacher's Magazine* are occupied in large part with the text of the report by a committee of the National Education Association on the Social Studies in Secondary Education. The report was issued in November by the United States

Bureau of Education as *Bulletin no. 28*, 1916. Under the title Historical Geography in College Classes the editor of the *Magazine* has presented a number of map studies, suggestive of a mode of treatment of historical geography. The February number includes War and Peace in the Light of History, by C. C. Eckhardt; Values of History Instruction, being a report of a committee of the Northwestern Association of History, Government, and Economics Teachers; Pictorial Documents as illustrating American History, by Frank Weitenkampf; and Some Aspects of Supervised Study in History, by R. D. Armstrong. The contents of the March number include: Laboratory Methods of Teaching Contemporary History at Columbia University, by P. T. Moon; Changing Emphasis in European History in the High Schools of California, by Geroid Robinson; Newark's 250th Anniversary Celebration: its Historic Features, by D. C. Knowlton; and the Relation of the History Curriculum to Vocational Training in the High Schools, by W. P. Shortridge.

Among the books of present interest on international topics is Ramsay Muir's *Nationalism and Internationalism* (Constable), which traces the development of the idea of nationality, and the failures of those who aspired to create world-states.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. A. Cribbs, *The High School History Course since 1800* (Educational Review, March); A. C. Klebs, *Desiderata in the Cataloguing of Incunabula: with a Guide for Catalogue Entries* (Bibliographical Society of America, Papers, X. 3, July); Ellen C. Semple, *Pirate Coasts of the Mediterranean Sea* (Geographical Review, August, 1916); Anonymous, *Il Sacro Ordine Domenicano nel suo VII<sup>o</sup> Centenario, 1216-1916* (La Civiltà Cattolica, December 16).

#### ANCIENT HISTORY

General review: G. Glotz, *Histoire Grecque, 1011-1911*, V. (Revue Historique, November).

*The Greek House*, by Bertha C. Rider (Cambridge University Press), treats of the development of the Greek house from the neolithic period to the Hellenistic Age.

Mr. A. A. Trever is the author of a doctoral dissertation entitled *A History of Greek Economic Thought* (University of Chicago Press).

The Marshall Jones Company of Boston has begun a co-operative series, *The Mythology of all the Races*, in thirteen volumes. The first volume, dealing with Greek and Roman mythology, is the work of Professor W. S. Fox, of Princeton University. Other volumes which have already appeared are those on Indo-Iranian mythology, by A. Berriedale Keith and Albert J. Carnoy; on Oceanic mythology, by R. Burrage Dixon, and on that of North America (mythology of the Indians north of Mexico) by Hartley B. Alexander.

Part XII. of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, ed. Grenfell and Hunt (Egypt Exploration Fund, 1916, pp. 368) contains official and private documents, most of which illustrate the period from Septimius Severus to Constantine. The rest belong to the earlier period of the Roman domination in Egypt. Part XIII., which is in preparation, will contain literary pieces, including a fragment of book III. of Herodotus.

In his second volume of *Ricerche sulla Storia e sul Diritto Pubblico di Roma* (Rome, Loescher, 1916, pp. 448), Professor E. Pais deals with the consular Fasti.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. S. Duncan, *The Art of the Sumerians* (Art and Archaeology, February); A. H. Sayce, *The Cuneiform Tablets of Cappadocia* (*ibid.*); A. T. Clay, *The Art of the Akkadians* (*ibid.*); P. Cruveilhier, *De l'Interprétation Historique des Événements de la Vie Familiale du Prophète Osée* (Revue Biblique, July); A. H. Smith, *Lord Elgin and his Collection* (Journal of Hellenic Studies, XXXVI. 2); H. Welschinger, *Démosthène et les Athéniens* (Compte Rendu de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, September); Ellsworth Huntington, *Climatic Change and Agricultural Exhaustion as Elements in the Fall of Rome* (Quarterly Journal of Economics, February).

#### EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

*The So-called Egyptian Church Order and Derived Documents* (Cambridge, University Press, 1916, pp. xiv, 197), by R. Hugh Connolly, is the eighth volume of *Texts and Studies: Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature*. The volume contains the text with an elaborate commentary and discussion by the editor, who holds that this document is older than the *Apostolic Constitutions* and the *Canons* of Hippolytus and is the main source of all the church orders, and is, moreover, the work of Hippolytus.

Among recent studies on St. Augustine and his influence are E. Troeltsch, *Augustin, die Christliche Antike und das Mittelalter, im Anschluss an die Schrift "De Civitate Dei"* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1915, pp. xii, 173), and P. Gerosa, *Sant' Agostino e la Decadenza dell' Impero Romano* (Turin, Lib. Internazionale, 1916, pp. 144).

#### MEDIEVAL HISTORY

A. Fliche has chapters on Leo IX., Peter Damian, and Cardinal Humbert, and on several other topics in *Études sur la Polémique Religieuse à l'Époque de Grégoire VII., les Prégrégoriens* (Paris, Société Française d'Imprimerie et de Librairie, 1916).

Essays on Renaud de Chatillon, Pierre de Lusignan, the Turkish siege of Constantinople, and other subjects are collected in *Récits de Byzance et des Croisades* (Paris, 1916) by the late G. Schlumberger, from whose pen has also been published *Un Empereur de Byzance à Paris et à Londres* (Paris, Plon, 1916, pp. 63).



Noteworthy article in periodical: H. Vander Linden, *Les Normands à Louvain, 884-892* (*Revue Historique*, January).

#### MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

General review: G. M. Dutcher, *Le Développement et les Tendances Actuelles des Études Napoléoniennes* (*Revue des Études Napoléoniennes*, January).

Dr. A. C. Klebs of Washington, D. C., is the author of several studies interesting to the students of the history of medicine. The first of these, *Iconographic Notes on Girolamo Fracastoro*, read before the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty of Maryland, Baltimore, June 16, 1915, was printed in the *Johns Hopkins Hospital Bulletin*, vol. XXVI, no. 297 (November, 1915). *Leonardo Da Vinci and his Anatomical Studies*, read before the Society of Medical History of Chicago, October, 1915, was printed in their *Bulletin* (January, 1916, pp. 66-83); and *Leonardo Da Vinci, 1452-1519: his Scientific Research, with particular Reference to his Investigations of the Vascular System*, read before the Harvard Medical Historical Club, February 1, 1916, was printed in the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, July 6, 13, 1916. All these constitute a substantial contribution to the history of the scientific development of the fifteenth century.

Mr. John Horsch, author of a recent life of Menno Simons, has published a comprehensive study of *Infant Baptism: its Origin among Protestants and the Arguments advanced for and against it* (privately printed, Scottdale, Pa., pp. 157), discussing the teachings of Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, Wesley, and others on this subject. The study is part of a history of the Anabaptists which Mr. Horsch has in preparation.

The David A. Wells prize for 1916-1917 has been awarded to Dr. C. H. Haring of Yale University, for an essay on "Trade and Navigation between Spain and the Indies".

Friedrich Naumann has followed his well-known volume on *Mittel-europa* (Berlin, Reimer, 1915) with *Bulgarien und Mitteleuropa* (*ibid.*, 1916). Professor R. Charnatz is the author of *Bruck, der Vorkämpfer Mitteleuropas* (Leipzig, Hirzel, 1916). It will be remembered that Bruck was the Austrian minister of commerce and public works who endeavored in 1849 and 1850 to secure the inclusion of Austria in the Zollverein. His ideas were embodied in two memoirs published in those years.

In the series of *Histories of the Belligerents* (Oxford University Press) four new volumes have appeared: *Italy: a History from Medieval to Modern Times*, the joint work of E. Jamison, C. M. Ady, D. Vernon, and C. S. Terry; *Russia: a History down to Modern Times*, by C. R. Beazley, Nevill Forbes, and G. A. Birkett; *Japan: the Rise of a Modern Power*, by R. P. Porter; and *Portugal*, by George Young.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Malcolm Letts, *Johannes Butzbach, a Wandering Scholar of the Fifteenth Century* (English Historical Review, January); Madame Inna Lubimenko, *Letters illustrating the Relations of England and Russia* (*ibid.*); F. G. Del Valle, *La Compañía de Jesús y el Voto de Pobreza* (Cuba Contemporánea, January); Irving Babbitt, *The Political Influence of Rousseau* (Nation, January 18); A. Mansuy, *Les Campagnes d'Italie et la Première Légion Polonaise, 1796-7 Avril 1797* (La Révolution Française, September, November); C. Besnier, *Les Guerres de Napoléon et la Guerre Actuelle* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, November); Saint-Mathurin, *Le Culte de Napoléon en Allemagne de 1815 à 1848* (*ibid.*, January); A. Chuquet, *Les Prussiens et le Musée du Louvre en 1815* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, October); G. Salvemini, *La Triple Alliance, I.-IV.* (Revue des Nations Latines, July, August, October, January); E. Laloy, *Guillaume II. et l'Alliance Anglo-Japonaise* (Mercure de France, January 16); E. Haumant, *Les Allemands en Russie* (Revue de Paris, January 15); Charles Seymour, *The Alleged Isolation of Germany* (Yale Review, April).

#### THE GREAT WAR

General reviews: G. Gailly, *Les Écrivains au Front et les Écrivains du Front* (Revue des Nations Latines, December); A. Pingaud, *La Guerre vue par les Combattants Allemands* (Revue des Deux Mondes, November 1, December 1); G. W., *Littérature de Guerre Allemande* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, October); G. Borgatta, *La Guerra e le Economie* (La Riforma Sociale, November).

The January and February *Bulletins* of the New York Public Library contain a list of books on the European War recently added to the library.

The latest issues of the several French efforts to furnish serial histories of the war are: L. Cornet, *1914-1915, Histoire de la Guerre* (vol. II., to close of 1914, Paris, Charles-Lavauzelle, 1916, pp. 345); Gabriel Hanotaux, *Histoire Illustrée de la Guerre de 1914* (part 53, Paris, Édition Française Illustrée, 1916); Jean-Bernard, *Histoire Générale et Anecdotique de la Guerre* (12 parts, Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1916); P. Leroy-Beaulieu, *La Guerre de 1914 vue en son Cours chaque Semaine* (vol. II., through July, 1916, Paris, Delagrave, 1916); A. Masson, *L'Invasion des Barbares, 1914-1916* (vol. III., through June, 1916, Paris, Fontemoing, 1916); A. Nicot, *La Grande Guerre, III. Des Flandres à Verdun* (Tours, Mame, 1916, pp. 268); Lieutenant-Colonel Rousset, *La Guerre au Jour le Jour* (through April, 1915, Paris, Tallandier, 1915, pp. 650), with numerous maps, plans, and illustrations; Joseph Reinach, *Les Commentaires de Polybe* (vol. VII., to spring of 1916, Paris, Fasquelle, 1916); and *Le Larousse Mensuel Illustré* (Paris, Larousse) covers the history from 1907 to the end of 1916 in an encyclopedic arrangement.

*Trois Mois de Guerre, Août, Septembre, Octobre, 1915*, by Gaston

Jollivet (Hachette, pp. 364), is the fourth volume of a most useful reference work. The treatment of the subject is divided into three sections, the first dealing with principal events of the war, the second with diplomacy and policy, and the third with details and incidents of the warfare.

Jean Debrit, the Swiss military expert, has issued the fourth volume of *La Guerre de 1914: Notes au Jour le Jour par un Neutre* (Paris, Crès, 1916), which deals with events from July 1 to September 20, 1915. *Frankreich im Kriege, 1914-1916* (Paris, Fischbacher, 1916) is by Dr. Max Müller, the correspondent of the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*.

*Guerre de 1914, Documents Officiels* (Paris, Dalloz, 1917) contains documents to the end of 1916 in the fifteenth volume. *Volumes du Bulletin Officiel du Ministère de la Guerre, 1915-1916* (Paris, Lavauzelle) now form a collection of over 100 pamphlets and volumes of instructions and regulations applying to every branch of the army and its activities. The *Recueil des Communiqués Officiels* (no. 23, Paris, Payot), is also reprinted as numbers in the admirable pamphlet series *Pages d'Histoire* (Paris, Berger-Levrault) of which 120 numbers have appeared containing also reprints of all the vari-colored books, much other official material and monographs on special subjects forming a running commentary of illustrative materials on the progress of the war. Of somewhat less value, but also important and useful, is the series *Pages Actuelles* (Paris, Bloud and Gay) of which 103 issues are out. *La France Héroïque et ses Alliés* (Paris, Larousse) prepared by G. Geffroy, L. Lacour, and L. Lumet, has reached its twenty-fourth issue.

The January, February, and March numbers of *Current History*, a monthly magazine published by the *New York Times*, contain, in convenient form, the texts of the notes of President Wilson and of the various belligerent powers respecting peace, those which have more recently passed between the United States and Germany, and other similar documents.

Attempts to write the history of the battle of the Marne have been made by Louis Madelin in *La Victoire de la Marne* (Paris, Plon, 1916, pp. 138); by E. Henriot, in *La Bataille de la Marne* (Paris, Eggimann, 1916), which contains numerous plans and illustrations; and by C. Le Goffic, in *La Victoire de la Marne: les Marais de Saint-Gond* (Paris, Plon, 1917). P. E. Colin has announced *La Bataille de l'Ourcq* (Bourg-la-Reine, the author, 1917) as the first volume in a series, *Les Routes de la Grande Guerre*, which is to be published in luxuriously illustrated, limited editions.

Other volumes relating to some aspect of the war on the west front are G. Somville, *The Road to Liège, the Path of Crime, August, 1914* (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1916, pp. xxii, 296) translated by B. Miall; G. Le Bail, *La Brigade des Jean Le Gouin: Histoire Docu-*

mentaire et Anecdote des Fusiliers-Marins de Dixmude, d'après des Documents Originaux et les Récits des Combattants (Paris, Perrin, 1917); G. Jollivet, *L'Épopée de Verdun, 1916* (Paris, Hachette, 1917); J. Mortane, *Les Vols Émouvants de la Guerre* (Paris, Lafitte, 1917); M. Nadaud, *En Plein Vol, Souvenirs de Guerre Aérienne, Juillet 1915-Juillet 1916* (Paris, Hachette, 1916); Général Malleterre, *Études et Impressions de Guerre, Première Série, 1914-1915* (Paris, Tallandier, 1916).

The Gallipoli campaign is described by C. Stiénon in *L'Expédition des Dardanelles* (Paris, Chapelot, 1916); by John Masefield in *Gallipoli* (New York, Macmillan, 1916, pp. 245); by John Gallishaw, a Newfoundland, in *Trenching at Gallipoli* (New York, Century Company, 1916, pp. 225); by Reverend O. Creighton in *With the Twenty-Ninth Division in Gallipoli: a Chaplain's Experiences* (London, Longmans, 1916, pp. xiv, 191). *From Dartmouth to the Dardanelles, a Midshipman's Log, edited by his Mother* (London, Heinemann, 1916, pp. ix, 174) recites the naval side of the campaign. Narratives of the Balkan campaign are contained in *Dardanelles, Serbie, Salonique: Impressions et Souvenirs de Guerre, Août 1915-Février 1916* (Paris, Plon, 1916, pp. 341) by J. Vassal; and in *En Macédoine, Carnet de Route d'un Sergent de l'Armée d'Orient* (Paris, Crès, 1916), by J. Arène.

Discussions of Germany's relations to the war are contained in Hashagen, *Umriss der Weltpolitik* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1916); Professor G. Pfeilschifter and others, *La Culture Allemande: le Catholicisme et la Guerre, Réponse à l'Ouvrage Français, La Guerre Allemande et le Catholicisme* (Amsterdam, Langenhuisen, 1916); S. Grumbach, *Das Annexionistische Deutschland: eine Sammlung von Dokumenten die seit dem 4. August 1914, in Deutschland öffentlich oder geheim Verbreitet Wurden* (Paris, Payot, 1917, pp. 500), of which an English edition is in preparation; Professor C. Andler, *Le Pangermanisme Philosophique, 1800 à 1914* (Paris, Conard, 1917), his fourth volume on Pan-Germanism; Léon Maccas, *German Barbarism: a Neutral's Indictment* (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1916, pp. xii, 228) by a Greek; J. Pelissier, *Une Enquête d'Avant-Guerre: l'Europe sous la Menace Allemande en 1914* (Paris, Perrin, 1916, pp. xv, 331); *L'Allemagne et les Alliés devant la Conscience Chrétienne* (Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1916); and *Lettres du Professor Kurt Oscar Muller* [pseudonym of Abbé Wetterle], *Têtes de Boches* (Paris, Édition Française Illustrée, 1916).

Under the title *Les Lois de la Guerre Continentale* (Paris, Payot, 1916, pp. xxvi, 198), P. Charpentier has translated the *Kriegsbrauch im Landkriege* prepared by the German Great General Staff, with annotations to show that the staff had adopted rules of war in violation of the rules adopted at the Hague and ratified by Germany, and that in actual war Germany has not lived up even to these rules of her own framing.

*Des Entreprises Austro-Allemandes constituées sous Forme de Sociétés Françaises et de l'Influence de la Présence d'Austro-Allemands dans les Sociétés* (Paris, Tenin, 1916) is an international law study by H. E. Barrault. Professor L. Renault of the Paris Law School is the author of *Les Premières Violations du Droit des Gens par l'Allemagne: Luxembourg et Belgique* (*ibid.*, 1917), and his colleague, Professor R. Jacquelin, of *Le Droit Social et la Réparation des Dommages en Régions Envahies* (*ibid.*). Professor Renault has also written an introduction to *Le Régime des Prisonniers de Guerre en France et en Allemagne au Regard des Conventions Internationales, 1914-1916* (Paris, Imp. Nationale, 1916, pp. xi, 100).

France behind the lines and its problems furnish subjects for several books. *En Marge de la Grande Guerre* (Paris, Flammarion, 1916), by G. Bonnier, contains a comparison of conditions in Savoy and Dauphiné in 1870 and 1914; Abbé C. Lippard preserves his *Notes et Impressions de Guerre: Beaumont-sur-Oise pendant les Mois d'Août et Septembre 1914* (Beaumont-sur-Oise, Ducaux and Marchandon, 1916, pp. 116); the second volume of Léonce de Grandmaison's *Impressions de Guerre de Prêtres Soldats* bears the subtitle *De Bruxelles à Salonique* (Paris, Plon, 1917); Paul Delay deals with the dioceses of the interior in the second volume of *Les Catholiques au Service de la France* (Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1917); André Spire has written of *Les Juifs et la Guerre* (Paris, Payot, 1917); and Berthem-Bontoux, of *Les Françaises et la Grande Guerre* (Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1917).

*L'Invasione Respinta, Aprile-Luglio, 1916* (Milan, Treves, 1916), by A. Fraccaroli; *En Italie pendant la Guerre, de la Déclaration de Guerre à l'Autriche, Mai, 1915, à la Déclaration de Guerre à l'Allemagne, Août, 1916* (Paris, Van Oest, 1916), by J. Destrée; *L'Italie et le Conflit Européen, 1914-1916* (Paris, Alcan, 1916, pp. 278), by J. Alazard; *L'Italie et la Guerre Actuelle* (Florence, Imp. Dominicaine, 1916, pp. 285), a volume of articles by eleven Italian university professors; and *L'Italia e il Mediterraneo Orientale* (Rome, L'Italiana, 1916), by R. Paribeni, present several aspects of Italy's activities and policies in the present struggle. The first volume of *La Guerra d'Italia, 1915-1916* (Milan, Treves, 1916, pp. 400), carries the narrative to the declaration of war against Austria in May, 1915, and is abundantly illustrated. *La Guerra delle Nazioni nel 1914-1915 e 1916* (Milan, Treves, 1916, vol. II, pp. 408) is largely composed of documentary materials.

The maritime phase of international law, with regard to the present war, is set forth by Professor D. Danjon of Caen in his *Traité de Droit Maritime* (Paris, Pichon and Durand-Auzias, 1915-1916) of which the fifth and sixth volumes have recently appeared, and more specifically in *Le Droit International Maritime et la Grande Guerre* (*ibid.*, 1916) by Dr. E. Pchédécki. The *Décisions du Conseil des Prises et Décrets rendus en Conseil d'État en Matière de Prises Maritimes du*

4 Août 1914 au 18 Juillet 1916 (Paris, Challamel, 1916), with allied materials, have been collected in a volume. The second volume of P. Fauchille's *La Guerre de 1914: Recueil de Documents intéressant le Droit International* (Paris, Pedone, 1917) contains documents 380-670.

Among volumes of illustrations and caricatures on the war may be cited J. Grand-Carteret, *Caricatures et Images de la Guerre*, I. *Kaiser, Kronprinz et Cie.*, II. *La Kultur et ses Hauts Faits* (Paris, Chapelot, 1916-1917), and his *Verdun, Images de Guerre* (*ibid.*, 1917); Mantelet-Martel, *L'Hiver 1914 dans les Hauts de Meuse* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1916) containing 24 plates and text by C. Igounet de Villers; *Album Zislín: Dessins de Guerre* (*ibid.*, 16 plates). Serial publications include E. Hinzelin, *1914, Histoire Illustrée de la Guerre du Droit* (Paris, Quillet), of which 25 numbers have appeared; *L'Art et les Artistes* (23 Quai Voltaire, Paris), which has issued special illustrated numbers on Reims, Belgium, Poland, Lille, Lorraine, Rumania, etc.; and *La Guerre: Documents de la Section Photographique de l'Armée, Ministère de la Guerre* (Paris, Colin), of which the second volume of fascicles has appeared containing some 500 photographic views, and text by Ardouin-Dumazet.

The following volumes are narratives of personal experiences of Frenchmen in the earlier months of the war, which in most cases were terminated by the death of the writer: F. Dongot, *Soixante Jours de Guerre: Journal d'un Fantassin, Novembre-Décembre, 1914* (Paris, Barranger, 1916); A. Chevrillon, *Lettres d'un Soldat, Août 1914-Avril 1915* (Paris, Chapelot, 1916, pp. xxxiv, 164); H. Célarié, *Sous les Obus: Souvenirs d'une Jeune Lorraine, 1914-1915* (Paris, Gedalge, 1916, pp. 237); Capt. F. Belmont, *Lettres d'un Officier de Chasseurs Alpains, 2 Août 1914-28 Décembre 1915* (Paris, Plon, 1916, pp. liv, 313); Général Bon, *Causeries et Souvenirs, 1914-1915: un Combattant de la Grande Guerre* (Paris, Floury, 1916, pp. viii, 383); D. Bertrand de Laflotte, *Dans les Flandres, Notes d'un Volontaire de la Croix-Rouge, 1914-1915* (Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1917, pp. 288); Sous-Lieutenant A. Dollé, *Pages de Gloire, d'Amour, et de Mort, Guerre de 1914-1916* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1916, pp. x, 182); and Lieut. L. Thomas, *Les Diables Bleus pendant la Guerre de Délivrance, 1914-1916* (Paris, Perrin, 1916, pp. ii, 418.)

Similar narratives for later parts of the war are J. Schewabel, *La Pentecôte à Arras* (Paris, 1916); Adrien Bertrand, *La Victoire de Lorraine, Carnet d'un Officier de Dragons* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1916); J. Galtier-Boissière, *En Rase Campagne et un Hiver à Souchez* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1917); P. Lecasble, *Dans les Tranchées Crayeuses, l'Attente, 1915-1916* (Paris, Jouve, 1916); Lieut. L. Thomas, *Avec les Chasseurs* (Paris, Crès, 1916); M. Gouvieux, *Notes d'un Officier* (Paris, Lafitte, 1916).

German personal narratives of the war include General von Moser,

*Kampf und Siegestage* (Berlin, Mittler, 1914), by a Württemberger; Otto von Gottberg, *Als Adjutant durch Frankreich und Belgien* (Berlin, Scherl, 1915); the Saxon, Felix Marschner, *Mit der 23. Reserve-Division durch Belgien und Frankreich, Kriegserlebnisse* (Leipzig, 1915), as far as the battle around Reims; the two anonymous narratives, *Unser Vormarsch bis zur Marne aus dem Kriegstagebuch eines Sächsischen Offiziers* (Berlin, Mittler, 1915); and *Was Ich in Mehr als 80 Schlachten und Gefechten Erlebte* (*ibid.*). P. Witkop has edited a volume of *Kriegsbriefe Deutscher Studenten* (Gotha, Perthes, 1916). L. Ganghofer, *Reise zur Deutschen Front, 1915* (Berlin, Ullstein, 1915); and R. H. Bartsch, *Das Deutsche Volk in Schwerer Zeit* (*ibid.*) are the records respectively of a Bavarian and an Austrian correspondent's visits to the eastern and western fronts.

*L'Action Allemande aux États-Unis, de la Mission Dernburg à l'Incident Dumba (2 Août 1914-25 Septembre 1915)*, by G. Alphaud, with a preface by Ernest Lavisse (Payot, 1915, pp. xvi, 498) is a volume designed to expose in detail to the French reading public the German propaganda in the United States. It is based largely upon an extensive survey of American newspapers supplemented by observation during a visit to the United States in 1915. The account in its broad outlines is probably substantially correct, although one cannot help feeling that the extent of Mr. Dernburg's influence is somewhat exaggerated, and one must regret a certain naive conception on the part of the author of certain phases of American history, as for example that the Hessian troops employed by the British in the Revolution were recruited from the German population of the colonies, which is represented as having been opposed to the Revolution.

Those portions of Lord Bryce's presidential addresses before the British Academy which deal with the war have been gathered into a pamphlet under the title *Some Historical Reflections, 1915-1916*, published by Mr. Milford.

*War Bread*, by Edward E. Hunt, "a personal narrative of the war and relief in Belgium", adds its bit to the history of relief measures which will form so important a part of the social history of the present war.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Vidal de la Blache, *Lettres, 28 Juillet 1914-26 Janvier 1915* (Revue de Paris, January 1); P. M. Masson, *Lettres de Guerre* (Revue des Deux Mondes, January 15); Lieutenant X., *Journal d'un Officier Mitrailleur à Verdun* (Revue Hebdomadaire, October 28); C. Nordmann, *Impressions d'un Combattant, Notes de Route*, VI. (Revue des Deux Mondes, November 15); P. Adam, *La Terre qui Tonne*, I. Artois, II. Champagne (Revue de Paris, November 15, December 1); A. Chevrillon, *Visites au Front, Juin, 1916*, I.-II. (Revue des Deux Mondes, December 15, January 1); R. Milan, *Les Vagabonds de la Gloire: Vers l'Armée d'Orient*, I. (Revue de Paris,

December 15); G. Hanotaux, *La Bataille de la Trouée de Charmes, 25-26 Août 1914* (Revue des Deux Mondes, November 15); J. Reinach, *Une Version Allemande de la Marne* (Revue de Paris, December 1); A. Boppe, *À la Suite du Gouvernement Serbe de Nich à Saint-Jean de Medua, 20 Octobre 1915-14 Février 1916* (Revue des Deux Mondes, December 15, January 1); M. Tinayre, *Un Été à Salonique, Avril-Septembre 1916* (*ibid.*, January 15); O. Guihéneuc, *La Bataille du Jutland* (Revue de Paris, November 1); R. Worms, *La Juridiction des Prises durant la Seconde Année de la Guerre* (Compte Rendu de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, November); E. de Guichen, *Le Problème de l'Europe Centrale envisagé dans son Passé et pendant la Guerre Actuelle* (*ibid.*, December); G. Hanotaux, *L'Ère Nouvelle, Problèmes de la Guerre et de la Paix* (Revue des Deux Mondes, June 15, November 1); A. W. Risley, *International Law and the Present European War* (Journal of the New York State Teachers' Association, October); W. C. Abbott, *The Literature of the War* (Yale Review, April).

#### GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

Volumes III. and IV. of *The Arts in Early England*, by Professor G. Baldwin Brown of the University of Edinburgh (London, John Murray, New York, Dutton), have recently appeared. These volumes deal in comprehensive manner with *Saxon Decorative Art of the Pagan Period*.

In a doctoral dissertation emanating from the University of Chicago Mr. P. G. Mode studies *The Influence of the Black Death on the English Monasteries* (privately printed, 1916). Beginning with a survey of the relation of the monastery of the fourteenth century to the community, he proceeds to study the mortality of the clergy, the burdens imposed on the monasteries by the Hundred Years' War, the financial stress to which they were subjected because of the plague, and the slackening of discipline which eventually resulted. Appendixes present appeals for aid, recognizances, and incumbents of representative monasteries.

The Kingsgate Press has issued *A Baptist Bibliography: being a Register of the Chief Materials for Baptist History, whether in Manuscript or in Print, preserved in Great Britain, Ireland, and the Colonies*, vol. I., 1526-1576, compiled for the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland, by Dr. W. T. Whitley.

A monograph in English agricultural history by A. W. Ashby, entitled *Small Holdings and Allotments in Oxfordshire* is announced by the Oxford University Press.

*The Seconde Parte of a Register*, edited by Dr. Albert Peel (Cambridge, University Press, 1915, 2 vols.), is a calendar of material gathered together by the English Puritans to follow their *Parte of a Register* published in 1592 or 1593. The material here calendared, which was never



published, gives much light on the religious controversy under Elizabeth.

Considerable historical interest attaches to *Political Ballads illustrating the Administration of Sir Robert Walpole*, admirably edited, in the *Oxford Historical and Literary Studies*, by Dr. Milton Percival, who in an introduction of 58 pages points out the important function of the ballad in circulating and commenting upon news which the newspapers suppressed.

Messrs. Routledge (London) announce *Chatham's Colonial Policy: a Study of the Fiscal and Economic Implications of the Colonial Policy of the Elder Pitt* by Miss Kate Hotblack.

Volume III. of the biography of Lord Kitchener published by the Gresham Publishing Company, entitled *Field-Marshal Lord Kitchener: his Life and Work for the Empire*, is the work of Mr. E. S. Grew and others.

The Scottish History Society will soon issue, as its volumes for 1915-1916, volume III. of the *Selections from the Records of the Regality of Melrose* and volume I. of its *Catalogue of Topographical Works relating to Scotland*. For 1916-1917 it will issue the second and concluding volume of the catalogue named, and either the second volume of Warriston's *Diary* or the first volume of *Papers relating to the Army of the Solemn League and Covenant, 1643-1647*, edited by Professor C. S. Terry. A third selection of *Papers relating to the Highlands*, edited by Mr. J. R. N. Macphail, K. C., and a set of selections from the Baron Court Book of Forbes are likely to be undertaken later.

Two phases of recent Irish history are discussed in St. John G. Irvine's *Sir Edward Carson and the Ulster Movement* (Dodd, Mead, and Company) and *The Irish Rebellion of 1910 and its Martyrs*, by Pádraic Colum and others, edited by Maurice Joy.

Messrs. Angus and Robertson of Sydney have just issued a fourth and revised edition of Mr. G. E. Boxall's *History of the Australian Bushrangers*, a small but standard book upon an important episode in Australian history.

British government publications: *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, Elizabeth*, vol. XIX., August, 1584-August, 1585, ed. Sophie C. Lomas; *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem and other Analogous Documents*, IX., Edward III.; *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, third series, vol. VIII., 1683-1684, ed. P. Hume Brown (H. M. General Register House, Edinburgh); *Historical Records of Australia*, series I., *Governors' Despatches to and from England*, vol. VII., January, 1809-June, 1813; vol. VIII., July, 1813-December, 1815.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. H. F. Lefroy, *The Anglo-Saxon Period of English Law* (Yale Law Journal, February); W. E. Lunt, *A Papal Tenth levied in the British Isles from 1274 to 1280* (English Historical Review, January); E. R. Adair, *The Statute of Proclamations*

(*ibid.*); W. P. M. Kennedy, *The Inner History of the Reformation under Edward VI.* (American Catholic Quarterly Review, January); Miss K. M. Eliot, *The First Voyages of Martin Frobisher* (English Historical Review, January); C. E. Fryer, *The Royal Veto under Charles II.* (*ibid.*); C. H. Firth, *Modern History in Oxford, 1724-1841* (*ibid.*); J. H. Clapham, *The Spitalfields Acts, 1773-1824* (Economic Journal, December); H. A. Gibbons, *Great Britain in the Sudan* (Century, January); P. Meuriot, *Des Efforts Récents de la Législation Britannique pour créer en Irlande la Propriété Paysanne* (Compte Rendu de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, September); E. R. Turner, *Ulster and Nationalist Ireland* (Nation, January 25, March 15).

#### FRANCE

General review: R. Reuss, *Histoire de France, Révolution* (Revue Historique, January).

The period from 825 to 1169 is included in the first volume of *Chartes de l'Abbaye de Jumièges, conservées aux Archives de la Seine-Inférieure* (Paris, Picard, 1916, pp. cxxxv, 240), which has been edited with introduction and notes by J. J. Vernier for the Society of the History of Normandy.

The following volumes are recent publications relating to the economic and legal conditions in medieval France: R. Grand, *Contribution à l'Histoire du Régime des Terres, le Contrat de Complant depuis les Origines jusqu'à nos Jours* (Paris, Tenin, 1917); P. Bastid, *De la Fonction Sociale des Communautés Taisibles de l'Ancien Droit* (Tours, Salmon, 1916, pp. 223); and Geneviève Aclouque, *Les Corporations, l'Industrie, et le Commerce à Chartres du XI<sup>e</sup> Siècle à la Révolution* (Paris, Picard, 1917).

Numbers 375 and 376 of the publications of the Society of the History of France are *Chronique des Règnes de Jean II. et de Charles V.* (vol. II., 1364-1380, Paris, Laurens, 1916, pp. 392), edited by R. Delachenal; and *Dépêches des Ambassadeurs Milanais en France sous Louis XI. et François Sforza* (vol. I., 1461-1463, *ibid.*, pp. 469), edited by B. de Mandrot. H. Courteault published, in the 1915 volume of the *Annuaire-Bulletin* of the society, *Le Dossier Naples des Archives Nicolay: Documents pour Servir à l'Histoire de l'Occupation Française du Royaume de Naples sous Louis XII.*

A. Renaudet has listed *Les Sources de l'Histoire de France aux Archives d'État de Florence, des Guerres d'Italie à la Révolution, 1404-1780* (Paris, Champion, 1917, pp. 270). The same scholar is the author of *Préréforme et Humanisme à Paris pendant les Premières Guerres d'Italie, 1404-1517* (*ibid.*, 1916, pp. xlvi, 739).

Dr. A. Monod has presented his thesis at the Sorbonne on *De Pascal à Chateaubriand: les Défenseurs Français du Christianisme de 1670 à 1802* (Paris, Alcan, 1916, pp. 609).

A life of *Le Dernier Lieutenant Général au Bailliage et Siège Præsidential de Caen, Constantin Le Bourguignon du Perré de Lisle, 1740-1804* (Caen, Poisson, 1916, pp. 482) is a contribution to provincial history at the close of the Ancien Régime by Louis Le Bourguignon du Perré.

*Maréchaux de France, Chronologie Militaire, 1768-1870* (Paris, Fournier, 1916, pp. 356) is a volume due to the careful efforts of F. Bruel of the Archives de la Guerre.

Paul Meuriot has prepared a useful manual of *La Population et les Lois Électorales en France de 1789 à nos Jours* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1916, pp. 96).

*Les Vicissitudes du Domaine Congéable en Basse-Bretagne à l'Époque de la Révolution* (Paris, Leroux, 1915, 2 vols., pp. 560, 475), by Dr. L. Dubreuil, published in the *Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire Économique de la Révolution Française*, deals with the efforts of the revolutionary legislators to deal with the peculiar form of land tenure prevalent in the extreme northwest corner of France, which was apparently partly feudal and therefore subject to the laws abolishing feudal rights but also partly contractual and so exempt from those laws. The materials selected for publication are carefully arranged with a modicum of explanatory matter so as to furnish a complete documented account of the problem.

The latest issue of the same series is the second and last volume of the *Cahiers de Doléances . . . de la Sénéchaussée Particulière d'Angers* (Paris, Leroux, 1916, pp. 841) edited by Dr. A. Le Moy, professor in the Lycée of Angers. The volume contains the cahiers of the parishes arranged in five groups according to the nature of the cahiers. The first four groups are determined by the models followed in drafting the cahier, while the fifth group is composed of those parishes drafting original cahiers. In the case of each parish a valuable amount of statistical and other information is given. The editor deserves high praise for the diligent care and critical scholarship displayed in these two excellent volumes.

Sir John Hall has used some new materials, especially from the Fortescue papers in the Record Office, in *General Pichegru's Treason* (London, Smith, Elder, 1915, pp. ix, 363).

The second volume of J. Burnichon's *La Compagnie de Jésus en France: Histoire d'un Siècle, 1814-1914* (Paris, Beauchesne, 1916, pp. 736) covers the period from 1830 to 1845.

J. F. Jeanjean is the author of *Guizot et Mahul dans leur Relations Politiques, d'après des Documents Inédits, 1820-1850* (Carcassonne, Imp. Gabelle, 1916).

*A Histoire des Corses et de leur Civilisation* (Tours, Deslis, 1916, pp. vii, 607) is by A. Ambrosi.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: V. Guiraud, *La Civilisation Française* (Revue des Deux Mondes, December 15); C. Pfister, *Le Baptême de Clovis* (Revue Hebdomadaire, October 21); L. Halphen, *Études Critiques sur l'Histoire de Charlemagne*, I. *La Composition des Annales Royales* (Revue Historique, January); L. Thuasne, *Un Diplomate d'Autrefois, les Missions de Robert Gaguin, 1433-1501* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXX. 3); L. Romier, *Les Protestants Français à la Ville des Guerres Civiles*, I. (Revue Historique, January); R. Peyre, *La Question des Subsistances et des Approvisionnements en France à la Fin du Dix-septième Siècle pendant la Guerre de la Ligue d'Augsbourg* (Revue des Études Historiques, October); A. Chuquet, *L'Assassinat de Marat* (Revue Hebdomadaire, November 18); A. Henry, *La Révolution et la Réparation des Dommages de Guerre* (Nouvelle Revue Historique de Droit Français et Étranger, July); J. Bourdon, *L'Administration Militaire sous Napoléon I<sup>er</sup> et ses Rapports avec l'Administration Générale* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, January); G. Lacour-Gayet, *Les Premières Relations de Talleyrand et de Bonaparte, Décembre 1797-Janvier 1798* (Revue Hebdomadaire, December 9); P. Rain, *Les Centenaires de la Restauration, Chronique de 1816* (Revue des Études Historiques, October); A. Fortier, *Dupont de l'Euve: la Révolution de Juillet 1830*, I. (La Révolution de 1848, August); E. Daudet, *La Prise d'Alger, 4 Juillet 1830* (Revue Hebdomadaire, October 28); P. et M. de Pradel de Lamase, *Autour de Henri V., Querelles Royales*, I-II. (Revue de Paris, November 15, December 15); R. G. Lévy, *Un Demi-Siècle de Civilisation Française* (Revue des Nations Latines, December); P. Imbart de la Tour, *Le Marquis de Vogüé* (Revue des Deux Mondes, December 15); G. Goyau, *L'Église de France pendant la Guerre* (*ibid.*, December 1).

#### ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

Antonio Anzilotti, Corrado Barbagallo, and Ettore Royà are the editors of the *Nuova Rivista Storica* (Milan, Albrighi, Legati, and Company) of which the first number bears date, January, 1917.

A new life of *Sainte Catherine de Sicenne, 1347-1380* (Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1916, pp. 256) is by Pierre-Gauthiez.

The fifth volume of the *Codex Diplomaticus Ord. E. S. Augustini Papiæ* (Pavia, Rossetti, 1915, pp. xxxiii, 474), edited by R. Maiocchi and N. Casacca, includes materials for the years 1621-1900.

The *Edizione Nazionale* of the *Scritti* of Mazzini is being supplemented by *Protocollo della Giovine Italia, Congrega Centrale di Francia* (vol. I., 1840-1842, Imola, Galeati, 1916, pp. lvi, 358).

A thorough study of the Revolution of 1848 in Venice is furnished by V. Marchesi in *Storia Documentata della Rivoluzione e della Difesa di Venezia negli Anni 1848-1849 tratta da Fonti Italiane ed Austriache* (Venice, Istituto Veneto di Arti Grafiche, 1916, pp. 562).

Professor B. Croce has recently published a study of *La Spagna nella Vita Italiana durante la Rinascenza* (Bari, Laterza, 1917).

The publication of the section of the *Guía Histórica y Descriptiva de los Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Museos Arqueológicos de España*, under the direction of F. Rodriguez Marin, dealing with the *Museos de Madrid*, was begun in the May, 1916, issue and continued in the July issue of the *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Museos* as an annex. The section on the *Archivos Históricos de Madrid* was begun in the July number of the same review.

Father A. Astrain deals with the years 1615-1652 in the fifth volume of *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Asistencia de España* (Madrid, Razón y Fe, 1916, pp. xii, 736).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Anonymous, *Vincenzo Gioberti e i Gesuiti*, IV.-V. (La Civiltà Cattolica, November 4, 18); L. Messedaglia, *Il Protocollo della "Giovine Italia"* (Nuova Antologia, November 1); J. Destrée, *Luigi Luzzatti* (Revue de Paris, December 1); S. M. Waxman, *Chapters on Magic in Spanish Literature* (Revue Hispanique, December); J. H. Probst, *Francesch Eximenic: ses Idées Politiques et Sociales* (*ibid.*, February); Ayres de Sá, *Frei Gonçalo Velho, Commentarios, 1416-1916* (*ibid.*, October); V. Castañeda, *Relación del Auto de Fe en el que se Condenó a Don Pablo de Olavide, Caballero del Hábito de Santiago* (Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Museos, July).

#### GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

German-Slave relations in the medieval colonization of Mecklenburg form the subject of an extensive doctoral dissertation by D. N. Iegorov entitled *Slaviano-Guermanskia Otnochenia v Srednia Veka, Colonisatsia Meklenbourga v XIII Veka* (Moscow, 1915, 2 vols., pp. vii, 567; xxvii, 614). The author shows that the nobility of Mecklenburg was not Germanized until the thirteenth century, that the Slavic speech was used there until the sixteenth century, and that not until the Thirty Years' War did Germanizing influences completely displace the Slavic.

The St. Boniface Historical Society, in an "endeavor to win for the history of the German nation the place due it in English Catholic Literature", is publishing a series of pamphlets entitled *Oak-Leaves: Gleanings from German History*. The brief articles contained in the pamphlets, five of which have come to hand, range over the entire field of German history, from "How Charlemagne became Emperor" to "Edifying War Stories", referring to the present war.

Hermann Loening's thesis on *Johann Gottfried Hoffmann und sein Anteil an der Staatswirtschaftlichen Gesetzgebung Preussens* (vol. I., 1785-1813, Tübingen, 1914) is useful for the study of the reform measures under Frederick William III.

K. Knoke's *Niederdeutsches Schulwesen zur Zeit der Französisch-Westfälischen Herrschaft, 1803-1813* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1916) is the fifty-fourth volume of *Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica*, and makes an interesting contribution to the history of the Napoleonic influences in Germany.

The second volume of H. Wahl's edition of the *Briefwechsel des Herzog Carl August mit Goethe* (Berlin, Mittler, 1916) includes the years 1807-1820.

The interesting career of *Joseph von Görres en de Kerk in Duitschland in zijn Tijd, 1776-1848* (Leiden, "Futura", 1915, pp. 445) is the subject of a volume by J. B. van Dijk.

R. Oehler and C. Bernoulli have edited the *Briefwechsel* (Leipzig, Insel-Verlag, 1916) of Nietzsche with Franz Overbeck. It is interesting to note that the publication of this volume has been permitted though Bernoulli's two volumes on *Overbeck und Nietzsche* published ten years ago were the subject of legal prosecution.

D. Viollier is the author of a study of *Les Sépultures du Second Age du Fer sur le Plateau Suisse* (Geneva, Georg, 1916, pp. x, 145)

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Commandant Weill, *La Morale Politique du Grand Frédéric d'après sa Correspondance*, V. (*Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique*, XXX. 3); M. Mazziotti, *Il Principe di Bülow e la Politica Germanica* (*Nuova Antologia*, November 1); G. Pariset, *Les Enseignements du Haut Professorat d'Allemagne sur la Guerre* (*Revue de Paris*, December 15, January 1); Commandant Marcel Prévost, *Documents sur la Misère Allemande* (*ibid.*, December 15); J. Chopin, *La Création de l'Autriche-Hongrie* (*Mercure de France*, November 16); L. Eisenmann, *François-Joseph I<sup>er</sup>* (*Revue de Paris*, January 1); R. Pinon, *François-Joseph* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, January 1).

#### NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

A Society for the Publication of Grotius has recently been formed at the Hague and a committee appointed to go forward with the work, which is to begin with the publication of the letters to and from Grotius. Of this committee Professor C. van Vollenhoven of Leiden is the president, Dr. P. C. Molhuysen of the Hague secretary, and Mr. G. J. Fabius of Rotterdam treasurer.

Contributions to the military history of the invasion of Belgium include Maurice des Ombiaux, *Fastes Militaires des Belges* (Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1916, pp. 256); *Pour la Défense du Pays, Documents sur la Guerre Européenne* (Paris, Van Oest, 1916, pp. 300), by Dr. Terwagne, the Belgian agent at the Hague; P. Torn, *Huit Mois avec les Boches dans le Luxembourg Belge, Août 1914-Avril 1915* (Paris, Perrin, 1916, pp. 212); L. Mokveld, *L'Invasion de la Belgique, Témoi-*

*gnage d'un Neutre* (Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1917). F. Van Langenhove has attempted a critical study of *Comment Naît un Cycle de Légendes: Francs Tireurs et Atrocités en Belgique* (Paris, Payot, 1916).

Émile Vandervelde has written *La Belgique Envahie et le Socialisme International* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1916), and Henri Heyman, the president of the federation of Catholic labor unions in Belgium, is the author of *La Belgique Sociale: son Passé, son Avenir, et Celui des Pays Alliés* (Paris, Payot, 1916).

In *La Barrière Belge: Essais d'Histoire Territoriale et Diplomatique* (Paris, Perrin, 1916, pp. 285), Pierre Nothomb has reprinted four articles from *Le Correspondant* in which he has discussed whether Belgium was ever Germanized, the relations with Holland, the natural frontier of the Eifel, and the Belgian relations with the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg. A later volume by the same author is *La Belgique en France: les Réfugiés et les Héros* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1917, pp. xv, 195). Italian expressions form the first volume of *Opinions sur la Belgique* (Paris, Van Oest, 1916, pp. xv, 101), compiled by J. Destrée.

#### NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

Professor N. Jorga of Bucharest has published a *Histoire des Roumains de Transylvanie et de Hongrie* (Bucharest, Göbl, 1915-1916, 2 vols.).

*Essai sur la Crise Balkanique, 1912-1913* (Paris, Larose, 1916, pp. 282) is a thesis in international law by D. Iancovici.

The Cambridge University Press expects shortly to publish a volume entitled *Russian Realities and Problems* edited by Mr. J. D. Duff. Professor Paul Miliukov contributes to it "The War and Balkan Politics" and "The Representative System of Russia"; Professor Peter Struve "The Past and Present of Russian Economics"; Mr. Roman Dmowski, for years leader of the Polish party in the Duma, "Poland Old and New"; Dr. Alexander Lappo-Danilevskii "The Development of Science and Learning in Russia"; and Mr. Harold Williams "The Nationalities of Russia"; all lectures delivered last summer at Cambridge.

*Poland Past and Present: an Historical Study* (Allen and Unwin), is the work of J. H. Harley, the editor of the *Polish Review*.

Professor Paul Vinogradoff has, in a volume entitled *Self-Government in Russia* (Dutton), sketched the political evolution of Russian government.

To the series *Makers of the Nineteenth Century*, a volume on *Abdul Hamid* has been added by Sir Edwin Pears.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Krotky, *Les Aspects de la Question Polonaise* (*Revue des Études Napoléoniennes*, November);

Baron L. de Staël-Holstein, *La Question des Iles d'Aland* (Revue Politique Internationale, December); P. Miliukov, *Rusland og Europa* (Samtiden, XXVII. 8, 9); Salih Munir Pacha, *La Russie en Orient: son Rôle Historique*, II. (Revue Politique Internationale, December); L. Bréhier, *L'Hagiographie Byzantine des VIII<sup>e</sup> et IX<sup>e</sup> Siècles à Constantinople et dans les Provinces* (Journal des Savants, August, October); E. Daudet, *Le Suicide Bulgare: Autour d'une Couronne, Notes et Souvenirs, 1878-1915*, II.-III. (Revue des Deux Mondes, November 1, December 1); I. Radonitch, *Le Droit Historique des Roumains et des Serbes sur le Banat* (Revue des études Historiques, October); E. de Keyser, *L'Avant-Guerre en Turquie d'Asie* (Revue Hebdomadaire, November 18).

#### THE FAR EAST AND INDIA

Professor P. Y. Saeki of the Waseda University, Tokio, has published *The Nestorian Monument in China* (London, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1916, pp. x, 342), which contains the text with translation, notes, and introduction.

E. H. Parker, professor of Chinese in the Victoria University of Manchester, has published a revised edition of his *China: her History, Diplomacy, and Commerce from the Earliest to the Present Day* (London, John Murray, New York, Dutton), which contains three additional chapters dealing with events in China since 1901, the date when the first edition appeared.

In a volume entitled *The Historical Development of Religion in China* (Fisher Unwin) Mr. Walter J. Clennell has attempted an outline of the various Chinese religions and the relation between Chinese history and religion.

Professor K. Asakawa of Yale, spending next year in Japan, on leave of absence, will prepare a volume of Japanese documents illustrating the history of feudalism, for the *Princeton Historical Series* now about to be inaugurated.

A well-documented account of the administrative system of India under Hindu governments, chiefly from 500 B. C. to 500 A. D., is contained in Dr. Pramathanatha Banerjea's *Public Administration in Ancient India* (Macmillan, 1916).

Among the books announced for spring publication by the Oxford University Press are *Akbar, the Great Mogul, 1542-1605*, by Vincent A. Smith, and *Early Revenue History of Bengal*, by F. D. Ascoli.

A second volume of *The Promotion of Learning in India*, by Narendra Nath Law, dealing with *The Promotion of Learning in India during Muhammadan Rule*, has appeared from the press of Messrs. Longman. The volume covers the period from the eleventh to the eighteenth centuries and rests on many unedited sources.



Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Cordier, *Origine des Chinois: Théories Étrangères* (T'Oung Pao, December, 1915); A. C. Moule and L. Giles, *Christians at Chên-Chiang Fu* (*ibid.*, December, 1915); W. W. Rockhill, *Notes on the Relations and Trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago and the Coast of the Indian Ocean during the Fourteenth Century*, IV.-V. (*ibid.*, October, December, 1915); H. Cordier, *Mélanges Géographiques et Historiques, Manuscrit Inédit du Père A. Gaubil, S. J., publié avec Notes* (*ibid.*, October, 1915).

#### AMERICA

##### GENERAL ITEMS

In the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, Professor F. A. Golder's *Guide to the Russian Archives* and Professor R. R. Hill's *Descriptive Catalogue of the Papeles de Cuba* have been received from the press.

The Department of Economics and Sociology of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, which has been engaged for a number of years in the preparation of Contributions to American Economic History, has now been discontinued, but the trustees of the Institution, in taking this action, also voted to turn over to the group of collaborators who were formerly members of the Department the balance of appropriations remaining to their credit. This sum has now been more than doubled by an individual gift, so that the work will not be stopped, but will go on under an independent organization. Three members of the original group who found it impossible to devote the necessary time to the work have retired, while Professor Henry C. Taylor, of the University of Wisconsin, has been added to the group as the head of the Division of Agriculture. The collaborators have formed articles of association under the title "Board of Research Associates in American Economic History" and are as follows: Dr. Victor S. Clark, of Washington, Professor John R. Commons, of the University of Wisconsin, Professor Davis R. Dewey, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Professor Henry W. Farnam, of Yale University, Professor Henry B. Gardner, of Brown University, Professor Emory R. Johnson, of the University of Pennsylvania, Mr. E. W. Parker, of Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, Professor Henry C. Taylor, of the University of Wisconsin, and Professor Walter F. Willcox, of Cornell University.

The readers of this journal will perhaps recall that the work of the Department of Economics and Sociology has comprised three different types: (a) The *Index of Economic Material in the Documents of the States of the United States*, which has been prepared by Miss Adelaide R. Hasse, and of which thirteen volumes, covering thirteen states, have been published by the Carnegie Institution; this work is not to be continued. (b) Monographic studies. Over 170 of these have been prepared and 65 of them published through various channels

outside the Carnegie Institution. It is expected that some of the money now in hand will be available for such monographs in fields not yet covered. (c) Divisional histories under the general title, *Contributions to American Economic History*. Of these, Professor Johnson's *History of Domestic and Foreign Commerce of the United States* and Dr. Clark's *History of Manufactures in the United States, 1607 to 1860*, have been published by the Carnegie Institution, and were reviewed in our January number. The *History of Transportation in the United States before 1860*, prepared under the direction of Dr. Balthasar H. Meyer, chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, is now in page-proof, to be published by the Institution. The *History of the Labor Movement*, by Professor John R. Commons and associates, has been accepted for publication by the Macmillan Company. The Board expect to concentrate their attention on the continuation of this series, several volumes of which are well advanced, and they will be glad to co-operate with students of economic history throughout the country, in order to further scholarly and accurate research within the field blocked out. All communications may be addressed to the chairman of the board, Professor Henry W. Farnam, New Haven, Connecticut.

The *Report of the Librarian of Congress for the year 1915* describes important additions to the Library's Chinese and Japanese collections and valuable accessions of manuscripts, maps, documents, periodicals, etc. The more important accessions of manuscripts have been mentioned in preceding numbers of this journal. The noteworthy accessions of maps are 36 original maps, principally of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; 42 photographic copies of important maps, 1689-1813; 730 geographical atlases, in 916 volumes, chiefly of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (making the total of such atlases in the Library 4817, in 5881 volumes); and many of the best maps relating to the present European war. The special feature of the Library's acquisitions of documents is the large additions to its files of the official publications of the Latin-American countries. Among the more notable accessions of newspapers during the year may be mentioned about 750 numbers of eighteenth-century newspapers from among the duplicates possessed by the Massachusetts Historical Society; a file of the *State Gazette of North Carolina* (Edenton), September 8, 1788-July 23, 1790; the *North Carolina Journal* (Halifax), August 1, 1792-May 20, 1799; 544 numbers of Georgetown and Washington newspapers, 1799 to 1802; and a considerable body of Southern newspapers of the Civil War period.

Among the recent accessions of the division of manuscripts of the Library of Congress are: account-books and letter-books of Robert Carter, known as Councillor Carter of Nominy Hall, Virginia, 1759-1805; letters of Comte Jean Florian Jolly de Pontcadeuc from Louisiana, 1801-1817; the papers of J. F. H. Claiborne, 1818-1885; a body of

Robert Morris manuscripts, 1778-1820, chiefly letters to and from Morris; correspondence of Capt. John Loyall Saunders, U. S. N., while in command of the *St. Mary's*, 1844-1847 (the gift of his grandson, Charles F. McIntosh, of Norfolk, Va.); papers of Charles Thomson, 1765-1820; a body of miscellaneous manuscripts, pertaining chiefly to colonial Virginia, 1695-1760; and additions to the Spanish and British transcripts.

The Library of Congress has issued a *List of References on Embargoes*, compiled under the direction of H. H. B. Meyer, chief bibliographer. The Library has also issued *A List of American Doctoral Dissertations printed in 1915*, prepared by Alida M. Stephens. The volume contains a subject index and also an alphabetical list, by university, of doctors whose theses were printed in 1915, with supplementary lists for 1912, 1913, and 1914.

The January number of the *Catholic Historical Review* opens with a statistical article, by Bishop Canevin of Pittsburgh, on Loss and Gain in the Catholic Church in the United States, 1800-1916. Mr. Waldo G. Leland, of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, secretary of the American Historical Association, presents an article, abounding in useful suggestions, on Catholic Historical Societies and their varied possibilities. A detailed account of the First Episcopal Visitation in the United States, that which Bishop Juan de las Cabezas of Santiago de Cuba paid to Florida in 1606, is given in a letter of that bishop, recently discovered in the Archives of the Indies at Seville by Miss Irene A. Wright, and here printed in the original Spanish and in English translation. It is made the occasion for an article on this Dominican bishop by the translator, Rev. V. F. O'Daniel, O. P. Finally, Rev. Dr. Joseph Magri has an article on Catholicity in Virginia during the Episcopate of Bishop McGill, 1850-1872, and Archbishop Messmer of Milwaukee a learned statement of the Episcopal Ancestry of the Catholic Hierarchy in the United States.

The *Publications* of the American Jewish Historical Society, no. 25, contains a selection of papers drawn from among those presented at annual meetings of the society from 1911 to 1916. Leon Hühner's paper concerning "David L. Yulee, Florida's First Senator" is an interesting account of a man who began his public career as David Levy, and was the first Jew to be elected to the United States Senate. Samuel Oppenheim contributes a paper upon the Question of the Kosher Meat Supply in New York in 1813, with a Sketch of Earlier Conditions, and several minor genealogical and historical notes; Frank I. Schechter writes concerning an Unfamiliar Aspect of Anglo-Jewish History; and Benjamin H. Hartogensis presents a study of Unequal Religious Rights in Maryland since 1776.

The contents of the July number of the *Magazine of History* are chiefly continuations. In the August number Marshall P. Thompson's

paper on Rochambeau and that of Rev. Charles E. Brugler on the Influence of the Clergy in the Revolution are concluded. There is, besides, a brief paper concerning the French-Indians and the United States, by Mrs. Louise S. Houghton. The contents of the September-October number include an article concerning Lovejoy's Influence on John Brown, by J. N. Brown; one on the Gold Fever of '48 and '49, by C. N. Holmes, and a reprint (from a supplement to the Stan. V. Henkels auction *Catalogue no. 1183*) of Alexander Hamilton's letter to Robert Morris, August 13, 1782, giving a view of the political "situation and temper" of New York.

The following numbers of the *Magazine of History Extra* have been issued (Tarrytown, Abbatt): *The Female Review: Life of Deborah Sampson, the Female Soldier in the War of the Revolution*, by Herman Mann, with introduction and notes, by J. A. Vinton (no. 47); *The Political Passing Bell: an Elegy written in a Country Meeting House, April, 1789* (no. 48); *Rare Lincolniana, no. 10* (including *A Sermon*, by A. G. Palmer, 1865; *Abraham Lincoln: a Study*, by R. Y., Liverpool, 1865; *The Coming Contraband*, by C. C. Nott, 1862; etc., no. 49); *A Reconstruction Letter*, by Edmund Clarence Stedman, and *Journal of the Quebec Expedition, 1775-1776*, by Capt. John Topham (no. 50); *Journal . . . of the Wrongs, Sufferings, and Neglect, experienced by Americans in France* (Boston, 1809), by Stephen Clubb, and *A Dialogue between the Ghost of General Montgomery and an American Delegate* (no. 51); and *The Other Side of the Question: or, a Defence of the Liberties of North-America*, etc. (New York, Rivington, 1774), and Capt. John Topham's *Journal* (no. 52).

The *Historical Records and Studies*, vol. X. (January, 1917), of the United States Catholic Historical Society includes a biographical sketch, by Peter Condon, of the late Dr. Charles George Herbermann, president of the society and editor of the *Historical Records and Studies*, "Personal Reminiscences" of him, by Right Rev. Henry A. Brann, and expressions of appreciation from various hands. The majority of the articles, moreover, are from Dr. Herbermann's pen. These are: the concluding chapters of his study of the Sulpicians in the United States, an account of the Diamond Jubilee of Fordham University, and biographical sketches of Rev. Charles Hippolyte de Luynes and Rev. Andrew Francis Monroe, S. J. Two brief articles by other hands are noted: Edward Maria Wingfield, by Edward J. McGuire, and John Doyle, Publisher, by Thomas F. Meehan.

The December number of the *Genealogical Magazine* contains the first part of an investigation, by Vincent B. Redstone, entitled, Side-Lights on American Trade, 1628-1633, embodying records of the High Court of Admiralty; an account, by Charles E. Banks, of Capt. Thomas Cammock (1592-1643) of Scarborough, Maine; a document apparently relating to an expedition against the Roanoke Indians in 1645, contributed

by Charles F. McIntosh; and Some Notes from Records of the Court of Sessions, Essex County, Massachusetts, 1698-1700, by Eben Putnam.

The principal article in the September-December number of the *German American Annals* is an account, by Preston A. Barba, of the General Swiss Colonization Society, a society organized in Cincinnati in January, 1857, which shortly afterward founded Tell City, Ind. *Deutsche Charakterbilder aus der Brasilianischen Geschichte*, I.: Manoel Beckmann, is by Friedrich Sommer, president of the Banco Allemão Transatlantico of São Paulo, Brazil.

The Government Printing Office has issued a sixth edition of its *Price-List 50*, a list of government publications in American history and biography for sale by the superintendent of documents, a third edition of *Price List 61*, listing government publications for sale relating to the Panama Canal, the Canal Zone, the Suez Canal, the Nicaragua route, and the treaty with Colombia, and a second edition of no. 65, on the foreign relations of the United States.

*Bulletin no. 16* of the School of Education in the University of Illinois is a pamphlet of 59 pages on the Content of American History as taught in the Seventh and Eighth Grades, by W. C. Bagley and H. O. Rugg.

The American Catholic Historical Society has just published an *Index of the American Catholic Historical Researches* (pp. 320), covering with elaborate care all the issues of that periodical from July, 1884, to July, 1912, vols. I. to XXIX., and thus extending to the time when the journal was combined with the *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia.

The late Dr. Charles G. Herbermann's work, *The Sulpicians in the United States*, which appeared serially in the *Records and Studies* of the United States Catholic Historical Society, has been issued by the Encyclopedia Press, with a preface by Cardinal Gibbons.

*Republican Principles and Policies: a Brief History of the Republican National Party*, by Newton Wyeth, illustrated by Joseph Pierre Nuyttens, comes from the press of the Baker and Taylor Company.

*Sixty Years of American Life: Taylor to Roosevelt, 1850 to 1910*, is the title of a volume of reminiscences by Everett P. Wheeler, which has been brought out by Messrs. Dutton.

Volume XV. of the *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* has come from the press (James T. White and Company).

Professor Rayner W. Kelsey of Haverford College has in preparation a comprehensive history of the relations between the Society of Friends and the American Indians.

The *American Year Book* for 1916 (Appleton, pp. xviii, 862) has just appeared.

## ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

*El Descubrimiento de América en la Historia de Europa*, by Juan B. Terán (Buenos Aires, Coni, 1916, pp. 196), comprises six studies: I. Feudalismo; II. Italia en la Edad Media; III. Las Transformaciones Burguesa y Princesca en Italia; IV. Las Ciudades Comerciales: la Vía del Oriente; V. La Evolución Política en los Demás Países; and VI. Por qué no fué Italia la Descubridora? La Nación Descubridora.

A bibliography of the Pilgrims of Plymouth is being prepared by Byron B. Horton, of Sheffield, Pa., for publication prior to 1920, the tercentenary of the landing of the Pilgrims.

Under the auspices of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America, whose Pitt, R. H. Lee, and Shirley volumes, and more recently its volume of *Travels in the American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century* have been noticed in the pages of this journal, Dr. J. Franklin Jameson is preparing a volume of documents illustrating the history of piracy and privateering in the colonial period of American history.

Mr. Francis H. Bigelow, to whose interest in American silver we are indebted for several notable collections, is soon to publish through the Macmillan Company *Historic Silver of the Colonies and its Makers*, a volume which cannot fail to possess much interest for the colonial antiquarian.

Professor John B. McMaster, who for some time has been working among the extensive archives of the house of Stephen Girard, expects before long to finish a history of that celebrated financier, in two volumes.

Volume IV. of Professor Edward Channing's notable *History of the United States* has just appeared. This volume, entitled *Federalists and Republicans*, covers the years from 1789 to 1815.

*Correspondence of George Bancroft and Jared Sparks, 1823-1832*, edited by Professor John S. Bassett, is vol. II., no. 2, of *Smith College Studies in History*. The title-page also carries the legend: "Illustrating the Relation between Editor and Reviewer in the Early Nineteenth Century". During the period when nearly all these letters were written Sparks was editor of the *North American Review*, and Bancroft was conducting the Round Hill School at Northampton. Bancroft deals with a wide variety of subjects in his reviews and essays; now and again he complains against the liberties which Sparks, the editor, takes with his productions. These letters are drawn from the Bancroft Manuscripts in the Massachusetts Historical Society and the Sparks Manuscripts in Harvard University. It is perhaps permissible to remark that the editor of these letters has spoiled the meaning of one of Bancroft's statements by the insertion of a negative (p. 105).

*Early Life and Letters of General (Stonewall) Thomas J. Jackson*, by Thomas Jackson Arnold, has been published by Fleming H. Revell Company.

*The Private and Official Correspondence of General Benjamin F. Butler during the Civil War Period*, in five volumes, is announced for publication in October of this year (Mrs. Jessie Ames Marshall, Room 66, no. 15 State Street, Boston).

*George Armstrong Custer*, by F. S. Dellenbaugh, is a recent addition to Macmillan's series of *True Stories of Great Americans*.

*A History of Methodism*, prepared by H. M. Du Bose, D.D., is supplemental to *A History of Methodism*, by H. N. McTyeire, giving an account of the progress of Methodism during the past thirty years (Nashville, Methodist Episcopal Church South Publishing House).

#### LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

##### NEW ENGLAND

In the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* for December the study, by Rev. John Lenhart, O. M. Cap., of the Capuchins in Acadia and Northern Maine (1632-1655) is continued.

New Hampshire's editor of state papers, Mr. Henry H. Metcalf, has brought out vols. III., IV., and V. of the *Laws of New Hampshire*, covering the periods 1745-1774, 1776-1784, and 1784-1792 respectively (Bristol and Concord, 1915, 1916, 1916, pp. 659, 934, 875).

*The Loyalist Refugees of New Hampshire* (pp. 23), by Professor Wilbur H. Siebert, is issued as an Ohio State University *Bulletin*, vol. XXI., no. 2.

*Colonial Amherst* [N. H.], by Emma P. B. Locke, includes, besides early history, customs, reminiscences, etc., an account of the life and character of General Jeffrey Amherst.

The January *Bulletin* (no. 22) of the Departments of History and Political and Economic Science in Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, is *The Royal Disallowance in Massachusetts* (pp. 33), by A. G. Dorland, an examination of the method and policy of imperial control as expressed by the royal disallowance of Massachusetts legislation between 1692 and 1775.

The Colonial Society of Massachusetts has just issued vol. XVIII. of its *Publications*, containing proceedings of meetings of the society. Volumes XV. and XVI., containing the early records of the corporation of Harvard College down to 1750, will be issued before the end of the present year.

The state of Massachusetts and the New England Historic Genealogical Society have published the vital records, to 1850, of the towns of Bridgewater (two vols.) and New Ashford.

The October–November serial of the Massachusetts Historical Society's *Proceedings* includes a paper by Mr. James Schouler on the Whig Party in Massachusetts; one by Mr. Arthur Lord on Some Objections to the Massachusetts Constitution, 1780; and one by Mr. W. R. Thayer on the Marine Hospitals of New England, 1817, consisting chiefly of reports and letters of Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse. Among the documents is an interesting series of letters from John Stuart Mill to Charles Eliot Norton, 1865–1870. The contents of the December–January serial include a paper on Polk and California, by Mr. Justin H. Smith; one on Hector St. John: Loyalist, Patriot, by Mr. F. B. Sanborn; and about thirty letters of John A. Dix, 1818–1848.

The July number of the *Massachusetts Magazine* contains an account of Col. Jonathan Brewer's regiment of Massachusetts soldiers in the Revolution.

The New Haven Colony Historical Society expects to issue within a few months, in a volume edited by Professor Franklin B. Dexter, the earliest book of separate New Haven town records, 1649–1662.

Mr. Francis B. C. Bradlee's Historical Account of Early Railroading in Eastern New England, appearing in the *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, is continued in the January number.

#### MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The *Reports* of the president and secretary of the Buffalo Historical Society, submitted at the annual meeting, January 9, 1917, have been issued. It is announced that the secretary, Mr. Frank H. Severance, has completed his narrative history of the Lower Lakes and Niagara region under French control, and that the work will shortly be published by Dodd, Mead, and Company, with the title *An Old Frontier of France*, and will also be included in vols. XX. and XXI. of the society's *Publications*.

Father T. W. Mullaney, C. SS. R., has recently published *Four-Score Years: St. Joseph's Church, Rochester, 1836–1916* (Rochester, Monroe Printing Company, pp. 207), a contribution to the history of the German Catholics in Rochester.

During the summer of 1916 the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society completed the transcript of the records of the Reformed Dutch Church at Stone Arabia, in the town of Palatine, Montgomery County, N. Y. These records, the transcript of which occupies three volumes, aggregating 625 pages, begin in 1739 and extend well down to the present time. Volume III. includes a history of the church, by Mr. R. W. Vosburgh. The material in this transcript is of particular value for the history of the Dutch Reformed Church. The same society is reprinting *Early Settlers of West Farms, Westchester County, New York*, which appeared in the *New York Genealogical and Biographical*



Record from July, 1913, to April, 1916. These are the records of the late Rev. Theodore A. Leggett, copied by A. Hatfield, jr.

The University of the State of New York has issued as *Bibliography Bulletin*, no. 59, a list of *Official Publications of the State of New York relating to its History as Colony and State* (pp. 62), prepared by Alice Louise Jewett.

The *Proceedings* of the New Jersey Historical Society, vol. I., no. 3 (July, 1916), includes an account of Newark's Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary, by Joseph F. Folsom; a paper, by the same writer, upon Col. Peter Schuyler at Albany; and the Orderly Book of Lieut. John Spear, July 17 to December 4, 1781. Volume IX. of the society's *Collections*, brought out in the autumn, comprises biographical and genealogical notes concerning early men and families of New Jersey, prepared by the late William Nelson, corresponding secretary of the society. They are in the main supplemental to those notes contributed by Mr. Nelson to the volumes of the *New Jersey Archives*.

Mr. Simon Gratz, the Philadelphia collector, has presented to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania more than thirty thousand papers from his collections.

#### SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

Volume 36 of the *Archives of Maryland*, lately distributed, continues the proceedings of the general assembly through the period from July, 1726, to August, 1729, with an appendix containing the text of statutes enacted in the years from 1714 to 1726 and previously unpublished in the *Archives*. The volume is edited by Dr. Bernard C. Steiner. Volume 37, which is now in the press, will contain the proceedings from 1730 on, with an appendix of important unpublished documents, relating to the period covered by the volume, chiefly taken from the Calvert papers in the possession of the society.

The principal contents of the December number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* are the concluding portion of Uria Brown's journal and further installments of the Carroll papers and the Journal of the Committee of Observation of the Middle District of Frederick County.

Mrs. H. Irvine Keyser of Baltimore, as a memorial to her late husband, long a valued member of the Maryland Historical Society, has provided a permanent home for that society and the Baltimore Athenaeum, by the gift of an eligible lot of land on which she will erect a suitable fireproof building for the libraries and picture galleries of the two organizations.

The January number of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* contains an article, by David I. Bushnell, jr., on Daniel Boone at Limestone, 1786-1787 (chiefly documentary), the conclusion of the extracts from the *Virginia Gazette* (1755), and the continuations of the

letters of William Byrd, First, and other series. Among the "Virginia Gleanings in England" are printed a number of wills of the early seventeenth century.

The pages of the January number of the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* are chiefly occupied with genealogical articles. Among the brief articles of other kinds is one concerning the Williamsburg lodge of Masons in the time of the Revolution.

The North Carolina Historical Commission has issued its *Sixth Biennial Report* (1914-1916). Within the period covered by the report the classification and arrangement of the executive papers (comprising 269 boxes of about 150 pieces each) have been completed and a beginning made upon the legislative papers; several important bodies of personal or miscellaneous collections of papers have also been arranged; 70 volumes of such collections have been bound or made ready for the bindery; and for seventeen collections a card index has been prepared, as also for the letter-books of the governors from 1777 to 1827. Among the many accessions of manuscripts were an addition of more than 300 papers to the Thomas Ruffin Collection; a body of letters and documents, more than 2000 in number, of Willie P. Mangum; letters and documents (562 in number) of David S. Reid, governor of North Carolina, 1851-1854 (these have been arranged and bound in four volumes); two volumes secured from Mr. W. H. Hoyt, comprising notes from North Carolina newspapers in the Library of Congress and Harvard University library, 1790-1830; a body of copies from the papers of Colonel William Polk (1785-1834); the original order-book, September, 1780-March, 1781, of Lord Cornwallis; a copy of the letter-book of Governor Thomas Pollok, 1710-1720; and numerous records and papers relating to the Confederacy. Especially noteworthy is the deposit with the commission during the past year of numerous local and county records, principally of the eighteenth century.

Under the direction of its department of history, the North Carolina Normal and Industrial College at Greensborough is issuing a series of *Historical Publications*, of which no. 2 is *Revolutionary Leaders of North Carolina*, by R. D. W. Connor, secretary of the state historical commission (High Point, 1916, pp. 125).

The *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* prints in the October number a first installment of some letters of Governor John Rutledge, May to November, 1780, annotated by Joseph W. Barnwell. The originals of these letters are in possession of the Charleston Library Society. Miss Mabel L. Webber's compilation of death notices from the *South Carolina and American General Gazette* and its continuation, the *Royal Gazette* (1778-1782), and the Order-Book of John Faucheraud Grimké (1780) are continued.

The *Washington University Studies* (St. Louis), vol. IV., part II.,

no. 1, is a study, by Chauncey S. Boucher, of *Sectionalism, Representation, and the Electoral Question in Ante-Bellum South Carolina*. The author states that his purpose is to carry down to 1861 such a study as that of William A. Schaper for the colonial and Revolutionary period in his *Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina*.

The National Society of Colonial Dames of America has published *The Register Book for the Parish Prince Frederick Winyaw* (South Carolina). The records of the vestry meetings begin in 1713 and extend to 1779, while the register of baptisms, etc., extend with irregularities into the nineties. The material was prepared for the press by Elizabeth W. Allston Pringle, who writes a preface.

The *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia*, vols. XXIII., XXIV., and XXV., containing the correspondence of the trustees, General Oglethorpe, and others, have appeared.

The hundredth anniversary of the incorporation of the city of Baton Rouge, La., was celebrated January 16, under the auspices of the Historical Society of East and West Baton Rouge, with the participation of the Louisiana Historical Society as guest. The celebration included addresses, historical tableaux, and other ceremonies, including the dedication of a monument marking the site of the old Spanish fort captured by the West Florida revolutionists September 23, 1810. The historical addresses were: the City of Baton Rouge, 1817-1917, by Mayor Alexander Grouchy, and Baton Rouge in History and Literature, by Dr. Pierce Butler. There was also an address on Baton Rouge and the Louisiana State University, by President Thomas D. Boyd.

The *Register* of the Kentucky State Historical Society for January contains an article by A. C. Quisenberry on Kentucky's "Neutrality" in 1861.

In the December number of the *Tennessee Historical Magazine* Mr. J. P. Young investigates the question of Fort Prudhomme: Was it the First Settlement in Tennessee? The writer reaches the conclusion that Fort Prudhomme was not at the Fourth Chickasaw Bluff, the site of Memphis, but above, and that there was no settlement at the fort. Dr. Stephen B. Weeks contributes a discussion of the sources of Tennessee's population and the lines of immigration, and Mr. A. V. Goodpasture writes concerning John Bell's Political Revolt and his Vauxhall Garden Speech. The documents in this number are letters of Gen. John Coffee to his wife, 1813-1815. These letters relate chiefly to the Natchez expedition, the Creek War, and the New Orleans campaign. They are edited, with an introduction, by John H. DeWitt.

#### WESTERN STATES

The December number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* contains an excellent article by E. M. Coulter on the Effects of Seces-

sion upon the Commerce of the Mississippi Valley, one by Professor Theodore H. Jack on Alabama and the Federal Government: the Creek Indian Controversy, one by Miss Mabel G. Walker on Sir John Johnson, and a general survey of historical activities in the Trans-Mississippi Northwest, by Dan E. Clark. Mr. Doane Robinson of South Dakota and Mr. Charles E. DeLand criticize at length the views on the routes of the Verendryes expressed by Professor Libby in the September number, and Professor Libby replies.

The principal article in the January number of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* is an account of the life of Joseph Badger, the First Missionary to the Western Reserve, by Byron R. Long. There is also a paper with the caption "Memoir of Anton Laforge", pertaining to the settlement of Gallipolis (1790). An item in the society's proceedings is an account of the unveiling of a tablet in memory of Capt. Michael Cressap, including several addresses.

The state of Ohio has recently published, under the title *The Ohio-Michigan Boundary*, vol. I. of the final report of the commission appointed in 1915 to survey and monument the boundary line between Ohio and Michigan. This volume contains, in addition to reports of the commissioners and the engineer of the commission, several boundary maps, an article on the Basis of the Ohio-Michigan Boundary Dispute by Professor Arthur M. Schlesinger, and a reprint of a portion of a monograph treating of Michigan boundaries by Anna May Soule.

Articles in the December number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* are Monroe County in the Mexican War, by H. C. Duncan; Catholic Education in Indiana, Past and Present, by Mrs. Elizabeth Denehie; Social Effects of the Monon Railway in Indiana, by John Poucher; and the concluding portion of Harold Littell's study of the Development of the City School System of Indiana.

The *Bulletin* of the Indiana State Library, vol. XI., no. 3 (September, 1916), is *Sources of Population in Indiana, 1816-1850*, by Joseph E. Layton. An essential feature of the study is a statistical table showing the sources of population by counties. *Bulletin* no. 4 (December) is *A List of Indiana Newspapers available in the Indiana State Library, the Indianapolis Public Library, the Library of Indiana University, and the Library of Congress*.

The following are recent *Bulletins* of the Indiana Historical Commission: *Outline of Church History of Indiana* (no. 5); *Organization of County and Local Historical Societies* (no. 6); *Report of the commission* (no. 7); and *Celebration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of Indiana's Admission into the Union, December 11, 1916* (no. 8).

*The Life and Military Services of Brevet Major-General Robert S. Foster*, by C. W. Smith, is among the *Publications* of the Indiana Historical Society.

In the April number of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* appear the address of Gov. Edward F. Dunne on Abraham Lincoln, delivered before the Annunciation Club of Buffalo in February, 1916, and the address of James H. Matheny, entitled "A Modern Knight Errant: Edward Dickinson Baker", delivered before the Association of Collegiate Alumnae of Springfield, Illinois, in January, 1916. There is also an account, by William R. Strong, of a journey from Urbana, Ill., to Texas in 1846, written down by Lillian Gunter from oral narration. In the editorial pages is found a forecast of the plans for the Illinois centennial celebration, and there are sketches of deceased members of the society, notably one of Dr. William Jayne, governor of Dakota Territory, 1861-1862.

The Michigan Historical Commission has issued as *Bulletin no. 8, Prize Essays written by Pupils of Michigan Schools in the Local History Contest for 1915-1916* (pp. 35). The pamphlet comprises four essays relating chiefly to the settlement of localities in Michigan.

Mr. C. M. Burton has issued two numbers, aggregating 79 pages, of the *Manuscripts from the Burton Historical Collection* (see the January number of the *Review*, p. 481). The paging of these two numbers is consecutive; indeed the closing portion of the last document in no. 1 is found in no. 2. The documents range in date from 1755 to 1805 and are quite varied in character, particularly those of the earlier dates. There are, for instance, a letter of Sir William Johnson to Edward Collins (1755), a letter from Sir Guy Carleton to Sir William (1768), one from Gen. Nathanael Greene to John Trumbull (1782), and Trumbull's reply (which is given place some pages in advance of Greene's letter), letters pertaining to frontier conditions, correspondence of John Askin, an Indian trader, correspondence of Solomon Sibley, a Michigan pioneer of influence, etc. The later selections include several letters from William Henry Harrison, three of them, namely, March 3, April 26, and May 27, 1805, being to the Secretary of War and drawn from the files of the War Department, as are several other documents of the same period. It is to be observed that on page 46 an editorial note explains that the preceding documents are all printed from originals in the Burton Collection; thereafter, in connection with each document, the source and character of the document are given.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has about ready for distribution vol. XXIV. of its *Collections*. This is the fifth volume in the "Draper Series", and bears the title *Frontier Retreat on the Upper Ohio*, the preceding volume having the title *Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio*. The society has in press the volume of *Proceedings for the year 1916*, the annual *Check-List of Periodicals and Newspapers* currently received at the library, and a volume on the *Economic History of Wisconsin during the Civil War Decade*, by Frederick Merk. It will

also issue shortly a bulletin descriptive of the collections in the public documents division of the library, prepared by Mrs. Anna W. Evans, and has in preparation a check-list of newspaper accessions since the year 1911, the year with which the society's *Catalogue of Newspaper Files* closes. The society has received from Senator LaFollette all of his personal papers down to the time when he came to Washington as senator from Wisconsin. These papers are not for the present to be accessible to the public.

The articles in the January number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* are: a study of Special Legislation in Iowa, by Ivan L. Pollock, an account of Recent Liquor Legislation in Iowa, by Dan E. Clark, and a History of the Congregational Church of Iowa City, by Joseph S. Heffner.

The Missouri Historical Society has brought out a reprint of Gen. Thomas James's *Three Years among the Indians and Mexicans*, published in Waterloo, Ill., in 1846, and now extremely rare. The present volume is edited, with notes and biographical sketches, by Walter B. Douglas. Besides the foot-notes, many of which are biographical, there is an appendix (pp. 248-296) containing more extended sketches, together with a number of documents which have relation to the narrative. There are also eleven portraits in the volume.

The Missouri Centennial Committee of one thousand held a convention in Kansas City, Mo., November 24 and 25. A permanent organization was effected, William R. Painter of Carrollton being elected chairman and Floyd C. Shoemaker secretary, and an executive committee of twenty-five being constituted to take active charge of the centennial celebration. It is planned to have a local celebration in each county of the state and five larger celebrations, namely, in Kansas City, Jefferson City, Columbia, Sedalia, and St. Louis. The legislature has been asked for an appropriation of \$10,000 to the State Historical Society for the purposes of the celebration.

Mr. Duane Mowry contributes to the October number of the *Missouri Historical Review* a number of letters from the correspondence of James R. Doolittle, senator from Wisconsin, 1857-1869. They include five letters from Carl Schurz, 1859-1860, a letter of Doolittle to Senator George G. Vest of Missouri on the silver question, August 15, 1893, and Vest's reply two days later.

The State Historical Society of Missouri has acquired a file of the *St. Louis Republic*, 1874-1890 (64 volumes), a complete file of the *Bates County Record* from 1865 to date, and twenty-five volumes of Macon newspapers, dating from about 1860.

The January number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* contains the first chapters of a study, by Herbert R. Edwards, of the Diplomatic Relations between France and the Republic of Texas, 1836-

1845. Other articles are: Commercial Aspects of the Texan Santa Fé Expedition (1841), by Thomas M. Marshall, and two articles, by S. H. German and Louella S. Vincent, respectively, on George T. Wood, governor of Texas, 1847-1849.

The Department of History of the state of South Dakota is preparing a bibliography of the state, for publication in 1920.

At the annual meeting of the Nebraska State Historical Society, early in January, Mr. Addison E. Sheldon, hitherto director of the Legislative Reference Bureau, was chosen as secretary of the society in the place of the late Clarence S. Paine. Mr. Samuel C. Bassett was chosen president of the society.

Benjamin M. Read, of Santa Fé, N. M., has produced a *Chronological Digest of the "Documentos Inéditos del Archivo de las Indias"* (pp. 161). The author states that he has followed in his digest the order of the volumes themselves, "thus making it easier for the student to refer to any particular document". On the contrary, such an arrangement is highly inconvenient; a strictly chronological arrangement was the only one to be thought of, unless a subject index were resolved on.

The *Idaho Bulletin of Education*, vol. II., no. 4, is an *Outline for the Study of the History of Idaho*, by H. L. Talkington.

The principal articles in the January number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* are the Reminiscences of a Pioneer Woman, by Elizabeth Ann Coonc, and the First Immigrants to cross the Cascades, by David Longmire. This installment, it appears, begins with August 21, 1852, and ends with January 12, 1853. The diarist does not set down the year, and the editor, unfortunately, fails to indicate it until near the close of the installment.

Volume I., no. 1 (January), of the *Bulletin* of the Spokane Historical Society is a monograph, by William S. Lewis, corresponding secretary of the society, entitled *The Case of Spokane Garry* (pp. 68), being a brief statement of the principal facts connected with the career of the Indian chief and a review of the charges made against him.

*Mount Rainier: a Record of Explorations*, by Professor Edmond S. Meany, which has recently come from the press (Seattle, the Bon Marché), contains some ten chapters (there are nineteen in all) relating to explorations of the mountain, and a number of scientific papers. The historical chapters comprise principally original materials, such as Capt. George Vancouver's journal of the discovery (1792), Dr. William F. Tolmie's diary of the first approach (1833), Lieut. Robert E. Johnson's account of the first recorded trip through Naches Pass (1841), Gen. Hazard Stevens's account of the first successful ascent (1857), etc.

The September number of the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* contains an article, by Dorothy Hull, on the Movement in

Oregon for the Establishment of a Pacific Coast Republic, 1855-1861; one by Leslie M. Scott on Oregon's Nomination of Lincoln; a letter (21 pages in extent) of Dr. John McLoughlin to Sir George Simpson, March 20, 1844, contributed, with an introductory note, by Katharine B. Judson; and continuations of the Diary of Rev. Jason Lee and the Correspondence of Rev. Ezra Fisher.

*José de Gálvez: Visitor-General of New Spain (1765-1771)*, by Herbert I. Priestly, appears as vol. V. of the *University of California Publications in History*.

## CANADA

The *Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada*, série III., vol. X., sect. I. (June, 1916), contains the following papers: Le Saint-Jean-Baptiste, 1636-1836, by Benjamin Sulte; Un Chapitre d'Histoire Contemporaine: le Cardinal Satolli, by Mgr. Louis-Ad. Paquet; and Un Essai d'Arbitrage International, by P.-B. Mignault. The *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada* (the English section of the same issue) contains the presidential address of Dr. Adam Shortt on the Economic Effect of War upon Canada, read at the meeting of the society in May, 1916; the Refugee Loyalists of Connecticut, by Professor W. H. Siebert of the Ohio State University; and an Historical War Crop: the Canadian Wheat Crop of 1915, by C. C. James.

## AMERICA, SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

David Hannay has written a life of *Diaz* (New York, Holt, 1917, pp. vi, 319) for the *Makers of the Nineteenth Century* series.

*Bandelier's Contribution to the Study of Ancient Mexican Social Organization*, by T. T. Waterman, is issued as a separate from the *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*.

Somewhat more than a year ago a committee was formed, with President Charles W. Dabney of the University of Cincinnati as chairman, for the purpose of studying the educational conditions and needs of Mexico. The committee has now brought out (Cincinnati, the Committee) a pamphlet entitled *A Study of Educational Conditions in Mexico: and an Appeal for an Independent College* (pp. 93). This study was prepared by Dr. George B. Winton, now of Vanderbilt University, but for thirty years a teacher in Mexico, with the assistance of Professor Andrés Osuna, formerly superintendent of schools of Coahuila, at present general director of primary, normal, and preparatory education in the Federal District of Mexico. The study is in large measure historical. Dr. Dabney contributes a preface and a conclusion.

In the July number of the Cuban journal *La Reforma Social*, Miss Irene A. Wright has an article entitled "Los Orígenes de la Minería



en Cuba hasta 1600"; in that of September, one on "El Curso de los Acontecimientos en Cuba durante el Gobierno de Gabriel de Luxán, 1579-1589"; in those of October and November, two articles on "El Gobierno de Gabriel de Luján en Cuba, 1579-1589". Señor V. Salado Alvarez has an article in the August number of the same journal on "La Independencia de Tejas y la Esclavitud". In that of September there is one by Señor Jacinto López on "La Santa Alianza y la América, 1815-1818" and one by Professor Fernando Órtiz on "Las Insurrecciones Afro-Cubanas".

The September-October and the November-December numbers of the *Boletín del Archivo Nacional* (Havana) contain some bibliographical notes, by Joaquín Llaverías, concerning Cuban periodicals (1811-1814) found in the Archivo Nacional, and present facsimiles of the front pages of a number of these periodicals. Of especial interest is the paper *El Patriota Americano*, "Obra periódica por tres amigos, amantes del hombre, la patria y la verdad", published in Havana in 1811 and 1812. The documentary series concerning the "Gran Legión del Aguila Negro" (1830), and the "Correspondencia de los Intendentes Generales de Hacienda de la Isla de Cuba con el Gobierno de España" (1755) are continued through the two numbers. In the September-October number are also a group of documents relative to Puerto Príncipe (1851), a "Relación Nominal y Conceptuada", dated May 29, 1869, of the persons in Colón in the province of Matanzas who had taken part in the insurrection in the island, and a similar Relación for the city of Puerto Príncipe, dated June 17, 1869. In the November-December number is an extensive Relación, dated April 14, 1821, setting forth the condition of the plazas and fortified ports in the provinces of Havana, Cuba, and the Floridas.

The Macmillan Company announces for early publication *The Danish West Indies*, by Professor Waldemar Westergaard of Pomona College. The work is the result of the author's researches in the Danish archives and must be a welcome addition to the commercial history of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as well as to that of colonial administrative history.

*Historia del Descubrimiento de Tucumán, seguida de Investigaciones Históricas*, by Ricardo Jaimes Freyre, appears as a publication of the University of Tucumán (Buenos Aires, Coni, 1916, pp. 312). The historical investigations, which occupy somewhat less than half the volume, are for the most part studies of particular phases of the general topic.

M. S. Sanchez has prepared a *Bibliografía Venezolanista: Contribución al Conocimiento de los Libros Extranjeros relativos a Venezuela y sus Grandes Hombres publicados o reimpresos desde el Siglo XIX*. (Caracas, 1914; Paris, Chadenat, pp. xii, 496); and also *Apuntes para la Iconografía del Libertador* (Caracas, 1916; Paris, Chadenat, pp. 39, 39 plates, including 29 portraits of Bolívar).

A volume on *D. Pedro I. e a Marquesa de Santos a Vista de Cartas Intimas e de Outros Documentos Publicos e Particulares* (Tours, Arrault, Rio de Janeiro, Alves, 1916, pp. xii, 455) is by A. Rangel.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. L. Hewett, *The School of American Archaeology* (Art and Archaeology, December); A. J. Morrison, *Arthur Dobbs of Castle Dobbs and Carolina* (South Atlantic Quarterly, January); A. P. Scott, *The "Parson's Cause"* (Political Science Quarterly, December); Rear-Admiral C. F. Goodrich, U. S. N., *Our Navy and the West Indian Pirates* (United States Naval Institute Proceedings, January, February); H. B. Learned, *The Vice President's Oath of Office* (The Nation, March 1); G. Labouchère, *L'Annexion de la Louisiane aux États-Unis et les Maisons Hope et Baring* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXX. 3); C. W. Fisher, *The Log of the "Constitution", February 21-24, 1815* (United States Naval Institute Proceedings, February); R. Hayden, *The Origin of the United States Senate Committee on Foreign Relations* (American Journal of International Law, January); R. W. Neeser, *The Department of the Navy* (American Political Science Review, February); H. H. Maurer, *The Earlier German Nationalization in America* (American Journal of Sociology, January); C. O. Fisher, *The Relief of Soldiers' Families in North Carolina during the Civil War* (South Atlantic Quarterly, January); D. B. Lucas, *Stonewall Jackson: the Christian Warrior* (*ibid.*); J. S. Carr, *The Hampton Roads Conference* (Confederate Veteran, February); J. M. Morgan, *Recollections of a Rebel Reefer*, I. (Atlantic Monthly, January); *id.*, *The Cruise of the 'Dampirates': Further Recollections of a Rebel Reefer* (*ibid.*, February); D. P. Myers, *The Control of Foreign Relations* (American Political Science Review, February); B. B. Kendrick, *McKinley and Foraker* (Political Science Quarterly, December); Munroe Smith, *American Diplomacy in the European War* (*ibid.*); V. Morin, *Précurseurs d'Histoire* [concl.] (Revue Canadienne, February); Judge Prud'homme, *Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, Sieur de la Vérendrye* (Bulletin of the Historical Society of St. Boniface, V. 2); G. Desdevises du Dezert, *L'Église Espagnole des Indes à la Fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Revue Hispanique, February); P. de Coubertin, *A Travers l'Histoire Sud-Américaine* (Revue Hebdomadaire, November 25).

The  
American Historical Review

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE STANDING ARMY IN  
PRUSSIA<sup>1</sup>

NO factor has been more fateful, both for good and evil, in the history of modern Germany, than the Prussian army. Its development runs parallel, step by step, with the development of the Prussian state, of which it is both a cause and a result. In its history there are two decisive epochs. The first is the establishment and maintenance by the Great Elector of a *miles perpetuus*, or "standing army". This was a permanent, active field army kept on foot in time of peace as well as war, and was composed of well-disciplined and well-trained professional, paid soldiers in the direct service and control of the sovereign. Being an army of paid professionals, as distinct from a civilian militia, it was necessarily limited in numbers by the revenues available for its support, and was in fact relatively small in comparison with the total population—a great contrast to modern armies based on the principle of universal military service. It may be compared in many respects with the English army of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries or with the regular army of the United States. It was the outgrowth of the danger threatening Prussia from the aggressive plans of Charles Gustavus of Sweden during the first Northern War.

The second decisive epoch was the great liberalizing and nationalizing reform movement of Stein and Scharnhorst at the opening of the nineteenth century, which resulted in the establishment of a national Prussian army based on the principle of universal military service. It was the outgrowth of Napoleon's conquest of Prussia and of his boomerang-like decree which attempted to limit the Prussian army to 42,000 men. It needs no discussion here, not only because of the admirable account of it which Professor Ford gave

<sup>1</sup> A paper read at the meeting of the American Historical Association in Cincinnati, December 29, 1916.

to the Association at Chicago two years ago,<sup>2</sup> but also because its main features have become familiar through their adoption by the other great countries of Europe.

It is of the first of these epochs, the establishment of the standing army in the seventeenth century, that I wish to speak.<sup>3</sup>

On that cold December morning at Königsberg in 1640 what was the situation which faced the inexperienced youth of twenty whom the world was to know as the Great Elector of Brandenburg, as he stood alone beside his father's coffin? By the death of feeble old George William, young Frederick William inherited in North Germany three groups of widely separated territories. In the centre, mainly between the Elbe and the Oder, was the Electorate of Bran-

<sup>2</sup> "Boyen's Military Law", *American Historical Review*, XX. 528-538 (April, 1915).

<sup>3</sup> In the pages which follow I have drawn my material chiefly from the three great collections of printed sources which deal with the Great Elector's foreign and domestic policy. Chr. Otto Mylius, *Corpus Constitutionum Marchicarum* (Berlin and Halle, 1736 ff., 6 vols. in folio), gives most of the edicts organizing the army and imposing the taxes by which it was largely supported. The *Urkunden und Actenstücke zur Geschichte des Kurfürsten Friedrich Wilhelm von Brandenburg* (Berlin, 1864-1913, 21 vols.) may be depended upon for the details of foreign policy, for negotiations for military subsidies, and for the constitutional conflict with the Estates; vol. V. dealing with the Estates of Cleves-Mark, vol. X. with those of Brandenburg, and vols. XV.-XVI. with those of East Prussia. The *Protokolle und Relationen des Brandenburgischen Geheimen Rates aus der Zeit des Kurfürsten Friedrich Wilhelm* (ed. O. Meinardus, Leipzig, 1889-1907, 5 vols.; printed in *Publ. aus dem Kgl. Preuss. Staatsarchiven*, vols. XLI., LIV., LV., LXVI., LXXX.) lays bare the intimate confidential Privy Council meetings, where reports from officials were read and policies formed; these Privy Council records have been published only for the period 1640-1660.

Among the secondary works, aside from the well-known general histories of Prussia by Droysen and by Prutz, and the good biographies of the Great Elector by Orlich, Philippon, and Waddington, the following studies throw much light on the beginnings of the standing army: F. von Schrötter, *Die Brandenburg-Preussische Heeresverfassung unter dem Grossen Kurfürsten* (Leipzig, 1892, in Schmoller's *Staats- und Sozialwissenschaftliche Forschungen*), on the organization of the army; G. A. von Mülverstedt, *Die Brandenburgische Kriegsmacht unter dem Grossen Kurfürsten* (Magdeburg, 1888), on the origin and history of individual regiments. C. Jany, *Die Anfänge der Alten Armee, and Die Alte Armee, 1655-1740* (Berlin, 1901-1905; in *Urkundliche Beiträge und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Preussischen Heeres*, Heft I., VII.), based on figures returned to the War Department, are valuable for their details as to the numbers of the army. F. Wolters, *Die Zentralverwaltung des Heeres und der Steuern* (Munich and Leipzig, 1915), is a good account of the administrative machinery gradually formed to provide financial support for the army. See also F. Hirsch, "Die Armee des Grossen Kurfürsten und ihre Unterhaltung, 1660-1666", in *Hist. Zeitschrift*, LIII. 229-275 (1885); and K. Breysig, "Der Brand. Staatshaushalt in der Zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhundert", in Schmoller's *Jahrbuch*, XVI. 449-526 (1892), for other financial details.

denburg with an area and population, at the beginning of the Thirty Years' War, roughly equal to that of the present state of Vermont—approximately 10,000 square miles, with a population of 350,000. But by 1640 rather more than half the people had disappeared through emigration, starvation, suicide, murder, or other violent death due to the terrible effects of the war.<sup>4</sup> To the east, along the bleak shores of the Baltic lay the slightly smaller duchy of East Prussia; and in the west, in the pleasant valley of the Rhine, the very much smaller Cleves-Mark territories.

Each of these three territories had been overrun and desolated during the Thirty Years' War by a frightfulness beyond description. Each of them in 1640 was in part still occupied and oppressed by foreign military forces which steadily refused to withdraw—the Swedes were encamped in northern Brandenburg, the Poles had seized part of East Prussia, and the Dutch had occupied fortresses in Cleves. But the foreign foe was not the only difficulty with which this youth of twenty had to contend. In each of these three territories the real political power was in the hands not of the ruler, but of the local Estates. These were composed of the privileged feudal nobility and the selfish burgher aristocracy. In each territory these Estates thought only of their own local interests and class privileges. They refused to raise any taxes except such as would be spent for local purposes under their own local control. They refused to raise troops for any purposes except local defense. They refused to recognize as officials of the Elector all persons who did not belong to the native-born of the territory; that is, the Estates of East Prussia declined to recognize any official whom the Elector might wish to appoint from Brandenburg or Cleves, and the Estates of Cleves reciprocated by refusing to tolerate any official who had been so unfortunate as to have been born anywhere else in the world except in Cleves.<sup>5</sup> In short the Estates of each of the Great Elector's three territories regarded his other lands as foreign soil, in whose welfare and defense they themselves had no particular interest or responsibility. Yet each territory was so isolated geographically and so surrounded by grasping neighbors that it could not defend its own

<sup>4</sup> Meinardus (*Prot. u. Rel.*, II. cxx-exlii) gives valuable statistics from which he concludes that nearly three-fourths of the population had been exterminated. But more recent detailed studies indicate that the depopulation of Brandenburg was nearer three-fifths than three-fourths. Cf. F. Kaphahn, *Die Wirtschaftlichen Folgen des 30 Jährigen Krieges für die Altmark* (Gotha, 1911).

<sup>5</sup> For vociferous denunciations of the Elector's attempts to override this "right of the native-born" (*Indigenatsrecht*) see *Urk. u. Act.*, V. 144, 315; XV. 243, 402.

independence unaided. It was the Great Elector's most important accomplishment that he created in each of these territories a common sense of responsibility and a common habit of action under his own unifying influence. The bundle of isolated territories which he inherited from his father he welded together into a strong, centralized, and absolutistic state. And one of the chief forces by which this welding process was accomplished was the new standing army.

The military situation in the Electorate of Brandenburg was one of the first questions with which the Great Elector had to deal. Shortly before his accession his father's minister, Schwarzenberg, had made a desperate effort to recruit 25,000 mercenaries in the name of the Emperor and the Elector, with which to drive out the Swedes. But the force which Schwarzenberg actually got together numbered scarcely 5000, and represented the worst scum of the earth. They were recruited under the old regimental mercenary system, in which the colonel received a lump sum for raising and equipping a regiment, which he regarded as his own private property. Naturally it was to the colonel's interest to keep as few soldiers as possible actually on foot, because he would otherwise be at the expense of feeding and paying them. Only when they were mustered for review by the prince who was paying for them would the colonel make a frantic attempt to show a full regiment. Usually he did so only by resorting to devious frauds, such as making the same soldier pass in review several times, borrowing soldiers temporarily from brother colonels, or enrolling ruffians and hangers-on hastily gathered at the moment. For instance, in this army of Schwarzenberg's, Colonel Klitzing had received 40,000 Thalers for supposedly 2200 soldiers; he had actually on foot less than a hundred. Colonel Kehrberg received pay for a regiment of 1200, but had only eighty. And so it went. Moreover, this pitiful little army of Schwarzenberg's was too small to expel the Swedes and too defiant and too disorderly to be of any real benefit to the Elector. One of the colonels allowed his soldiers so to riot before Schwarzenberg's house in Berlin, demanding more pay, that the terrified man was literally frightened to death. Another flatly refused to obey the Great Elector's orders. A third browbeat the pastor and citizens of Spandau and defiantly threatened to blow up the fortress and set fire to the town which he was paid to protect. He was as tyrannical over his soldiers as over the cowering civil population. For small offenses he had beaten them, branded them, sliced off their ears and noses, and compelled them to endure the torture of running the gauntlet. The population of Brandenburg complained bitterly that

the soldier within the gates was far more terrible than the Swede without. They begged the Elector to disband the unruly *soldateska*.<sup>6</sup> And the Elector himself summed up the situation in April, 1641, by writing :

We find that our military forces have cost the country a great deal and done much wanton damage. The enemy could not have done worse. We do not see that we have had, or are likely to have, the least benefit from their services. Therefore we have resolved to keep only what is necessary as a garrison for our fortresses.

He therefore speedily made a truce with the Swedes, and thereupon began the disbandment of this old, disorderly army of regimental mercenaries which he had inherited. By a reduction of the infantry from thirty-nine to sixteen companies it was possible to dismiss a great many officers, who were the most insolent, the most hated, and the most expensive part of the army. From the men in the ranks were dropped the undesirable and the unfit. Conrad von Burgsdorf, for instance, purged his regiment of thirty-three native-born Swedes, thirty-two Scottish, Irish, and Polish adventurers, and thirty men "crooked, lame and useless".<sup>7</sup>

Those who were retained in service numbered scarcely enough to man the garrisons, but they formed a tiny nucleus for a new and relatively well-disciplined army. It was composed so far as possible of the Great Elector's own subjects, so that it might have a little feeling that it was fighting for the defense of home and country. It was sufficiently well paid so that it did not have to resort to the plunder and oppression of the people whom it was supposed to defend. Though it had to protect the scattered fortresses in all the Elector's lands it numbered less than 3000 men for several years, because none of the Estates would consent to raise money for the support of any larger force, and the Elector had as yet almost no other revenues of his own available for military purposes. In the last years of the Thirty Years' War, to be sure, he managed to increase his army to nearly 8000 men. It was a decisive factor in winning for him respectful consideration in the negotiations leading up to the peace of Westphalia, and in assisting him to make good his claims to the new territories of East Pomerania, Magdeburg, Halberstadt, and Minden.

This little force of 8000 men, which was the outgrowth of the last years of the Thirty Years' War, has been spoken of by nearly all writers on Prussian history as the beginning of the standing

<sup>6</sup> *Urk. u. Act.*, I. 388 ff., 122-454; X. 59-92; *Prot. u. Rel.*, I. 79, 159-237.

<sup>7</sup> *Prot. u. Rel.*, I. 342.

army. But a closer examination of the situation after the peace of Westphalia does not support this view. After the provisions of the great peace had been carried out in 1650, and after the failure of the Great Elector's ill-starred attack on the Duke of Neuburg in 1651, commonly known as the "cow war at Düsseldorf", he was again forced to follow the example of all his predecessors and most of his contemporaries in disbanding his army as soon as the war was over. He was forced to do so both by the insistence of his Estates and more especially by his lack of any resources of his own with which to support any considerable body of troops. He had not yet created a military revenue which would allow him to keep on foot in time of peace troops which had been raised in time of war. All that he could afford to retain, aside from his modest military escort of 63 horse guards and 202 life guards, were the troops absolutely necessary to garrison the fortresses—790 men in the East Prussian seaports of Pillau and Memel, 596 in Colberg in Pomerania, 1352 in the Brandenburg strongholds, and small bodies of soldiers in the fortresses of the other provinces. Altogether the total garrison forces amounted to a Lilliputian army of just 3907 men.<sup>8</sup> This handful of men could not have been spared from the fortresses in case of war. It was in no true sense a standing army, *i. e.*, a permanent active field army, with an assured means of support, kept on foot in times of peace as well as of war. The true beginnings of the Prussian standing army are to be found, not in the Thirty Years' War, but half a dozen years later in connection with the Northern War, 1655-1660.

There is another mistake, also, which is common to most Prussian writers, who wish to attribute to the Great Elector a greater vision of the future than he actually enjoyed. It is the mistake of saying that he deliberately planned to create a standing army in the interests of centralization of power and absolutism. He did not do so. His first measures, when the Northern War became imminent, show that he did not intend to recruit a permanent army, but only the customary temporary force to be kept on foot during the continuance of danger.<sup>9</sup> In the matter of the standing army, as in so many other matters, he showed himself, like Bismarck, to be a successful opportunist. He did not create a situation; but when circumstances presented a situation which to ordinary minds contained nothing but misfortune and evil, the Great Elector saw and seized an opportunity to be turned to his advantage. The Northern War

<sup>8</sup> Jany, I. 84-114.

<sup>9</sup> Orders for a provisional "militia in waiting", October 20, 1654. *Prot. u. Rel.*, IV. 594-599.



was such an opportunity. Through its unavoidable necessities he created in time of war a standing army which he and his successors never wholly disbanded in time of peace.

On a day in late summer in 1654 a sly Swedish envoy, Count Schlippenbach, appeared in Berlin with the ostensible purpose of notifying the Great Elector of Queen Christina's abdication, and of the accession of Charles Gustavus. He made liberal profession in public of the new Swedish king's friendly intentions toward the Empire. In private, however, he let drop the ominous warning that Sweden might be compelled by necessity to enter upon a new war against Poland. He hinted at the desirability of an alliance between Sweden and Brandenburg. He even suggested as the basis of such an alliance that the Great Elector should hand over to the Swedes the Prussian ports of Pillau and Memel, and receive in exchange wide lands to be conquered from the unsuspecting Poles. In saying this the unwary envoy let the cat out of the bag.<sup>10</sup> Frederick William instantly saw the direction in which the greedy Swedish eyes were turned. Pillau and Memel were his two strongest fortresses and, next to Königsberg, the two most active trading ports in all East Prussia. They were two of the brightest jewels among his possessions. Under no conditions, he replied, could he entrust them into the hands of the Swedes. With characteristic energy and foresight he at once despatched General Sparr to East Prussia to strengthen the fortifications, and began to take steps that he might not be caught unprepared between the Swedish and Polish belligerents.<sup>11</sup>

At this critical moment of an impending war between his two Swedish and Polish neighbors, the Great Elector had for the defense of his neutrality and his lands nothing but the handful of garrison troops, scattered, as we have seen, among his isolated fortresses. How should he form an army to meet the threatened danger? He considered various possibilities. In the first place he might in theory call upon all his subjects to stand forth as a militia to defend the land in time of danger. But in practice this *Landfolge*, or general militia levy, had become obsolete and impracticable even before the Thirty Years' War. The peasants were not provided with any sort

<sup>10</sup> Schlippenbach visited Berlin twice, the first time publicly, in August or September, 1654 (*Urk. u. Act.*, VI. 615-616), the second time incognito, in July, 1655 (*ibid.*, VII. 387-395). Most writers, following Pufendorf, have confused these visits.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, VII. 326-330, 337-359. "If his Electoral Highness is armed, the desire to breakfast upon him will pass", remarked his leading minister, Waldeck, *ibid.*, p. 327.

of satisfactory arms; they knew little of fighting or discipline; and they could not be well spared from tilling the land. After the terrible ruin of the Thirty Years' War, when the tillers of the soil had disappeared in such great numbers and it was of first importance to restore some prosperity to agriculture, it would have been particularly unwise to call the peasants from the fields to undergo the burden of military service.

There was also in theory the medieval feudal service which the Elector might demand of his vassals. But this feudal force likewise had fallen into utter decay.<sup>12</sup> It would have been too grotesque in the seventeenth century. The Elector did not forget, however, that theoretically feudal service was still owing to him, and he several times exacted a money payment in lieu of it, and then used the money in payment of his regular standing army.<sup>13</sup>

In his need for troops, as the Northern War grew more threatening, he finally decided to turn to a committee of the Brandenburg Estates and ask for a grant of money sufficient to recruit, equip, and maintain 3000 new troops. To strengthen his request he called attention to a recent decree of the Imperial Diet, which allowed any prince to proceed by military execution against subjects who refused to contribute to the defense of the Empire. Though his language was conciliatory, it was firm, and left no doubt that he intended to act on the principle, "that the military force of a country must be organized in accordance with the danger and necessity".<sup>14</sup> In other words, necessity knows no law, *Not kennt kein gebot*, and he himself of course was to be the judge of the necessity. The Estates shrewdly pointed out, what appears to be the fact, that the Imperial Decree cited did not technically apply in this case, for it was East Prussia, not Brandenburg, which was in danger from the Northern War, and East Prussia, strictly speaking, was not a part of the Empire. Moreover, the Brandenburg Estates took the attitude that they were under no obligation to defend East Prussia. Let East Prussia look after its own safety. However, after delay and haggling, they consented to provide small sums for raising a part of the foot-soldiers that the Elector requested.<sup>15</sup> In July the advancing tide of war

<sup>12</sup> Cf. C. Jany, "Lehndienst und Landfolge unter dem Grossen Kurfürsten", in *Forschungen zur Brand.-Preuss. Geschichte*, VIII. 419-467 (1895).

<sup>13</sup> Resolution of December 18, 1656, *Urk. u. Act.*, V. 227; edict of October 2, 1663, Mylius, III. ii, no. 36.

<sup>14</sup> "Doch müsste die Kriegsverfassung eines Landes nach der Gefahr und Nothwendigkeit eingerichtet werden." Frederick William to the Brandenburg Estates, December 23, 1654, *Urk. u. Act.*, X. 313.

<sup>15</sup> Recess of March 3, 1655. *Ibid.*, X. 315.

and "necessity" compelled him to request urgently the equipment of 3000 additional men. In words which foreshadowed his future attitude he declared to them on July 12, 1655:

The military preparations of all our neighbors compel us to follow their example. And since this army is for the benefit not simply of one, but of all my lands, I deem it proper that the cost and maintenance of the troops must be borne by all my lands, and that the soldiery shall be assigned amongst them proportionally.<sup>16</sup>

But this time the Estates refused, characteristically preferring "to trust in God and wait patiently upon events". The Elector therefore proceeded to the extreme step of collecting a land tax of 180,000 Thaler by military execution. This action, taken without the consent of the Estates, was, as the nobility at once complained,

contrary to ancient custom, contrary to the constitutional laws, contrary to the fixed financial relations between the nobility and the towns, and contrary to the recent promises of the Elector. It [was] taking without consent and by force a greater and more unbearable amount in four months than even an irate enemy had ever demanded in a whole year.

In the recriminations which followed, it became clear that what troubled the nobles most was that they thought they were having to pay a little larger proportion of the tax than the towns. They complained that the Elector's officials did not assess the tax in the same ratio between nobility and towns as had been formerly agreed upon. In their selfishness they so magnified this picayune point that they lost sight of the really great and important danger that they were on the verge of losing altogether their constitutional right to grant taxes.<sup>17</sup>

It was with these means that the Great Elector was in part able to raise the army with which he won a year later his first great field victory, the three-days' battle of Warsaw (July 28-30, 1656). In this battle, for the first time, troops from Brandenburg, Prussia, and Cleves-Mark fought side by side under a single flag and a single leader for a single, common purpose—the strengthening of the dynastic power of the Hohenzollern family. This new army of nearly 10,000, which strikingly embodied the new Brandenburg-Prussian state, had borne gloriously its first baptism of fire.

During the remaining years of the Northern War, Brandenburg was forced to contribute on an average nearly 500,000 *Th.* a year for the support of the new army. In East Prussia, Cleves, and his other provinces the Great Elector exerted an equally heavy financial pres-

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 316.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 318-338; *Prot. u. Rel.*, pp. 92-135.

sure in ways which cannot here be described, but which called forth loud and bitter protests from the Estates.<sup>18</sup> With the revenues which he thus raised he was able to recruit and equip in the course of the Northern War an efficient field army of over 27,000 men, not including the 4000 men serving in the garrisons. With this army he not only successfully repelled invasion in the latter part of the war, but was able at last, with the aid of duplicity, to shake off the hated Polish overlordship in East Prussia and to secure the recognition of his own sovereignty there.

The Great Elector's excuse for imposing such taxes and creating such an army had been the "unavoidable necessity" caused by a war not of his own making. When the war was over and the peace of Oliva had been signed, the Estates in each of his lands expected that he would follow the example of his predecessors in disbanding his forces until they were reduced again to the scanty garrison and body-guard troops customary before the Northern War. But the Great Elector now had no such intentions. "I have become convinced", he wrote, "that I owe the preservation of my position and my territory to God, and next to God, to my army." And in the interesting secret letter of advice which he drew up for his son in 1667 he declared:

<sup>18</sup> Before the Northern War the military land tax (*Kontribution*) had averaged only about 300,000 *Th.* a year and had come mainly from the central and western provinces. During the Northern War it rose rapidly and East Prussia also had to contribute its full share. The amounts of the military tax from the different provinces may be seen from the following table:

Year	Brandenburg	Cleves-Mark	Minden-Ravensberg	Halberstadt	Pomerania	E. Prussia	Total
	<i>Th.</i>	<i>Th.</i>	<i>Th.</i>	<i>Th.</i>	<i>Th.</i>	<i>Th.</i>	<i>Th.</i>
1653	150,000	50,000	60,000	36,667	50,000		346,667
1654	75,000	50,000	60,000	36,667	107,798	6,000	335,465
1655	360,000	250,000	60,400	50,000	118,402	600,000	1,438,802
1656	540,000	250,000	84,400	51,045	84,546	600,000	1,609,991
1657	600,000	250,000	128,400	63,000	184,114	600,000	1,825,514
1658	531,000	250,000	128,400	117,617	406,031	600,000	2,033,048
1659	600,000	250,000	142,368	99,174	311,627	600,000	2,003,169
1660	360,000	250,000	142,368	99,174	220,763	300,000	1,372,305
Total . . .	3,216,000	1,600,000	806,336	553,344	1,483,281	3,306,000	10,964,961
% tax . .	29.5	14.6	7.0	5.0	13.5	30.4	100
% pop. . .	32	13	7	4	10	34	100

The last two lines in the table show that the proportion of taxes contributed by each of the Elector's territories corresponded fairly equitably to the population in each. The figures given have been drawn from a variety of sources and in many cases are only approximate, but they have been checked up with the results reached by Wolters, *Die Zentralverwaltung des Heeres und der Steuern*, pp. 307, 575.

Alliances are good to be sure, but a force of one's own, on which one can more securely rely, is better. A ruler is treated with no consideration if he does not have Troops and means of his own. It is these, Thank God! which have made me "considerable" since the time that I began to have them; and I continually regret that at the beginning of my reign, to my great disadvantage I allowed myself to be dissuaded from them and against my wish followed other counsels.<sup>19</sup>

He had realized in the Northern War how dangerous "unpreparedness" is when one's neighbors are full of military activities. He saw that his subjects had become somewhat accustomed to the payment of military taxes. He saw that the time had come for maintaining by policy in time of peace, as a *standing army*, a part of the force which he had raised by necessity in time of war, as an active fighting army. Therefore, while disbanding more than half his forces, he still retained after the Northern War about 12,000 men, 5200 of whom were assigned to make more generous provision of defense of the garrisons, and the rest of whom were distinctly retained as a permanent field army. This is the true origin of the Prussian standing army.

In reducing his standing army to a peace footing after the Northern War the Great Elector still had to observe the utmost economy, for his lands were poor and he had not yet developed a large source of revenue for military purposes. Thus, the artillery, which on account of its large equipment in horses was one of the most expensive, though smallest, parts of the army, was wholly given up. The guns and gunners were redistributed again among the fortresses. This continued to be the practice throughout the Great Elector's reign. Only in time of war were the guns brought out again from the fortresses and mounted to form a temporary artillery division.<sup>20</sup>

The Great Elector also reduced the number of officers, but not proportionally with the rest of the army. A large number of officers, instead of being dismissed altogether, were kept in his service by paying them "waiting money" (*Wartegeld*). They had no soldiers under them and no duties in time of peace. They were, in a sense, on temporary leave of absence. But if war broke out, they were bound by the terms of their "waiting money" to be ready to recruit new regiments or to take command of old troops, according as the Elector should direct. Thus the Great Elector assured for himself an adequate number of good, experienced, and trusted officers without the burden of actually supporting a correspondingly large number of common soldiers.

<sup>19</sup> This interesting letter was first discovered and printed by Ranke, *Genesis des Preuss. Staates* (Leipzig, 1874), p. 508.

<sup>20</sup> Jany, *Die Alte Armee*, p. 56.

In time of peace also the Great Elector, with characteristic thrift, found means of turning his standing army to profitable uses. Soldiers were employed in digging the famous Frederick William canal connecting the Elbe with the Oder. In 1663 soldiers were conveniently used in transforming the Tiergarten into a pleasant park and suburb for Berlin. In the same year, when the Turks again became dangerous and the Emperor begged for help, the Great Elector was able to lend him 2000 troops—on condition that the Emperor should pay all the costs of their support.<sup>21</sup>

The Estates, however, were by no means reconciled to his retention of even a small standing army, and they did not believe that the rumors of war at all justified his continued forced collection of military taxes which had not been constitutionally granted. They protested loudly, but in vain. For after he had established his sovereignty in East Prussia, the Elector felt able to take a higher tone toward the Estates than in his helpless years at the beginning of his reign. His triumph over the Estates in East Prussia, in the course of which the leaders of the opposition, Roth and Kalkstein, were kidnapped and imprisoned, is well known.<sup>22</sup> In Brandenburg, when a deputation of the Estates presented a list of grievances in 1666 he expressed himself sharply:

*Deputies.* We are sorely grieved that in matters touching the weal or woe of the land and entailing the loss of our property and our total ruin, you no longer call us together in the Diet to ask our advice.

*Frederick William.* Tie secret and weighty matters to a bell-rope by giving them, to the Estates to deliberate over, indeed!

*Deputies.* It is with the greatest pain that we have seen how you have continued to levy 22,000 *Th.* a month, and done so as if it were a permanent tax.

*Frederick William.* I could wish that we lived with such neighbors that we could get along with less.

*Deputies.* The military taxes we have paid out of loyal love and devotion for so many years cause the decay of the towns and villages.

*Frederick William.* For the decay in the towns the town magistrates themselves are responsible. It is due to the inefficiency of their administration, which smells to heaven.

*Deputies.* We are also saddened at the order that recruiting is to be held in every town and village. It makes conditions of life so uncertain. Every one fears danger and suspects evil.

*Frederick William.* I am not a little displeased that my good intentions toward the welfare of my people are made a matter of fear and suspicion. If it were not for some people who are so clever that they

<sup>21</sup> Convention of August 23, 1663, *Urk. u. Act.*, XI. 298.

<sup>22</sup> For the details of "The Great Diet, 1661-1663", see *ibid.*, XV. 459-775; XVI. 1-425.

can hear grass growing, wrong impressions of your ruler's intentions would not be made.<sup>23</sup>

A few days later, in words which sound very like those which Bismarck used two centuries later in his constitutional conflict with the Prussian legislature, the Great Elector declared to the Brandenburg deputies: "The burden of taxation in the present circumstances is unavoidable. It is necessary for our safety and welfare. Mere words and empty arguments in cases like this accomplish little or nothing."<sup>24</sup>

At the same time the Elector began to devise, and eventually put into operation, a number of new military taxes which he hoped would afford him a steady revenue for the standing army, and yet which would not bear with such a direct and irritating pressure on the people as the old land-tax (*Kontribution*). The new taxes would also have the great advantage that their collection and administration would be mainly in the hands of the Elector's own personal officials, could be centralized at Berlin, and could be made in time more or less uniform for all his territories. One of the most objectionable features of the land-tax, from the Elector's point of view, was that its collection and administration were normally in the hands of the agents of the Estates. Among the new taxes was an excise (*Akzise*) on meat, grain, and beer; it was first used on a considerable scale in 1667 in the towns of Brandenburg, and later extended as a "general excise" into the Elector's other provinces.<sup>25</sup> During the war with Sweden, in his great necessity, he twice levied on all his lands, as an emergency war-tax, what may be described as a graduated income tax (*Kopfsteuer*). All his subjects were graded into 250 classes, ranging all the way from the Elector himself, who was taxed 1000 *Th.*, and his wife, who was assessed at 500, down through university professors and physicians who paid four thaler each, to day-laborers in small towns who contributed only a quarter of a thaler.<sup>26</sup> Its collection was exclusively in the hands of the Elector's military revenue collectors (*Steuerkommissare*) acting under orders

<sup>23</sup> Memorial of the Estates, July 1, 1666; the grievances of the Estates are given in summary, but Frederick William's autograph marginal notes are *verbatim*. *Urk. u. Act.*, X. 389-392.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 392 ff.

<sup>25</sup> The opposition to it was so strong in some of the provinces that its introduction into all the provinces was not accomplished till after the Great Elector's death in 1688. The best account of it is by Hugo Rachel, *Die Handels-, Zoll-, und Akzisepolitik Brandenburg-Preussens bis 1713* (*Acta Borussiae*, Berlin, 1911), pp. 501-599.

<sup>26</sup> Edicts of January 20, 1677, and January 7, 1679, in Mylius, IV. v. nos. 1 and 2.

from the central war department (*Generalkriegskommissariat*) at Berlin. The Estates had nothing to do with it. It was another innovation which further undermined their power and correspondingly increased that of the Elector. It was uniform for all the lands and broke through the old existing medieval distinctions between town and country and between different social classes. After the close of the war with Sweden a small revenue was derived from a stamp-tax (*Stempelsteuer*) on all legal papers.<sup>27</sup> In order to secure means for building up a navy, the Elector levied after 1686 a tax (*Chargensteuer*) which somewhat resembled in principle the "first fruits" of the medieval church: every official on receiving a new office had to pay over to the government half the first year's salary.<sup>28</sup> Of the successful administration of these taxes, as well as of the relatively good organization, equipment, and discipline of the army itself, there is here no time to speak. But a word may be said as to its later growth and influence during the Great Elector's life-time.

During the wars with Louis XIV. and the Swedes (1672-1679), when he had to defend his lands over a very wide front from the Rhine to the Memel, Frederick William steadily increased his standing army until it reached in 1678 the maximum number of over 45,000 men, including all branches of the service.<sup>29</sup> This number was beyond his own means of support. It was only through the fortunate circumstance that he was able to secure considerable subsidies from his neighbors—363,800 *Th.* from Spain, 770,622 from the Dutch, and nearly a million from the Holy Roman Empire—that he was able to keep on foot a standing army of this size.

After the French-Swedish War had been brought to an end by peace in 1679, Frederick William again reduced his forces by somewhat more than one-half, just as he had done after the close of the Northern War, but he still retained a very respectable standing army of about 18,000 men. This remained the average size of the

<sup>27</sup> Edict of July 15, 1682; in Mylius, IV. v, Kap. iii, no. 1; by a misprint Mylius gives the date as 1685 instead of 1682.

<sup>28</sup> Edict of January 2, 1686; in Mylius, IV. v, Kap. ii, nos. 1-4.

<sup>29</sup> The strength of the different branches of the service, according to an official estimate of December 28, 1678, in the Zerbst Archives, quoted by Jany, *Die Alte Armee*, pp. 91-93, was as follows:

General Staff, comprising.....	184 men
Cavalry, 85 companies, comprising .....	9,764 "
Dragoons (mounted infantry), 29 companies.....	3,455 "
Infantry, 188 companies, .....	30,892 "
Artillery, .....	1,033 "
Total .....	45,328 "



army until the outbreak of the war which followed Louis XIV.'s invasion of the Palatinate, when it was increased again to 30,000. It made Brandenburg-Prussia, next to Austria, the strongest power in Germany and a highly prized ally in the War of the Spanish Succession.

The indirect effects of the standing army were perhaps even more important than the direct. As the army was one of the first institutions which embodied the unity and efficiency of the whole Brandenburg-Prussian state, in contrast with the weakness and corner-grocery attitude of the separate provinces, so the organs of financial administration which were developed for the army's support—the central war department (*Generalkriegskommissariat*),<sup>30</sup> the military revenue collectors (*Steuerkommissare*), the military budget (*Generaletat*), the war chest (*Kriegskasse*), and the army chest (*Generalfeldkriegskasse*)—soon came to form a centralized and efficient administrative service. This rapidly supplanted the various lax and decentralized agencies which had been managed by the Estates. The absolutistic officials of the Elector gradually took the place of the particularistic agents of the Estates. In many cases the Elector shrewdly adopted and transformed their agents into officials of his own.<sup>31</sup> And the curious thing is that within a generation many of the families which had been loudest in their protests against the Great Elector's attacks on their so-called liberties were the very ones who made the most loyal and efficient members of the new Prussian bureaucracy.

To what extent, it may be asked, are the Great Elector and his standing army responsible for the Prussian militarism of to-day? Less, I believe, than is usually supposed. But this is a large question upon which I may not venture at this time to enter.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

<sup>30</sup> It is significant that it was the Northern War which led to the establishment of the first regular war department with authority over all the military forces in all the Elector's provinces (April 8, 1655). The head of this department, who at first was merely a member of the Privy Council assigned to look after military matters, speedily built up about himself a body of clerks and administrative boards which carried forward the work of centralizing and strengthening the military administration. The head of this department exercised some of the functions of a general staff, of a quartermaster-general, and of a treasury department. For an excellent discussion of the development of the office, see Wolters, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-145.

<sup>31</sup> It was through a transformation of this kind that the modern *Landrat*, who represents the quintessence of Prussian conservatism and bureaucracy, came into existence. Cf. F. Gelpke, *Die Geschichtliche Entwicklung des Landratsamtes der Preussischen Monarchie* (Berlin, 1902); also Wolters, pp. 146-158.

## THE NORTHERN RAILROADS, APRIL, 1861

OF the superabundant material on the military history of the Civil War, by far the greater portion has been written for the generation that fought it. The emphasis has been upon the battle-field, and upon achievements and mistakes that parallel those of warfare since history began. As it recedes from the popular memory, and scientific interest replaces personal, attention will tend to be focused rather upon those features which distinguish it from other conflicts, and particularly those that time shows to mark stages in the development of war. For the student of military history, of whatever nation or time, it will always prove a fruitful field, being the greatest military episode, as well as the midway point, between the two world-war cycles of the modern period. Of the innumerable developments affecting the conduct of war, which the Civil War enables us to study in mid-career, the most important seem to the writer to be the progress of democracy, of the humanitarian spirit, and of transportation. The present paper is a contribution to the last-named subject, being a study of the railroad situation in the North at the opening of the war.

Ropes contents himself with saying: "The railroad systems of the North were far more perfect and extensive, and the roads were much better supplied with rolling-stock and all needed apparatus."<sup>1</sup> The Comte de Paris, with a better appreciation of the importance of the subject, devotes nine pages to the railroad situation.<sup>2</sup> The official French observers, however, failed to give it so much attention, or, at any rate, their government failed to profit by our experiences, for Lanoir says that the War of 1870 found France with no military organization of railroads, no act, administrative or ministerial, no decree, no plan.<sup>3</sup> Nor have English military writers, in spite of their interest in the war, studied this field in which it was the first experiment ground; although in 1862 W. B. Adams devoted a chapter of his book on *Roads and Rails* to the question of the rela-

<sup>1</sup> *The Story of the Civil War*, I. 99.

<sup>2</sup> *History of the Civil War in America*, I, 208-217.

<sup>3</sup> Lanoir, *La Question des Chemins de Fer*, p. 48; *Organisation Militaire des Chemins de Fer* (L. Bowdoin et Cie., 1884), p. 7, states that the Germans were the first to understand and press to its consequences the revolution that steam produced in the economy of defense and attack. It mentions the Crimean and Italian wars, but not the Civil War.

tion of railroads to national defense. Very different has been the attitude of the Germans. In 1867 J. G. Laszmann published *Der Eisenbahnkrieg*, of which the theories are based on our experience combined with that afforded by the War of 1866. In 1882 H. C. Westphalen published *Die Kriegführung unter Benutzung der Eisenbahnen und der Kampf um Eisenbahnen*, which gives a most detailed account of the handling of railroads for war purposes between 1861 and 1865, and the most unqualified praise to General McCallum, who chiefly handled them. As late as 1896, Dr. Joesten in his *Geschichte und System der Eisenbahnbesuchung im Kriege*, drew a large part of his material from the same struggle. When one remembers that one of the German staff of observers was Count Zeppelin,<sup>4</sup> one is inclined to believe that the best accounts of the whole problem are probably in the archives of the Prussian staff, and that our experience was probably the basis upon which was built their system,<sup>5</sup> which in 1866, for the first time in Europe, made effective war-use of railroads.

Before the Civil War, railroads had been used for military purposes in the Mexican War, the Crimean War, and the Italian War. Their use in these instances had, however, been comparatively unimportant. It was, therefore, a new problem which confronted the Union and Confederate governments in 1861. Already, however, some thought had been given to it. In 1851 the secretaries of war and the navy, under instruction from Congress, addressed a circular letter to certain officers, requesting their opinion as to how far changing circumstances affected the great plans of coast defense outlined in 1816 and 1836; in particular: "How far the invention and extension of railroads have superseded or diminished the necessity of fortifications on the seaboard".<sup>6</sup> The replies varied greatly in the care devoted to them, and in point of view. The majority held that railroads were not a substitute for fortifications, although they changed the requirements. It is not surprising that the most interesting was from Lieutenant Maury. He wrote:

The part that railroads and magnetic telegraphs are to play in the great drama of war with this country has not yet been cast, much less enacted. In a military point of view, they convert whole States into

<sup>4</sup> *Cassier's Magazine*, August, 1910, p. 383.

<sup>5</sup> Westphalen, *Kriegführung*, pp. 398, 403, reports the study of American experience in Prussia.

<sup>6</sup> *House Ex. Doc.*, No. 92, 37 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 297-387. This elaborate report includes a great mass of material, including the report of General Gaines of 1836, in which he discusses, not very significantly, railroads and frontier defense.

compact and armed masses. They can convey forces from one section of the Union to another as quickly as re-enforcements can be marched from one part of an old-fashioned battle-field to another.

He recommended the building of a railroad to the Pacific as the most effective measure for defending the California coast-line.<sup>7</sup>

Other officers complained that railroads would not be built where military necessity required them; few conceived, as did Maury, the building of them by the government. Yet the idea was not a startling one. Military wagon roads were built,<sup>8</sup> and so strict a constructionist as President Buchanan informed Congress, in 1857, that the national government not only "possesses the power, but it is our imperative duty, to construct" such military roads as are necessary to our defense, making his argument an introduction to a friendly discussion of the Pacific railroad proposal.<sup>9</sup>

The only action taken before the war, however, was the insertion of a clause in the railroad land grants declaring that the roads built therefrom be "free from toll or other charge upon the transportation of any property or troops of the United States", that is, at a rate based on the cost of equipment and motive power.<sup>10</sup> While so little was done, it is apparent that the subject was not entirely unconsidered, and it is not surprising that Jefferson Davis, the chief official patron of the Pacific railroad, made the completion of the missing links in the Southern railroad system one of his early recommendations to the Confederate Congress.<sup>11</sup> It is, in a way, more surprising, though but another indication of the native clarity of his vision, that Lincoln, in December, 1861, recommended the construction of a military railroad through Kentucky into East Tennessee and western North Carolina.<sup>12</sup>

Nevertheless it was by private initiative alone that the railway system of the United States in 1861 had been created, and private initiative had naturally followed for the most part the dictates of commerce and commercial opportunity, though political considera-

<sup>7</sup> *House Ex. Doc., No. 92, 37 Cong., 2 sess., p. 335 ff., especially p. 357.*

<sup>8</sup> *Statutes at Large, 33 Cong., 2 sess., p. 608; 34 Cong., 3 sess., p. 162; Report of Secretary of War, 1856, p. 371.*

<sup>9</sup> Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, V. 456-457.

<sup>10</sup> *Statutes, 34 Cong., 1 sess., May 15, May 17, June 3, 1856, etc.* Before this date there is no mention of troops. After its first insertion this clause became standard in railroad land grants. It was, of course, not retroactive.

<sup>11</sup> Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Confederacy*, I. 139-140.

<sup>12</sup> Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, VI. 46. This proposal was endorsed by Kentucky, December 23, 1861. *Sen. Misc. Doc., No. 14, 37 Cong., 2 sess.*

tions had played some part, particularly in the South.<sup>13</sup> With such incentives there had developed a system which, east of the Mississippi, was comparatively independent of, though it did not ignore, water transportation; or rather two systems, for the states which seceded had one system, those which did not, another. Including the Kentucky Blue Grass with the North and western Kentucky with the South, the Southern system comprised about 9000 miles, and employed about 7500 railroad men, the Northern about 22,000 miles, employing about 29,000 men. There was only one point of physical contact between them: the Louisville and Nashville at Bowling Green. Long Bridge at Washington was not strong enough to bear trains, and between Cairo and Columbus was a two-hours' steamboat connection.<sup>14</sup> It is evident that most of the heavy inter-sectional trade was carried by the Mississippi and coastwise shipping, being distributed from such ports as Memphis, Vicksburg, Charleston, and Savannah.

The Northern system was the more complete. It left out the northern portions of Maine, Michigan, and Wisconsin, with the Adirondacks, and but barely touched Minnesota and Iowa, but within this area there were but few places, such as northwestern Pennsylvania and the Catskill plateau, as much as twenty-five miles from a railroad. Ten roads connected the Ohio with the Lakes, where ten years before there had been but one; eight linked the Mississippi with the same artery, where ten years before there had been none. Its point of strain was at the crossing of the mountains. Here it must bear the increased traffic between East and West caused by the war, as well as the extra requirements of the upper Mississippi and Ohio valleys caused by the closing of the Mississippi. Moreover, of the four roads into which the traffic was here compressed, corresponding to what are now the New York Central, the Erie, the Pennsylvania, and the Baltimore and Ohio systems, the latter was, for the first year of the war, closed by the enemy.<sup>15</sup> Yet the roads that remained were adequate to the task. They were put to it for men, as many joined the army just when business increased, and they had to increase wages, but they did their work, and there is no evidence that the government or business felt, except

<sup>13</sup> *Calhoun Correspondence*, Am. Hist. Assoc. Report, 1899, II, 701, 1062-1063.

<sup>14</sup> The following description is based on the railroad map for December, 1860, drawn by Professor R. H. Whitbeck for the Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States now in preparation by the Carnegie Institution.

<sup>15</sup> *House Ex. Doc., No. 15*, 38 Cong., 1 sess., *Report of Gen. George B. McClellan*, pp. 52-53. It was closed about the end of April, 1861, and opened late in March, 1862.

during a brief period of adjustment, the pinch of inadequate transportation.<sup>16</sup> In fact, when the war was over, satisfied trade could not be enticed away from the routes to which war had forced it.

The reason is plain. In the fifties the gold of California, the optimism of the American people, the rivalry of cities, had overbuilt the railroad system.<sup>17</sup> The panic of 1857 had checked growth but promoted consolidation and improvement. The railroads were ready, were panting, for an increase of business. The war saved them. In return they saved the country. At least, civil war in 1850 would have meant that the valleys of the Mississippi and Ohio would have been bottled up; the railroads could not have carried their products to the East or to the Lakes, nor could the canals. The harvests which in 1861 saved our foreign credit could not have been sold, the population, restless even in 1862, and unmodified by the strong Union elements entering in the fifties, would have been a very doubtful element. The historian can explain why the Civil War occurred just when the North was supplied with a railroad system unnecessarily extensive for business in sight, but the average man might be excused for calling it "bull luck".<sup>18</sup>

The main military obligation which the war threw upon the railroads was that of maintaining the industrial life of the nation under changed conditions. Nevertheless the part they were to play in strictly military operations, was hardly second to that of the navy. In a report of August 4, 1861, General McClellan says:

It cannot be ignored that the construction of railroads has introduced a new and very important element into the war, by the great facilities thus given for concentrating at particular positions large masses of troops from remote sections, and by creating new strategic points and lines of operations.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>16</sup> *Official Records, War of the Rebellion*, third series, I, 710-711, December, 1861. Cameron reports that the opening of the Baltimore and Ohio was important for purposes of trade; *American Railroad Journal* (weekly, ed. H. V. Poor and J. H. Schultz), 1861, pp. 401, 428, 476, 505-506, discusses the dislocation of trade.

<sup>17</sup> *The Capitalists' Guide*, 1859, states that 20,000 miles are all the inland commerce of the country requires, that 8000 are a dead loss. From a narrowly financial aspect this was probably true. The railroad time-tables at once illustrate that the roads were not used to capacity, though, of course, they could not be used as much as now, owing to the character of the grades, the slight development of double-tracking and inadequate sidings, and the crudity of signalling and switching systems. According to the *Census*, 1860, *Miscellaneous*, p. 324, the railroads carried about 850 tons per mile, per annum.

<sup>18</sup> In addition, there was the Erie Canal, and the Boston and Ogdensburg, the latter tapping Lake Ontario, p. 323.

<sup>19</sup> *Report of General McClellan*, p. 4.

It is characteristic that he adds: "It is intended to overcome this difficulty by the partial operations suggested." And yet it is difficult to see that the situation was not as advantageous to Northern as to Southern strategy. To be sure, McClellan, railroad man though he was, preferred to advance upon Richmond from the coast, and left the railroad advantage almost entirely to his opponents. In the direct advance upon Richmond, however, the railroads of northern Virginia were quite as useful to Union as to Confederate troops, while, as Alexander points out, the absence of north and south railroads in western Maryland and Pennsylvania was a constant check to Lee in his invasions.<sup>20</sup> Alexander, himself, regarded the interior railroad lines of the South as a great and neglected advantage.<sup>21</sup> Yet, when in 1863 Longstreet was sent West, it took Alexander eight days and ten hours to go from Petersburg to the vicinity of Chickamauga, while in the same campaign<sup>22</sup> Hooker went from Culpeper Court House to Bridgeport, Alabama, a longer distance over a more indirect route, in eight days.<sup>23</sup> This, of course, involved the use of part of the Southern system, but it renders it difficult to see why McClellan might not have considered the opportunities which railroads afforded him, as well as the difficulties they involved.

By using the word system it is, of course, not intended to imply that the Northern railroads had unified organization, yet they were by no means disjointed units. As the efficiency of a transportation system so largely depends upon organization, it is vital to an understanding of the part the railroads played to know at what precise degree of integration they had arrived. The original segments had nearly all been short; independent roads from Providence to Boston, Providence to Worcester, Boston to Worcester, Worcester to Springfield, were typical. This was, in part, due to the fact that capital was conservative and preferred to stay near home. In the fifties confidence in corporations and far-distant investments increased and greater enterprises were undertaken. John M. Forbes was able to attract Boston capital to the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy;<sup>24</sup> the Erie grew from New York to Lake Erie; the Illinois Central stretched nearly the length of that long state. By 1861 these units had begun to unite into larger entities, some of which were the ancestors of the great systems of to-day. This was prompted by

<sup>20</sup> Alexander, *Military Memoirs of a Confederate*, pp. 221-222.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 220, 364.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 449.

<sup>23</sup> Rhodes, *History of the United States*, IV. 399; Westphalen, *Kriegführung*, pp. 172-177.

<sup>24</sup> Pearson, *An American Railroad Builder*, p. 86 and *passim*.

desire for administrative convenience and, particularly after 1857, by financial pressure.<sup>25</sup> On the whole, consolidation was favored by public sentiment,<sup>26</sup> and the local restaurateurs and omnibus men, who still in the South very generally prevented the physical connection between lines having their terminals in the same city,<sup>27</sup> had, after the Erie riots in 1854, largely lost sympathy in the North.<sup>28</sup> The unions were of many kinds: agreements, leases, operating contracts, joint ownership of connecting lines; practically all modern devices except the holding company and even this was in process of evolution. Owing to the complexity of these arrangements, it is impossible to state the exact limits of the real sovereignty of the several administrative units.<sup>29</sup> The most extensive was that of the Pennsylvania system, stretching from New York to Chicago. The New York Central was more loose-jointed, but was developing in a promising manner. The Boston and Maine was already beginning to spin its tangle to the delight of lawyers and the confusion of laymen. Still it was impossible to go from Boston to New York over one system, or from New York, or even Philadelphia, to Washington. The war caught the railroads at about one-quarter the way from the original diversity to the situation of 1916.<sup>30</sup>

American ingenuity, however, had rendered the situation less annoying to the traveller than might be supposed. In 1855, at Pittsburgh, there had been formed a national association of general ticket agents.<sup>31</sup> At first in the nature of a lark, if not a spree,<sup>32</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Pearson, p. 89 ff.

<sup>26</sup> *Capitalists' Guide*, 1859. This point is strongly emphasized in a study of corporations to 1860, made by Theodore Gronert in his doctoral thesis, Wisconsin, 1917.

<sup>27</sup> Phillips, *A History of Transportation in the Eastern Cotton Belt*, pp. 383-384; Ramsdell, "The Confederate Government and the Railroads", pp. 794-810 of this journal.

<sup>28</sup> Rhodes, *United States*, III. 21-23.

<sup>29</sup> *Capitalists' Guide*, 1859, gives many data on this subject. In many cases where no other information is given, the lack of any data on equipment indicates that the road was operated by another, although in some cases such lack may be due to failure to report. Material on this subject is also given in the *American Railroad Journal*, every weekly number giving a railroad list with equipment, as well as financial data.

<sup>30</sup> I note 22 railroads with track in more than one state, out of 340 listed.

<sup>31</sup> *Records of the National General Ticket Agents Association* (Chicago, 1878). The first meeting was on March 13. In 1856 they met at Hamilton, Baltimore, Boston, and St. Louis; in 1857 at Indianapolis; in 1858 at Chicago and Philadelphia; in 1860 at Cleveland; in 1861 at Cincinnati, January 10, Louisville, April 9 (the largest meeting, 51 roads, of which one was Southern), and Detroit, October 2. The Detroit and later meetings took up the war situation, see particularly pp. 76-77.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 17-25.



their meetings rapidly developed into important business conferences. In 1862 they resolved that it was "inexpedient . . . to accept invitations which interfere with . . . business".<sup>33</sup> Here was evolved a system of coupon tickets which in 1859 enabled the traveller to buy his transportation through from New Orleans to Bangor, Maine.<sup>34</sup> As the baggage check system was also in use,<sup>35</sup> and universal railroad guides in circulation,<sup>36</sup> the worry of travel was already largely reduced for the traveller, while the facilitation of freight was also provided for.

With this spirit of accommodation, through cars were run over some connecting lines, as between Boston and New York.<sup>37</sup> This movement, however, had made but slight progress, and the trains, both freight and passenger, nearly always presented an appearance very different from that of those we watch in the yards to-day, for practically every car belonged to the road on which it was running. This was in large measure due to the physical inheritance from the days of still greater diversity, the difference in gauges. In the North, I have noted eleven different gauges, running from 4.4½ to 6 feet.<sup>38</sup> Out of this chaos there was coming some order. Four feet, ten inches was an Ohio favorite, but such roads were not extending. Four feet, eight and one-half inches was the general favorite in the North, but the New York Central was 4 ft. 8 in. The battle between broad and narrow gauge could not be said to be won;<sup>39</sup> the Erie used the 6-foot, and its growing ally the Atlantic and Great Western was pushing that form of track across the Middle States toward St. Louis. In the South an even 5-foot was general, but did not hold a mastery. A change of gauge meant, of course, change of cars; between Philadelphia and Charleston there were eight. Even the Pennsylvania had to announce one change between New York and Chicago, at Pittsburgh, where every pound of its freight had to be transferred, as its Eastern and Western systems had different gauges.<sup>40</sup> The standardization of gauge was beyond

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 81.

<sup>34</sup> *Capitalists' Guide*, 1859, p. 318; see also Johnson and Huebner, *Railroad Traffic and Rates*, II. 22.

<sup>35</sup> Ferguson, *America by River and Rail* (London, 1856), p. 41, etc.

<sup>36</sup> Rhodes, *Railroad and Steamboat Directory* (Philadelphia, 1857); Dinsmore, *Railroad and Steam Navigation Guide* (New York, 1858); perhaps the best was Appleton's, which was supposed to be issued semi-monthly.

<sup>37</sup> Ferguson, *America by River and Rail*, p. 41.

<sup>38</sup> Ashcroft, *Railroad Directory for 1862*, gives the gauges.

<sup>39</sup> There was much literature on this subject.

<sup>40</sup> Ferguson, p. 248, describes the methods in this greatest of freight transfer stations.

the expectation of the day, and inventors were at work, as yet unsuccessfully, on adjustable running gear.<sup>41</sup>

Another factor necessary to an understanding of the part played by railroads in the war is a knowledge of the character of the roads themselves and their equipment. Inferior as were the best to the average of to-day, there was probably more variety than there is now. Yet American railroads were as distinct from the European as they are to-day; their development had been largely a native growth, and the difference was not alone one of inferiority.

The laying out and grading of the road represented about one-third of its cost.<sup>42</sup> From a military standpoint this was a permanent accomplishment for it resisted destruction. During the Civil War such masonry also as existed appears to have survived,<sup>43</sup> but there was little compared with what we expect to see. The tracks were very slightly ballasted,<sup>44</sup> but the ties were laid closer than in Europe,<sup>45</sup> and efforts were already being made to prolong their life by injecting creosote.<sup>46</sup> No steel rails were in use.<sup>47</sup> Although the wooden rail, really a wooden rail capped with iron and weighing about fifteen pounds to the yard, had gone out of use in the North, it was still used in the South. During the war the Pennsylvania experimented with a 67-pound rail, but 64 was the heaviest lying in 1861.<sup>48</sup> The form of the rail, however, was more nearly modern than were those then used in Europe.<sup>49</sup> Double-tracking was making rapid progress to the north, but had made but little progress in the war region.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Malézieux, *Travaux Publics des États-Unis d'Amérique en 1870* (Paris, 1875), p. 134; this superb study gives many facts in engineering history.

<sup>42</sup> *The Capitalists' Guide* gives the cost of the Memphis and Ohio as \$681,036 for grade, ties, and bridges; \$592,900 for superstructure, and \$250,000 for equipment. No figures give exactly what is wanted here, but the statement is a rough estimate drawn from many such accounts as the above.

<sup>43</sup> See *Photographic History*, I. 27, 213; V. 75, etc.

<sup>44</sup> Malézieux, *Travaux Publics*, p. 132.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 134-135.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> Taylor, *Distinctive Features*, p. 8. In 1863 the Pennsylvania road experimented with steel rails, axles, and ties.

<sup>48</sup> Wilson, *Reminiscences of a Railroad Engineer* (Philadelphia, 1896), p. 55.

<sup>49</sup> Malézieux, *Travaux Publics*, p. 135.

<sup>50</sup> Statistics on double-tracking are very difficult to obtain. In New England it had made considerable progress, as in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and on the Baltimore and Ohio system; elsewhere it was rare. The Pennsylvania road began double-tracking in 1854, in 1860 its length was 331, with 262 miles of double-track. In New York state in 1860 there were 2656.10 of road, of which 1053.40 were double-tracked, but these figures included sidings. Semi-nary study by Mr. H. K. Murphey, 1916.

The Americans were the cleverest bridge-builders of the world. Already the first suspension bridge across Niagara had been in place five years and carried trains.<sup>51</sup> Iron bridges were coming in, but most were wooden, and the easiest way to cripple a railroad was to destroy its bridges. The war began with their destruction north of Baltimore. Again and again did those of Virginia go up in smoke, only to rise again, beautiful tissues of wooden trestle, almost over night.<sup>52</sup> Across the Susquehanna at Havre-de Grace was a car-ferry.<sup>53</sup> Here and there, in their pride, successful roads had begun to erect splendid terminals. That at Providence was one of the most graceful buildings ever created in America; but these stations were much further removed from the modern terminal than were roads and trains. It would still take fifty years to adjust architecture to the new requirements.

The cars were of the modern American type,<sup>54</sup> but lighter. Murray wrote in 1855 that an American car to seat fifty weighed from ten to twelve tons and cost £450, while accommodation for fifty in England cost £1500. At present our cars are the heavier. We already, however, used the double-pivoted wheel-base, generally with eight wheels, which allowed for sharper curves in the road.<sup>55</sup> The smoking-car, the water-filter, the toilet, and the omniferent newsboy were already in evidence.<sup>56</sup> Stoves were used for heating. The sleeping-car was in use, and the Woodruff type seemed to young

<sup>51</sup> Malézieux, *Travaux Publics*, pp. 63-69; *The American Railroad* (New York, 1889); *American Railroad Journal*, 1861, pp. 357, 468, 476.

<sup>52</sup> Beautiful examples are to be seen in the *Photographic History*, V. 252, 272, 278, 294, 298.

<sup>53</sup> Malézieux, *Travaux Publics*, p. 32; *Harper's Weekly*, June 8, 1861, p. 361.

<sup>54</sup> For an appreciation of the physical characteristics of railroads no better material exists than the contemporary photographs. The *Photographic History*, V. 271-302, is devoted to railroads and the army; I. 193, shows Illinois Central cars at Cairo; p. 325, the Richmond and York River Road, with light rail and poor grade, but good flat-cars. *Harper's* and *Leslie's* give sometimes photographs, sometimes sketches. *Harper's Weekly*, November 9, 1861, gives a good bird's-eye-view railroad map; May 11, it illustrates the repair of the Annapolis road with wooden rails, while *Leslie's* of the same date shows troops diving to recover sunken rails. *Leslie's*, April 30, shows troops in passenger-cars at Baltimore; June 15, Camp Dennison, Ohio, with a railroad passing through it; June 29, a fight about a train; October 5, a wreck; August 3, the first picture of troops in freight-cars, which becomes a common sight. These same authorities illustrate also water transportation; *Harper's*, September 28, for instance, shows troops in canal-boats.

<sup>55</sup> Murray, *Lands of the Slave and the Free* (London, 1855), II, 45-52, 146, a very good account.

<sup>56</sup> Thornbury, *Criss-Cross Journeys* (London, 1873); he travelled in the spring of 1861.

Andrew Carnegie a promising field for his energy.<sup>57</sup> To judge from descriptions, however, it would seem that had the mechanism not improved, most persons would still prefer the day-coach.<sup>58</sup> The restaurant-car was not yet, and the ordinary passenger, like the soldier, ate a casual apple or descended to a Gargantuan gorge at properly spaced twenty-minute stops.<sup>59</sup>

The locomotives with their turnip-shaped stacks and slight bodies looked more unlike those of to-day, than did the cars. Europeans noted, with praise, the house for the engineer, and the musical warning of the bell.<sup>60</sup> The cow-catcher lived up to its name; the Philadelphia and Reading often made a century a week, for tracks were practically never fenced in.<sup>61</sup> Most engines were named, and a typical good one was the *Vibbard*, which weighed 59,000 pounds, cost \$11,845, and ran 5709 miles for \$4,318.79 in the year ending June, 1865.<sup>62</sup> Most engines burned wood, though experiments were being made with coal.<sup>63</sup> The train was governed by the conductor. The Pennsylvania had its own system of telegraphic control,<sup>64</sup> as did many others in the North, while in the South the railroad telegraph was little used.<sup>65</sup> Couplings and safety-switches were engaging attention, but were unsolved problems. The snow-plow was used in the North,<sup>66</sup> and many of the bridges were covered.<sup>67</sup> Better time was made on the main lines than a study of conditions would lead one to suspect. In 1857 trains were scheduled from Boston to Chicago in forty-two hours, to New York in twelve and a half hours, to St. Louis in forty-eight; from New York to Chicago in thirty-six hours, to Charleston in sixty-two; from Charleston to Nashville in thirty-three, to Memphis in forty-two. In 1861 the

<sup>57</sup> *Who's Who in America*, 1916-1917, p. 400.

<sup>58</sup> Thornbury, *Criss-Cross Journeys*, I. 34-47; he slept well on the third trial; Charles Francis Adams, *Autobiography*, p. 65. McPherson, *When Railroads were New*, p. 171, gives the cost as about \$4000. The first "Pullman", built during the war, cost \$18,000.

<sup>59</sup> Ferguson, *America by River and Road*, p. 43; Moore, *History of the Cooper Shop Volunteer Refreshment Saloon* (Philadelphia, 1866).

<sup>60</sup> See *Photographic History*, VIII. 277, etc.

<sup>61</sup> Malézieux, *Travaux Publics*, p. 132.

<sup>62</sup> *Am. Railroad Journal*, 1861, pp. 498, 540, gives results of tests on Illinois Central; *Photographic History*, V. 287. A similar locomotive to-day would weigh about 180 tons and cost about \$30,000.

<sup>63</sup> Taylor, *Distinctive Features*, p. 10. Experiments were being made in smoke consumption.

<sup>64</sup> Plum, *The Military Telegraph during the Civil War in the United States* (Chicago, 1882), I. 66-67.

<sup>65</sup> Phillips, *Transportation in the Eastern Cotton Belt*, p. 385.

<sup>66</sup> *Capitalists' Guide*, 1859, p. 105, etc.

<sup>67</sup> Ferguson, *America by River and Road*, p. 42.

New York Central and Pennsylvania both scheduled forty-hour trains from New York to Chicago. These, however, were exceptional routes, and the average train made its way in leisurely fashion, as the habit of smoking on the car platforms reveals.

The *Capitalists' Guide* of 1859 reported that the Southern roads were in better shape than the Northern, but this was a matter of finance alone. A glimpse at the pages of the same book giving the equipment of the individual roads reveals the discrepancy. The Memphis and Charleston, with 290 miles of track, owned 35 locomotives, 32 passenger, 449 freight, and 42 service cars; the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore, with about one-third the track, had about the same equipment; the Baltimore and Ohio had more than half as many freight-cars as were reported in the whole South, the New York Central more than half as many passenger-cars, and the Pennsylvania and Erie together, almost as many engines.<sup>68</sup>

Ties, rails, bridges, and equipment were liable to destruction on capture,<sup>69</sup> and, therefore, the possibility of replacement was of obvious moment. Nor was this less true of the North than of the South, for it is apparent that the larger equipment of its roads was fully used by the business of those roads, and the special requirements of the army were mostly for cars and engines to run conquered Southern roads of different gauge.<sup>70</sup> If this paper were devoted to the South, this would be the vital problem to discuss, as it was the vital problem for the Confederate government to solve. If as vital for the North, it was at any rate small cause for worry. The American railroad system was practically self-sufficing, and it was the manufacturing North which had supplied the lion's share. The shops which had equipped the mushroom growth of the fifties were eager, after the slack since 1857 and the loss of the Southern market, to supply the war-drain. It is perhaps sufficient to state that there is not the slightest evidence of shortage or strain, except that occasioned by sudden crises in special localities.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>68</sup> The reports are not complete, but the lines not reporting were mostly small.

<sup>69</sup> *Harper's Weekly*, July 20, 1861, p. 455, illustrates the destruction of 50 Baltimore and Ohio locomotives; August 3, p. 491, of 42 at Martinsburg, W. Va., etc.; see also Imboden, "Jackson at Harper's Ferry in 1861", in *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (1884), I, 122-125, on Jackson's trap for trains.

<sup>70</sup> *House Ex. Doc., No. 1*, 39 Cong., 1 sess., vol. IV., app., pt. 1, p. 18, on the struggle for the equipment of the Louisville and Nashville. In Virginia McCallum changed the gauge to 4.8½ so that he could use northern equipment. *Am. Railr. Journ.*, 1862, p. 398.

<sup>71</sup> In an emergency the factories delivered to McCallum in Nashville, in February, 1864, 13 locomotives; March, 7; April, 10; May, 23; and kept up the

The effectiveness with which the railroads could be used depended in large measure on the control which the government could exert over them. In 1870 the French government requisitioned all means of transport.<sup>72</sup> The United States government never undertook any such comprehensive measure. In fact it was neither desirable nor necessary. The roads showed a ready spirit of helpfulness.<sup>73</sup> On April 26, 1861, the directors of the Illinois Central placed their road at the disposition of the government, with its 110 engines, 2600 freight cars, and 3500 men. Compensation would be expected for the use of the rolling-stock, but it could be arranged later.<sup>74</sup> On the whole the roads were willing, the government generous, and the pressure was better met by the regular officials than it would have been by direct government control.

Where the situation called for it, however, the government showed no hesitation in exercising power. "About the close of April" 1861, the government took control of the Washington branch of the Baltimore and Ohio, and the Annapolis and Elk Ridge. Both were returned to the companies when order in eastern Maryland was restored, and before the seizure was reported to Congress.<sup>75</sup> Cameron reported July, 1861: "Supervision of railroad and telegraph lines will remain a necessity."<sup>76</sup> January 31, 1862, Congress authorized the President to take possession of railroads so that they should be considered part of the military establishment of the United States, subject to all the restrictions imposed by the rules and articles of war. February 11, 1862, Brigadier-General McCallum was appointed "military director and superintendent of railroads in the United States" with authority to "enter upon, take possession of,

latter rate as long as he called for them. The *Census of 1860, Manufactures*, clxxx-cxevi, gives a production of railroad iron in the North of 222,577 tons; in the South, of "bar and railroad iron", 26,252 tons; 19 factories producing "wholly or chiefly" locomotives in the North, to 1 in Virginia; Virginia stood well in car-springs, etc., but no manufacture of car-wheels is reported in the South. Obviously, considering the difference of gauges, the manufacture of railroad-cars was more widely distributed, the iron parts being assembled. Virginia, South Carolina, and Tennessee produced each a respectable number, but Pennsylvania produced twice as many as the entire South. This branch is not discussed in the census, the figures being given with the several states.

<sup>72</sup> Lanoir, *La Question des Chemins de Fer*, p. 54.

<sup>73</sup> Fish, "Raising of the Wisconsin Volunteers", *Military Historian and Economist*, I. 258-273 (July, 1916). See also Wilson, *Reminiscences*, p. 41.

<sup>74</sup> *Offic. Rec.*, third series, I. 121. This put their road on the same basis as the other land-grant roads.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 673.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 307.

hold and use all railroads, cars, locomotives, equipments, appendages, and appurtenances, that may be required".<sup>77</sup> The government had already taken possession of the railroads in the region occupied in Northern Virginia, seized three engines, and "borrowed" three from the Philadelphia and Reading, reconstructed Long Bridge, laid tracks across it, and made connection with the Alexandria and Orange, thus originating a system of military railroads under its own management.<sup>78</sup> Before the Baltimore attack on the Sixth Massachusetts, a government telegraph system had been begun, although it was dependent for seven months for money and supplies upon E. E. Sanford, president of the American Telegraph Company. No moment of doubt or hesitation is shown in exercising all needed control; the question of its extension was one of policy alone.<sup>79</sup> Nor did the government show more hesitation in upholding its own railroad men in their relations with commanders in the field. A special order of November 10, 1862, read:

Commanding officers of troops along the United States military railroads will give all facilities to the officers of the roads . . . for unloading . . . working parties will always be in readiness for that duty, and sufficient to unload the whole train at once.

Commanding officers will be charged with guarding the tracks, sidings, wood, water-tanks, etc., within their several commands, and will be held responsible for the result.

Any military officer who shall neglect his duty in this respect will be reported to the quartermasters and officers of the railroad, and his name will be stricken from the rolls of the army. . . .

No officer, whatever may be his rank, will interfere with the running of the cars as directed by the superintendent of the road.

Any one who so interferes will be dismissed from the service for disobedience of orders.<sup>80</sup>

Therein spoke the ablest railroad lawyer of the country, Edwin M. Stanton. The possibilities of direct service in the war lay not only in the stage of development they had attained, but in the men they had prepared.

The story is familiar how when railroad and telegraph connection between Washington and the North was broken, a Massachusetts regiment arrived at Annapolis. The road from that port to the Baltimore and Ohio had been damaged, and the only available engine was broken down. A call was made for men who could

<sup>77</sup> *House Ex. Doc., No. 1, 39 Cong., 1 sess., vol. IV., app., pt. 1, pp. 1-39.*

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>79</sup> *Offic. Rec., third series, I. 673.*

<sup>80</sup> *House Ex. Doc., No. 1, 39 Cong., 1 sess., vol. IV., app., pt. 1, p. 33.* Contrast this with the slower appreciation of the need of control in the South, as shown in Mr. Ramsdell's article, ensuing.

repair it, whereupon a man stepped forward who had helped build it,<sup>81</sup> and speedily found competent mechanics to help him put it in repair. Within a few days a regular connection by boat was established between Havre-de-Grace and Annapolis, over which not only troops but regular passengers were taken. With the almost unnoticed rebuilding of the bridges between Baltimore and the Susquehanna, the regular railroad route was reopened, and that by Annapolis vanished.<sup>82</sup> It is not so important that there were thirty thousand miles of railroad in the United States in 1861, as that twenty thousand of them had been built in the last ten years. In those ten years greater progress had been made in transportation than in any other twenty of our existence to the present time. The number and variety of the problems to be solved, financial, administrative, and engineering, had demanded and developed extraordinary talent. Sound and careful judgment was a necessity, but tradition had no hold. New problems did not terrify, but the railroad men of the country were not untutored dreamers.<sup>83</sup> The profession was at an ideal point to meet an unexpected situation. Moreover, the railroad system was the only "Big Business" in the country. No other institutions drew their capital from as widely extended territory, did business of as far-flung scope, or handled male labor of such number and variety.

It was no accident, therefore, that the leading military organizer, McClellan, had been chief engineer and then vice-president of the Illinois Central, and had become in August, 1860, president of the Ohio and Cincinnati, although Ropes fails to mention his railroad experience. Equally with McClellan, credit for the prompt utilization of railroad possibilities must be given to the Secretary of War, Cameron, who was familiar, perhaps too familiar, with the Pennsylvania railroad men. He immediately called as assistant-secretary Thomas A. Scott, vice president of that road. If Scott was too liberal in his compensation to the railroads,<sup>84</sup> at least there can be no criticism of the effectiveness of his acts. He at once called four Pennsylvania men to assist him, one of whom, Strouse, took charge of the telegraphs, and one, twenty-four-year-old Andrew Carnegie, who had risen from telegraph messenger to telegraph

<sup>81</sup> Butler, *Butler's Book* (Boston, 1892), pp. 201-202.

<sup>82</sup> These were rebuilt by the company. *Offic. Rec.*, third series, I. 673; first series, II. 616-617, 635.

<sup>83</sup> Westphalen, *Kriegführung*, p. 545, comments on this resourcefulness. Note also a railroad battery pushed by a locomotive, *Photographic History*, V. 51, and a search-light, *Leslie's*, July 6, 1861.

<sup>84</sup> *House Ex. Doc.*, No. 18, 37 Cong., 2 sess.



operator, and superintendent of the Pittsburgh division, to be superintendent of telegraph lines and railroads in the East.<sup>85</sup> Cameron, McClellan, and Scott left under various clouds, and Carnegie followed them with a disgust for war which later made him the benefactor of pacifism, but the railroad work and the army organization had been well done. Cameron, moreover, was succeeded by Stanton, familiar with the railroads as one of their own officers, thoroughly able to understand "that the management of railroads is just as much a distinct profession as is that of the art of war".<sup>86</sup> He promptly called to the transportation service General Haupt, a West Point graduate of 1835, from 1846 with the Pennsylvania road, and after the war, builder of the Hoosac Tunnel.<sup>87</sup> More important, he called D. C. McCallum, an architect and engineer, general superintendent of the Erie, to take general charge of the military railroad situation.<sup>88</sup>

The most striking work of McCallum was the organization of reconstruction work. Roads and bridges were sometimes destroyed and rebuilt five times with the ebb and flow of the battle lines.<sup>89</sup> It was accomplished to the wonder and admiration of the most intelligent foreign observers.<sup>90</sup> The work itself belongs to the story of the war, but it would have been impossible if the railroad development to 1860 had not reached the point it had in accomplishment and public recognition. With the possible exception of the Navy Department, it was the most efficient of the public services, and ranks in that regard with the United States Sanitary Commission. These two contributions of our Civil War have been incorporated into the mechanism of all civilized war.<sup>91</sup>

CARL RUSSELL FISH.

<sup>85</sup> Plum, *Military Telegraph*, I. 66-67.

<sup>86</sup> *House Ex. Doc.*, No. 1, 39 Cong., 1 sess., vol. IV., app., pt. 1, p. 34.

<sup>87</sup> *Photographic History*, V. 277.

<sup>88</sup> Wilson, *Reminiscences*, p. 45; the chief engineer of the Pennsylvania was appointed aide of General Couch during the Gettysburg campaign.

<sup>89</sup> Westphalen, *Kriegführung*, p. 419, etc.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 398, and *passim*.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 398, referring to McCallum's report, *House Ex. Doc.*, No. 1, 39 Cong., 1 sess., vol. IV., app., pt. 1, pp. 1-39.

## THE CONFEDERATE GOVERNMENT AND THE RAILROADS<sup>1</sup>

THE history of the Southern Confederacy affords an excellent illustration of the handicaps which, in this modern industrial world, beset any purely agricultural people in waging war. Success in war now depends so much upon the effective organization and application of the industrial resources of the nation to the support of the army that the mobilization of mines, farms, factories, foundries, banks, and means of transportation must accompany the mobilization of men. And, just as a trained army cannot be created without trained officers, the resources of a nation cannot be organized for effective military use if there is no body of trained industrial officers to conduct the industrial mobilization. When a people in a primitive stage of industrial development and therefore without trained industrial leaders engages a powerful adversary who is abundantly supplied with them, the tragic ending of that encounter is easily foretold. It was into such a conflict that the South rushed so light-heartedly in 1861.

Much has been said and written of the inferiority of the South in the supply of men and guns, when in fact a more fundamental weakness was its backward industrial condition. Moreover, industrial inexperience strengthened the confirmed particularism of the Southern people and their deep-rooted suspicion of every proposition which involved the extension of the activities and powers of the general government into the field reserved by custom for private enterprise. It would not be difficult to show that these were potent causes of the administrative paralysis which prostrated the Confederacy as much as did the battering of the Federal armies. Of this general statement the history of the Southern railroads from 1861 to 1865 offers one of the best illustrations.

The American Civil War was the first great military conflict in which railways were a highly important factor. So vast and in many parts so thinly populated was the area over which operations must be conducted and from which supplies must be drawn that without railways it would have been impossible for either side to maintain large armies at the front unless within reach of water

<sup>1</sup> A paper read at the meeting of the American Historical Association in Cincinnati, December 27, 1916.

transportation.<sup>2</sup> Even in the North where the railroads were better developed and the total mileage was twice that of the South, and where the Ohio, the upper Mississippi, the Potomac, and the sea furnished effective supplement to the roads—even there the problem of transporting men and supplies to the military frontier was a troublesome one. In the South, where the roads were in most cases short local lines, inadequately financed by local capital, cheaply constructed, poorly equipped, and supplemented but very little by water navigation, they were wholly unprepared for the task suddenly forced upon them by the war.

From the utter absence of any recorded discussion of the subject it is clear that at the outbreak of war no man of prominence in the Confederacy foresaw that the railroads were to play a part of great importance or that there was any urgent need of strengthening them. Upon the railroad companies themselves the first effects of the war were unfortunate. The business depression which came with hostilities, the establishment of the blockade, and the discouraging by the Confederate government of the exportation of cotton had greatly and suddenly reduced seaward traffic and revenues. Not knowing what was ahead of them the companies reduced expenses. Salaries were cut and trains and employees were laid off.<sup>3</sup> Many of these employees were skilled men who were permanently lost to the roads, for some went into the army while others, of Northern birth and sympathies, made their way out of the Confederacy. Although the roads were now cut off from the Northern foundries from which they had always obtained their rails and rolling-stock, no general effort seems to have been made to get supplies elsewhere—a negligence which was probably due to the belief that the war would not last long.

Traffic soon revived but in a new direction. While the lines leading only to the sea-coast vainly awaited the raising of the blockade and the revival of business in the fall, those leading to the Virginia and Tennessee frontiers, where troops and stores were being concentrated, were enjoying a government patronage which greatly exceeded their former business. But the situation had its difficulties. The railroad business was still in the competitive stage in 1861 and the immense patronage of the government was worth fighting for; but as no single line could control rates all the way through from the lower South to Virginia and therefore none had

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Pratt, *Rise of Rail-Power in War and Conquest, 1833-1914*, p. 14 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cuyler, Report of the President of the Southwestern Railroad, *Savannah Republican*, August 14, 1861.

much to gain by cutting its own rates, while it might be seriously affected by the combined rates of other roads, it is not surprising that the railroad men early came to the conclusion that some effort should be made to establish uniform charges for government transportation. This was desired also by the quartermaster-general, whose duty of providing all military transportation would be greatly lightened by such an arrangement. In the first flush of warlike enthusiasm some of the roads had offered their services free for military purposes,<sup>4</sup> while others had charged their full local rate. Manifestly, this could not continue. Therefore the representatives of thirty-three roads met in convention at Montgomery on April 26, 1861, and agreed to a uniform rate of two cents a mile for men and half the regular local rate for munitions, provisions, and material, and also agreed to accept Confederate bonds at par in payment of government transportation.<sup>5</sup> Since the local rates varied greatly, this arrangement did not give complete satisfaction, and the railway presidents held another convention at Chattanooga on October 4, 1861, at which a schedule was drawn up and presented to Quartermaster-General A. C. Myers. This schedule divided the freights into four classes with a uniform rate of so much per one hundred miles for each class. After some consideration Myers accepted it and urged it upon the roads not represented at Chattanooga.<sup>6</sup> Although this rate schedule remained in force for some time, various roads on one pretext or another demanded a higher rate, which was in some cases granted, with the result that new uniform rates became necessary.<sup>7</sup> As the currency depreciated, higher and higher rates were authorized in special cases to the end of the war.<sup>8</sup> The government never attempted to fix or interfere with rates for private business, probably assuming that such action was beyond its constitutional powers.

When in May and June of 1861 the government began to collect an army in Virginia one serious weakness of the transportation system was distinctly revealed. At such points as Chattanooga, Knoxville, Bristol, Lynchburg, Savannah, Augusta, Charlotte, Raleigh, Wilmington, and Petersburg—and there were many others

<sup>4</sup> *Official Records, War of the Rebellion*, fourth series, I. 120, 224, 236, 238.

<sup>5</sup> Quartermaster-General's Letter-Book, I. 98-100, Confederate Archives, U. S. War Department; *Offic. Rec.*, fourth series, I. 269, 538.

<sup>6</sup> Circular of Quartm.-Gen., December 13, 1861, Letter-Book, II. 442.

<sup>7</sup> A. C. Myers to various persons, Quartm.-Gen's. Letter-Book, IV. 232; VI. 6, 77, 117, 227, 278, 301.

<sup>8</sup> W. S. Alexander to James Stewart, January 14, 1864, Quartm.-Gen's. Letter-Book, VII. 528; H. K. Burgwyn to J. A. Seddon, *Offic. Rec.*, fourth series, III. 616-618.

—the roads terminating in those towns did not connect with each other and freight must be unloaded at one depot, hauled across town, and reloaded on cars at the other. Passengers frequently had to wait over until the next day. Since this arrangement made business for hotels and transfer companies, the town looked upon it with favor as a valuable asset and strongly opposed every attempt to provide connections for through traffic.<sup>9</sup> Even where the tracks connected, the freight had to be unloaded and reloaded on other cars, since no company was willing to entrust its cars to another line. Frequently troops and stores so unloaded would be compelled to wait for days and even weeks before they could move on to the next terminus. Consequently, at these points of congestion troops, ordnance, quartermasters, and commissary stores began to accumulate, and confusion, further delay, and sometimes heavy losses resulted.<sup>10</sup> Steps were taken to bridge these gaps, but without much effect. The case of Petersburg, Virginia, may be taken as an example. So great was the delay, expense, and inconvenience of transshipment between the several roads terminating at that important point that Gen. Robert E. Lee at the very beginning of the war urged the construction of connecting tracks.<sup>11</sup> The railway companies had long desired to make the connection but had been prevented from doing so by the opposition of the town itself. As a question of law was involved the Virginia state convention passed an ordinance, June 26, 1861, authorizing the connection. The roads now asserted that the expense would be too great for them to undertake the work without government loan; and when this seemed in a fair way to be obtained, the question arose whether the new law contemplated a permanent connection, in which the railroads would have an interest, or only a temporary one in which they would have practically none. As a temporary connection would be of light and flimsy construction and impassable for heavy freights, and as the authorities of Petersburg continued strenuously to oppose a permanent connection, no action was taken, and the congestion continued.<sup>12</sup> At other connecting points, as Lynchburg, through traffic

<sup>9</sup> *Savannah Republican*, November 11, 1861, for conditions at Augusta.

<sup>10</sup> Myers to J. S. Barbour, June 17, 1861, *Quartm.-Gen's. Letter-Book*, I. 197 203; Myers to Campbell Wallace, July 9, 1861, *ibid.*, p. 275; Myers to G. R. Echols, July 12, 1861, *ibid.*, p. 287; Myers to M. J. Harman, July 12, 1861, *ibid.*, p. 287; Myers to E. H. Gill, July 22, 1861, *ibid.*, p. 322.

<sup>11</sup> Lee to E. T. Morris, June 18, 1861, *Offic. Rec.*, fourth series, I. 394.

<sup>12</sup> P. V. Daniel, jr., to Davis, June 27, July 17, 1861, *Offic. Rec.*, fourth series, I. 405, 484; Daniel to Walker, July 2, *ibid.*, p. 417; Wm. T. Joynes to Walker, July 17, *ibid.*, p. 485; "Resolutions of the Common Council of Petersburg," December 10, 1861, *Public Documents of the Virginia Assembly, 1861-1862*, no. 32.

was impossible because of the change of gauge. The confusion and congestion were not relieved by the frequent interference of lesser military officials, who sought on their own responsibility and regardless of schedules and distribution of rolling-stock to order trains back and forth within the limits of their respective commands.<sup>13</sup> The quartermaster-general had no control over these officers and he was put to the utmost exertions to straighten out the tangles and mollify the railroad officials. The first general order issued by General Lee after he was called to Richmond in March, 1862, was directed against this practice.<sup>14</sup> It was becoming increasingly evident that some system of effective supervision or control looking to better co-ordination of shipments would soon be essential to the supply of the armies and the safety of the government itself.

Another difficulty which appeared early and steadily grew worse under the stress of war was the shortage of cars and engines. The supply on most of the Southern roads was scanty before the war and it proved wholly inadequate for the needs of the government. Moreover, some of the roads upon which the heaviest traffic was thrown were least able to bear it. This was the case with the line of roads extending from the vicinity of Chattanooga up the Tennessee valley and across to Lynchburg. These roads were comparatively new and their traffic before the war had been light, but now they became the chief carriers of grain, beef, and pork from the Tennessee region to the armies in Virginia. The task was far beyond their capacity and the continuous use of cars and engines without giving time for repairs reduced both rolling-stock and the frail tracks to a sad condition. The quartermaster-general made repeated efforts to obtain cars and engines from other roads for use on this line; but, as this aroused the jealousy of the officials of the other roads, who protested vigorously that they had none to spare, little was procured even under threat of impressment.<sup>15</sup> In fact every road was suffering for cars and engines, since the few shops which would build or repair them were soon either leased by the government for its own uses or were crippled by the conscription of their skilled workmen. It was becoming impossible to replace

<sup>13</sup> Wallace and John R. Branner to Benjamin, December 4, 1861, *Offic. Rec.*, first series, vol. LII., pt. 2, pp. 227-228; Myers to Joseph E. Johnston, March 6, 1862, *Quartm.-Gen's. Letter-Book*, III. 380.

<sup>14</sup> See *Offic. Rec.*, fourth series, I. 1010-1011.

<sup>15</sup> Myers to Wallace, September 18, 1861, *Quartm.-Gen's. Letter-Book*, II. 60; Benjamin to Myers, September 24, and Myers to W. S. Ashe, September 25, 1861, *Offic. Rec.*, fourth series, I. 617; Myers to Wallace, September 30, *Quartm.-Gen's. Letter-Book*, II. 103; Myers to Ashe, October 5, 1861, *ibid.*, p. 123; Benjamin to Joseph E. Brown, September 30, and Brown to Benjamin, October 2 and 4, 1861, *Offic. Rec.*, fourth series, I. 634, 646, 666.

losses and by the opening of 1862 the shortage of rolling-stock was so alarming that railroad men were predicting the utter breakdown of the roads within a short time.<sup>16</sup>

Imbued as the Southern people were with *laissez faire* ideas, their government was slow to take a hand in the operation of the roads, and when finally compelled by force of circumstances to interfere, it came only by degrees to any assumption of control. When the congestion of traffic in the summer of 1861 became serious, W. S. Ashe, formerly president of the Wilmington and Weldon, was appointed major and assistant quartermaster and assigned to the duty of "superintending the transportation of Troops and Military stores on all the Railroads, North and South, in the Confederate States". He was directed to give his special attention to the detention of freights on the roads from Wilmington to Richmond and from Nashville to Richmond, and to obtain concert of action among the several roads in order "to control the movement, speed, time-table, and connections" of the numerous trains going out of Richmond.<sup>17</sup> How long Ashe was retained in this position is not clear, nor is the exact extent of his authority anywhere defined. His rank and the correspondence of the quartermaster-general with various railroad officials indicate that Myers kept the general control of the business in his own hands and that he employed Ashe only as a sort of travelling agent and inspector to make contracts, investigate complaints, give assistance to the roads where possible, and make recommendations to the quartermaster-general.<sup>18</sup>

This arrangement seems to have accomplished but little toward the solution of the problems and was evidently unsatisfactory to the Secretary of War, by whose order Col. William M. Wadley, president of the Vicksburg and Shreveport Railroad, was, on December 3, 1862, assigned to the "supervision and control of the transportation for the Government on all the railroads in the Confederate States".<sup>19</sup> Wadley's powers were somewhat more exten-

<sup>16</sup> Neill S. Brown to Benjamin, January 12, 1862, *Offic. Rec.*, fourth series, I. 839; resolutions of a convention of railroad presidents, Richmond, December 6, 1861, Pickett Papers, Library of Congress, accession 1910, fol. 108; Myers to H. J. Ranney, January 10, 1862, Quartm.-Gen's. Letter-Book, III. 106-107.

<sup>17</sup> Myers to Ashe, July 18, 1861, Quartm.-Gen's. Letter-Book, I. 313.

<sup>18</sup> Quartm.-Gen's. Letter-Book, I. 322, 332; II. 103, 123, 187, 353, 442; Ashe to Davis, November 27, and December 13, 1861, Pickett Papers, accession 1910, fol. 108.

<sup>19</sup> "General Orders, No. 98, Adj. and Insp. General's Office", *Offic. Rec.*, fourth series, II. 225. Wadley had been in the railroad business for many years in Georgia and Mississippi. Phillips, *History of Transportation in the Eastern Cotton Belt*, p. 319; Pollard to Davis, April 4, 1862, *Offic. Rec.*, fourth series, I. 1048.

sive than those previously assigned to Ashe, especially in respect to control over government agents, employees, engines, cars, and machinery. He was further not to be subject to the orders of the quartermaster-general but was to report through the adjutant and inspector-general to the Secretary of War. Of this last provision Myers complained repeatedly that only inconvenience, confusion, and embarrassment could result from transferring to another division of the war office the supervision of a service for which the quartermaster-general was responsible.<sup>20</sup> Myers was not in the good graces of the administration now, however, and his protests were unheeded.

Colonel Wadley tried to induce the railroad heads to agree (1) to a definite plan of co-operation under his immediate supervision, by which each railroad superintendent should act as an assistant to him and make weekly reports, and (2) to a through schedule of trains between Montgomery and Richmond. But his efforts were without success. The roads on the contrary adopted a schedule of rates which Wadley considered inequitable.<sup>21</sup> It seems that he never acquired direct control over any of the roads further than allowed by the contracts he was able to induce them to enter into, and his activities were confined chiefly to settling rates, helping the destitute roads to obtain rolling-stock, and making recommendations to the Secretary of War for the assumption by law of direct control and management of the roads that failed to perform their full duty.<sup>22</sup> For some reason not disclosed, Wadley's nomination was not agreeable to the Confederate senate and was rejected May 1, 1863.<sup>23</sup> Thereupon Capt. F. W. Sims was appointed June 4, 1863, to his position with the same duties and powers.<sup>24</sup>

On August 10, 1863, Brig.-Gen. A. R. Lawton replaced Colonel Myers as quartermaster-general, and the railroad bureau, of which Sims was the head, was placed at once under his jurisdiction.<sup>25</sup> Sims was both an able and an industrious officer and strove hard to improve the condition of the railroads, but his efforts to have detailed from the army enough mechanics to set the shops to build-

<sup>20</sup> Myers to Seddon, December 9, 1862, January 8 and 26, 1863, *Offic. Rec.*, fourth series, II. 231, 304, 372.

<sup>21</sup> Wadley to Cooper, December 31, 1862, *ibid.*, pp. 270-278.

<sup>22</sup> Wadley to Seddon, January 26, April 14 and 15, 1863, *ibid.*, pp. 373, 483, 486; Myers to Larkin Smith, April 23, 1863, *Quartm.-Gen's. Letter-Book*, VI. 301.

<sup>23</sup> *Journal of Congress of Confederate States*, III. 426.

<sup>24</sup> *Offic. Rec.*, fourth series, II. 579.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 697; Lawton to Sims, August 12, 1863, *Quartm.-Gen's. Letter-Book*, VII. 31.



ing cars and engines and to rolling rails had no effect upon the higher military authorities. He seems to have had the confidence of the railroad men, probably because he showed a sympathetic understanding of their difficulties. Sims retained his post until the end of the war, but during the last year the duty of repairing the roads, especially bridges, was imposed upon the engineer bureau; and as the duties of supervision became too heavy for one man, the quartermaster-general from time to time called upon experienced railroad men in distant parts of the country to take charge of the transportation in those regions.<sup>26</sup>

Mere supervision could not make the transportation system efficient. Early in the war it became clear that the roads could not unaided procure the supplies and repairs necessary to keep them in good condition, and it was not long before they turned to the government as the only possible source of help. Besides, new lines were needed to link together certain neighboring roads in order to shorten distance and both to cheapen and to expedite shipments; and the building of these connections would require a financial backing which only the government was able to give.

The most important connection proposed was that between Danville, Virginia, and Greensborough, North Carolina. Mr. Davis called attention to the advantages of bridging this gap of about forty-eight miles, in his message to the Provisional Congress in November, 1861.<sup>27</sup> It was estimated that a loan of one million dollars would be sufficient to provide for the speedy construction of the road, and Congress passed an act on February 10, 1862, authorizing the loan.<sup>28</sup> Mr. Davis had expressed the opinion that since the work was "indispensable for the most successful prosecution of the war, the action of the Government will not be restrained by the constitutional objection which would attach to a work for commercial purposes". Some of the foremost members of Congress thought differently and fought the bill with every available resource; and after its passage they caused to be spread upon the journal a protest against the act as an unwarranted and dangerous violation of the constitution under the guise of military necessity.<sup>29</sup> The actual construction of the road was delayed for more than two years,

<sup>26</sup> Lawton to Sam Tate, October 6, 1863, *ibid.*, p. 178; Lawton to Thomas Peters, November 27, 1863, *ibid.*, p. 364.

<sup>27</sup> *Journal of Cong. of Conf. St.*, I, 470.

<sup>28</sup> *Statutes at Large of the Provisional Congress*, p. 258.

<sup>29</sup> *Journal of Cong. of Conf. St.*, I, 731-734, 762-764, 766-770, 781-782. Among the ten who signed the protest were Robert Toombs, who was evidently its author, R. B. Rhett, J. L. M. Curry, W. S. Oldham, and M. J. Crawford. A. H. Stephens voted against the bill but did not sign the protest.

partly by the necessity of completing satisfactory surveys and examining rival routes, partly by the scarcity of labor and material.<sup>30</sup> Connection was established about May 20, 1864.<sup>31</sup> Though flimsy of construction and prolific of wrecks, this road, opened just after the beginning of Lee's desperate struggle with Grant, was of great benefit to the Confederates and became more and more important when later in that year the Weldon railroad was threatened. Another important connection, which was undertaken at about the same time, was that between Meridian, Mississippi, and Selma, Alabama. This would not only greatly shorten the route from Richmond to Vicksburg and New Orleans, but by giving Vicksburg direct communication with central Alabama and Georgia would greatly strengthen that important post. The distance was about one hundred miles, but for about half of this distance a road had already been completed and part of the rest was graded. The company sought an advance of \$150,000 from the government and Mr. Davis recommended it to Congress.<sup>32</sup> An act of February 15, 1862, carried out the recommendation, but it soon was discovered that the sum was insufficient because of the rapidly increasing cost of materials. After many delays this road was completed about the end of 1862.<sup>33</sup> While the last-mentioned bill was before Congress a third was introduced, to lend money to establish a connection between the roads in western Florida and southwestern Georgia, but it failed on third reading.<sup>34</sup> In April, 1862, the first permanent Congress authorized a loan of \$1,500,000 to aid the construction of a line between New Iberia, Louisiana, and Orange, Texas, which would give direct railway connection between Houston and New Orleans and make the resources of Texas available for the defense of the lower Mississippi. The fall of New Orleans shortly afterwards rendered the prosecution of the work useless and it was abandoned.<sup>35</sup> In October, 1862, Congress passed an act which authorized the President to cause a railroad to be constructed between Rome, Georgia, and Blue Mountain, Alabama, and appro-

<sup>30</sup> *Offic. Rec.*, fourth series, I. 947, 1025-1027, 1085-1087; III. 392-393.

<sup>31</sup> Lawton to Chisman, May 19, 1864, *Quartm.-Gen's. Letter-Book*, VIII. 237.

<sup>32</sup> Ashe to Davis, November 27 and December 13, 1861, *Pickett Papers*, accession 1910, fol. 108; *Journal of Cong. of Conf. St.*, I. 586.

<sup>33</sup> James L. Price to Randolph, April 10 and 15, 1862, *Offic. Rec.*, fourth series, I. 1053, 1060; Gaines to Randolph, April 24 and June 25, 1862, *ibid.*, pp. 1089, 1171; Shorter to Randolph, October 27, 1862, *ibid.*, II. 148-149.

<sup>34</sup> *Journal of Cong. of Conf. St.*, I. 819. For the genesis of the bill, see *Offic. Rec.*, fourth series, I. 612, 777-779.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1013; *Journal of Cong. of Conf. St.*, I. 238, 361; V. 260, 261, 279; II. 195, 197-199; *Offic. Rec.*, fourth series, I. 1073; II. 107-108.

priated \$1,122,480.92 for that purpose.<sup>36</sup> Such a road would not only establish a new connection from northern Georgia through central Alabama to the Mississippi, but, more important, would give access to the great iron and coal deposits in Alabama. After much delay, because of the difficulty in procuring iron, construction was begun, but the road was not completed before the end of the war.<sup>37</sup> All of these acts were based upon "military necessity" and all of them were steadily opposed by the ultra-conservative strict-constructionist minority in Congress. Numerous other railway companies made appeals for aid, but no action was taken in their behalf until the beginning of 1865 when, upon the recommendation of the Secretary of War, Breckinridge, and the President, a blanket appropriation was made, March 9, for the construction and repair of railroads for military purposes.<sup>38</sup>

Where and how to procure material for laying tracks, building bridges, and constructing or repairing engines and cars was the most difficult problem of the railroads and it was fundamental to their very existence. Iron and machinery were especially scarce. Before the war these necessities had been supplied from the North: now they must be manufactured or imported from Europe. But few iron mines, smelters, and foundries existed in the South in 1861, and these were small and were soon under contract to their full capacity with the ordnance department. It seemed that if railway foundries or machine shops were necessary, the roads themselves must build them. But it was a serious question whether the average company could afford to build a complete set of shops of its own when it operated only a short line of one hundred to two hundred miles—and some of the most important were even much shorter. The capital required was out of proportion to the size and earning capacity of the road. Moreover, because of the widespread belief that the war would be short, there was at first a natural reluctance to invest large sums in plants which would almost certainly prove unprofitable after the coming of peace.<sup>39</sup> For a group of roads to combine for the purpose involved practical difficulties of management which they were unprepared to solve or even to attempt.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, II. 200-201.

<sup>37</sup> Shorter to Davis, October 25, 1862, *ibid.*, pp. 144-146; Campbell to Bragg, April 21, 1864, *ibid.*, III. 312; Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama*, p. 156.

<sup>38</sup> *Offic. Rec.*, fourth series, III. 1095-1096, 1114; *Journal of Cong. of Conf. St.*, VII. 671, 685, 709, 749. The amount appropriated is not shown in the journal, but \$21,000,000 was recommended. This, however, was in greatly depreciated currency or bonds.

<sup>39</sup> Sims to Lawton, October 23, 1863, *Offic. Rec.*, fourth series, II. 881.

Besides, it was clear that however well supplied with machine shops, the roads would still be helpless so long as the government monopolized the output of iron and continued to conscribe skilled workmen into the army.<sup>40</sup>

For these reasons and because the building of shops and mills, even if determined upon, would take time, the railroad men at first tried to import supplies from Europe. But the growing stringency of the blockade and the lack of well-established commercial or credit relations with European firms made this very difficult. The administration refused to take any part in promoting or financing large mercantile combinations for the purpose of establishing credit accounts in Europe based upon cotton,<sup>41</sup> and the roads were unable to command enough capital, or cotton, and steamboat transportation, independent of government aid, to make importations on their own account. Nor would the government, though frequently appealed to, itself import railroad material for sale to the roads.<sup>42</sup> On one occasion certain Virginia roads were allowed to purchase supplies in England through an agent of the War Department; but the favor was not allowed again, the secretary, Mr. Seddon, explaining that he was unwilling to intervene officially in matters relating "exclusively" to the interest of the railroads.<sup>43</sup> In 1864 the president of a railroad in Mississippi, which was cut off from the sea, obtained military permission to export cotton through the Federal lines and to bring in railroad material in return, but this was exceptional.<sup>44</sup> The total amount of railroad supplies brought in from outside the Confederacy was trifling. If the needed materials were to be had there was only one way left: they must be produced in the Confederacy and the government must aid directly in the work. Early in the war some of the more far-sighted railroad men had pointed out the possibilities of utilizing and improving the railroad shops with government aid and the advantages to the government of contracting

<sup>40</sup> *Offic. Rec.*, fourth series, II. 881; also, Sims to Lawton, February 10, 1865, *ibid.*, III. 1092.

<sup>41</sup> For one proposition of this character, see D. T. Bisbie to Benjamin, January 16, 1862, *ibid.*, I. 843-845; E. Fontaine to Benjamin, *ibid.*, p. 868.

<sup>42</sup> Resolutions of a railroad convention at Richmond, December 6, 1861, Pickett Papers, accession 1910, fol. 108; Daniel to Seddon, February 12, 1863, *Offic. Rec.*, fourth series, II. 394; also April 22, 1863, *ibid.*, pp. 499-510.

<sup>43</sup> Seddon to J. M. Robinson, February 24, 1863, *ibid.*, p. 409; Daniel to Seddon, April 23, 1863, *ibid.*, p. 511; September 30, *ibid.*, pp. 841-842; Seddon to Daniel, October 3, 1863, *ibid.*, p. 852; Daniel to Seddon, October 9, *ibid.*, p. 866.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 381, 388; III. 478, 508, 514, 651.

for cars and engines of its own.<sup>45</sup> The administration, however, for the time preferred to contract with the companies directly for transportation and to leave to them the problem of maintaining the efficiency of their roads. Before 1863 the entire output of most of the shops, foundries, mines, and mills was absorbed by government contracts and except in a few cases—chiefly in Georgia—the roads were without any means of manufacturing even the simplest materials. When the rolling-stock on one road wore out, the transportation officers sought it from other roads and in many cases impressed it. When this hand-to-mouth policy failed, the quartermaster-general contracted for the building of cars for government use; but he was never able to obtain enough, for not only was material lacking but sufficient details of mechanics could not be obtained from the army to carry out any large contract. Special agents and commissioners were detailed to inspect roads, impress, collect, and redistribute rails; and the smaller and less important roads were stripped of both rails and rolling-stock to keep the main lines in operation.<sup>46</sup> Lieutenant-Colonel Sims, the superintendent of railroad transportation, made repeated appeals for government aid in the manufacture of supplies, for "men and iron", but without substantial effect; and on February 10, 1865, we find him lamenting that "not a single bar of railroad iron has been rolled in the Confederacy since [the beginning of] the war, nor can we hope to do any better during the continuance".<sup>47</sup>

Although forced by military necessity to interfere frequently with the operation of the roads and to exercise an ever-increasing control over them, the Confederate government disclaimed any intention of doing more than to compel the railroad officials, under the contracts which had been made, to give priority to government freight over that of private persons and to expedite shipments.<sup>48</sup> This exaction became a matter of serious concern both to the roads and to private shippers as the traffic grew heavier and the roads

<sup>45</sup> Goodman to Davis, January 25, 1862, *ibid.*, I, 880-882; Neill S. Brown to Benjamin, January 12, 1862, *ibid.*, p. 839; Daniel to Seddon, April 22, 1863, *ibid.*, II, 499-508, 511; Cuyler to Seddon, April 22, 1862, *ibid.*, pp. 508-510; Jones, *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary*, I, 302 (April 30, 1863).

<sup>46</sup> Seddon to Kenney, July 21, 1863, *Offic. Rec.*, fourth series, II, 655; "Special Orders No. 232", September 30, 1864, *ibid.*, III, 694; J. F. Gilmer to Breckinridge, February 16, 1865, *ibid.*, p. 1085; Sims to Lawton, February 10, 1865, *ibid.*, pp. 1091-1093; Wallace to Gov. Z. B. Vance, February 6, 1863, Vance's Letter-Book, I, 124, in Confederate Archives, U. S. War Department; Cowan to Vance, September 5, 1864, *ibid.*, pp. 568-570.

<sup>47</sup> *Offic. Rec.*, fourth series, III, 93, 229, 1092.

<sup>48</sup> Randolph to Shorter, November 8, 1862, *ibid.*, II, 175; Myers to Joseph E. Brown, February 11, 1863, *Quartm.-Gen's. Letter-Book*, VI, 6.

weaker. By the end of 1863 there was no room except at intervals for anything but government freight on the main lines. Since Virginia and North Carolina had been stripped bare of provisions, Lee's army was now being supplied from South Carolina and Georgia and the roads to the south of Richmond were overworked. In March, 1864, all passenger trains in North Carolina were stopped for several days to permit the passage of corn to Richmond.<sup>49</sup> The order raised a storm of protests, but the quartermaster-general and the Secretary of War held to it until the stores of corn were brought up. The stopping of passenger trains became a frequent occurrence thereafter and private travel along the roads to Virginia practically ceased. Some communities along the Wilmington and Weldon road were threatened with actual famine because the War Department would not relax the rule of priority in order that they might bring in their own supplies of corn.<sup>50</sup> The rule probably was not enforced with absolute rigidity, because we find that station quartermasters are frequently charged with violating it, and in fact it was claimed that speculators, by the aid of bribes, could usually get their shipments through. All trains running to Wilmington—which was the only seaport left in 1864—were required to take government freight, usually cotton, to at least half of their capacity.<sup>51</sup> The control of transportation gave the quartermaster's department a powerful weapon with which to force manufacturers of cotton goods, especially in North Carolina, to make contracts to furnish the government with cloth—usually at prices below the market rate—for without the consent of the department they could obtain no shipments of raw cotton.<sup>52</sup>

Time-honored conventional theories about the limitation of the functions of government had begun even early in the war to give way before the pressure of imperious military necessity. As the responsible government officials had been led to interfere more and more in railroad affairs in order to sustain the armies at the front, it became increasingly evident that the railroad companies, if left to themselves, either could not or would not render the service which the government must have. While most of the obstacles to efficiency lay in conditions for which the roads were not to blame,

<sup>49</sup> Lawton to Vance, Cameron, Echols, and Lee, March 11, 1864, *Quartm.-Gen's. Letter-Book*, VIII. 91; and to various others, March 16, 18, 30, and April 7, 12, *ibid.*, pp. 97, 101, 131, 152, 160.

<sup>50</sup> Lawton to W. A. Graham, June 8, 1864, *ibid.*, p. 277.

<sup>51</sup> Lawton to J. W. Cameron, December 11, 1863, *ibid.*, VII. 420; Lawton to Davis, September 20, 1864, *ibid.*, IX. 129.

<sup>52</sup> Lawton to W. G. Ferguson, September 12, 1864, *ibid.*, p. 96.

there were others which the railroad officials themselves seemed to raise. But in some cases it is not easy to censure them. For instance, when every company was trying anxiously to husband its scanty supply of rolling-stock it was only natural that it should resist every attempt to have its cars run on through to Richmond or other distant destination and should insist on breaking bulk and reloading at its own terminus.<sup>53</sup> And it is hardly surprising that the commission of army officers appointed to collect and redistribute railroad iron should find "every possible impediment" thrown in its way and its efforts often defeated.<sup>54</sup> As the freight rates paid by the government were far below those for private business, railroad officials connived with civilians to forward freight for the latter even at the cost of holding up army supplies. Disagreements between the various companies frequently caused needless delays and unnecessary diversion to roundabout routes. Those roads which were owned in whole or in part by states were especially troublesome because they took refuge behind the authority of the state. The most conspicuous was the Western and Atlantic of Georgia, championed by Gov. Joe Brown; but certain roads in North Carolina and Florida also took a very independent course.<sup>55</sup> In all these cases the Confederate authorities found themselves helpless because the government was unwilling to incur the odium of overriding state authority.

The first quartermaster-general, Myers, had steadily opposed the assumption of governmental control over the railways.<sup>56</sup> It seems that when Sims became head of the railroad bureau in 1863 he held similar views, but by April, 1864, he said:

That the railroads should come under military control I am becoming every day more satisfied. There seems to be a desire to work for the road's interest rather than sacrifice all convenience for the country's cause. . . . Greater harmony would doubtless produce better results, but

<sup>53</sup> In respect to this the roads were sustained by both Colonel Sims and General Lawton. See *Offic. Rec.*, fourth series, III, 228; and Lawton to Davis, September 20, 1864, *Quartm.-Gen's. Letter-Book*, IX, 129.

<sup>54</sup> Report of Gilmer to Breckinridge, February 16, 1865, *Offic. Rec.*, fourth series, III, 1085.

<sup>55</sup> For correspondence relative to condition of the Western and Atlantic Railroad see *Offic. Rec.*, first series, vol. LII., pt. 2, pp. 593, 596, 601, 607-608, 616, 621-623; vol. XXXII., pt. 2, pp. 591; for Florida Railroad, *ibid.*, LIII, 350-359, 362-364; for North Carolina roads, Cowan to Vance, February 13, 1864, Vance's *Letter-Book*, I, 458-462; Vance to Gilmer, *ibid.*, p. 552; Gilmer to Vance, *ibid.*, p. 561; Cowan to Vance, *ibid.*, pp. 568, 571; Cowan to Gilmer, *ibid.*, p. 570; Vance to Gilmer, *ibid.*, p. 572.

<sup>56</sup> Myers to Davis, January 31, 1862, *Offic. Rec.*, fourth series, I, 896; Myers to Chilton, October 3, 1862, *ibid.*, II, 108.

this I fear can never be obtained until a Government officer manages every road.<sup>57</sup>

President Davis probably never seriously considered the idea of subjecting any of the railroads, except in a military exigency, to complete control by the government. His few references to the subject in his messages to Congress are almost casual and indicate that beyond delegating a general supervision of the government's interests to Wadley, Sims, and the quartermaster-general, to be enforced by threat of impressment, he was unprepared to go.<sup>58</sup> Nor was the majority of Congress at first willing to go very far in this direction. On August 21, 1861, a bill was introduced from the committee on military affairs "authorizing the President to regulate and take control of railroads in certain cases", but it failed to become a law.<sup>59</sup> In January, 1862, a special committee which had been appointed to examine into the various divisions of the War Department recommended, among other things, that military control be taken of all railroads terminating in or passing through Richmond, Nashville, Memphis, and Atlanta, or leading to the headquarters of the several army corps, and that they be placed under an efficient superintendent.<sup>60</sup> This recommendation was without immediate result, but in the first session of the permanent Congress the House of Representatives passed a bill "to provide for the safe and expeditious transportation of troops and munitions of war by railroads".<sup>61</sup> It directed the President to appoint "a military chief of railroad transportation", who should be selected from the railroad officials, and provided that the regular officials of each road should be given a stated rank, should be left as far as possible in charge of their own roads, but be subject to the orders of the chief and liable to court martial for neglect of duty.<sup>62</sup> The bill was referred in the Senate to the Committee on Military Affairs, was reported without amendment on April 21, the last day of the session, and failed for want of time to come up for passage. Although other bills of this general character were introduced, none became

<sup>57</sup> Sims to Lawton, April 1, 1864, *Offic. Rec.*, fourth series, III. 228.

<sup>58</sup> Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Confederacy*, I. 139, 152, 236, 295. See also report of Secretary of War (Seddon), January 3, 1863, *Offic. Rec.*, fourth series, II. 293.

<sup>59</sup> *Journal of Cong. of the Conf. St.*, I. 379.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 721.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, V. 251-254. For earlier suggestions see *ibid.*, p. 122, and II. 87 (Senate).

<sup>62</sup> For a protest against the bill, see *Journal*, V. 269. The *Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel*, April 24, 1862, endorsed the protest and denounced the bill as a "usurpation".



law until February, 1865, when finally an act was passed which authorized the Secretary of War to place any railroad, canal, or telegraph line under such officers as he should designate, to place the regular railroad officials, agents, and employees under these officers on the same footing as soldiers in the field, and to maintain any road in repair or to give it any necessary aid. Provision was made for reimbursing the road for any damage sustained while in the hands of the government.<sup>63</sup> Whether this measure would ever have proved effective may be doubted, for it did not insure an improvement in the material condition of the roads, and death-bed resolutions are somewhat unconvincing.

For more than a year before the end came the railroads were in such a wretched condition that a complete breakdown seemed always imminent. As the tracks wore out on the main lines they were replenished by despoiling the branch lines; but while the expedient of feeding the weak roads to the more important afforded the latter some temporary sustenance, it seriously weakened the armies, since it steadily reduced the area from which supplies could be drawn. The rolling-stock, replenished in the same way, wore out so fast that some roads were nearly destitute of cars and engines. It is very difficult to get precise information about particular roads in 1864, but from scattered statements of Quartermaster-General Lawton it appears that on the roads from Georgia to Richmond not more than two or three trains per day could be run at the rate of one hundred miles per day and less. Despite the low rate of speed, accidents were frequent and helped to block the tracks. On one occasion Lawton declared it impossible for cars to be run through from Columbus, Georgia, to Charlotte, North Carolina, a distance of approximately five hundred miles, because they would break down on the way if not repaired.<sup>64</sup> From the winter of 1863-1864 Lee's army had to draw its supplies from South Carolina and southern Georgia, a distance of from five hundred to nearly a thousand miles, and it rarely had more than two or three days' supply of food ahead. No surplus could be accumulated and as time wore on the supply became scantier. By the end of summer the roads could not bring enough, with the utmost exertions and even when unhampered by the enemy, to feed the men and horses half rations. Indeed it is hard to see how Lee could have maintained his army in Virginia for another year, even if Grant had been content to watch

<sup>63</sup> *Journal*, VII. 584-587, 607, 707; IV. 571, 573-574. The act was approved February 28, 1865.

<sup>64</sup> Lawton to Davis, September 20, 1864, *Quartm.-Gen's. Letter-Book*, IX. 129.

him peaceably from a distance. And yet Lee's army was starving not because there was no food in the Confederacy, for it was plentiful in many portions of Georgia, Alabama, and Florida, but because the railroads simply could not carry enough of it. Over and over again Lawton declares that "transportation is scarcer than provisions".<sup>65</sup> Corn brought in Richmond twenty and twenty-five times as much as it sold for in southwest Georgia.<sup>66</sup> When this region was cut off and the remnant of the feeble roads wrecked by Sherman's destructive march through Georgia and the Carolinas, the stoppage of all supplies followed, and the long struggle was over.

It would be claiming too much to say that the failure to solve its railroad problem was the cause of the Confederacy's downfall, yet it is impossible not to conclude that the solution of that problem was one of the important conditions of success.<sup>67</sup> The failure to solve it was due partly to the industrial unpreparedness of the South, partly to the shortsighted policy of leaving the task of maintenance entirely to the stockholders, although depriving them of the use of workmen and materials, partly to the apparent inability to comprehend the essentially public character and responsibility of the roads, and partly to an ingrained abhorrence of extending the activities of the general government into the field reserved to the states or to private enterprise. Had the Confederate government been able at the outset to adopt measures with respect to its railroads as vigorous and far-sighted as it did for its ordnance department, it seems certain that the roads would have been maintained and improved, and the effective resources of the Southern people and the strength of their armies would have been tremendously increased.

CHARLES W. RAMSDELL.

<sup>65</sup> Lawton to Maj. J. G. Michaeloffsky, Macon, Ga., January 19, 1864, Quartm.-Gen's. Letter-Book, VII. 543; Captain Seals, Fort Gaines, to McMahon, February 9, 1864, *ibid.*, VIII. 18.

<sup>66</sup> *Daily Examiner*, February 25, 1864.

<sup>67</sup> So keen an observer as William M. Burwell believed that the deficiencies in transportation aggravated the currency troubles. *Offic. Rec.*, fourth series, III. 226-227.

## THE PHILIPPINES SINCE THE INAUGURATION OF THE PHILIPPINE ASSEMBLY<sup>1</sup>

THIS paper is not intended to be an exhaustive treatise of events in the Philippine Islands since the convening of the first Philippine legislature in 1907, but aims to offer only a few comments and suggestions. Throughout I have sedulously endeavored not to dogmatize, for the period covered is too close for a well-rounded study, and much of the history of these brief nine years marks a decided departure from the preceding three centuries of Philippine history before 1898, and it is too early to risk one's reputation as a prophet. I have consciously tried to be conservative, and have hesitated to form hard and fast judgments, for there is much prejudice and passion intermingled in the whole Philippine question among the various factions, both American and Filipino.

Obviously, present tendencies in the Philippines can be understood more clearly if something be known of the past history of the archipelago; or in other words, the present-day Filipino, with his new opportunities, can be understood better if something be known of the Filipino of bygone centuries. Racial characteristics are, on the whole, fairly stable and tend to persist, and this has been so in the Philippines to a remarkable degree. The peoples who migrated in successive waves to the islands later to be called the Philippines were of Malayan stock, though, doubtless, at the periods of migration there were already admixtures of other bloods of the Asiatic mainland and islands. For convenience, although it might not be absolutely correct, the Malayan peoples of the Philippine group, with the greater or less Negrito or aboriginal mixture, might be called the Philippine stock. At best, the nomenclature that must yet be employed in respect to the Philippine peoples is awkward. The term "Filipino" is used rightly when speaking of the descendants of the eight peoples who were Christianized by the Spaniards. They are, in general, almost as distinct in race as are the Romance nations, but present-day tendencies are rapidly breaking down racial barriers, and the trend is toward a homogeneous people. The Moros, who are Mohammedans, and the so-called wild or pagan peoples, who live chiefly in Luzon and Mindanao, are called non-

<sup>1</sup> A paper read at the meeting of the American Historical Association in Cincinnati, December 30, 1916.

Christians. However, the tendency is toward a simpler and more exact terminology, and the day is approaching when the term "Filipino" will include all the Malayan peoples in the archipelago.

Three distinct lines of influence—not necessarily of blood mixture—have acted upon the Philippine stock. These have proceeded from China, from Spain, and from the United States. The impress of each is plainly visible, although that of the Chinese, who were the first great teachers, is perhaps the hardest to grasp, for it was more intimate, being Oriental, and tended to a less divergence from the original stock, while those of the Spaniards and Americans are Occidental and dynamic. The Spanish contact, which was limited largely to the Filipino proper, has been very far-reaching, for it has given to an Oriental population many Occidental qualities. Most important of all, Spanish contact has produced a Christian population—a unique achievement—although on the mass of the common people Christianity has been an overlay on the old native superstitions and beliefs. At the same time Spanish contact has performed a valuable service in preserving the native peoples of the Philippine Islands. The last influence—that of the United States—seems to be making for control and stability, with a consequent increased power in meeting the conditions of modern life. To an unexampled degree, the United States is carrying forward an evolution first started by Spain—an evolution that is not only political but social and economic as well.

While it is true, as no less an authority than the eminent Spanish-Filipino mestizo, Dr. Pardo de Tavera, says, that the Filipinos have reached their present state with less self-initiative than most other peoples, still they possess certain traits that seem to have been unchanged for so long that they may safely be called racial characteristics, and these must be taken into account in any contact with them. For instance, their idealistic temperament seems to be innate, although Christianity has probably tended to foster it. They are precocious when young, adaptable, and easily influenced, this last a factor which led to their rapid Christianization, but which sometimes made them the prey of impudent impostors. They revere age, respect customs, are apt at times to be revengeful, and as strongly as the Chinese, have an instinct for "saving their face". They are exceedingly sensitive to criticism, and have a vanity coupled with a wonderful self-assurance that might be mistaken for experience. They are hospitable to a degree, pleasure-loving, poetic, often unpractical, lavish spenders, fond of display. The masses are full of superstitions and all the people readily become

suspicious. They are more easily led than forced. The slavish obedience which the masses formerly gave to their chiefs when the Spaniards first lifted the veil that hid them from the West, is the source of what is called *caciqueism*—which simply means “bossism”—and this last is a factor which must be reckoned with in their political life of to-day.

It is premised, of course, that the Filipinos are a civilized people, although in the farthest outlying districts the civilization is not of so high a type as in the metropolis and in the more accessible provinces. Society from very olden times, however, was marked off sharply into two classes—an upper and a lower, or those who ruled and those who obeyed. Spanish control did not tend to change this to any great extent, although even in Spanish days the insistent attacks of modern ideas were beginning to make inroads and to presage the formation of a public opinion. To-day, the system of the upper class—*ilustrados*—and of the masses—*gente baja*—is seeing the real entrance of a third class—a great middle class—from which unquestionably, if it be allowed to persist, will come power and stability. Among the Filipinos are many cultivated ladies and gentlemen, whom it is a delight to know and to number among one's friends. The judgment of many of them can be accepted unreservedly. Of the common people, it is safe to say that no future generation, if the present norm be maintained, will present the same dense ignorance in many directions as have the generations which are now passing from the stage.

When the outbreak of hostilities with Spain led the United States into the Philippines, the Filipinos were found to be quite thoroughly touched with the leaven of discontent against existing conditions. It cannot be said that that discontent has entirely vanished. The Tagalog people, the dominant race of the island of Luzon, are, of all the races of the archipelago, perhaps the most restless. The insurrection against Spain under their leadership became a fiercer revolt against the United States. Agitation has been constant in one form or another since the quelling of the revolt.

The Filipinos, at the opening of the twentieth century, were practically without any adequate previous legislative training. The several periods of readjustment in Spain and its colonies during the first part of the nineteenth century, when participation in the Spanish Cortes was granted to Filipinos, found them, quite naturally, unfitted and, on the whole, unwilling to exercise the duties thrust upon them. Their political training was limited in general to

closely-supervised semi-participation in municipal or provincial government. Educational instruction, moreover, in the closing days of Spanish control, notwithstanding the brave showing made on paper, was limited largely to the people of the upper classes. Some Spaniards had, indeed, recognized the needs of the Philippines. Sinibaldo de Mas, Spanish plenipotentiary to China, who was ordered to investigate and to make a special report on the Philippines, advised secretly that special legislative training be given to Filipinos, in order to provide quietly for Spanish withdrawal. The report was pigeonholed. It must be remembered always that the ecclesiastical power was generally strong enough throughout Spain's control of the Philippines to block any measure not considered advisable by the religious orders.

With the entrance of the United States, the whole scene was changed. In accordance with American ideals, a freer government was instituted, and almost immediately Filipinos were given a share in their own control, a policy that has been adhered to in an ever-increasing degree. State and religion were dissociated, but it was found in many localities that both people and clergy had to be educated up to the change. Educational measures were taken even when the Filipinos were in arms against the new government, and these had almost instant response from the people.

Counting the military government and its successor, the civil government under the Philippine Commission, as marking one period, there have been two full periods since the United States assumed control of the Philippine Islands, and now a third period has begun. The second period, with which this paper is mainly concerned, extended from October 16, 1907, to October 16, 1916, exactly nine years.

The events leading up to the inauguration of the Philippine Assembly are too well known to require any extended review. The pacification of the archipelago had so well progressed under the constructive military government and its successor, the civil government, that Congress, in the "Organic Act" of 1902 for the temporary government of the Philippines, provided for a popular assembly, to be called the Philippine Assembly. This was to constitute the lower house of the Philippine legislature, and to be chosen by a general election two years after the publication of a census of the Philippine Islands. The census was published in 1905. The general election—the first in the history of the Philippines—was held on July 30, 1907. The eighty delegates, who were elected on a population basis and by a restricted franchise, con-

sisted of six parties, namely, thirty-two Nacionalistas, four Independistas, seven Inmediatistas, sixteen Progresistas, twenty Independents, and one Centro-Católico. Only two of these parties, the Nacionalistas and the Progresistas, have survived. There was some fraud in the election and a number of contested seats. Thirty-four provinces participated in the election, the city of Manila, although in some respects governed like the city of Washington, being regarded in elections as a province and having the franchise.

With the convening of the Philippine legislature, October 16, 1907, the Philippine Commission, which until that time had been the sole law-making power, acting by and under the authority of Congress, became the upper house of the legislature for all legislation affecting the thirty-four provinces voting for delegates to the assembly. With regard to the Moro Province and the other non-Christian provinces, the commission continued to exercise exclusive jurisdiction. Tenure of office in the assembly was at first two years, but this was later extended to four years. The regular sessions of the legislature, which were to be held annually, were not to exceed ninety working days. Special sessions might not exceed thirty days. The Organic Act provided also for the biennial election (later made quadrennial) by the two houses of the Philippine legislature, each house voting separately, of two resident commissioners to the United States. In Washington, these commissioners were given seats on the floor of the House with privilege of debate, but no vote.

After the convening of the first legislature, the machinery of government, with the addition of the Philippine Assembly, remained practically as before. The executive powers were vested in a governor-general, who was appointed by the President of the United States and, as president of the Philippine Commission, also had legislative powers. Four of the members of the commission, in addition to the governor-general, were secretaries at the head of executive departments. The other members had no portfolio. On the governor-general directly depended certain bureaus of the government, while the other bureaus and officers, in number about twenty-five, were under the four commissioners with portfolio. The departments were those of Public Instruction, the secretary of which was also vice-governor, the Interior, Justice and Finance, and Commerce and Police. The commission held both executive and legislative sessions. The lower house possessed powers analogous to those of the House of Representatives. The judiciary was composed of a supreme court, with both original and appellate jurisdiction, the members of which were appointed by the President of the

United States; courts of first instance, the judges of which were appointed by the governor-general; and courts of justices of the peace. Final legislative authority lay, of course, in Congress, and final judicial authority in the Supreme Court of the United States.

Each province was in charge of a governor, who was elected by the voters of his province. He was aided by a provincial board of three, including himself. The second member of the board was the provincial treasurer, but this official has quite recently been replaced by an elective member. The third member was at first appointed by the governor-general, but was later elected. Municipalities, which correspond more nearly to our townships than to towns, were governed by a president, vice-president, and municipal council. The city of Manila had a special charter, with mayor and municipal council.

This in brief was the governmental machinery during the period especially under discussion. The policy of the United States was from the first one of Filipinization. Prior to 1907 the commission was composed partly of Filipinos. For several years prior to 1913, when Filipinos were granted a majority of the members of the commission, there had been four Filipinos in that body. The first Filipino with portfolio was appointed in 1908. The assembly has from the beginning been solidly Filipino. The supreme court is composed of seven justices, of whom three, including the chief justice, are Filipinos. There have always been very few provincial and municipal officials other than Filipinos. On opening the Philippine legislature on October 16, 1907, Mr. Taft, then secretary of war, said:

The policy looks to the improvement of the people both industrially and in self-governing capacity. As the policy of extending control continues, it must logically reduce and finally end the sovereignty of the United States in the Islands, unless it shall seem wise to the American and Filipino peoples, on account of mutually beneficial trade relations and possible advantages to the islands in their foreign relations, that the bond shall not be completely severed.

No later announcement of policy has gone beyond this. General Smith, the then governor-general, on the same day, said:

On the Philippine Assembly, more than on any other branch of the Philippine Government, depends the future of the Philippine Islands, and on the energy, the earnestness, the devotion to duty, the self-sacrifice, the unselfishness, and above all things, the entire conservatism and sane judgment of its members, depends the realization of the hopes and the ideals of the Filipino people. If this Assembly fails of its purpose, the peoples who have looked to it to demonstrate their capacity to legislate



wisely and well will have just reason to regret that the high privilege of participating in the making of the laws to govern themselves was ever conceded. If, on the other hand, success attends it, and all the circumstances considered, the product of its labors compares not unfavorably with that of other legislative bodies, no names will shine brighter on the pages of Philippine history than those of the members of the first Philippine Assembly.

Naturally, there was considerable doubt among Americans as to the wisdom of the establishment of the Philippine Assembly. Some thought, and still think, that its creation was premature; others that its creation at all was poor policy. European nations, with colonies in the Orient, from self-interest have not been enthusiastic. There are, however, two great justifications for the creation of the assembly: namely, that it was in keeping with American ideals and traditions to allow as much self-government as possible; and that experience is the best teacher. The only valid objections that could be raised to it, if American ideas were to prevail, were the prospect of loss of efficiency in government, and the fear of treasonable plots against the sovereignty of the United States. The loss in efficiency of government, and it is conceivable that there has been some, has been more than offset by the effect on the country at large, for the assembly has undoubtedly cemented the different peoples into a more homogeneous unit, thus tending to make legislation universal instead of sectional. The fear of conspiracy has not been unduly realized. There has been extremely little of the "Woe to the conquered" spirit from Americans, and the slogan "The Philippines for the Filipinos" has been real. The two chief political parties in the United States have differed on the rapidity with which Filipinization should take place. Neither party has subscribed to the objection raised by a few persons that too free a hand has been allowed to people who have recently been in active revolt against the United States.

On the whole the result has been better than the most ardent advocates of the measure had hoped. There has been no disaster. There has even been considerable constructive legislation. On the other hand, the lower house has considered and passed some immature and unwise measures, from the effects of which the Philippines have been saved either by the more mature members of the assembly or by the refusal of the Philippine Commission to concur in the recommendations of the lower house.

The possession of a popular assembly has tended to increase Filipino vanity, which has never been small. An extremely sensi-

tive people, they have keenly resented any imputation that the science of government is not as well understood in the Philippines as in any other country. The period, less than two decades, since the cessation of Spanish control, has been sufficient for this adaptable people to take on the trappings of government in a remarkable manner. The greater solidity must come only with many years of experience. It is extremely doubtful whether any Oriental people with as little previous training could have done as well. Of course it is true that a free rein has not been given. The result might have been different without the constant American supervision, suggestion, and help. Pressure has been exerted by the governor-general and by the Philippine Commission, and legislation in the Philippine Assembly has been suggested and guided by bureau chiefs and others. In the end, all the acts of the legislature were reviewable by the Congress of the United States, and although Congress has not invalidated any act of the Philippine legislature, the power to do so has constituted a check.

Yet, though the assembly at times felt the whip from above, it sometimes refused to dance. Three successive times the legislature failed to pass the annual budget, because the assembly would not agree to the terms proposed by the commission. A notable deadlock between the two houses occurred over the election of one of the resident commissioners to the United States. The irrigation measure was held up for at least two sessions. From the first, the assembly went on record as desiring political independence, and many bills, resolutions, and petitions were drawn up in regard to it.

Educational measures always received hearty support. Indeed, the first bill passed by the assembly was for the establishment of schools. On the other hand, the assembly was always suspicious of the civil service, and repeatedly attempted to cripple its working. Suspicion also rested on the constabulary or insular police and on the health propaganda. The system of public improvements, especially of roads and bridges, was on the whole well supported. Agricultural measures, including those for the campaigns against animal diseases and locusts, were adopted. An agricultural bank was established in 1908, but it never had the full effect expected, because many of the farmers who applied for loans could not prove clear titles to their lands. The sugar industry was aided by an appropriation for a sugar-testing laboratory. Other laws sought to establish the Manila hemp and tobacco industries on a better basis. Regulations for the creation and operation of rural agricultural societies were made. Regulations of agencies recruiting labor for the sugar

plantations of Hawaii were made, for labor has never been abundant in the archipelago. To the credit of the legislature, there were also an employers' liability act, a pure food and drug act, more drastic than that of any country, and an act directed against fraudulent advertising, and these laws have been well administered. Insurance was regulated by another law.

There were very few bureaus or offices that the assembly did not attempt to reorganize. It had a freer hand, perhaps, in those of agriculture, health, and lands. The bureau of labor was always composed entirely of Filipinos. Attacks were insistent against all the other bureaus on the pretext of extravagance, or that the personnel was not being Filipinized rapidly enough, or on other grounds.

With the change of administration in 1913, the grant of increased power in the Philippine Commission, so that the Filipinos for the first time had a majority in that body, brought about a greater rapprochement of the commission and assembly. For this reason, the three years following October, 1913, saw more constructive legislation than any other period of like duration, although it remains yet to see the wisdom of much that was done. The two most far-reaching acts of the legislature in this period were the establishment of a Philippine National Bank, with a capital stock of \$10,000,000, of which \$5,050,000 were to be subscribed for by the government; and the purchase by the government of the Manila Railway Company. The old agricultural bank has been absorbed by the Philippine National Bank, to which wide powers have been granted. The opposition Filipino press has not failed to complain that although the arguments in favor of the enactment of the bank act enumerated the benefits to be obtained by Filipinos, yet the first loan of the new institution was made to an American corporation, while Filipinos who desire loans cannot secure them. The purchase of the railroads has been criticized by the same press as an unjustifiable extravagance and as mortgaging the resources of the government for many years to come; and these critics ask what advantage has been gained if the road is to be leased to a private company. Moreover, it has been charged that the purchase was made in the interest of British stockholders who could no longer raise the necessary money to run the road.

After 1913, Filipinization of the more responsible government positions was more rapid than previously. In 1916, nine bureaus had Filipino directors, and in almost all branches of the government Filipinos displaced Americans who were either discharged or

who resigned on request or voluntarily. As might be expected, there has been a consistent Filipino demand for the positions held by Americans. The charge of the disorganization of the civil service after 1913 is partly borne out. Undoubtedly, however, a number of the separations or forced resignations were justifiable. The number of Americans in the government service was, and is, being decreased by the operation of a pension act passed in 1916 after its annual recommendation for over a half-dozen years.

There was little healthy party life in the assembly. The Nacionalistas always formed the majority and the Progresistas the minority, but there was no sharply drawn line of division. Several years ago, a faction of the Nacionalistas, styling itself the "Tercero Partido" or Third Party, split from the parent stem, and tried to enroll the labor vote, acting partly as an independent party. However, since all the parties were united, in one form or another, in their demands for political independence from the United States, and since the independence campaign was made the most important part of political life, it is easily understood that there was little ground for actual and radical difference.

Notwithstanding the Filipino majority in the commission after 1913, the governor-general continued to exert considerable influence on legislation. This was due in large part to the fact that the Filipinos of all parties considered the Democratic victory in Washington as a distinct political gain for the Philippines. The Filipino members of the commission frequently acted with most commendable restraint, although considerable pressure was brought to bear from the assembly or from private sources. The two houses were not always in accord and this opposition between the two bodies tended to increase as the first glamor of a new administration wore away.

In the commission acting in its legislative capacity for the non-Christians, no act has been more important for its bearing on the future than that in 1914 reorganizing the Moro Province into the Department of Mindanao and Sulu. By this act the military governor of the old Moro Province was superseded by a civil governor with wide powers. It should be noted that this district was in charge of a sub-governor for part of the period of Spanish control, so that the change is not an entirely new departure. The success that has been obtained is in large part owing to the tact and ability of the present governor, who had been the executive secretary in Manila for a number of years. His has not been an easy task, namely, to bring a restless and suspicious Mohammedan popula-

tion into peaceful relations with the Christian Filipinos. It is too early to speak of results as lasting, but an evolution, built partly upon previous American efforts and some Filipino co-operation, seems to have been started. The religious barrier is one that is not easily overcome.

In the Mountain Province in Luzon, very decided progress was made during the nine years after 1907. The building of trails and other improvements begun some years before was continued. The effect of these improvements and of other measures adopted by the government has been striking. The old tribal and community feuds are being forgotten and head-hunting is becoming obsolete. This has required tactful work by the men placed in charge of these peoples. It is due to these men that the various tribes are trading quietly together, are moving along the mountain trails without weapons, are building the trails themselves, and perhaps most remarkable of all, that symbolism is taking the place of century-long custom. These wild men are fine, strong peoples, and if they can be assimilated with the Filipinos, will prove an important element of strength. They, as well as the Moros, are not entirely without suspicion of their Christian neighbors, who as opportunity has offered in the past have not been averse to exploiting them.

Some years ago Filipinos, smarting under the fact that exhibitions in the United States of wild people from the Mountain Province (who are not Filipinos at all) caused many Americans to believe that all the inhabitants of the Philippines (including the Filipinos) are a race of naked, uncivilized savages, urged the government to discourage the taking of wild people abroad for exhibition purposes. For the same reason, ethnological work among these people was discontinued, and this is a decided loss. The ban was also placed on printing and exhibiting pictures of "wild people" unless they were properly clad, lest they be taken for Filipinos. Some Filipinos as well started a campaign to induce the wild people to wear the usual garments of civilization. This whole matter might seem ridiculous, but to the Filipino, who is sensitive to a degree, and who moreover is not quite sure of himself, it is very serious. One good result is beginning to appear. The Filipino is acquiring some missionary spirit and is trying to give the non-Christians the opportunities which he himself enjoys under the American régime, and which he hopes some day to enjoy under his own government. The movement is a thoroughly selfish one; the Filipinos are in it for what they can get out of it; but there is a seriousness in it that augurs well. Great care must be exercised, for one serious error

may jeopardize the relations between the Filipinos and their "wild" neighbors.

In the provincial and municipal governments, the tendency has been toward a greater degree of local self-government. The provincial council, for instance, is now entirely elective. Half the established taxes of the provinces accrue to the provincial treasuries. Any province may remit its half, but the fifty per cent. belonging to the central government must be collected. Since such remission means a practically empty treasury, few provinces have exercised this privilege. The central government found it necessary in the case of the municipalities to limit the amount of municipal funds that might be spent on salaries, for most of the municipalities found themselves with very small balances or no balance at all after the official salaries had been paid, a condition that boded ill for public improvements. In both provinces and municipalities, suspension from office has tended to decrease. The most frequent cause for arrest and suspension of officials has been abuse of authority and neglect of duty. There has been some misappropriation of public funds and some other crimes, but on the whole not so much as might have been expected. Since the fee system has been done away with, and a regular salary paid to the justices of the peace, there has been less trouble with these officials, who have been among the most frequent offenders.

The matter of government finances during the period under consideration constitutes an intricate subject, and little will be said of it here. It needs careful study, and might well be the subject of a doctoral thesis. The Philippine government is self-supporting. The United States pays only those expenses that are rightly its own, namely, those incurred by the army and navy in the Philippines, part of the expenses of the Coast and Geodetic Survey in the Philippines, the salaries of the two resident commissioners to the United States and expenses incident thereto, and perhaps a few others. Most of the money required for government comes from some form of taxation. The per capita tax is low in comparison with that of most countries, being less than two dollars, though it shows a tendency to mount higher as the cost of government increases.

The two chief and most universal sources of taxation are the *cédula* or poll tax and the land tax. The first is an old Spanish form of taxation continued with some changes, and is imposed on all males between eighteen and fifty-five. Each full *cédula* costs one dollar annually, but the provinces may collect only one-half this amount if they elect, provided that there be no discrimination.

There was no land tax in Spanish times, that imposed by the Philippine Commission shortly after the establishment of civil government being the first one in the Philippines. It bears equally on rich and poor, this being one of the reasons for its imposition. Money has also been raised by the usual excise duties, by a stamp tax, by a questionable tax on business, which has tended to increase, and by rather stringent taxes on mineral output.

The other main sources of income have been customs duties on foreign imports, a questionable export duty (abolished by the Underwood Tariff Act), wharfage charges, and quite recently a tax on ship tonnage. The Payne Bill of 1909, granting free trade with the United States, stimulated business, but it was feared would decrease the revenues. However, the decrease did not occur immediately, largely because of rice importations made necessary because of short crops. Since the beginning of the present war, an internal revenue emergency measure has sought to supply any decrease in customs receipts.

Insular government receipts and expenditures in 1915 were little short of \$14,000,000 each, with the balance on the safe side, but expenditures show a tendency to increase rather than to diminish, now that the first enthusiasm of a new administration to lessen expenditures has worn off. Cost of government in the Philippines is not excessive, but as the amount of possible revenue is limited by the economic development, chiefly agricultural, expenditures must be governed by this fact. In several instances there was an excess of expenditures over receipts, caused partly by extensive public improvements. Some unwise expenditure occurred during the period ending with the change of administration in 1913, chief of which was the continual drain incident to the building and repair of the road between the lowlands and the summer capital. Prudence should earlier have dictated the abandonment of a road which at every heavy rain was liable to partial or complete destruction, and the surveying of a new route. On the other hand, it is probable that the saving in salaries by the new administration and the rapid Filipinization of the higher offices carried with them some loss in efficiency. It seems also that the creation of a high-salaried public utilities commission might have been avoided; while, as above seen, the wisdom of the creation of a "national" bank and the purchase of the railroad have been seriously questioned even by Filipinos.

The volume of trade tended to increase. The operation of the Payne Act and the war made the Philippines more dependent commercially on the United States. The first months of the war quite

demoralized shipping and economic disaster threatened. But in 1915 so good was the recovery that the import and export trade of \$103,000,000 showed a trade balance of \$4,500,000 on the right side, though there is little doubt that the balance would have been reversed in normal times. In the Philippines themselves, there have been many opportunities for business, but American capital has been slow in investing, both because of the failure of Congress to establish a fixed policy, and because of the often hostile Filipino attitude toward outside capital. The reluctance was increased by the continued growth of the independence agitation. The Payne Act directed attention to the Philippines as a profitable source of investment, but with little result. It is an interesting commentary that the Chinese pay the largest part of the internal revenue, while both Filipinos and Spaniards precede the Americans, who pay less than half a million. Effectual incorporations show capital stock of about \$75,000,000, of which about \$40,000,000 is subscribed, and only about \$30,000,000 paid in. The best business men are the Chinese, who apparently "get" the business where men of other nationalities fail. Of later years there has been an insistent and increasing inroad of Japanese capital—a fact that has not tended to put to rest the fears that have been expressed in certain quarters regarding American-Japanese relations. Already the Japanese control much of the fisheries and the pearl fisheries, and have entered the sugar and timber fields quite extensively, besides other industries.

The full development of the Philippines was never a Spanish policy, and Filipinos were not encouraged to develop their own country to any great extent. Many Filipinos, lacking capital or initiative themselves, have looked askance at foreign capital, apparently being unwilling that others should reap where they themselves cannot or do not sow; though there are notable exceptions to this. Assertions of the Filipino press that Filipinos will welcome foreign capital have not been wholly able to remove the suspicion of investors. There is no doubt that American capital would have come forward, if at any time since 1902 Congress had declared that the American flag would stay in the Philippines, although Americans as a rule have not favored exploitation. The passage of the Jones Act may, indeed, prove a stimulus to the investment of American capital, but this seems rather remote in the face of possible Filipino restriction from a legislature composed wholly of Filipinos, and the fear of an imbroglio in the Far East.

The land question in the Philippines has always constituted a problem. There is an immense amount of public land, consisting



of agricultural, timber, and mining lands. Homesteads of about forty acres were allowed by the Organic Act of 1902, but recommendations were repeatedly made for an increase to about 125 acres, and for private purchase of about 1200 acres. A further recommendation was that corporations be allowed to purchase about 15,000 acres instead of the approximately 2500 provided by the Organic Act. There has been much confusion in land titles, and many squatters on public land. The cadastral survey and land registration are reducing the problem, but it still exists. Filipinos have not been homesteading as much as was expected, though there is a continual increase in this direction.

The friar lands, for the purchase of which \$7,000,000 worth of bonds had been issued, have formed a problem quite distinct from that of regular public lands. It was provided that the bonds with accrued interest be met from the sale of the lands. Unsold lands, consequently, continually increase in value by a false ratio, and, naturally, a point will be reached, is probably now reached, where such lands will not be sold so long as other and, in many cases, better land can be purchased more cheaply. These lands are not subject to the same conditions respecting sale as regular public lands, and may legally be sold in blocks of any size. The sale of the San José estate in Mindoro (about 59,000 acres), to a single purchaser, called forth an investigation by Congress in 1910 regarding the administration of these lands, in which the instigators, probably incited thereto by Filipinos who were hostile to foreign capital, tried to prove that such sales were illegal. Although the sale was declared valid, it became the policy of the administration to adhere more closely to conditions governing the sale of regular public land. There has been no tendency to create large landed estates, though, with all restriction removed, this might arise. The one pertinent fact in regard to all public land is that the Filipinos themselves have neglected its development and yet have often employed a dog-in-the-manger attitude toward foreigners who would develop it. Consequently, agricultural capital, which might have been employed under different conditions, has sought other outlets.

The agricultural problem was constant throughout the period. Agriculture must always remain the chief source of wealth of the Philippines, but it is still very backward, notwithstanding the many measures taken for its relief. The revolt against Spain and the United States, and animal diseases had reduced agriculture to a low ebb. It is slowly recovering, but only time can bring this vast source of wealth to anything like its due fruition. Native standards

are changing. Wants are multiplying. What was good enough for Juan's father is not good enough for Juan. This incentive is constituting a large factor in the development that is slowly beginning to appear. Tobacco, sugar, Manila hemp, and copra are increasingly being converted into the realization of present needs which but yesterday were luxuries. The Bureau of Agriculture has had to meet opposition from both farmer and political agitator. Its rinderpest campaign was fought strenuously by farmers who could not understand why their greatest aid in agriculture, the caribao, should be killed or placed in quarantine. It has been and is a fight of the individual against community interests. The criticism that the bureau's effort was too scientific and did not reach the small farmer, is partly true.

It remained for the Bureau of Education to employ very potent methods of reaching the people, through the school garden and the corn and other exhibits instituted throughout the islands. The Bureau of Agriculture utilized the "movies" to make demonstrations. By its system of grading and baling Manila hemp, the bureau placed the hemp industry on a basis where it bids fair to develop properly; and it is trying to do the same for tobacco. Strange as it may seem, insufficient rice is raised for home consumption and imports must be made at heavy expense. Locusts, rinderpest, and lack of sufficient irrigation coupled with the human factor account for this.

No factor since 1898 has been more important than that of education. The educational feature is, indeed, intertwined with every branch of American effort in the Philippines. No sooner was American occupation a fact than teachers were provided by detail from the volunteer soldiers. Teachers were also sent from the United States, and for the first time, Filipino children really began to receive the public instruction that had been so long decreed by special Spanish laws. The training of Filipino teachers was also immediately begun. The ideal of universal education has not yet been reached through lack of money, teachers, and equipment, but considerably over half the children of school age are receiving some school instruction. Teaching is wholly in English, not only because English is the language of the United States, but also because of the lack of a common native language. Largely because of this, English is more commonly used than Spanish ever was—a fact that is making for greater homogeneity. American teachers, aided by American-trained Filipino teachers, are molding the social

and political life of the future, for the older Spanish-trained generations are passing away.

An ever-increasing emphasis is laid on industrial training, the beneficial results of which are seen to-day in many homes, for not infrequently this school training is carried by the children directly to their parents. In every primary school, industrial work is coupled with the abc's, while at Manila and the provincial capitals trade schools have been established where various trades are taught, and where the marvellous manual dexterity of the Filipino is being developed. A school of household industries was established several years ago with excellent results for the purpose of teaching lace-making, embroidery, and other similar work to women as a means of livelihood.

Secondary education is provided by the high schools of the metropolis and provincial capitals, and higher education by the government university. The latter has, besides its academic department, schools of law, medicine, engineering, forestry, agriculture, art, and music. Primary and secondary education are also provided by numerous private and religious institutions, and university education by the Dominican University of Santo Tomás, the oldest university under the United States flag. All non-government institutions are now under direct government supervision, and recognition of their diplomas depends on their meeting government requirements.

The recreation factor in education has not been neglected. The play instinct has been carefully fostered. Athletics and clean sport were early introduced with excellent results, and American baseball has been an important element in training Filipino boys. Child-life has been immensely enriched by the greater variety made possible by the many games introduced, and a new note has undeniably been struck that will have its effect on the race of the future.

The Philippine Assembly sincerely supported the educational programme, although attempts to dictate and reorganize were not wanting. The number of Filipino teachers in responsible positions constantly increased but complaints of discrimination in favor of Americans were frequent. Pressure from assembly and people undoubtedly often had an effect, but there is a point beyond which it seems unsafe to go. There are over 8000 Filipino and less than 800 American teachers in the public schools. One of the encouraging features is the eagerness of the people for educational instruction. Filipino school children are more easily managed than Amer-

ican, but while they study faithfully, more so, generally, than the latter, they are said to possess less originality and initiative.

Two of the results of the new education seem to be a shifting of the viewpoint regarding the relation of the individual to the public and a greater sense of personal responsibility. This is helping to inculcate a general elevation of standards. But the total and lasting result here, as in all other phases of the new life in the Philippines, can be seen only after many years. Much seems to be promised if present conditions are substantially maintained.

A few words must be added about the Filipino campaign for political independence and the passing by Congress in 1916 of a new Organic Act. Along with the Philippines, the United States inherited the Filipino desire for independence. The military pacification did not stifle, but only changed the direction of that desire, which now assumed a political turn. Politicians, the direct descendants of the old *caciques*, were able to foster and increase the demand among the people, who on many occasions followed blindly their leaders. The abortive attempt at revolt by one Mandac in 1911 was followed with interest by Filipinos, but beyond a very few they hesitated to identify themselves with the uprising, which was local in character. But had Mandac's first stroke been successful, a serious revolt might have broken out, although many Filipinos in the large centres would not have joined the movement of their own free will. More insidious proved the attempted insurrection in 1914. This was incited through the efforts of one Ricarte, known as "The Viper", who lived in exile near Hong Kong, and who through agents worked on the more ignorant of the masses. Ricarte, who made a very substantial living out of the commissions which he sold in the army of liberation, probably never intended that an insurrection should break out at all. He had been pursuing the same course for years, and his movements were well known to the authorities. But this time the movement got away from him, and, at the last moment, broke out in Manila a week ahead of the scheduled time. The danger was minimized by the authorities, but it was a real danger, and the Philippines luckily escaped an insurrection that showed more careful planning than any of Ricarte's previous farces. Beyond these two slight outbursts the Philippines have had peace since the organization of local governments and the passing of the Organic Act of 1902.

The politician and the press acted in accord on the subject of political independence. Any Filipino who refused to move with the current was forthwith dubbed an Americanista and became unpopu-

lar. The matter unfortunately became involved with the question of Filipino capacity for self-government, and this gave rise to much bitter comment from Filipinos who naturally resented, because of their national sensitiveness, any imputation of inability to conduct a government. Thus in spite of the many warm friendships the political breach, which had never been completely closed, widened. The effect of this among the ignorant masses during the last few years was a growing sullenness.

American training has confessedly fostered the desire for independence, inasmuch as it has led constantly toward a greater Filipino participation in Philippine affairs. The discord that has appeared has been due to several causes, chief of which is perhaps the failure of each side to understand, or even to care to understand, the other. The American, who has fostered the Filipino desire for independence, has too often sneered at that very desire. The Filipino, who has too often neglected what lay next to hand, has failed to understand that there might be a question of the feasibility of complete Philippine independence. There has often been lack of real sympathy on both sides. The American's inheritance of the Anglo-Saxon temperament has made him wonder at times at the Filipino hesitancy to accept unreservedly measures that make for advance in every way, forgetting in his enthusiasm, which has been real and sincere, that one "can't hustle the East". For the Filipinos, notwithstanding their western connection, are still an Oriental blend.

There is no doubt that certain Filipinos at any time since American control, and the number has been constantly growing, could have organized a government. The only doubt is whether the Filipino people could successfully conduct that government once organized. The Filipino politician has nothing to learn from Americans. He knows the game. The vital question is whether there is enough of the quality that may be termed statesmanship to steer a nation safely through the quicksands and over the shoals of an independent government. There are some indications against it, but there are, on the other hand, a few men who have reached a higher level than that of the mere politician. The opportunity for a fuller testing has arrived with the passage of the Jones Act by which the Philippine Commission has been abolished and an elective Philippine senate created as the upper house of the Philippine legislature. There must be doubt, however, just so long as an American governor-general has the last word over legislation. The new régime is now in operation. The upper house is showing a tendency

to hold the lower house in check. One immense gain that may come is a healthy party life, which the Philippines have never had. It is to be observed that there is complaint from the opposition press that after all nothing new has been gained, toward ultimate independence, by the Jones Act. Yet, when there seemed a danger that Congress would pass the Clarke Amendment injected into the Hitchcock Bill in 1916, with its clause granting complete independence to the Philippines within two or four years, there went up a protest against it, and there was a veritable panic lest it become law, notwithstanding that those in power asserted their willingness to assume the new responsibilities if given, and the opposition asked that the bill be passed. This is only one of the many contradictions of the independence campaign. Neutralization, formerly the catchword of the politician, is seldom now heard. Belgium's fate has stifled that.

Will Filipinos, if given an opportunity, be permitted, even if they prove equal to the task, to develop their own country? I do not know. By their very location, they form an important centre in the New Pacific. If the United States withdraw, will there be any guarantee against the seizure of the islands by another nation? I am afraid not. I cannot believe that the Japanese government, notwithstanding certain utterances that have been heard in Japan, is desirous of annexing the Philippines, as Japanese interests lie rather to the north and northwest; but I am certain that Japanese interests would demand their occupation in case of withdrawal by the United States, if for no other reason than to forestall any other nation. I should be sorry to see this happen, for it would mean the loss of an American experiment which has attained valuable results and which, notwithstanding the political and anti-imperialistic diatribes against the sincerity of Americans, has been conducted not without honor.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

## NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

### HISTORICAL SCHOLARS IN WAR-TIME

APART from such services as can be rendered equally well by any other able-bodied or intelligent man, what can the "history man" do for his country in time of war, of things for which he is especially fitted by his professional acquirements and habits of mind? Many historical scholars, with the summer vacation before them, are asking the question, of themselves or of others. Many have not found a satisfying answer. It seems relatively easy for the scientist to provide himself with a task that offers good prospects of direct usefulness. He can invent a new range-finder or a new explosive. He can improve the quality of optical glass. He can seek new sources of potash. He can make two potatoes grow where one grew before. And, what is quite as important, the public and the authorities are abundantly aware of the usefulness of what he is doing, while both are prone to regard the historian as occupied only with the dates and details of remote transactions having no relation to the fateful exigencies of the present day.

Against such an opinion the mind of the virile historical student protests with all his might. What is more essential to the successful prosecution of a great national war than an enlightened, unified, and powerfully-acting public opinion? Why is France so heroically strong a combatant, and Russia, with four times the population, so weak? All the munitions that could be piled on the banks of the Dvina or the Sereth could not give military strength to a nation that does not know its own mind, to a population in which, outside a small percentage, public opinion has no existence. The American gun may be the best that science can make it, the man behind it unsurpassed in quality, but how long will he persist in his fearful struggle if the people at home do not see why he should?

But how can public opinion in America be enlightened, homogeneous, and powerful, in a crisis which is in the plainest way the product of historic forces, if it is not informed in the facts and lessons of history? It is notorious how large a part, in giving to German public opinion its marvellous unity and cohesion, has been played by the chauvinistic history lessons of the German schoolmaster. Heaven forbid that we should imitate the chauvinism; the American enters the war distinctly as a citizen of the world.

Rather, he enters the war with that intention ; but to make him truly such a citizen requires an enormous expansion of his political education, a quick shift of his point of view, rapid reinforcements to his knowledge of European conditions. In the supply of such knowledge, vital alike to intelligent prosecution of the war and to intelligent assistance in the settlement of peace, the historian cannot doubt that his part may rightly be a large one, seeing how largely those European conditions are results of history, inexplicable without its light.

Such a state of the facts calls loudly upon the historical scholar to come out from his cloistered retirement and to use for the information of the public whatever knowledge of European history he may possess—and to use it energetically and boldly. He is conscious of its imperfection ; he is accustomed to write slowly, supporting every sentence with a foot-note ; he is already, as his daily duty, pressing excellent historical information, by refined methods, upon youthful minds, and hopes thus to ensure that the next generation shall be more historically minded, better fitted for citizenship of the world. But meanwhile the war is to be won or lost, the future peace of the world ensured or jeopardized, by the adult generation now on the scene. Let him come out into the market-place, and make his voice heard by the men of his own age. If they do not receive his message with the docility with which he is accustomed to see it received by his undergraduates, so much the better for him. His training being what it has been, he is much less likely to be found offering worthless wares with bold presumption than to be keeping valuable knowledge to himself, with needless modesty, “ And that one talent that is death to hide, Lodged with him useless ”.

If, for instance, the historical student knows more than most of his fellow-citizens about the history of Servia and its neighbors, or that of Poland or Belgium or Alsace-Lorraine ; if his historical studies have brought him that knowledge of Russian character and its possibilities which many would be glad to possess ; if his familiarity with recent Austro-Hungarian history enables him, better than others, to estimate the centrifugal and centripetal forces in the Dual Monarchy ; if he has studied with some care the history of German economic policy in general, or of the Bagdad Railway in particular, of the Social Democratic party in Germany, of the workings of the imperial constitution, or of the character and results of German rule over non-German populations ; if he can show how great alliances against aspiring *Weltmächte*—against Charles V.,



Louis XIV., Napoleon—have worked in the past, what can be expected of them in the way of unity, what can not; if he knows the history of Pitt's subsidies, or of neutral export of munitions to belligerents; if he can so set forth the condition of Europe after Waterloo as partially to illuminate the dark questions of recovery after universal war; if he can cast historical light on the problems of American Christian missions in the Turkish Empire or of Japanese encroachments in the Pacific—let him by all means, "by printing, writing, or advised speaking", bring his knowledge forward, for the information of a public which eagerly desires to act with intelligence. Many other topics, instructive in war-time, will occur to the historical mind as the changing phases of the war develop.

Still more urgent are the reasons, and much wider the opportunities, for the exercise of the same function in the field of American history. If in the actual warfare of the trenches, under conditions so different from those of previous wars, we must be chiefly guided by the experience of those who for three years have been sustaining the conflict, yet in the thousand-and-one matters that must be transacted on this side of the ocean, on the soil of the United States and among the masses of its people, no experience can be so helpful to American action as American experience, whenever any that is apposite can be adduced. It is easy to say that times, methods, and the nation itself have changed, that the conditions of our present warfare are unprecedented, that we must look at the facts as they are, not as they once were. Yet in all these problems of legislation and execution that lie before us, some of the elements are permanent; some of the methods used in former wars worked well or ill for reasons still operative. Neither ingenuity nor experience is alone sufficient, for man or nation; he is best guided who makes use of both. At all events, history *will* be invoked, whatever we do, is being invoked every day, and if the public is not guided by sound historical information, it will be guided by unsound. When the bill for a selective draft was under debate in Congress, several members of that body sought to adduce our experience with conscription in the Civil War, but it was plain, even to Congress, that they did not know what that experience was. If persons of adequate historical knowledge would seasonably inform them and the public as to the actual merits and demerits of the Committee on the Conduct of the War, as to the experience of the United States with political generals, with army contractors during the Civil War, with "conscientious objectors", with newspaper disclosures of military information, with pension frauds, with the income tax, they might be sure that much of the seed sown would fall on good ground.

The final application of the lessons of experience lies mostly in other hands than those of the historian. His function, as historian, may be confined to the presentation of correct historical information, and it is not for an historical journal to offer advice as to how he or others may apply it. Yet the historian is also a citizen, and as such is entitled to speak his mind upon the issues of the hour. It is for him to judge, according to personal and local circumstances, whether he will do most good by speaking or writing solely as an historian, presenting the facts of history without suspicion of *Tendenz*, or by using them in advocacy of policies which he feels impelled and qualified to defend. The main matter is, that he shall not be withheld, by needless modesty or by timidity, from making use, in one helpful way or another, of such knowledge of the past as he may possess. If he has better knowledge than his fellows, or knows better how with brief labor to acquire it, upon the bond and treasury-note operations of the Civil War, upon its varying effects on wages and prices respectively, upon the blockades and other commercial restrictions of Napoleonic times, upon the history of German or Irish or Polish opinion in the United States, or even upon minor topics like the Sanitary Commission or the Christian Commission or the New England Loyal Publication Society, by all means let him speak up. Anything that helps the public to see the present conflict in a wider perspective is an aid toward intelligent national conduct in war-time. If the cloistered student has never had the habit of addressing the general public, it is no matter; it will do him good to try.

As to the means and methods, they are many—books, pamphlets, articles in magazines and newspapers, lectures and addresses. Especially let it be remembered that the great metropolitan magazines and dailies are by no means the only agencies by which American public opinion is formed. The professor may have, or may easily obtain, access to the columns of papers more local in circulation, and through editorial or other articles may take part in the great work of informing local opinion, which everywhere has its peculiar qualities and needs, qualities and needs which he perhaps understands better than they can be understood by writers in some distant metropolis. As for speaking, a little thought will show him that, with our numberless summer schools and teachers' institutes and similar assemblies, there is no lack of opportunities for laying good history before interested audiences.

If the historical scholar finds no chance to do any of these things, at the least he can encourage and advise neighboring librarians and

historical societies in respect to the collecting of materials upon the war, to the end that the future historian may find the means for treating it with all possible breadth of view and in all its varying aspects; for the historical scholar of the present day should surely be better able than others to foresee what kinds of material, economic and social as well as political and military, will be desired by those who come after.

But in respect to all these methods of approach, the historical scholar would do well to communicate first with the National Board for Historical Service, whose character and operations are described on other pages (pp. 918-919), and who are desirous and prepared to be of use in respect to all the lines of activity which have been indicated above. The address of its secretary is, Mr. Waldo G. Leland, 1133 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

J. F. J.

## DOCUMENTS

### *Paris in 1870: Letters of Mary Corinna Putnam*

THE writer of these letters, Mary Corinna Putnam, was a young American lady, daughter of George P. Putnam, the New York publisher. At the time when the letters were written, she was studying medicine in Paris—the first woman admitted to the École de Médecine—having already been graduated from the New York College of Pharmacy and from the Women's Medical College in Philadelphia—the first woman graduated from either of those institutions. In 1873 she married Dr. Abraham Jacobi of New York. She died in 1906, after a distinguished career as a physician and a writer on medical topics.

For the opportunity to use these letters we are indebted to Miss Ruth Putnam, a younger sister of the writer. Without proving any facts of history hitherto unknown, they furnish an additional picture of Paris in war-time, sketched from the point of view of a very intelligent young American. It is believed that the American reader of this day, sympathetic—as who is not?—with the present sufferings of France, will find interest in many passages. A striking letter in the same series, intermediate between the first and second of those which follow, was printed anonymously in *Putnam's Magazine* for November, 1870, under the title "The Fourth of September in Paris, by a Young American".

#### I.

August 14th, 1870.

*My dearest mother,*

I am rather amused at the tranquility with which you hope that "the war will not interrupt my studies". It will not,—because I have the habit of dominating distractions, and following the example of Archimedes at the siege of Syracuse (?) of continuing to work on the problems in hand though the enemy be at the gates and sacking the city. But if moral distraction *were* sufficient I and my thesis would be nowhere. Do you realize that it is the first time since the wars of Napoleon that all France has been called to arms? And that there is quite as much chance of renewing the programme of 1815 and of seeing the Prussians arrive at Paris, as there is of any thing else, certainly a great deal more chance than that the French will reach Berlin. People try to talk of 1792 and the defense of the frontier, and the bas relief on the Arc de Triomphe, and the famous picture from Versailles, are extensively circulated—But the ominous souvenir of 1815 is much more dwelt upon, and really much more appropriate. If only the second Napoleon

could finish like the first, there would be a dramatic fitness in the thing which would greatly add to one's enjoyment of it. Unfortunately this is by no means certain. The Republican party are by no means prepared as they should be to avail themselves of the crisis and the opportunity, there is really more chance for the Orleanists. The indignation against the government which has precipitated France into so causeless a war, and then shown such complete incapacity to manage it,—this indignation increases every day and has already overthrown the ministry and driven the Emperor into an ignominious oblivion. M. Bernutz, physician at the Hôpital de la Charité, observed this morning "Il y a eu une seule école, celle qui a vaincu."

While it is true that Miss Putnam was the first woman graduated from the New York College of Pharmacy she was not the first to be graduated from the Women's Medical College in Philadelphia.

the old men, the epileptics and the consumptives that were sent to the war, instead of sacrificing precisely the lives which are of the most value to themselves and to the state. However, this is a good lesson,—and the French richly deserve the consternation into which they are thrown. All these bourgeois who for years have been supporting Imperialism because it "supported order", and have allowed wretched peasants and working men to be torn from their homes to be sent to Crimea and Italy and Mexico,—have now a chance to see how it works when their own families and pockets are touched. But the lesson is not yet severe enough for them to act upon it. They will wait until some thousands of the flower of France have been sacrificed to the whim of the imperial master, before they will vigorously protest. Many people admit,—a few proclaim—that did the people of France seize the reins of government in their own hands,—declare the Republic,—and then say to the Prussians, "*Messieurs,—vous avez fait la guerre à notre feu Empereur. Si vous avez encore affaire avec lui, allez l'attraper, cela ne nous regarde pas. Mais dépêchez-vous de vous en aller de notre sol, et nous ne vous chasserons pas. Pourtant,—si vous voulez faire la guerre à la République, nous sommes prêts.*"—it is whispered that this would be the most effectual way, not only to terminate the war bloodlessly, but with honour. But the majority, even among the bitterest opposition, hold the ground that the Prussians must be chased first, and the account with the Emperor settled afterwards,—which is *insensé*, for if there is a victory, the honour will revert to him, his reputation will be saved and his power re-established, and if there is a defeat, the whole *garde mobile* at Châlons will be thrown to the front,—to be decimated by the disciplined troops of Prussia. For the *garde mobile* have not the slightest military training, and could only stand fire if they are supported, as they are to be by the

<sup>1</sup> Gustave Louis Bernutz (1819-1887), chief physician of the Hôpital de la Charité.

infantry of the Marine. Oh, Humanity, Humanity! *Est il possible que tu marcheras jamais, sauf à des coups de fouet!*—

The disorder is immense. Even the medical students are all called under arms,—and happy are they who can obtain a place in the medical service,—the others are obliged to serve as common soldiers. Nearly all my friends are engaged, but fortunately all that I know personally are in the corps medical. I know of several desertions. It is frightful to notice that every one is indignant with the war, and that all these young men, from whom one expects martial élan, are literally driven like sheep into the army. I have expressed much useless indignation at their submission, but submission to authority is too ingrained in the hearts of Frenchmen for anything but a fever to get it out of them. The day that the first news of defeat arrived, Paris was in a regular panic. I went upon the boulevards in the evening with Eli Reclus,<sup>2</sup> and it was curious to see the soldiers stationed with arms, ready to fire upon the people. There was much more fear of an insurrection at Paris than of the enemy—and the government, which strips the hospitals even of their internes, does not hesitate to leave 30 or 40 thousand soldiers at the capital, without speaking of the policemen, instead of sending them to the frontier, where there is the most urgent necessity to mass troops.

It is really ridiculous to see how many people, who submit without a murmur to this outrage of the government upon two nationalities, and allow themselves to be robbed, ruined and heart-broken by such an atrocious war, still keep up the old cry, "May Heaven preserve us from the Socialists! They are coming to destroy our property, our sacred property"! It is enough to make one sick. No, France is no country to live in—in America, whatever our innumerable bêtises, there is no class of people, now that slavery is abolished, who live in a state of chronic fear. The war is such an absorbing topic that I cannot write about anything else. . . .

<sup>2</sup> Michel-Élie Reclus (1827-1904), ethnographer, the oldest of a brilliant and extraordinary family of twelve children of a Protestant minister, with which Miss Putnam was on terms of intimacy. Élie, who had already been an exile from 1851 to 1855, was in 1871 appointed director, under the Commune, of the Bibliothèque Nationale. As such he was later condemned to death; but he had saved the Venus de Milo, and the sentence was commuted to banishment. Élisée, the second brother (1830-1905), the celebrated geographer and anarchist, is mentioned in the next letter. The fourth, Paul, was at this time an externe in the same hospital that Miss Putnam attended. Her description of them, in an earlier letter, written when she first made their acquaintance, may be quoted: "The elder brother [Élie] is very interesting, a calm, reticent, benign kind of man, but one of strong, deep enthusiasm such as you rarely see in Frenchmen, a man who glows with the subject he talks about, but never flames. The third [second, Élisée, "a most ardent abolitionist and admirer of America"] is the very incarnation of flame. Imagine a man about thirty, rather powerfully made, wearing his pantaloons always tucked in his boots, a plush coat, and beautiful brown hair streaming on his shoulders, with a brilliant complexion and intensely restless eyes, extremely exuberant and witty, and dramatic in every thing he says and does, a born poet in fact. He does not please me as much as the other brothers, but he is fascinating as if he had stepped out of a romance. The fourth, the medical student, is hardly more than a boy, but a charming boy."

II.

PARIS, Sept. 15th, 1870.

My dearest mother:

I have today received yours of Aug. 27th after passing a fortnight without any letter. I think one must have been lost, for you say nothing about H.'s return, or his account of his journey, only mention him casually as if you had already gone into the other details.

Before this you will have received at least two, I believe three letters from me, giving you an account of things here, and above all of the proclamation of the Republic. The "Revolution", as far as any could take place at Paris, is now "*un fait accompli*", and peaceably enough,—as you already know. We are now preparing vigorously for the threatened siege. It is wonderful what a difference there is in things since the fall of the Empire. Ten days ago the streets were as quiet, as if no war were raging on the frontiers,—all the opposition journals suppressed,—every one forced to live upon the lying information dealt out stingily from the War Department. Everywhere the silence, inanition, inanimation, characteristic of a Byzantine Empire, for all Empires resemble each other. Now, everything is alive and alert. The streets swarm with bataillons of soldiers,—Marine, mobiles, national guard in uniform and blouses,—drilling conscientiously and making progress every day—marching,—countermarching, to the chant of the Marseillaise and cries of *Vive la République*. The Place de la Concorde really looks like a theatre, so many separate bataillons *de file* in the various corners—and at every turn in a street, one may be stopped by a crowd,—and find the whole avenue illumined by the beautiful glitter of a long line of serried bayonets.

There are said to be 400,000 men in Paris under arms, enough for its effective defense. But poor Strasbourg cannot hold out much longer, and it will be discouraging to commence the siege after the surrender of this brave city. If the Louvre and the Libraries are burned as the great library at Strasbourg has been, it will be atrocious.

*Hélas, ce n'est plus un misérable petit prince, mais la République qui reçoit le baptême de feu!*<sup>3</sup> The order for non-combatants to leave Paris, was, of course, so general that any one could neglect it who chose to,—and, of course, I chose to. So far, my studies have gone on exactly as they would have done in any case,—it being the vacation, and my business being to prepare my thesis. I intend to do my best to be all ready with my thesis and my examination exactly as if there were no war.—It is not at all probable that the war will last until December, and if the school opens then I shall have all I need.

My interest is immense in the events that are passing, especially since the Republic, and as far as I myself am concerned, I feel really quite ready to die in its defense, especially if in so doing I could help the Reclus. I probably shall not do so, however, in the first place because I feel that I owe myself as much as possible to you, in the next, because as yet there is no way clear by which I could serve the Republic, either living or dying. I inquired yesterday at the Ambulance Society if there was any place, but they have already 4000 more names than places, so

<sup>3</sup> The allusion is to the somewhat theatrical telegram which Napoleon III. sent to the empress after the battle of Saarbrücken, "Louis a reçu son baptême de feu" (referring to the presence of the prince imperial on the field).

I went back and dug at my thesis, and probably shall stay there, unless Elisée Reclus is wounded on the ramparts. No amount of public excitement would ever interfere with my "pioching",<sup>4</sup> unless I was called upon to do something, and I think in the case of any personal calamity, I should "Pioche" with all the more energy. I have such a terror of pain, physical or mental, that I never could sit down under it and *bear* it. Resignation has always seemed to me an impossible, and tolerably useless virtue. I believe much more in the therapeutical efficacy of counter irritation. . . .

P. S. You know that any day Paris may be shut in so completely that no letters can be sent,—and then you will hear nothing from me during the siege. But you need not worry on that account. The danger is extremely small for a noncombatant, and Paris is provisioned for two months. At the end of that time—if we have not chased the Prussians—we shall be forced to capitulate, but I trust in the former alternative,—every day's delay adds to our chance.

## III.

Dec. 26th, 1870.

*My dear Father:*

I have written several times by the balloons, but the bright idea has just occurred to me that I might send letters with more security by the American Embassy. I think I hear you say, "what an absurdity not to have thought of that before!" But I didn't, so I can only hope that the balloon post has been faithful. I hope you will not attribute this shaky handwriting to famine,—it is cold,—for I am writing at the Embassy, and my hands have been frozen by an hour's walk. We still have plenty to eat, *barring meat*, for which we are on rations. Yesterday,—Christmas, we concocted a suet pudding,—as a distant simulacrum of a plum pudding,—and it was not bad at all, though with a slight flavor of tallow candle. In 1814 the Cossacks stupified the Parisians, by precipitating themselves upon the tallow candles and devouring them as a luxury, but in the invasion of 1870 it may well happen that the dainty Parisian gourmets follow their example. Fighting was renewed on the 21st December, and the French are now fortifying themselves in the positions newly conquered. Everyday we are expecting another affair. The crisis at Paris is being sharpened down to a tolerably fine point, but the national movement has become so general and vigorous, that even if Paris is taken, the war will continue, and I am sure that ultimately we shall succeed. Every day identifies more and more clearly the cause of the French republic with that for which the North fought in the war of Secession. It is no longer a war between two standing armies or two rival princelets, but between two rival principles,—*et il y va du succès de l'idée Républicaine dans le monde entier*. The recent proclamation of Guillaume, and the ridiculous address of the German Parliament in which the King of Prussia is crowned emperor of Germany as a recompense for having decimated the population of the allied states, trench the question more and more clearly. I am continually beset with reproaches concerning the non-intervention of America, and I confess—however, much I approve the policy of non-intervention in European affairs,—I should have been prouder of my country had it extended a helping hand

<sup>4</sup> Digging.



to a cause which is identical with its own, and to a nationality which insured the triumph of its own independence. Americans are singularly unsympathetic for the French, and take very little pains to inform themselves correctly concerning their affairs. I have just been talking with Colonel Hoffman,<sup>5</sup> who persists in maintaining an admiration for the Empress,—the Countess of Montijo. . . .

I shall probably write an article on the Siege of Paris, in which I shall insist on certain points that Americans continually lose sight of. The most interesting American peculiarity here at present, is their success with the ambulances. It is wonderful, they hardly lose a case, while in the French hospitals, almost every one dies. Col. Hoffman has given me a card to Dr. Swinburne,<sup>6</sup> who directs them, and I intend to visit them, and compare the statistiques, possibly for publication. I finish my thesis (about) this week. I shall then inscribe for my 5th examination.

Col. Hoffman says that if you write to me, under cover of an envelope addressed to him at the American Embassy at London, that I can have the answer certainly. If this be so, I am indeed provoked not to have tried sooner, for I am very anxious for news from home. . . .

<sup>5</sup> Wickham Hoffman of Louisiana, secretary of the American legation.

<sup>6</sup> Dr. John Swinburne of Albany (1820-1889), surgeon-in-chief of the American ambulance corps in Paris during the siege.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

### GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

*The Passing of the Great Race: or the Racial Basis of European History.* By MADISON GRANT. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1916. Pp. xxi, 245.)

IN the first third of this book (pt. I.) the author deals with the general problems of race, language, and nationality; in part II. he applies his conclusions to the study of European races. In this second portion of the treatise there are chapters on the prehistoric peoples of Europe, followed by more detailed studies of the distribution and characteristics of the three existing racial types—the Mediterranean, the Alpine, and the "Nordic" or Teutonic. Somewhat more than half of part II. is devoted to discussion of the Nordic race—its origins, its distribution in Europe and beyond, its relation to "Aryan" languages and civilizations, and its outlook for the future.

The book contains much solid scientific and historical truth set forth with dignity and clearness, although often with a lack of coherence. It affords evidence of minute and careful study, even though the author never cites his authority for particular statements and supplies but a limited bibliography in the appendix. His endeavor to interpret history "in terms of race" is a legitimate and alluring enterprise, even if he goes rather far in claiming originality for the idea.

But *The Passing of the Great Race* is not so much an objective scientific treatise as a carefully reasoned argument in support of preconceived convictions. With Houston Stewart Chamberlain and the German school of historians in general, Mr. Grant believes that the Nordic race is the great achieving race of history and that the hope of the future lies in the conservation of the Nordic populations of the world. He is disturbed by the evidences that this "great race" is "passing", and is yielding the leadership to the "inferior" peoples of Alpine or Mediterranean stock. His book is an attempt to provide a prophylactic against the danger which thus threatens the security of mankind.

Mr. Grant argues that race has far greater weight in determining historical progress than has environment; that race characters are permanent and immutable; and that the intermixture of races always results in the predominance of the "lower" type. All of these premises may have good standing in anthropological science; but no one of them is so dogmatically certain as Mr. Grant seems to hold. He maintains that, while the Nordic peoples have accomplished most for civilized progress in the past, they are now losing their leadership in the world.

The great wars of modern times, from the Thirty Years' War to the present European struggle, have been peculiarly destructive of the Nordic leaders and rulers. Even more have they suffered from intermarriage with the "lower" types of the white man, their Alpine and Mediterranean neighbors in Europe, and from their attempts to settle in the hotter zones of the earth for which they are unfitted.

The remedy for these conditions is clear to Mr. Grant, and he would apply it with the unflinching severity of a wise physician. Society should give power to its real leaders and abandon the futile illusions of democracy; it should restrain the intermarriage of "higher" and "lower" races; it should turn a deaf ear to the apostles of social uplift, letting the incompetent races sink to their natural level. "We Americans must realize that the altruistic ideals which have controlled our social development during the past century, and the maudlin sentimentalism that has made America 'an asylum for the oppressed', are sweeping the nation toward a racial abyss" (p. 228).

The argument of the book must stand for what it is worth. To the present reviewer it is unconvincing, partly because it rests on debatable assumptions, partly because the method of the argument seems itself unsound. The author ranges far and wide to demonstrate that nearly all the progressive peoples of Europe have belonged to the fair-haired, blue-eyed, long-headed Nordic race. But his determinations often rest on the most questionable evidence. Thus the Trojan War was a conflict between the Nordic Achaeans and the Mediterranean Trojans; but the leaders on both sides were Nordics (p. 144). The patricians of early Rome were Nordics, the plebeians were Mediterraneans (pp. 139-140, 192); consequently the South Italians of to-day are descendants of the slaves of primitive Rome (p. 65). Aristotle was a Mediterranean (p. 197). Christ was apparently a Nordic (pp. 197, 199). Primitive Christianity was the religion of slaves, while Stoicism was the religion of Nordics (p. 193). "The chief men of the Cinque Cento were of Nordic, largely Gothic and Lombard, blood, a fact easily recognized by a close inspection of busts or portraits in north Italy. Dante, Raphael, Titian, Michael Angelo, Leonardo da Vinci were all of Nordic type" (p. 191). The book abounds in affirmations of this sort without the evidence to sustain them. One does not need to deny a certain pre-eminence to the Nordic race in order to feel that Mr. Grant has vastly overstated the case. The author rightly rejects the principle of determining race affinities on the basis of language. But it seems evident that in some instances he depends more on linguistic than on anthropological data for his theory of the expansion of the Nordics. Wherever "Aryan" language is found he predicates a Nordic invasion with the consequent establishment of Nordic, or Aryan, speech.

Mr. Grant's book can hardly be regarded as an important contribution to historical science. Its dogmatic assurance and its partizanship impair its value to learning. Its main thesis is not established, and, in the

present state of scholarship, is not capable of establishment. For guidance in matters relating to European race problems American students of history will continue to depend, as they have done for nearly twenty years, on Ripley's solid and discriminating *Races of Europe*.

A. B. S.

#### BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

*Studies in the Problem of Sovereignty.* By HAROLD J. LASKI, of the Department of History in Harvard University. (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1917. Pp. x, 297.)

THIS is the initial volume, it appears, in a series of historical studies which are intended to form the avenue of approach to an ultimate consideration of the nature of sovereignty. It is an example of painstaking and rather brilliant historical writing, and may justly be classed, both as regards the subject-matter with which it deals and its scholarly method of treatment, with the studies of Mr. J. N. Figgis, and particularly his *From Gerson to Grotius* and his *Churches in the Modern State*.

What may be regarded as the backbone of the study consists of five chapters dealing with the political theory of the disruption of the established Church of Scotland, of the Oxford Movement, of the Catholic Revival, and of the political theories of de Maistre and Bismarck, so far as they relate to the nature of sovereignty. In addition, there is an introductory chapter on "the sovereignty of the State" and two brief papers entitled "notes" on "sovereignty and federalism" and "sovereignty and centralization" printed as appendixes to the main part of the book.

The chapter on the disruption is mainly a critical analysis of the contention of the Free Church of Scotland that the sovereignty of the state does not properly extend to the right of control over matters purely ecclesiastical. Specifically, the Free Church party denied the supremacy of Parliament in respect to the affairs of the Church of Scotland except in so far as they involved purely civil matters; in short, the church was a *societas perfecta* within its own sphere and no act of Parliament interfering with its organization, creed, or discipline was binding without its consent. Similarly, the political theory of the Oxford Movement represented a protest against the claim of Parliament to control the Church in its purely ecclesiastical affairs. Both movements were therefrom essentially anti-Erastian and against the idea of an "all-absorptive state". The political theory of the Catholic revival which ended in the passage of the Roman Catholic Relief Act of 1829 was likewise a protest against the doctrine subsequently elaborated by Gladstone in his *Vatican Decrees* that since the papacy asserted a claim

to the allegiance of all Catholics everywhere, a claim which was inconsistent with the sovereignty of the state, it was unsafe to admit Catholics to the full political privileges accorded to other subjects whose allegiance was undivided. In a compact and illuminating review of the *Kulturkampf* Dr. Laski analyzes Bismarck's theory of sovereignty, particularly in its bearings upon the relation between Church and State. The fact that Bismarck was finally brought to Canossa, the author regards as a confirmation of his own theory that the sovereignty of the state is limited, being conditioned in fact upon the obedience and consent of the people.

When Dr. Laski leaves the field of history and enters upon a discussion of the nature of sovereignty he is less happy, and critics who will attribute to him an imperfect understanding of the real character of sovereignty are not likely to be wanting. Both in his terminology and in his reasoning he employs language calculated to evoke dissent among lawyers and political scientists. Thus he speaks of the "federalism of society", "unified sovereignty", "unified governance", the "sovereign character of the national *government*" (p. 279) and employs other expressions that lead one to doubt whether he fully appreciates the very fundamental distinction between the state and its government—a distinction that lies at the root of an understanding of the nature of sovereignty. He even refers to the individual states of the Federal Union as "those other sovereigns" (p. 283) and to "certain sovereign rights possessed by the states" (p. 267). Again he says: "We prefer a country where the sovereign power is distributed" (p. 273). Scientifically these expressions are inexact, if indeed they do not indicate a confusion of sovereignty with mere power or autonomy and a claim to the divisibility of sovereignty—a theory now rejected by nearly all the best writers on political science.

Finally, the author goes to the length of saying that the "sovereignty of the state will pass, as the divine right of Kings has had its day" (p. 209). If this prophecy is intended to mean what it appears to mean, it is to be hoped that it will never come to pass, and happily there is nothing in the political tendencies of the time, when modern states everywhere are extending their authority over domains formerly abandoned to individual freedom, to justify such an expectation. The notion that the doctrine of absolute sovereignty is dangerous to liberty and inconsistent with democracy is based on a confusion of *state* and *government*; it assumes what is obviously not true, that unlimited sovereignty is irreconcilable with limited government. The two are entirely compatible and it would seem that the more completely sovereign the state, the more able it will be to guarantee and protect the liberty of the individual.

*The Pacific Ocean in History.* Papers and Addresses presented at the Panama-Pacific Historical Congress held at San Francisco, Berkeley, and Palo Alto, California, July 19-23, 1915. Edited by H. MORSE STEPHENS, Sather Professor of History, University of California, and HERBERT E. BOLTON, Professor of American History, University of California. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1917. Pp. 535.)

Six addresses and twenty-three papers are printed in the present volume. Nearly all of them deal with the local history or with the ethnology, philology, and religion of countries in, or more or less adjacent to, the Pacific Ocean, rather than specifically with the idea suggested by the general title. Some of the papers are of scant scientific import; a few are simply advance sheets of books later published.

Among the addresses those by H. Morse Stephens on the Conflict of European Nations in the Pacific, by Rafael Altamira y Crevea on the Share of Spain in the History of the Pacific Ocean, and by Theodore Roosevelt on the Panama Canal are noteworthy. In his introductory survey Professor Stephens divides the history of the Pacific Ocean into four chapters. Of these the first opens with the arrival of Europeans upon its shores in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, and the conversion of the "South Sea" into a Spanish lake. The second records the conflict among the nations of Europe which closed when the Spanish-American countries, the United States, and the Dominion of Canada "occupied the American coast-line" of the ocean. In the third chapter, covering most of the nineteenth century, come the "spasmodic efforts" of Europe to secure a footing among the islands and in China, and the rise of Japan to a position among the great powers of earth. The completion of the Panama Canal opens the fourth chapter.

Apt and illuminating as this characterization and its subsequent development are, some of the incidental assertions might be challenged. Surely the Spanish-American countries had "occupied the American coast-line" long before the close of even the first chapter of the history in question. The efforts of European nations during the nineteenth century to secure footholds among the islands and in China can hardly be termed "spasmodic". That the Dutch "broke their way into the Pacific Ocean through the Straits of Magellan" (p. 27) is not a correct statement, if applied to the voyage of Le Maire and Schouten. Sir Josiah Child was not administering the East India Company in 1677, nor was a settlement made at Amoy in that year (p. 30). The Russians, furthermore, reached the northern Pacific long before the reign of Peter the Great (*ibid.*).

The scholarly study by Professor Altamira shows that four circumstances were responsible for the fact that Spanish colonial activity was centred upon the Pacific, rather than upon the Atlantic, side of the new world. These were: the search for a westward passage as such to the

Indies; the direction taken by Columbus in his first voyage, which brought him to the spot most easily penetrable to the Pacific; the discovery of advanced types of aboriginal civilization with all their appeal of wealth and dominion; and the extraneous enterprises of European countries other than Spain, which assured to them control of the region from Canada to Brazil. Among the results of Spanish endeavor in the Pacific territory Professor Altamira signalizes the contributions to geographical knowledge made by the various expeditions; the impulse given to the construction of an interoceanic canal; the advancement of science through systematic study of the lands and peoples of America; the material aids to civilization afforded by the introduction into America of European plants and animals and into Europe of American plants; the extensive and meritorious literature produced by Spanish writers; and the lessons drawn from the moral qualities displayed by the Spaniards in the new world, despite current misconceptions on the matter. The address closes with an appeal for the establishment at the General Archive of the Indies in Seville of national schools of research on the order of those maintained at Rome.

What Mr. Roosevelt has to say about the Panama Canal is mainly a series of characteristic utterances in paraphrase of the famous sentence of "I took the Isthmus". It contains the usual slurs on Colombia and manipulated accounts of the treaty of 1846 (p. 143) and the Panama "revolution", and adduces other "facts" set forth in "my autobiography and in an article I wrote", not one of which "can be, or ever has been, even questioned" (!) (p. 148). The impression, nevertheless, will not down that Colombia was not fairly treated and should be indemnified.

Of the twenty-three papers five relate to the Philippine Islands, four to northwestern North America, four to "Spanish America and the Pacific Ocean", two to California, five to New Mexico and Arizona, and three to Japan and Australasia. Apart from the very useful studies by Charles E. Chapman, Herbert I. Priestley, and William R. Manning, which have subsequently been incorporated in books, the most valuable among the treatises of a strictly historical character are those on the Philippines by William L. Schurz, Charles H. Cunningham, and David P. Barrows, treating respectively the Chinese problem before the nineteenth century, ecclesiastical visitation under Spanish rule, and the office of governor-general in Spanish and in American practice; on the early explorations of Garcés and on French intrusions into New Mexico, by Herbert E. Bolton; on St. Vrain's expedition to the Gila, by Thomas M. Marshall; on Otermín's attempt to reconquer New Mexico, by Charles W. Hackett; on the ancestry and family of Juan de Oñate, by Beatrice Q. Cornish; and on Japan's early attempts to establish commercial relations with Mexico, by Naojiro Murakami.

In his account of the governor-general of the Philippines Professor Barrows has allowed an error or two to slip in, as for example when he alludes to the "audiencia of New Spain" (p. 240), and when he classi-

fies the "captaincy general" of Yucatán with the real institution of that name in Guatemala (p. 247). Some of his citations, also, from Rodríguez San Pedro (not San Pedro), the title of whose work is nowhere given, are wrongly paged. The paper by Professor Murakami, embodying his investigations in the archives of Spain, Italy, and Japan, is perhaps the most interesting of all the contributions, and affords remarkable testimony to the Europeanization of scientific method in the "land of the rising sun".

WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD.

*Brissot de Warville: a Study in the History of the French Revolution.* By ELOISE ELLERY, Ph.D., Associate Professor of History in Vassar College. [The Vassar Semi-Centennial Series.] (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1915. Pp. xix, 528.)

BRISSOT has at last found a most faithful biographer in Miss Ellery. Her work is the result of long and patient investigations carried on in the archives and libraries of Europe and of the United States. If she did not discover a large amount of new material relating to the life of Brissot, it was not due to lack of industry. Her most important discoveries were made in the archives of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester, Mass., and of the New York Historical Society. The letters found in these places, written to Brissot or by him, supply many new data upon his visit to America and his financial relations with Americans. The very full bibliography, from which little is missing, is tangible proof of a serious effort to examine all the evidence. With this material at her command, Miss Ellery has constructed a detailed, sober account of one of the most important of the secondary figures of the Revolution. The volume is especially interesting as the first life of Brissot that has been written; it is further interesting as one of the best of a number of biographies of the statesmen of the French Revolution written in recent years by women.

The impossibility of writing history without evidence is well illustrated by the chapter devoted to the life of Brissot up to the outbreak of the Revolution, a period of thirty-five years; it contains thirty-six pages and is chiefly a condensation of the first volume of Brissot's *Mémoires*. To his travels in the United States, covering a period of five months, almost as much space is given. It is in this chapter that the manuscript material found in this country was utilized. Students of our early history will find interesting matter here on trade and land-speculation.

It is inevitable, in a work covering so long a period of time, that all parts could not be investigated with the thoroughness one would expect to find in a monograph and it would not be difficult, were it worth while, to indicate some topics that had not been adequately treated. In



one case, that of the outbreak of the war with Austria, the rôle of Brissot has not been correctly evaluated because of a failure to understand the significance of the European situation, Miss Ellery following the traditional view of the origin of the war rather than the newer interpretations of Glagau, Clapham, and Cahen. In the treatment of Brissot's attack on Delessart, in the same chapter, it would have been more to the point to reproduce the articles of the decree proposed by Brissot instead of giving so much space to the untrustworthy recollections of Dumont upon the decree.

As a rule Miss Ellery makes use too exclusively of evidence emanating from Brissot—newspapers, speeches, pamphlets, letters—not enough use being made of other sources. Following the practice common among historians of citing but a single source in proof of a fact, she does not conform to the better scientific standard of using two independent sources when that is possible. In the study of the debates in the French assemblies, two independent newspapers are always available and should be used.

The bibliography would be more useful, if it had been given a more scientific form, *i. e.*, if it had been divided into sources and secondary works, instead of "Manuscripts" and "Printed Matter". There seems, also, to have been some uncertainty as to the classification of the material under the various subheads. Although there is a subhead for "Letters", the despatches of the Venetian ambassador are found under "Pamphlets, Addresses, Contemporary Criticism", the despatches of the English ambassador under "Collections of Documents", and the *Lettres et Documents Inédits* of Feuillet de Conches under "General Works", *i. e.*, secondary works. Two noticeable misspellings of names are those of Kornman, which appears as "Korman" both in the text and in the index, and that of Montesquiou, the French general, which appears in the text and index as "Montesquieu".

*Church and Reform in Scotland: a History from 1797 to 1843.* By

WILLIAM LAW MATHIESON, Hon. LL.D. (Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons. 1916. Pp. xii, 378.)

THIS is the last volume of a history of Scotland since the Reformation, which Mr. Mathieson has published under four titles: *Politics and Religion in Scotland* (1550-1695), *Scotland and the Union* (1695-1747), *The Awakening of Scotland* (1747-1797), and this. It is a story of substantial progress he now tells. From what Macaulay declared the worst constitution in Europe, Scotland emerged into a free and orderly government. She passed from legal methods so clumsy and laws so preposterous as to seem aimed at the defeat of justice, into equality for all before the law, and modern methods for adjudication of rights. And along with this went the softening of religious animosities, the enlargement of the paternal outlook by philosophy and literature, and the decay of a blind conservatism in politics.

It is noteworthy that more than half the book is given to the affairs of the Church. Mr. Mathieson is a lawyer, with a professional distrust of churchmen; but he cannot avoid or subordinate them. He bemoans the fate of the national Parliament in being swallowed up in that of Great Britain just when it was going to amount to something in the life of the country. But a body chosen as it was, and so shackled in its procedure, never could have become the organ of Scottish opinion. The General Assembly of the Kirk, which had fought the battle for Scottish nationality, was, down to the Disruption of 1843, the great council of the nation, and was thus obliged to extend its activities beyond its proper field of religious activity.

Like all true Scotsmen, Mr. Mathieson is a theologian on his own account, sympathizing with the Moderate party which ruled that assembly during the period of religious chill which ended with the French Revolution, and which did much to make it more tolerant and refined if less fervent and effective. But he makes several grave mistakes, as in ascribing to Knox and his successors the evangelical demand for a conscious conversion as the beginning of a Christian life. That came in from the English Puritans in the next century, and thrust out what was called "the judgment of charity". This assumed that persons who had been instructed in religion and had grown up without any scandal in their conduct, were true Christians and rightful communicants.

Our author does not conceal his sympathies in the two great controversies which divided the country during the period he covers. The first is the struggle for political reform, for the construction of the monstrous municipalities, and for the extension of the suffrage to the middle classes generally. He is with Brougham, Jeffrey, and Cockburn in the battle for freedom of speech and of the press, which was fought sometimes on "the field of honor", and which at last put an end to the libellous abuse with which Wilson and Lockhart and even Scott defended the abuses of political life. But he is not on the popular side in the great struggle for the abolition of patronage. He admits that it was restored by a breach of faith in 1712 for the benefit of Jacobite and Episcopalian landlords; and he has no solid argument for having the pastors appointed by an English official or a Scotsman of another church. His case consists largely in quoting any silly or unreasonable things said by its enemies, not excepting Chalmers. And he never glances at the fact that it has been abolished in our times as an anomaly hated by the common people of Scotland. He has but scant recognition for the greatness of Chalmers, and belittles his magnificent experiment in dealing with the poverty of Glasgow, ignoring the fact that his methods and principles have been revived in the Charity Organization movement of our time.

Mr. Mathieson is a laborious student and an effective writer. But he reminds me of Charles Lamb's complaint of Scotsmen, their positiveness in opinion and the absence of softer shades in their view of life. Mr. Mathieson, like Andrew Lang, sees his own side only, and that keeps his book from being the history of Scotland we wait for.

*Economic Protectionism.* By JOSEF GRUNZEL. Edited by EUGEN VON PHILIPPOVICH, Professor of Political Economy in the University of Vienna. [Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History.] (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1916. Pp. xiii, 357.)

For the historian, economist, or statesman who wishes to understand some of the practices and ideals which nowadays underly the conflict of national interests and are among the important provocatives of war the present volume will be of especial interest. It is as an aid to a better appreciation of these difficulties and the extent to which economic interests play a part in fomenting international strife that the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has issued this volume. It is suggestive that the topic with which it deals has received considerable attention among European, and especially German, writers of recent years while almost ignored in this country. It is, however, becoming more and more evident that the national ideals and policies here discussed present problems that this country in its ever-expanding international relations will have to face and study with great care.

The first of the three parts into which the volume is divided is entitled the Genesis of Economic Protectionism. In discussing the origin of this policy the author points out that in the course of human development blood, language, and religious communities as social structures have all given way before the political community, this last surviving to-day because it is the form "best adapted to the requirement of a more perfect socialization of the process of satisfying wants" (p. 5). "The national economy, then, is to-day the dominant economic unit to which other groups and factors must subordinate themselves" (p. 6). Economic protectionism is "the totality of those measures by which the national economy seeks to promote its interests in the world-economy field" (p. 125).

Economic protectionism represents the logical consequences of the situation created when world-economy relations break into the national-economy sphere. It is not therefore a policy of world economics, but a detail of the external policy of the national economy. It is neither more nor less than the sum total of the measures adopted by the national-economy unit for the purpose of advancing its interests in the field of world economy (p. 7). The brief account of the development of the theory of economic protectionism which heads this part is followed by a description of the various economic spheres, such as the larger customs spheres, their subdivisions, colonies, and open-door districts, and the part concludes with a summary account of international trade in commodities and the international movement of capital and labor.

Part II., dealing with the Directions assumed by Economic Protectionism, occupies about half the volume. It presents an interesting and useful account, partly historical, of the various practices resorted to

by the leading nations in carrying out this policy. Under the general headings of commodities, capital, and labor, both the positive and the negative measures of protectionism are described in turn. This involves an account of such devices as import and export duties, bounties, freight-rate discrimination, administrative regulations as to food inspection, the letting of contracts, taxation, etc., shipping regulations, and the various methods of controlling the international movement of capital and labor.

Part III. is a summary estimate of the possible results to be secured by the negative and positive measures when applied to commodities, labor, and capital as described in the preceding part.

The volume will be chiefly valuable as a general presentation of a subject, too much neglected by American writers, which is bound to attract greater attention in the immediate future. More particularly the second part will be useful, for few people realize the wide extent of the measures already adopted by various countries in carrying out this policy. But as a theoretical discussion of the economic soundness and political wisdom of the policy as a whole it is inadequate. Though the author is discriminating and suggestive in pointing out the limitations to the effectiveness of the various specific measures employed in carrying out the policy, yet he appears to assume rather than to try to prove the desirability of the policy as a whole. The premises upon which this assumption rests are neither carefully stated nor thoroughly examined, and the effects of some of the specific measures discussed upon the total productive capacity of a nation, to say nothing of the ultimate welfare of the people, are insufficiently analyzed.

CHESTER W. WRIGHT.

*Europe in the Nineteenth Century: an Outline History.* By E. LIPSON, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge. (London: A. and C. Black; New York: The Macmillan Company. 1916. Pp. iv, 298.)

In writing his account of nineteenth-century Europe, Mr. Lipson has laid down hard-and-fast restrictions to which he has adhered somewhat closely. His treatment is purposely concise, topical, and analytical, rather than chronological. His point of view is internal, not international.

The first six chapters describe the development of France, Germany, Austria, and Italy, 1815-1870, Russia, 1815-1916, and the Balkans from the earliest times to the twentieth century. Chapter VII. is descriptive of the evolution of the European "concert", beginning with the Holy Roman Empire. Chapter VIII. is entitled the New Era (1871-1914). The purpose of this is to portray the ascendancy of Germany after 1870, the formation of the alliances, and the events leading to the World War of 1914. The last he organizes under two headings, the Eastern Question and the *Weltpolitik* of Germany.

The analytical purpose of the author is evident in every chapter, typified, for example, by chapter I. on Reaction and Revolution in France (1815-1870). The account is built around the text, "Napoleon bequeathed to his successors the problem of reconciling two divergent aims: the establishment of a form of government acceptable to France combined with the pursuit of a policy acceptable to Europe" (p. 1). In the main, Mr. Lipson's interest is in politics, parties, and officials. His style is generally smooth, although a few infelicitous expressions unexpectedly appear. Unhappy, for example, is the figure of speech on page 166: "But the constitutionalists equally recognized that the principles of their faith, 'Liberty, Equality, and Humanity', would continue to bear barren fruit. . . ." The arrangement is sometimes confusing. At the beginning of chapter V., on the Unity of Italy, to mention but one case, a treatment which is apparently strictly chronological carries the reader alternately forward and backward, between 1815 and 1846, in such a way as to detract seriously from the smooth development of the account. On the other hand, some passages are unusually suggestive and clear, like that concerning the effects of "the awakening of the nationalities" (p. 288 ff.).

The brevity of the book, as compared with other recent discussions of the same subject, has been brought about by some notable omissions. Substantially no space is given to England or to minor states like Spain, Portugal, Switzerland, and the Scandinavian countries; the Industrial Revolution and, in general, the social and economic parts of the story, are given only slight attention—much less than in most of the later books; little emphasis is placed upon European history since 1870, except as connected with the outbreak of the war. It seems, also, to have been part of the author's plan to give scant attention to the expansion of Europe into Asia, Africa, and the "seven seas". Some of these omissions seem to the reviewer so important as to raise the question whether Mr. Lipson was wise in confining himself in such narrow limits. Undoubtedly they seriously lessen the value of the book to one who wishes a general view of recent European development.

An extremely pleasant characteristic of the book is the calm, historical temper with which Mr. Lipson has approached those parts of his subject that deal with the present war. He avoids the temptation to deal with the Balkan question and the history of the Balkan states with reference to the present struggle only (p. 183). He refrains from passing judgment on the wisdom of the foreign policy of Germany during the last quarter-century, on the ground that "all judgment pronounced in the heat of conflict must lay itself open to the reproach of partiality" (p. 282). And he suggestively remarks, in relation to the partition of Africa and its effect on the war, "Germany had as much, or as little, claim as her neighbours to a share in the white man's burden—and 'the white man's plunder'" (p. 284). Possibly the American reader will find most satisfaction in the texts, or topic sentences like that, already

mentioned, which opens the first chapter. Some of them are almost epigrammatic, many of them are suggestive and illuminating.

As an example of the book-maker's art, the volume reflects war conditions in the unsubstantial character of the binding. There are no bibliographies and the index is inadequate. The maps do not compare favorably with the best of recent publications on nineteenth-century Europe.

CHARLES R. LINGLEY.

*Histoire de l'Entente Cordiale Franco-Anglaise: les Relations de la France et de l'Angleterre depuis le XI<sup>e</sup> Siècle jusqu'à Nos Jours.* Par J.-L. de LANESSAN, Ancien Ministre, Ancien Gouverneur Général de l'Indo-Chine. [Bibliothèque d'Histoire Contemporaine.] (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1916. Pp. xii, 310.)

THE author of this book, a former minister of the marine and governor-general of Indo-China, has attempted to trace the history of the relations of France and England since the sixteenth century, that is, since the time when they both emerged as independent and organized states, down to the Entente Cordiale whence has come their presence side by side upon the field of battle. Believing that since the reign of Elizabeth England has in her foreign policy always applied three principles: namely, to seek no conquest on the Continent of Europe, to protect the independence of the Netherlands against the ambitions of the great military and maritime powers, and to oppose the establishment of an hegemony over Europe by any power whatever, Mr. Lanessan makes a preliminary examination or survey of England's foreign policy during the three centuries. This survey he considers a necessary preface to the history of the Entente Cordiale, which is his special theme. One hundred and ninety-nine pages are devoted to a description of Anglo-French relations from 1558 to 1890; 120 pages to the period from 1890 to 1915. In the former he appears to have followed a few secondary works such as the histories of Lavisse, Bourgeois, Debidour, Seeley, and Green. The narrative is respectable and to the uninitiated may be useful but it reveals nothing new and gives evidence of no original research. The most useful and interesting part of the book is the final chapter, a long chapter of over a hundred pages.

The alliance signed in 1891 between France and Russia was destined not only to end the isolation in which France had lived since 1870, but to mark the entrance of Europe upon a new phase of her evolution. Fear of Germany, which caused Russia to seek an ally, was in time to be shared by England. The germ of the Entente lay in the increasing perception of the meaning of German leadership in Europe. During the latter years of Bismarck's career England had rather inclined toward the Triple Alliance, doubtless because Bismarck's policy threatened none of her interests, while France and Russia for various reasons aroused

anxiety. But when the naval and imperial aspirations of William II. were made clear, England began to reconsider her situation. But from this awakening of distrust or suspicion of Germany to a *rapprochement* of France and England was a long and painful journey. Friction had long existed between the two countries and when the policy of Hanotaux conducted France to the verge of war by conducting her to Fashoda, matters reached a climax. How to extract an *entente cordiale* from that lamentable crisis, with its danger and its humiliation, was a problem similar in difficulty to that of extracting sunshine from the cucumber.

The process, however, had already been begun. In 1895 the Lord Mayor of London had been invited to visit the international exposition at Bordeaux and shortly afterward there was founded in London an "association for the development of more cordial relations between the United Kingdom and France". It was "to use its influence to develop a better knowledge and higher appreciation of the French nation in England, as also of the English nation in France, by the organization of public meetings, lectures and the circulation of literature", etc., and to "ensure a more accurate knowledge of the respective feelings and opinions of the two nations in all questions affecting their common interests". Thus began the process of mutual education which is at the basis of the present union of the two nations, so long suspicious or estranged.

This book is written by a Frenchman who was a partizan of this movement from the start. On November 13, 1896, Mr. Lanessan advocated in the *XIX<sup>e</sup> Siècle* the possibility of an understanding between France, Russia, and England. He regarded the Entente of France and England as the corollary of the Franco-Russian alliance. In 1897 he was one of those who founded in France an association similar to that just founded in England. Mr. Lanessan became president of the organization effected at that time and which began to operate through the chambers of commerce. An independent movement with the same end in view had already been started by Mr. (now Sir) Thomas Barclay. The problems and difficulties encountered in the development of the understanding of the two countries from that time down to the outbreak of the war are here set forth, by one who participated in the history. Mr. Lanessan's book is far from being adequate to the subject but it furnishes enough personal information and criticism and comment to make its reading desirable for the historian of contemporary Europe.

CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN.

*Parliamentary Reminiscences and Reflections, 1868 to 1885.* By the Rt. Hon. Lord GEORGE HAMILTON, G.C.S.I., LL.D., D.C.L. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1917. Pp. xii, 344.)

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON was of the House of Commons from 1868 to 1906. As son of the Duke of Abercorn, at one time lord-lieutenant of Ireland, he was of the governing class, a fact which accounts for

the early age at which a place was found for him in the Disraeli administration of 1874-1880. He was then appointed under-secretary for India, with Salisbury as his chief. In 1878-1880 he was vice-president of the committee of council, practically minister for education. In the short-lived Conservative administration of 1885-1886 he was first lord of the admiralty. He resumed this office when the Unionist administration was formed in 1886, and held it until the Liberals came into power in 1892. From 1895 to 1903, when he retired from the cabinet, he was Secretary for India.

Only the years from 1868 to 1885 are covered by these reminiscences. But for half a dozen reasons they are likely to be of service to students of British politics of the two decades that preceded the realignment of parties after 1886, when Gladstone had committed the Liberal party to Home Rule for Ireland. In the opening pages in which Lord George Hamilton describes his victory over Labouchere at the Middlesex election of 1868, there is testimony to the value attached by local party wire-pullers and election agents to the son of a duke as parliamentary candidate. Hamilton was then only twenty-two. He was a junior ensign in the Coldstream Guards; and up to the time he was asked to contest Middlesex, he had given so little attention to current politics that he had "to set to work, regularly giving up so many hours a day, and obtaining from old members of Parliament—notably the late Earl of Mayo—the ins-and-outs of questions most attracting public interest". "After two or three weeks of this cramming", he adds, "I felt I could pass quite a decent examination in the catch political topics of the moment."

Much of the old corruption of the electoral system had still to be weeded out in 1868. The Corrupt Practices Act, which has been so effective in eliminating bribery and other corrupt practices at elections, was not passed until 1883; and Lord George Hamilton estimates that each vote at the Middlesex election of 1868 cost him about a sovereign. "A vast number of solicitors was engaged, at high fees, as district agents. All the flies, buses, and carriages available were hired, on the pretense of conveying voters to the poll; and travelling expenses from all parts of the kingdom were allowed."

Of Hamilton's reminiscences of the House of Commons and of the men who were his contemporaries in 1868-1885 the most interesting are those in which he records his opinions or his impressions of Disraeli, Gladstone, and W. H. Smith, and men of lesser importance such as Labouchere and Bradlaugh. His recollections of his parliamentary and social contact with Disraeli help to explain Disraeli's remarkable hold on the Tory aristocracy, after he had once been accepted by the Conservative party—after the Conservative party in the middle sixties had realized that he was the only popular leader in the party, and that only with a leader who could attract the middle and wage-earning classes could the Conservatives hope for a long tenure of



power. Disraeli, more than any other man who was ever a power in English political life, was adept at flattery; and Hamilton, consciously or unconsciously, gives some examples of Disraeli's art at its fulsomest.

Hamilton himself will not expect general agreement in his characterization of Gladstone, nor endorsement of all his remarks on Labouchere and Bradlaugh. But no one who is familiar with the House of Commons of 1886-1892, and with the personal history of the House from 1832 to 1886, will hesitate to endorse, without reservation, his splendid tribute to Smith, as leader of the House of Commons. Whitbread, Poulett Thompson, Cobden, Bright, and Chamberlain were all commercial men who greatly distinguished themselves in Parliament. But until Bonar Law, in December, 1916, became leader of the House of Commons, W. H. Smith was the only man, drawn directly from the ranks of commerce, who had held that office; and in the history of the House from 1832 to the Great War, there never was a more business-like, more conciliatory, more self-repressing, or more effective leader than Smith.

In writing of the House of Commons itself, Lord George Hamilton is most informing when he is recalling its methods of business prior to the reforms in procedure which have been made since 1882. He is interesting also when he describes the oratory of the House; and he raises a quite debatable question when he gives it as his considered judgment that fluency and dexterity of speech rank far too high in the public life of England. "They are", he adds, "very useful adjuncts to a man of courage, principle, and high ideals, but nothing more, and useless and dangerous when dissociated from such attributes."

Hamilton went to the India Office in 1874, and in detailing his work there as under-secretary, he has written one of the best descriptions of the work of the office, and of its organization, that has ever been embodied in English political memoirs. One other value in these reminiscences has yet to be mentioned. There is more than once in these pages the most sweeping and strongly-worded indictment that has been written or uttered of the Manchester school of politics by any man in the front rank of English political life. There has been a party truce in Parliament, in the constituencies, and in the press since the war began. The truce did not extend to Lord George Hamilton's study when he was at work on his reminiscences.

EDWARD PORRITT.

*The Development of China.* By KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE, formerly of the College of Yale in China. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1917. Pp. xi, 273.)

THE characteristic feature of this book is successful condensation. Having felt the need of a short treatise for use in college courses wherein only a few weeks can be devoted to China, the author has un-

dertaken to provide an introduction to the history, institutions, and present-day problems of China.

First of all, Professor Latourette explains how geographical factors have affected the life and civilization of the Chinese people, accounting among other things for their long isolation. Next comes a brief sketch of early Chinese history. This is followed by a descriptive account and critical estimate of Chinese culture. The historical narrative is then resumed with reference to the increasing contact between Occidental nations and China during the period from 1834, special attention being given to American-Chinese relations. The last chapter, on present-day problems, which might have been the best, is perhaps the least satisfactory because of its too strict conformity to the general plan of avoiding detail.

At the end there is a selected bibliography with useful descriptive notes. Among things which might advantageously have been added, a chronological table of important names and dates would be especially valuable for reference.

The conciseness of treatment will explain and excuse most of the few faults. It is not easy to achieve at once brevity of statement and the sufficiency of explanation necessary to avoid creating false impressions. Thus, it is inadequate to say "women . . . have not been as frequently educated as men" (p. 137); likewise, that with the revolution women were granted the suffrage in Kwantung province (p. 227); with regard to the murder of Margary, that "a British officer lost his life on the Chinese side of the frontier" (p. 167); and, with regard to the Boxer uprising, simply that it was an anti-foreign movement (p. 191). Lord Napier was not instructed actually to "open negotiations directly with the Chinese government" (p. 144). The indemnity exacted in 1842 was scarcely such as to establish "the precedent that China must pay in cash for her unsuccessful wars" (p. 147). The treaty of 1842 was *a*, but not *the*, "precedent for" the extraterritorial system as it exists to-day (p. 147). Did Burlingame "propose" to the Chinese that they send an official mission abroad (p. 156)? The surplus of the American share of the Boxer indemnity was not "returned" to China (p. 195); it was remitted. There should be added to the list of troops participating in the Relief Expedition of 1900 (p. 193) the French and the Italians. It is scarcely accurate to say with regard to Russia, Japan, and the Portsmouth Peace Conference that "both sides were ready to welcome President Roosevelt's intervention" (p. 200). For "1915", on page 205, there should appear 1917.

Professor Latourette does well in pointing out that "Chinese culture, produced almost unaided by one race, is a monumental tribute to the ability of that race, and a sound basis for optimism for the future" (pp. 10-11). He gives an excellent summary of the characteristics of the old government. He rightly emphasizes the fact that the transformation of China begins, as regards appreciable evidences, with the war with Japan in

1894-1895. In reference to contemporary problems and the future: "Were China left to herself, she would probably, after a period of exhausting civil strife, work out a stable government, but the jealousies and the special interests of the Powers can not allow her to engage in such a struggle" (p. 238).

The book is well written, well printed, and should prove very valuable for the purpose for which it is intended. It brings together within brief compass a variety of essential information which will greatly facilitate the work of classes in Oriental history and contemporary politics. In producing this work Professor Latourette has rendered a distinct service both to student and to teacher.

STANLEY K. HORNBECK.

*A Political History of Japan during the Meiji Era, 1867-1912.* By WALTER WALLACE McLAREN, Ph.D. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1916. Pp. 380.)

IN 1914 the Asiatic Society of Japan published in its transactions a volume of *Japanese Government Documents* edited by Professor W. W. McLaren, then of Keiogijiku University. This collection, covering the period from 1867 to 1890, has been of the greatest value to students of Japanese politics and history, and the introductory essay is one of the best brief surveys of the political history of that amazing generation. Few could have used the volume without regretting that its publication in Tokyo would inevitably limit its circulation abroad. And this regret is not entirely removed by the recent appearance of *A Political History of Japan during the Meiji Era, 1867-1912*, by the same author.

The latter volume is really an expansion of the introductory essay in the former, the first half following very closely, with some slight changes and additions, the eighty-one pages of the earlier work, and as frequent references are made to the *Japanese Government Documents* it is essential that this volume be at hand for consultation. The second half of the present volume is new matter, covering the period from 1890 until 1913. In the general field there is already the valuable treatise of Dr. Uyehara on *The Political Development of Japan, 1867-1909*, and in the opinion of the reviewer this will not be replaced by Dr. McLaren's more extended study. In fact each may serve as a useful interpreter of the other.

In brief, Professor McLaren describes the great events and movements in the political history of Japan during the reign of the Emperor Meiji. He is a severe critic of the bureaucracy, as becomes a member of the Keiogijiku faculty, and the picture of Japanese political development which he portrays is a gloomy one. The presentation, by topics, is not infrequently confusing through overlapping chronology, and students will note the lack of citations to authorities, especially when statements are given which contradict views usually accepted. As an in-

stance of this we note the assertion, and the argument built upon it, that on the abolition of feudalism the *daimyos* were allowed one-half of their assessed incomes, whereas all other Japanese and European authorities to our knowledge fix the amount as one-tenth. And another case in point is the positive statement regarding Komura's instructions at Portsmouth. Many readers, also, will regret the presence of unconfirmable gossip in the pages of an otherwise scholarly book. The columns of a partizan newspaper in the heat of a political campaign hardly serve as a reliable source of information.

One point which Professor McLaren repeatedly makes is that the expansion of Japan into the mainland was the result of the "inherent chauvinism" of the people and was constantly in mind from before the Meiji days. Of this statement he gives no convincing proof, although, on the other hand, he does describe how, in 1873, the government adopted that policy of peaceful internal development which prevailed until 1894. That there is some error in judgment here is the more probable when we note a confusion of the Japanese-Korean treaties of 1876 and of 1885, and the quite misleading statement of the causes of the Chino-Japanese War. And just as in the case of Japanese foreign relations the author holds fast to certain fixed ideas, so in the discussion of political developments the high standard of British political institutions is applied too rigidly to Japan, with but little allowance for the political experience of the people. For this reason Professor McLaren's interpretation of Japanese political history is not as well-balanced as his knowledge of the documents would lead us to expect. And if his picture is a gloomy one it is mainly because he has omitted many of the touches which might have brightened his canvas. The work of the bureaucrats has not been entirely bad. There is evidence that political conditions in Japan are improving: education and experience are producing better informed voters, the members of the later Diets are certainly superior in training and ability to their predecessors, and the long struggle between the Lower House and the bureaucrats, especially the army and the navy leaders, would cause one to accept with some reservation the statement that "since 1894 the power of the military clique has steadily increased and that of the political parties declined".

PAYSON J. TREAT.

*Les Auteurs de la Guerre de 1914.* Par ERNEST DAUDET. Volume I. *Bismarck*. Deuxième Edition. Volume II. *Guillaume II, et François-Joseph*. (Paris and Neuchâtel: Attinger Frères. 1916. Pp. 287; 275.)

THE author of the *Histoire Diplomatique de l'Alliance Franco-Russe* has here endeavored to demonstrate a particular thesis. "The old pretensions of Prussia against our country constitute one of the principal causes of the war" (I. 15). They date from before the Revolution,

they explain Prussian policy from 1792 to the Congress of Vienna, when Alsace and Lorraine were vainly demanded, and the real motive of Bismarck's wars with Denmark and Austria was his passionate desire to square Prussia's account with France (I. 26). M. Daudet further believes that Bismarck's "policy of force, deceit, and treachery" became endemic in German diplomacy, and that he "is responsible for all that has happened since his day along the paths on which he started his country" (I. 6, 11). Unfortunately it cannot be said that this contention is satisfactorily worked out.

About half the first volume is devoted to the crisis of 1875 and the Schnaebelle incident of 1887. Numerous quotations from unpublished reports of the French ambassadors in Berlin reinforce the usual verdict that while Bismarck utilized the scares to strengthen his political position at home, he hoped to secure from France a definitive recognition of the treaty of Frankfort and was not averse to war if the situation developed favorably. For the rest, there is a detailed account of the relations of Bismarck and William II. Hohenlohe, Busch, the reports of Herbetto (then French ambassador in Berlin), and contemporary gossip are quoted with great effect to show the abominable conduct of both men to the dying Frederick III. and his wife. Then we are reminded of the dismay and disgust aroused in Germany by the first actions of William II., and this leads to the rupture with Bismarck, a story which M. Daudet tells with relish. The only new fact revealed is that Bismarck urged the French government not to participate in the labor conference which was the young emperor's panacea for socialistic agitation. The purpose of this narrative is not specifically stated: the thought is, apparently, that William II., once an ardent admirer and intimate of Bismarck, was contaminated by the association and thereby inoculated with the virus of Bismarckian statecraft. Certainly the emperor got rid of his mentor in true Bismarckian fashion—and the episode is symptomatic of many later actions. In the final chapters, describing Bismarck's activities after 1890, the emperor is portrayed anxious to forgive and forget; with as much success as attended Bismarck's or his own efforts to reconcile France with the loss of Alsace-Lorraine.

M. Daudet has not written a biography of Bismarck, and says so. He has selected certain episodes of that marvellous career which sustain his argument, and ignored everything else. Undoubtedly the main-spring of Bismarck's policy after 1870 was to isolate France and to represent her as the firebrand of Europe; nevertheless it is worth remarking that in the opinion of many, including Dr. Holland Rose, his policy was one of peace, and the Triple Alliance, to which M. Daudet barely refers, a conservative factor. But perhaps it is too much to expect a French clerical to find anything good in the statesman who approved of the Third Republic and precipitated the Kulturkampf.

Volume II. is journalistic and belies its title. There are superficial

sketches of Francis Joseph and William II. (the latter in the seventh chapter, although it should come first), and a chapter on "Germany Prepares for War" consisting chiefly of quotations from the French Yellow and Belgian Grey Books. That is all about the "authors of the war". M. Daudet has something to say about the diplomatic circle of Vienna in July, 1914, describes the last journey of Francis Ferdinand, fulminates against the dishonesty of the Ballplatz in the month following the assassination: a rehash of the daily press and the diplomatic correspondence. He concludes with a brief analysis, based largely on the French Yellow Book, of the ultimatum to Serbia and the ensuing negotiations.

M. Daudet writes with characteristic French charm, his narrative bristles with interesting conversations and intimate touches, and his patriotism makes him a good hater. But he adds little to our knowledge and ventures no new interpretations. It is to be hoped that the third volume, *Les Complices*, will be more stimulating.

BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT.

*Histoire Diplomatique de l'Europe depuis le Congrès de Berlin jusqu'à nos Jours.* Par A. DEBIDOUR, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris. Seconde Partie. *Vers la Grande Guerre (1904-1916)*. (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1917. Pp. 379.)

THE second volume of M. Debidour's survey of European diplomacy during the past generation bears out the promise of its predecessor. It is concise, comprehensive, and well proportioned. Taking up the narrative with the Russo-Japanese War, the author carries it on in nine chapters to the summer of 1916. The two opening chapters are devoted to the struggle in Manchuria with its diplomatic effects, and to the first Moroccan crisis. The Hague Convention of 1907 forms the subject of the third. Then follows a description of the diplomatic conflict between Triple Alliance and Triple Entente in 1908 and 1911, characterized by the Casablanca and Bosnian crises in the former year and the Agadir crisis in the latter. Near-Eastern affairs are studied in the two succeeding chapters, which include the Tripolitan War, the formation of the Balkan League, the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913, and the European situation immediately previous to the great explosion. Chapter VIII. analyzes the crisis of 1914, and the final chapter sketches the events which led to the entrance of Turkey, Italy, and Bulgaria, into the struggle. His narrative finished, the author permits himself, in a brief three pages, to characterize frankly German policy, which by its disregard of the law of nations has made inevitable the infinite calamity of the general war. The volume is concluded with *pièces justificatives* which extend over fifty pages and include such documents as the General Act of the Algeiras Conference, the Final Act of the Hague Convention, Franco-British conventions, and correspondence between Kiderlen-Waechter and Jules Cambon.

Those who look for a general explanation of the causes of the war will be disappointed, for the author has rigidly confined himself, at least until his narrative reaches the year 1914, to his purpose of exposing coldly and succinctly the diplomatic relations of the European countries. Discussion of all the psychological and economic factors which helped to prepare the titanic conflict is carefully excluded, except as those factors bear directly upon official diplomacy. The reader is assumed to have an understanding of the origins and development of German world-policy. German plans in Mesopotamia are barely noticed, not coming under the head of official diplomacy; the Bagdad Railway is mentioned only four times in the entire work. To Anglo-German relations the author devotes less than four pages, while the attempts at naval compromise receive only half a page. In thus avoiding the temptation to make his book a general disquisition upon the causes of the war, M. Debidour has found place for the details of official diplomacy which have thus far been published only in monographs. The immediate interest of the work for the ordinary reader is undoubtedly lessened, but its permanent value to the student of diplomatic history for purposes of reference is enormously enhanced.

It is not unnatural that the author should allow his personal convictions to appear rather more plainly in the present volume than in its predecessor. His interpretation conforms in the main to that generally accepted by French, English, and American writers. In his excellent exposition of the Moroccan crises he shows that Germany had no serious cause for complaint against France and England in 1905 and 1911, and that German aggressiveness resulted chiefly from the determination to punish France for daring to take independent action as well as from the conviction that Russia was unable to proffer assistance. The Bosnian crisis of 1908 was, in M. Debidour's opinion, the direct result of Russian anaemia, which gave to Austria the chance to solidify her position in the Balkans, and to Germany another opportunity for demonstrating the strength of the Triple Alliance against that of the newly formed Triple Entente. In dealing with the final crisis of 1914, the author frankly states his purpose of demolishing the German thesis that the war was forced upon the Central Powers. In this, as it seems to the reviewer, M. Debidour is entirely successful and offers perhaps the clearest brief analysis of the twelve days that has yet been published.

It could hardly be expected that this volume, treating of events of contemporary import, should be so satisfactory as to scholarly character as the first volume. Inevitably, the author becomes more French in his point of view. This accounts for his failure to treat adequately of Anglo-German relations, and also, doubtless, for his unwillingness to accord full credit to the English diplomats at Algeciras (Sir Arthur Nicholson is hardly mentioned) and during the Agadir crisis, for the firm and invaluable support they gave the French. The significance of the Anglo-Russian reconciliation is also slurred over. More serious is

the absence of direct references, a characteristic which in the first volume was a mistake, but which in its successor becomes a defect of great importance. Many of M. Debidour's statements of fact should be made as conjectures or at least supported by the citation of definite authorities; such, for example, are his assertion of German intrigues in Morocco, his account of the origins of the Balkan League, and his description of Austrian encouragement to Bulgaria in 1913. When evidence is adduced it is not always adequate: a single paragraph from Bernhardt suffices as text for broad generalizations upon the German mentality, and the sole authority quoted as proof of Germany's aggressive intentions after 1911 is the French Yellow Book of 1914.

Should an American edition of M. Debidour's important work be undertaken, we may hope that the editor will adduce exact and adequate references for all unqualified statements of important facts. The bibliographies, which contain merely French authorities and are entirely uncritical, might also be amplified to advantage, while the brief index could certainly be extended and improved. With such corrections, students of recent European history would find in M. Debidour's work a manual of diplomacy which should prove constantly of the greatest value.

CHARLES SEYMOUR.

*The Great War.* By GEORGE H. ALLEN, Ph.D., HENRY C. WHITEHEAD, Captain in the United States Army, and Admiral F. E. CHADWICK, U. S. N. Volume II. *The Mobilization of the Moral and Physical Forces.* (Philadelphia: George Barrie's Sons. 1916. Pp. xxii, 494.)

AT the present time issuing a history of the Great War might seem to commend itself more to publishers than to writers, for there must be enormous difficulty in composing such a work on the large scale here attempted in the limited time at one's disposal. The author truly says that no inconsiderable body of primary documents is now available, and it is likewise true that he makes effective use of the newspapers which will be consulted hereafter by those who write of these matters; but already the mass of material is overwhelming unless one has abundant time to go through it in leisurely fashion, which the plan of the present work precludes, while so close as yet are the events to be narrated and so difficult are problems of perspective and judgment, that only by accident or stroke of prophecy or genius could much that is brilliant or profound be combined with what is scholarly and careful. Such a book ought indeed to be written; I have myself read it with interest and without regret; and there is certainly an inexhaustible demand for information on this subject, which had better be satisfied by the work of cautious scholars than by journalists and partizan writers. But it is unnecessary to say that writing of this kind cannot have qualities of permanence or



greatness, and to some extent can only avoid the larger difficulties by staying near to the commonplace and that which is easily ascertainable. I do not mean to say this with the calm assumption of superiority which is sometimes so offensive in critical estimates. Rather it is a pleasure to declare that while going through this volume and bearing in mind the limitations under which the author was compelled to labor, there has been frequent and grateful surprise at the good results which nevertheless he accomplished.

The preceding volume dealt with the causes of the war. This one concerns the manner in which the conflict was begun, the last conversations of diplomats and statesmen, the despatches which were interchanged between the capitals of Europe in the waning days of sombre July and the first fateful week of August, with the comments of press, and the declarations made before legislatures as peoples were told of righteous cause and the Most High God invoked in vindication. Since nothing can be more absorbing than the official documents and contemporaneous accounts which have to do with these things, the author's task in following them is a happy one, and well does he do his work. There is something finely dramatic in his account of the memorable sessions of the Reichstag and the House of Commons, and he has thrown almost an antique-tragic air about the passion and terror which preceded the invasion of Belgium.

The author believes that before the war France was socialist and democratic, absorbed in domestic conflicts, with policies utterly opposed to military aggrandizement, and that under no conceivable circumstances would she have provoked a conflict for reconquering Alsace-Lorraine; that as late as the first of August few Englishmen expected war; that the well-known statements of Sir Edward Grey on July 29 were not intended to give assurance to France or threat to Germany, and that the effect produced was incidental not decisive; that Austria did not yield at the last, as some have supposed; that the civil authorities in Germany did not expect participation by England, though the military authorities regarded it as probable but unimportant; that long before, in every detail, Germany had planned the invasion of Belgium.

The second part of the volume most readers will find of less interest. There is lengthy statement of the military organization of the warring powers and also of their naval strength. The principal accounts are of Germany, Austria, Great Britain, Russia, and France. It cannot be said that the author displays improper prejudice for the Teutonic allies, but prolonged acquaintance with the German people has brought him thoroughly under the glamor of their achievements and their greatness. The German army is the exemplar and the pattern. He has no hesitation in saying that the men who make up this force are unsurpassed and "without equal in the world". He pronounces the British army to have been the most inadequate though probably the most excellent force in Europe. The Russians had numbers which in popular imagination

made them invincible, but the history of their army justified the conclusion that they would prove inferior man for man to those of the other great powers, and unless there had been improvement from fundamental reforms their exploits were bound to prove disappointing. Of France he makes judgment which might almost have been written before the present struggle began. He knows that her army was large, well trained, intelligent, and patriotic, but like some others he had noticed that French soldiers were not prepossessing in military bearing and appearance, not well "set up", and that they seemed without pride in being soldiers. He believes also that French military development was not that which should accompany the normal growth of a country; training was adopted as insurance against menace to the national existence and not as means of creating a healthy, self-reliant population, simple of taste and strong of heart, so that the very character of the army prepared it beforehand for a defensive war whenever the conflict should begin.

These chapters are less attractive than other portions of the work, and while they are useful they are less so than they should be. In each case they have historical introductions, too ambitious for their scanty length, some of which are not without error. For the most part, however, these pages contain numerous figures and data, which seem to have been collected with commendable thoroughness and set forth in good order, but withal put together by one having no very real acquaintance with military matters, and hence set down in the fashion of a catalogue, not complete enough for the special student and very wearisome for ordinary readers. There is lack of clear, trenchant, lucid generalization, and especially of interpretation, while the statistical comparisons might be better made in tables than by the narrative form in which they are expounded.

In the third part there is a chapter on the mobilization of financial resources, interesting and especially good as regards Great Britain and Germany; and finally one on the mobilization of the armies, in which after careful and cautious analysis the author concludes that following the mobilization of Servia, there was partial mobilization in Austria-Hungary July 28, which was extended to Galicia two days later, and made general August 1; that in Russia partial mobilization was ordered July 29, and made general on the first day of August.

There are some blemishes, but none of consequence. The statement about the good fortune of the Turks in securing, to effect their military reorganization, a selected body of the greatest military leaders of all time seems rather naïve (p. 258); it scarcely conveys the correct impression to say that Tsar Peter overran Sweden in 1719-1720 (p. 325); it remains to be seen whether sea power is not the supreme factor in this war (p. 371); I do not believe that England's anxiety at German naval development was owing to the fact that the British must always have a "scare" (p. 378).

The writing is clear and usually interesting though seldom inspiring. The principal fault which I have noticed in it is that at times there is lack of logical sequence with respect to paragraphs, as though some chapters had been written in parts and put together hastily afterwards.

EDWARD RAYMOND TURNER.

*The Elements of the Great War.* By HILAIRE BELLOC. The First Phase, The Second Phase. (New York: Hearst's International Library Company. 1915, 1916. Pp. 379, 382.)

ONCE or twice in the course of a long and varied military career, we have met an officer so exceedingly homely that he attracted particularly our attention and even fascinated us. And this book with its guesses, its bitterness, its bias, its paucity of facts and plentitude of fancies, its worthless diagrams, its needless repetitions, its frequent digressions, and its obscure, awkward, and poor English, is, on the whole, so utterly bad that it is positively fascinating.

The book is intended to be a history of the "Great War" which began in the summer of 1914 between Germany and Austria on the one side, and France, England, and Russia on the other. The first volume explains the causes of the war, contrasts the opposing forces, and describes the operations in Belgium and France up to the battle of the Marne, and in Austria, Germany, and Russia to include Hindenburg's great victory over the Russians at Tannenberg in East Prussia.

The second volume concerns itself more especially, and almost entirely, with the great battle of the Marne, which resulted in stopping the onward rush of the Germans just short of their envelopment of Paris and in throwing them back upon the river Aisne, where they "dug themselves in" and formed that long line of intrenchments which has been held by them in great part from that day to this.

But the descriptions of the movements, actions, and battles of the contending armies occupy only a limited space in the two volumes; the greater part is devoted to diagrams and demonstrations and discussions of what the author is pleased to call, "The Elements of the Great War".

Perhaps the best thing in the whole book is the author's definition of war, which is as follows: "War is the attempt of two human groups each to impose its will upon the other by force of arms." There are also some few pages in the narrative part of the book deserving of praise; and it may likewise be said with truth, that if one can have the patience to read through the 750-odd pages of the book, of which just about three-quarters are rubbish, he will have a pretty fair idea of what happened in a general way in Belgium and France, and in Austria, Germany, and Russia in the first few months of the "Great War". But only in a general way; for neither the opposing numbers, nor the plans, nor the movements, nor the designations of the contending forces, were known in any detail at the time this history was written. And,

bearing upon these points, we quote from the author the following paragraph, with the remark that this, so far as it goes, is a most excellent review of the contents of these two volumes:

A book such as this, written during the course of a campaign, and forming no more than a contemporary commentary upon it, is necessarily tentative in many of its judgments. It is incapable of reciting the story as a whole. It betrays on its every page the fact that it was written during the progress of an event whose issue was still unknown, and most of whose developments could only be guessed at. It is peculiarly liable to weakness when it attempts to estimate the varying weight of varying episodes.

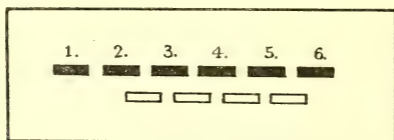
Nevertheless, the author often tells us in considerable detail what he thinks happened, and the reasons why he thinks such a movement produced such a result; but he is frequently not convincing, and the diagrams he draws to prove his points often make more obscure the parts of the text they are intended to illuminate.

He calls the battle of the Marne, "An Action of Dislocation"—whatever that may be—and in explanation of the term says:

It is clear that, even where superior forces are face to face with inferior, the cohesion or continuity of the superior line—unless its numerical superiority be quite overwhelming—is essential to success.

Now we submit that this is neither clear nor true. On the contrary, victories have frequently been won by superior forces when there was lacking a "cohesion or continuity of the superior line". In truth, victories have not infrequently been won, even by inferior forces, when there was lacking a cohesion or continuity of the inferior line, as, for instance, at Chancellorsville.

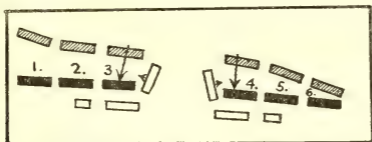
But to prove his statement the author draws the following diagram and says:



SKETCH 14.

I have here (Fig. 14) six Black units opposed to four White units. That is a marked superiority. But if by any accident, or folly, or misfortune, a large gap opens between two sections of my Black units, and if White takes immediate advantage of this, though I am superior in number, White will defeat me.

On the contrary, there would, in our opinion, still be a strong probability of Black's defeating White. Continuing the demonstration, the author draws a second diagram and says:



SKETCH 15.

Suppose (as in Fig. 15) a broad gap is allowed to intervene between two halves of my six Black units, the left-hand half and the right-hand half, and White takes immediate advantage of this by stepping into the gap, it is clear that he will have got upon the flank of unit No. 4 and unit No. 3, as well as holding them from in front; and we know that troops deployed for battle when thus struck in flank are doomed, if the stroke can be delivered with sufficient force. For upon an unprotected flank a line is vulnerable in the extreme. It is there "blind", weak in men, and with no organization for suddenly turning to fight at right angles to its original facing. White is further immediately threatening the communications of the Black units 3 and 4, represented by the arrows. Such a situation compels the Black units 3 and 4 to fall back at once to positions indicated by the shaded oblongs on Fig. 15. If they did not so fall back they would be destroyed. But that leaves 5 and 2 similarly exposed, so they in their turn must fall back towards the shaded positions behind them. But this would leave 6 and 1 also exposed, so they also have to fall back.

To an educated soldier it is not necessary to point out the errors of the above reasoning based upon these puerile diagrams; but for the benefit of the civilian reader, it might be well to remark that if a gap occurs in the superior Black line, and White steps into the gap, the heavy artillery well back of Black's line would, in all likelihood, bring such converging and overwhelming fire upon White in the gap, as would prevent his further advance, if it did not actually defeat or annihilate him. And right here it is perhaps pertinent to remark, that this very fact is the principal reason why neither of the intrenched lines, facing each other from Switzerland to the English Channel, has been able, after opening a gap and penetrating the enemy's line, to press on to further victory.

And if to this reasoning it be replied, that the gap is of such width that the artillery could not bring a converging and cross fire upon it,

the answer is, that then Black and White would each virtually be separated into two armies, and that in each army Black would have a preponderating force over White and, consequently, be better able to carry out a flanking, or any other, operation against him.

Another sample of the author's queer kind of reasoning may be seen in the following paragraph:

The battle of the Marne is so extremely complex an action, one fought upon so vast a scale, and one the evidence on which is still so vague and scanty that no grasp of it is possible unless one treats it step by step, beginning with the most elementary and general plans.

If the paragraph were changed to read as follows, it would be much more logical:

The battle of the Marne is so extremely complex an action, one fought upon so vast a scale, and one the evidence on which is still so vague and scanty, that it is impossible to grasp it and treat it step by step, even though we should begin with the most elementary and general plans.

The following is an example of obscure, awkward, and meaningless English, the like of which is frequently found in the text:

The Marne was in essence a battle of dislocation as truly as the smallest such example taking place in the pettiest of antique sword play between two village states. But the enormity of its scale changed, for the human agents, the very stuff of the thing. There was demanded of men a new grasp of things a hundred-fold more complex than their studies of the past could teach them, and it was upon this account, more, I think, than upon any other, that the great action became one of that rare type which, on a smaller scale, would have been due to crude blundering, but which, upon this scale, was a peril to be feared by any general, the "battle of dislocation".

And does not the following almost make a twist in the brain: "The invention of air craft (which enables the exact fall of a shell to be spotted at whatever length of range the projectile be shot from)"?

There are seventy-three sketches and diagrams in the book, but no maps, except simple sketch-maps of the crudest kind. Surely if a book of this kind is worth the expense of publication, it should contain a good map of Belgium and France, and another of Germany, Austria, and western Russia.

H. H. SARGENT.

*Financial Chapters of the War.* By ALEXANDER DANA NOYES.  
(New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1916. Pp. xii, 255.)

MR. NOYES says in his preface:

Every reader of history will agree with me that the lack of clear contemporaneous exposition of the financial events of our own war from 1861 to 1865, or, even more particularly, of the great Napoleonic wars, is one of the greatest obstacles to the full historical comprehension of those periods.

It is such an exposition of the chief financial events of the first two years of the present European War, with especial reference to American conditions, that the author seeks to give in this small volume. In connection with the narrative he undertakes to throw light on the questions: "Is this American war-time prosperity unreal, temporary, and fictitious? Will the conditions of 1915 and 1916 be instantly reversed when war is over? Has New York actually displaced London as the financial centre of the world?"

Mr. Noyes, who is financial editor of the *New York Evening Post*, is widely recognized as one of our best newspaper writers on financial subjects. The material of the present book is to a large extent a revision of material contained in the author's recent articles published in *Scribner's Magazine* and the *Yale Review*.

The field covered is so wide that most of the topics discussed can receive only very brief treatment. The author, however, has shown a good sense of proportion in his selection and treatment of topics. Numerous comparisons of recent events with financial experiences in other wars enliven and broaden the discussion. Judged as a popular narrative and interpretation of contemporary financial events the book is a good piece of work, and ranks well on this side of the Atlantic with the similar book by Hartley Withers on *War and Lombard Street*, which has had such a wide reading in England. The author is at his best in the last three chapters, which deal with the economic aftermath of the war. On this subject he is not optimistic.

The notion [he says, pp. 199-200] that a prolonged and costly war will be followed ordinarily by prosperity and "boom times", is pure illusion. . . . All past experience goes to prove that the process of financial readjustment, after the strain of this present war is definitely over, will involve an economic strain of extreme severity, affecting every belligerent.

Referring to the proposed post-bellum economic war on the Central Powers, Mr. Noyes says:

In so far as the proposed agreements were defensive, not offensive, they would amount to confessing fear of the very nation which (sup-

posing the defeat of Germany) had just been conquered. That attitude would at least be novel and anomalous for a victorious coalition. In so far as they were offensive and not defensive, they would be public declaration of economic war, to be made a source of future bitterness, acrimony, and renewed political intrigue, at the very moment when the disastrous military war had been happily concluded (p. 223).

The book contains a few unguarded generalizations and misleading statements. Among these the following may be mentioned: the statement (p. 12) that at the time of the Napoleonic Wars the price of British consols "rose and fell purely in response to news from the campaign", and the statement (p. 136) to the effect that "the total money value of the checks thus exchanged, in a given period at all American clearing houses, indicates accurately the total payments made in connection with the business activities of the period". It gives a wrong impression to say of the American Civil War that "we raised money freely by the sale of new securities to the outside world" (p. 5). The suspension of the Peel Act in England was authorized on three occasions prior to 1914 (*viz.*, 1847, 1857, and 1866) and not on two only, as Mr. Noyes says (p. 38). A sterling rate of \$7 in 1914 meant theoretically that the American currency in terms of English currency had depreciated about 30 per cent., and not  $4\frac{3}{8}$  per cent., as Mr. Noyes says (p. 93). An extreme, ephemeral, and exceptional rate of this kind, however, is of little significance in measuring the depreciation of the unit of value. In view of the Bank of England's bank-note issue of £18.4 millions against government debt and "other securities", it is misleading to say that "the Bank of England's own note issues, now as heretofore, are secured in gold up to their face value" (p. 146).

Many economists will be unable to agree with Mr. Noyes in his contention (p. 150) that for the great rise in prices of 1915-1916 in Europe and the United States, "the prodigious demand for all kinds of war material, the blockade of producing countries, and the abnormally high ocean freight rates are sufficient explanation". These forces were strong influences—the chief ones for many commodities—but they were not sufficient to explain the great rise in general prices, reaching all sorts of articles only remotely affected by the war. This was in no small degree due to world-wide currency and credit inflation. There was the release of gold from active circulation in Europe through the substitution of paper and silver—a factor which Mr. Noyes mentions in another place—and there was the great expansion of credit in the form of deposit currency in both England and America. In the United States, for example, we have had much more gold in our banks than formerly, while each dollar of cash in reserve, under the new conditions created by our federal reserve law, is capable of supporting a much larger credit structure and actually is supporting a larger structure.



Mr. Noyes's book has few citations of sources and practically none sufficiently definite to enable the reader to follow them up.

The above criticisms are not serious. They do not prevent the reviewer from passing a very favorable judgment on the book as a popular narrative in contemporary war finance. As such it is the best general treatment of the finances of the European War, from the American point of view, that has yet appeared.

E. W. KEMMERER.

*The New Map of Africa (1900-1916): a History of European Colonial Expansion and Colonial Diplomacy.* By HERBERT ADAMS GIBBONS, Ph.D., F. R. Hist. S. (New York: The Century Company. 1916. Pp. xiv, 503.)

THIS work is an excellent study of the conditions and the economic and political progress in Africa during the past fifteen years. It contains descriptions of the British, French, German, Italian, Portuguese, and Belgian colonies. It includes an account of the development, both in the islands of Madagascar and Zanzibar, and in the independent states of Liberia and Abyssinia. And the volume is brought up to date by chapters on British Policy in Somaliland, "Egypt becomes a British Protectorate", the Conquest of the German Colonies, and African Problems for the Peace Conference. Unfortunately the impressive title of the book is misleading, for it fails to convey to the reader a clear description of its contents. If the work had been called "Africa To-day", it would have been more in keeping with the evident intent of the author, for he has given us an accurate and delightful description of the present situation and of development from 1904 to 1916 in the various African colonies and states. Mr. Gibbons has the newspaper correspondent's eye for the picturesque and the impressive. He is an accurate observer, and he writes graphically and forcefully. Moreover, he possesses an intimate knowledge of those parts of Northern Africa which he has visited personally during the past two years; and his accounts of colonial progress in all parts of the continent are accurate and illuminating. All those who desire to keep in touch with the march of events in Africa, will be grateful to Mr. Gibbons for this fascinating and masterly picture of the Dark Continent during the last decade.

To write successfully a "History of European Colonial Expansion and Colonial Diplomacy" in Africa, one should begin with a careful study of the events of the last quarter of the nineteenth century and tell the whole story with that attention to details which ensures adequate treatment both of the historical evolution of events and of the proper relation of the developments in one section of Africa to those in the other parts of the continent. In the present instance, the author lays too much emphasis on the period from 1900 to 1916. He is historically

misleading when he states (p. 131) that "The new map of Africa was made during the fifteen years preceding the present war". For the map of Africa, as it was at the beginning of the present world-conflict, was worked out very largely during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Some important details were added between 1900 and 1916; and others will be made in the treaty of peace. It can be said truthfully, however, that the period of greatest development in most of the European possessions in Africa was between 1900 and 1914. Also, the author has materially weakened the effect of his story by beginning it at the end, with a chapter on the present situation in the Sudan, and by a certain carelessness in the chronological arrangement of the chapters. For instance, he describes the present situation in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, the Boer War, and reconstruction in South Africa in chapters I. to III. and gives an account of the creation of the Congo State and the establishment of German Southwest Africa, which belong to an earlier period, in chapters VIII. and IX., though he brings his story up to date at the end of each of these chapters. Again, his chapter on the Sudan precedes those on Egypt by nineteen chapters, and the story of Rhodesia is removed an equal distance from the account of South African development, while German colonial activities are elaborated in chapters IX., XII., XV., and XXIV. Moreover, it is clearly impossible at this time to write intelligently and accurately of colonial diplomacy in Africa during 1900-1916, since a large portion of the diplomatic correspondence of European states concerning African questions during the last eight or ten years has not yet been published. The author is evidently conscious of this limitation, for he has given comparatively little space to colonial diplomacy, outside of Moroccan affairs, and throughout the volume he makes but few references to the diplomatic correspondence.

The "New Map of Africa" must of necessity remain undetermined till the treaty of peace is signed. It is to be regretted that Mr. Gibbons did not postpone the publication of his volume for a few years, till peace had been established and it was possible to tell a complete story. If he had done so, the last chapter of his book, on African Problems for the Peace Conference, might have been a valuable contribution on the work of the peace conference and on the completion of the map of Africa, instead of a brief summary of suggestions. Furthermore, the author has been compelled more than once, either to tell an incomplete story or to be content with insufficient data, since it was impossible at the time of writing to procure full information while events were still progressing. For instance, the chapter on the Conquest of the German Colonies could not be completed satisfactorily, because the subjugation of German East Africa was still in progress. Nor could a finishing touch be given to the chapter entitled Egypt becomes an English Protectorate, for no reference could be made to the failure of the administration of Sir Henry McMahon and the recent appointment of Sir Reginald Wingate

as governor-general. Nor could the author do justice to the British Dar Fur expedition of May, 1916, its successful conclusion, and the future relationship of this state to the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. Furthermore, the value of the book would have been greatly enhanced, if the author had included in several of the chapters a complete account of the subject under discussion. For instance, chapter XXII. on the South African Union contains no summary of the various steps in the formation of the Union and but one date—that of the proclamation of the Union on December 3, 1909. In chapter VI., entitled the Colonial Ventures of Italy, he passes over the details of the Italian "pacific penetration" into Tripoli and the events of the Turko-Italian War—particularly on the Italian side—because he had told this story in his volume on *The New Map of Europe*. Even in his account of Moroccan affairs, he omits some important details, such as the attempt of Emperor William to secure the immediate recognition of Mulai Hafid in 1908, and he leaves out entirely the significant episode of Agadir, because "it belongs to European history". And, curiously enough, in the excellent chapter on "Egypt becomes an English Protectorate", he fails to give any description of the Kitchener reforms of 1913 or of the events which led to the declaration of war between Turkey and the Entente Allies.

The publishers, unfortunately, have injured a good work, both by their poor book-making and their misleading advertisements. The maps are inferior in quality and inaccurate in coloring. They fail to draw attention adequately to those phases of development which they were intended to illustrate; and their usefulness, without a map of Africa as it will be after the Great War for comparison, is questionable. To describe the volume in such indefinite and misleading terms as, giving "the history especially on the diplomatic side of the crucial years 1899 to the great war", and as, covering "a field as yet untouched in compact form in any language", is as poor a piece of advertisement as the cumbersome, double-headed title. Readers are apt either to be driven away by the confusion of statement, or to be disappointed with the contents of the book. A frank statement of the exact contents will always help the sale of a volume—particularly of so good a colonial study as this one is.

NORMAN DWIGHT HARRIS.

#### BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

*Descriptive Catalogue of the Documents relating to the History of the United States in the Papeles Procedentes de Cuba deposited in the Archivo General de Indias at Seville.* By ROSCOE R. HILL, Professor of History in the University of New Mexico. (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1916. Pp. xliii, 594.)

HISTORICAL research and prospecting for gold seem much alike; at least the outcome of the venture in each case is uncertain, as Professor

Hill and his sponsors discovered in the special investigations that resulted in the present volume. They started out to examine the collection in the Archivo General de Indias known as the Papeles Procedentes de Cuba, with the intention of calendaring all the papers in that collection relating to the United States. But when Mr. Hill, after making a beginning at Seville, found out that there awaited his more careful attention 928 legajos (expanded by subdivision to 954), out of the 2400 comprised in that one collection of the archive, and that the number of documents in them totalled nearly half a million, he and Dr. Jameson determined to modify their original plan. Obviously the present demands of American scholarship would not warrant the printing of a calendar in fifty volumes. On the other hand, should Mr. Hill select some twenty-five legajos for calendaring, he could not be sure that those selected would be the most important. So he proposed an alternative plan of which the present *Descriptive Catalogue* is the outcome.

In following out this plan Mr. Hill, aided by trained clerks, examined all of the above legajos containing material relating to the United States. He has prepared a general description for 532 of these and from this number selected 143 for thorough calendaring. The slips, thus prepared, are available for investigators at the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution. The remaining 413 legajos (excluding eight that are useless and one missing) are such as he could describe with greater brevity than the former class (the 532). In addition Mr. Hill prepared a series of photographs of the more interesting documents in order to show the character of the papers and the autographs of various Spanish officials.

In undertaking his truly formidable task, Mr. Hill had the advantage of very little previous work. Professor Shepherd's *Guide*, that appeared some ten years ago, is very brief and its general description of the Papeles de Cuba somewhat misleading. Yet this furnished the starting-point for the present work. Dr. Robertson's *List of Documents*, describing such transcripts as were in the United States seven years ago, is stimulating but not particularly helpful to such a cataloguer. Some articles and check-lists in print, which Mr. Hill has listed, give an idea of the vastness and importance of the archive as a whole, but not much information of its various sections. For the Papeles de Cuba there were some check-lists prepared at the time when the collection was transferred to Spain, some thirty years ago, and some careful indexes made in connection with an earlier transfer (1856-1869) and prepared anew in 1876. Fortunately copies of these indexes, whose originals remain in Havana, could be used in preparing this work. They have been checked up with the contents of the legajos and found to be substantially correct.

Mr. Hill's introduction gives a running account of the collection from the first measures to bring it together and shows the various sources from which its multifarious material has been obtained. Contrary to

previous impressions, the papers were generally found in order and with very few *lacunae*. This is remarkable in view of the vicissitudes experienced by the papers in removal from Louisiana and Florida to Cuba and from that island to Seville, and the comparative neglect that awaited them in the latter place, until within the last decade. Fortunately better storage facilities are now available in the Casa Lonja, and historical students may rest assured that this really priceless collection for the study of our early relations with Spain is reasonably safe from all destructive agencies except those of the recent Hunnish variety. Mr. Hill gives a complete list of the manuscript indexes and inventories that exist in the collection and also an extensive list of abbreviations he has employed. Mr. David M. Matteson has prepared a very full index of a hundred pages, comprising a sixth part of the entire volume. His citations are to legajos and this plan will prove helpful to those who wish to check the references made by future writers.

One can only determine the definite value of the work by using it. The reviewer can say, after personally testing portions of Mr. Hill's preliminary notes in Seville and also the slips deposited in Washington, that both are exceedingly helpful. It is possible for an investigator to determine from the printed *Descriptive Catalogue* what legajos would be of service to him. In cases where these legajos are fully listed, he could, by corresponding with the Director of the Department of Historical Research, or by a personal visit, select such documents as he wished to have copied. He might also, through Mr. Hill's notes, locate the legajo numbers of the documents listed by Robertson, although this would be a more uncertain process. The copying of documents, in normal times at least, would thus largely be a matter of detail, arranged expeditiously and at the minimum expense. Mr. Hill is to be commended for his painstaking labor in bringing about this result. It is to be hoped that the Carnegie Institution, having thus inaugurated its series of more complete descriptive volumes, may shortly be in a position to continue this valuable work in other Spanish repositories.

ISAAC JOSLIN COX.

*Guide to Materials for American History in Russian Archives.* By FRANK A. GOLDER, Professor of History in the State College of Washington. (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1917. Pp. 177.)

To the valuable series of *Guides* to material for American history in foreign archives, published under the auspices of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington, a welcome addition has been made by Professor Frank A. Golder on the material in the Russian archives.

The Russian archives have been almost completely neglected by stu-

dents of American history because of their remoteness, the difficulties of language, and the restricted range of topics in which they can be profitably exploited. Professor Golder in his *Guide* proves that they furnish material for practically only two lines of research in connection with American history, namely, diplomatic history and the history of Russian exploration and colonization in Northwest America. Formal diplomatic relations with the United States did not begin until 1808, and Professor Golder was not permitted access to diplomatic material of a date later than 1853. This is much to be regretted for from the making of the treaty of 1824 until the beginning of the Civil War the diplomatic relations between the United States and Russia are of comparatively little significance, while for the interesting and important questions of Russia's attitude toward that conflict, the sending of the Russian fleet to America, and the negotiations which led to the sale of Alaska the door is tantalizingly shut in the face of the investigator.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless the *Guide* brings some compensation in showing that a study of Russia's relations with Spain at the time of the South American struggle for independence may throw some new light on that episode. It is interesting to note that almost all the diplomatic material is in French. The archives furnish on the other hand a most varied, voluminous, and practically unworked mass of material, almost wholly in Russian, dealing with Russian exploration in the Pacific, especially that of Bering, Russian colonization in America, and the Russian American Company. This material covers a wide range of time, from the middle of the eighteenth century down to 1871. A thorough study of the Russian settlements in Alaska may yield an important contribution to the history of European colonization in America. It is unfortunate, however, that the records of the Russian American Company "have disappeared without leaving a trail behind them", although the author of the *Guide* "made special efforts" to locate them.

Professor Golder in his *Guide to Materials for American History in Russian Archives* has done his work thoroughly and conscientiously. Fortunately provided with the necessary linguistic equipment and but little hindered by red tape, he was able patiently to overcome the difficulties of the ill-arranged and imperfectly catalogued condition of the archives and produce a work for which the future American investigator will be extremely grateful. Almost all of the material is in Petrograd, although there are a few items in Moscow. In listing the material the author places it under the head of the department or bureau in which it is found, giving first a short history of the archives in that department. His description of the materials is brief yet ample enough for an investigator to determine whether any particular document has any bearing on the subject in which he is interested. In the case of the more significant documents a condensed statement of contents is given.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Golder's permission was subsequently extended to 1870, and he is now examining the diplomatic archives for the period from 1854 to that date. Ed.

The book is supplied with a full index which adds to its value and usefulness.

JOHN C. HILDT.

*The Middle Group of American Historians.* By JOHN SPENCER BASSETT, Ph.D., LL.D. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1917. Pp. xii, 324.)

THE writing of American history chiefly by New Englanders has been regarded in the South as an unhappy circumstance. This volume by Professor Bassett, a scholar of North Carolina origin and education, tends to set the balance even through the appraisal of New England historians by a Southern student of history. His "Middle Group" of writers and collectors of historical material is made up of Sparks, Bancroft, Prescott, and Motley, all New Englanders, and Peter Force, representing the Middle States. In his prefatory chapter on the Early Progress of History in the United States, he introduces—besides Bradford, Winthrop, Hutchinson, and Jeremy Belknap—a number of the colonial figures from all the regions of early settlement. The final chapter, on the Historians and their Publishers, is a brief account of the business arrangements under which many of the books touched upon in the earlier chapters were produced.

So much for the topics with which Professor Bassett has undertaken to deal. His method of handling them is both descriptive, or biographical, and critical. His chapters on Sparks and Bancroft make the largest contribution of fresh material, for many unpublished passages are drawn from the Sparks Manuscripts in the Harvard College Library, and still more from the Bancroft Manuscripts in the keeping of the Massachusetts Historical Society. It is twenty-four years since Herbert B. Adams published his *Life and Writings of Jared Sparks*. The first professor of history in an American college is already a somewhat mythical figure to scholars of the present generation. His name to-day owes something of its perpetuation to its having become a sort of synonym for the ruthless editor of manuscript records in pursuance of his own ideas of diction. Professor Bassett brings forward enough concrete instances of Sparks's method of dealing with the letters of Washington to remind a forgetful generation how far we have travelled on the road of trustworthiness. The same tendency, at an earlier point in his career, is illustrated by passages of correspondence between Bancroft and Sparks, when the latter was editor of the *North American Review* and handled his contributor's articles with a freedom which would have driven a less sensitive writer than Bancroft to fury. The contrast between past and present appears no less clearly in Professor Bassett's picture of the vast untilled field in which Sparks found himself a laborer, and of the manner in which he went about his task of assembling and dealing with his material. The chapter is both informing and discriminating.

The succeeding chapter, on George Bancroft, illustrates admirably the value of the employment of the same material by more than one person, for the foot-notes seem to indicate that more of the substance of this paper was drawn from material not used, though available for use, in the *Life and Letters of George Bancroft* than from the pages of that biography. The newly printed passages from Bancroft's correspondence throw fresh and revealing light upon phases of his long career, well summarized in about seventy pages.

A short chapter on Two Literary Historians adds less to the familiar knowledge of Prescott and Motley, for the good reason that there is less to add. Peter Force, the Compiler, the one remaining substantial division of the book, goes into many details of Force's collecting and of his relations with Congress. Its value is greater in the field of record than of interpretation.

There are few slips in the book to be noted. Mather, not Matthew, Byles, was "the celebrated Boston minister" mentioned on page 25. The Rev. Jedediah Morse, twice mentioned in the book (pp. 239, 306), spelled, or misspelled, his name "Jedidiah". The "noctograph" appliance which Prescott used in writing is misprinted "nocograph" (p. 214).

There are points in the book at which the details of authorship—the number of words in a volume, the financial outgo and income—seem to usurp the place of "the weightier matters of the law". There are other points at which the book would be better for something more of grace and flexibility of style. But it fills a place of its own in the record of American scholarship, and fills it well.

M. A. DEWOLFE HOWE.

*An Abridgment of the Indian Affairs, contained in Four Folio Volumes, transacted in the Colony of New York, from the Year 1678 to the Year 1751.* By PETER WRAXALL. Edited with an Introduction by CHARLES HOWARD MCILWAIN, Assistant Professor of History in Harvard University. [Harvard Historical Studies, vol. XXI.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1915. Pp. cxviii, 251.)

THE irreparable loss to American scholarship caused by the fire in the State Library at Albany is gradually being mitigated by the publication of careful transcripts made by competent hands before the catastrophe occurred. In this category is Wraxall's *Abridgment*, of which Professor McIlwain gives so scholarly a presentation in this volume.

Peter Wraxall, secretary of Sir William Johnson and, as the editor shows, largely instrumental in securing his appointment as superintendent of Indian Affairs, had access to the records of the Albany Commissioners, who controlled these affairs for the province of New York



from the early Dutch era until the appointment of Johnson. In 1754 Wraxall drew up for the Earl of Halifax from the original records an extensive state paper, in which he summarized the commissioners' entries, and set forth the trend of Indian negotiations for nearly three-quarters of a century. To this *Abridgment* Wraxall added his own notes and comments, making it a contemporaneous as well as an historical document.

Part of the original records from which this summary was drawn is still in existence. In 1751 the loose sheets on which the commissioners' entries had been made were gathered into four folio volumes, and for many years remained in the custody of the Johnson family. During the American Revolution these volumes with the other effects of the Loyalist Johnsons were taken to Canada, and there in the archives at Ottawa two of the original folios are preserved. Professor McIlwain is optimistic enough to hope that the two missing volumes may yet be recovered "somewhere in Canada". With those now accessible he has made a careful comparison of Wraxall's *Abridgment*, and unhesitatingly pronounces it trustworthy and accurate. The publication is important not merely as a contribution to the history of colonial New York, but because of its revelations of the continental and international aspects of the fur-trade with the western Indians.

Not the least useful portion of the volume is the editor's introduction. In these 118 pages, he outlines the history of the fur-trade from its inception under the Dutch control until the overthrow of the French power in America. He sets forth the rivalries of the natives for the Indian trade, the exceptional advantages of the New York traders, and their ultimate success in diverting to their doors the larger share of the peltries brought by the French merchants from the far Northwest.

In the course of this discussion he suggests that the French and Indian War really began in 1752 at Pickawillany in western Ohio, when Charles Langlade (later founder of the first permanent French settlement in Wisconsin) fell upon the English traders of Pennsylvania, scattered their goods, destroyed the trading-post, and massacred the renegade Miami chief. This episode, while striking, is by no means unique, and if one thus antedates the beginnings of the war, it might be as well to go back to the rivalries that stimulated the Fox Indian wars, or to the clash of traders concerned in the revolt of the Huron chief Nicolas. The temptation to date the shot that is "heard around the world" frequently leads an author far afield.

The editor's grasp of the importance of the fur-trade as a determining factor in colonial and international politics is excellent. His study of its effect upon the course of colonization, and upon the policies of colonial governors, is comprehensive. His understanding, however, of the relation of the trade to the decadence of the aborigines is not so complete. He does not show that the effect of the beaver hunt upon the habits and economic status of the red man was far more disastrous than

the havoc it played with the plans of the colonial authorities. Nor does he set forth the importance of the intertribal trade that antedated the white and the Indian intercourse which formed the staple of colonial commerce. Upon one aboriginal trait the editor lays valuable emphasis, namely, the astuteness of the Iroquois in their rôle of middlemen between the merchants at Albany and the Indians under French influence. He likewise lays bare the vital importance this relation had to the final overthrow of French sovereignty in North America.

The document and introduction together form a valuable contribution to the growing literature concerned with the American fur-trade, a subject whose importance to colonial history is being more and more exploited. It is unfortunate that so excellent a book, intended for the use of scholars, should be without so necessary a tool as an index.

LOUISE PHELPS KELLOGG.

*The Journals of Captain Meriwether Lewis and Sergeant John Ordway, kept on the Expedition of Western Exploration 1803-1806.* Edited with Introduction and Notes by MILO M. QUAIFFE, Superintendent of the Society. [Publications of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Collections, vol. XXII.] (Madison: The Society. 1916. Pp. 444.)

THIS volume is a distinct addition to the literature of the history of the Lewis and Clark Expedition sent out by President Jefferson in 1803, which later became an important item in proving the title of the United States to the Oregon Country; it both complements and supplements similar volumes heretofore available. It reproduces original journals which have been found among family papers by the descendants of Nicholas Biddle of Philadelphia, the editor (by authority of President Jefferson) of the first *History of the Expedition*.

Pages 31-76 inclusive contain the journal of Captain Lewis during his journey (August 30 to December 12, 1803) from Pittsburgh down the Ohio and up the Mississippi rivers to Camp Dubois opposite the mouth of the Missouri River, where the full membership of the party was assembled and organized, some of the entries being by Captain Clark, who joined him en route. Despite a long hiatus, covering fifty-four days of the period, this is an important record of the preliminary journey, with references to a few of the party as finally constituted. The compass, style, and orthography (the manuscript has been printed literally) are the same as those of the *Original Journals of Lewis and Clark* (ed. Thwaites, 1904-1905).

Pages 80-402 inclusive contain the more valuable and extensive journal of John Ordway, sergeant of the Lewis and Clark party, kept by him during the entire journey from Camp Dubois (May 14, 1804) to the Pacific Ocean and the return to St. Louis (September 23, 1806). This journal has the distinction of containing an entry for each day of

that period of two years, four months, and nine days. In that regard as well as in scope and intelligence of observation and narrative it surpasses the journal of his fellow-sergeant Patrick Gass; it also contains thirty-six pages more of text than does Gass's, the comparison being made with the McClurg edition of 1904. While following more closely than does Gass the narratives of Captains Lewis and Clark themselves, Ordway frequently adds little details which assist in a knowledge of the itinerary and environment. Naturally Ordway's record is not as scientific as that of his superior officers, but he confirms and often complements their record when written, as it often was, by but one of them. His knowledge of the spelling of the English language was no better and no worse than that of his superior officers. Until this time Patrick Gass has furnished the only record of a portion of the return journey from Three Forks to Great Falls, Montana, but the Ordway journal now supplies a much better account.

As to annotations, the editor of the volume appears to have drawn for the most part from the work of predecessors and from maps, a remark which applies equally to the Thwaites edition of Lewis and Clark. A personal knowledge of the features of the country travelled through is necessary for perfect annotations. Dr. Elliott Coues, prior to 1893, and Mr. Olin D. Wheeler, prior to 1904, each personally traversed a large part of the track of this expedition and the annotations in their editions of Lewis and Clark are the best available and in the main correct, although not at all up to present-day research or nomenclature. Information drawn from them cannot be far wrong, but minor errors are apparent in the notes in this volume as to the western portion of the journey.

There are thirteen illustrations. An exceedingly valuable and interesting part of the volume is the historical introduction (pp. 13-28), which includes a sketch of the fur-trade on the Missouri River prior to the time of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. The Historical Society of the state of Wisconsin is to be congratulated upon the publication of this volume.

T. C. E.

*The Story of the Trust Companies.* By EDWARD TEN BROECK PERINE. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1916. Pp. xvii, 327.)

THIS book, like several of its kind which have appeared in recent years, is not so much a story of the history of a financial movement as a collection of interesting incidents in the history of particular institutions. As the author himself remarks, it is a collection of "individual narratives", not a discussion of the principles either of organization or of management of the institutions with which it deals. There is no discussion of the theory of trust-company administration or of the social and economic importance of the trust-company movement, or of its

relation to other banking agencies and facilities. It is such a "story" as we might expect from one who played an important part in connection with the institutions described, of which, like Æneas, he "was a large part"; and who, towards the end of his career, narrates to interested friends his recollections of the men with whom he has been in touch and the work in which they and he have been associated.

For these reasons the book is not one that will interest the general reader, or be of much use to the scholarly student of the subject. The former it will strike as a chronicle rather than a connected history. To the latter it will appear as a secondary source of information which may help him, indeed, more easily to find the facts he needs for his study of the original sources. But the book will be of great interest both to those who have been figures in the trust-company movement, and to those who, having practical knowledge of trust companies and their activities, wish to know the interesting incidents connected with particular men and institutions that have made up the movement. Readers who are seriously interested either in the theory of the trust company or its relation to other financial institutions, will turn for their information to the report on trust companies made by the National Monetary Commission some half-dozen years ago.

The first few chapters contain a sketchy review of banking growth down to about 1850. The author states that while the trust company is commonly thought of as a late comer in banking circles, as a matter of fact trust business was done as early as 1822 by the Farmers' Fire Insurance and Loan Company, although it was not until 1830 that the word "trust" appeared in the name of any banking organization. It was in this year that the New York Life Insurance and Trust Company was organized. This company proposed to insure lives, to deal in annuities, to receive money in trust, and to act as trustees and guardians of estates, receivers of property of insolvents, the committee of the estates of lunatics, and assignees for failed firms. One would think that in telling the story of this, the first avowed trust company, the author would proceed to emphasize and explain those features of its business which may be properly classed as trust functions. Instead, however, he makes a digression to call attention to the company's practice of paying interest on deposits and to point out that the trustees were self-perpetuating. The treatment of the history of this company is a fair illustration of the method of treatment of all the others. We have a list of the trustees, directors, and officers, copies of the newspaper advertisements, of the stock issues, and of editorial comments on the charter provisions, quotations of the prices of the shares of the company, and figures of the amounts of capital deposit and earnings. Similar accounts of the companies formed later in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Cincinnati, and other cities, occupy practically all the rest of the book, with the exception of a dozen or two pages devoted

to recalling some of the main incidents in the general financial history of the country, such as the panics of 1837 and later years.

The thoroughness with which the topics are treated may be gathered from the fact that in one chapter of twenty pages there are "brief sketches" of twenty-six institutions.

Practically the only statements which throw light on the subject of the book, considered as a movement or as a great public institution, are that the trust companies have always done a miscellaneous business, that the trust functions were of minor importance in the earlier days, and that in later years the bank end of the companies' business has grown so large as to make them important competitors of banks properly so-called.

As already remarked, the book will interest people who are now connected with trust companies, or who have a personal interest as descendants or friends in those who have created and officered these great institutions in the past. A banker will be able to while away an interesting half-hour in turning over its pages. The book is attractive in physical appearance.

DAVID KINLEY.

*Ulysses S. Grant.* By LOUIS A. COOLIDGE. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1917. Pp. xi, 596.)

ONE takes up each new biography of Grant with the sort of interest with which a physician receives a new treatise on cancer. He is a problem, as yet unsolved, which will probably be solved, and each unread attempt may contain the solution. It is apparent that it was the enigma of Grant's personality which chiefly attracted Mr. Coolidge to this study, to which incitement was added some personal acquaintance. His study of Orville H. Platt, and the miniature portraits inserted here and there in that biography and this, reveal, moreover, in the author a liking for that type of public man to which we apply the term stalwart, although such liking does not amount to bias. While Mr. Coolidge is especially a business man, with political experience, and journalism came in his career before historical study, he thoroughly lives up to the traditions of a family in which book-making has been an avocation for 150 years, and he has turned out a workmanlike piece of historical scholarship. He has used the best books relating to the subject, and particularly everything personally relating to Grant, except the material in the *Civil War Records*. He has not, however, familiarized himself with recent monographic literature, or with the economic and social movements of the time, which emphatically influenced Grant's career, although they left his personality untouched.

The book falls into two distinct parts. The first, pages 1 to 201, treats of Grant to the close of the Civil War. Here it seems to the reviewer that Mr. Coolidge is less successful than some recent military

writers in showing how Grant grew during the war. He seems also not to possess a sufficient background of military knowledge to give force to his military criticism. Grant, however, both man and boy, by quotation and incident, stands out more clearly than in any previous account. In fact, he emerges here as an understandable human being, and the main lines of characterization seem likely to be final.

The second portion, pages 202 to 565, gives his later career, being chiefly devoted to his presidency. Here Grant receives relatively slight attention, the book becomes chiefly a critique, with a favorable tendency, of the administration. The discussions of the disputes in which Grant was involved, and of the scandals of the time, are much less careful and convincing than those of Mr. Rhodes, though here and there the judgment is somewhat more in accord with the prevailing tendencies. The view is still East Anglican, but represents Boston club opinion rather than Cambridge. The author's general opinion of Grant is fundamentally that of Mr. Rhodes, but Mr. Coolidge presents it with vigor, while Mr. Rhodes seems always to be forcing his will to believe in opposition to the facts.

One striking trait which Mr. Coolidge emphasizes is Grant's abhorrence of war and bloodshed. To most readers the following quotation from the second inaugural is probably unfamiliar: "Rather do I believe that our Great Maker is preparing the world, in his own good time, to become one nation, speaking one language, and when armies and navies will no longer be required." Another striking fact is that, if Mr. Coolidge is right, Grant remains unchanged after the Civil War. While this seems, in the main, true, it has always seemed to the reviewer that there was evidence that the strife of politics produced a slight moral coarsening, which the strife of battle had not. It is somewhat disheartening, although certainly human, that a man whose reputation as President had been smirched by the infidelities of so many friends, and who had borne it with such a fidelity, splendid in the man though questionable in the public servant, should say, when touched in his private affairs, "I have made it the rule of my life to trust a man long after other people gave him up; but I don't see how I can ever trust any human being again."

As is often the case with authors who lack definite historical training, the treatment of minor characters is far inferior to that of the main figure. It is obvious that while everything of and on Grant has been read, the knowledge of other men has been gained incidentally. Many of these characterizations, however, are based on personal reminiscences, and are lively and interesting. The study of Grant is much more, it is a definite contribution toward the understanding of a man whose peculiar form of greatness has as yet baffled all students, and, in some respects, it is apt to prove final.

CARL RUSSELL FISH.

*A Retrospect of Fifty Years.* By JAMES Cardinal GIBBONS, Archbishop of Baltimore. In two volumes. (Baltimore and New York: John Murphy Company. 1917. Pp. xvi, 335; viii, 287.)

THIS is a kindly book. And the impression of kindness that it makes upon the reader is none the less strong because kindness is the obvious purpose of the writer. Cardinal Gibbons has chosen subjects that he deems worthy of eulogy, and in discussing them he does not forsake the path of eulogy. The book is a collection of articles, essays, discourses, and sermons that cover a period of fifty years; they deal with the Vatican Council, the Knights of Labor, the careers of various distinguished Catholic prelates, some aspects of the relations between the Roman Catholic Church and the United States, and kindred matters; and whether the subject is the Church, an archbishop, General Sheridan, or the Vatican Council, there is nothing but eulogy. I would not imply that the eulogy is not deserved; but non-Catholic readers—for whom it should be said the book is not primarily written—will find that the cardinal's charity always stands at high noon, and they will miss twilight and such shadows as are usually cast by great events or great personages upon an impartial mind.

For instance, reminiscences of the Vatican Council take up more than half the first volume. Cardinal Gibbons was the youngest bishop present; he is, I believe, the only surviving father. His account of the proceedings, especially with regard to the dogma of papal infallibility, is, of course, interesting, but chiefly interesting to the faithful. The whole council and its proceedings are presented in terms of eulogy, not unfairly but from the point of view of one who loyally accepts the decisions of the Church. There is no hint of the writer's own opinions; he is but the mouthpiece of the adjudged decision, and yet it is difficult not to surmise, from the general tenor of the book, that his belief in the principles of self-government and democracy must have been obliged to squeeze itself into an uncomfortable position in order to make room for the new ecclesiastical dogma.

This same attitude of loyal admiration for what has been done, decided, and settled, is maintained in the discourses upon Catholic prelates. Indeed, the thread of unity that holds the various chapters of the book together is the cardinal's boundless admiration for the Church, for its American prelates, for the Irish who have come to this country, and also for America; in all he says, he keeps these four admirations hitched together. In spite of this, he cannot be said to slur over the difficulties of uniting his love and admiration of America and the Church. Rather he ignores them; he gives the effect of not seeing them; and yet one feels sure that his life has been laboriously spent in trying to reconcile them. The ecclesiastical system approved by the Vatican Council and our political system are exact opposites. The Roman doctrine of union of Church and State, and the American doctrine of separation,

are exact opposites. The Church's conservatism, and the radicalism of American democracy, are opposed in many ways. And yet Cardinal Gibbons's devoted loyalty to the Church, his profound belief in a spiritual unity behind all earthly phenomena, enables him to approve what seem to the less devout reader to be contraries.

Proof that loyalty to the Church has not prevented the cardinal from maintaining his loyalty to American principles, is to be found in his defense of the Knights of Labor in 1887. Rome had already condemned the Knights of Labor in Canada, and, apparently, was about to condemn them in the United States. Thanks to the liberal views and energetic action of Cardinal Gibbons and other eminent American prelates, the pope refrained from disapproval. The cardinal deserves great gratitude from the Church for what he then did, but the episode clearly illustrates the divergence of the Roman and the American points of view, and shows the difficulties which Cardinal Gibbons and other liberal Catholics have overcome. The lever by which the cardinal has lifted this and other difficulties, is his genuine kindness of heart. And it is natural for such great kindness to express itself in words that are uniformly kindly, even where an unsympathetic looker-on might have used caustic expressions.

A matter on which the author dwells with especial pride is the growth of Catholicism in America. Several times he comes back to this natural cause of satisfaction. The American hierarchy was established in 1789 by Pope Pius VII., the Rev. John Carroll was made a bishop, and at that time the Catholics numbered about 32,000, or one in every 107 of the population. In 1806 the corner-stone of the cathedral of Baltimore was laid. To-day there are fourteen archbishops (including three cardinals), ninety-seven bishops, about twenty thousand priests, and a Catholic population of over 16,500,000 souls, or one in every seven of the total population. No wonder that the cardinal dwells upon these figures; it is a strong argument to lay before the Roman Curia when he wishes to persuade them to let America take its own way, and a strong argument to prove the wisdom and success of the Roman hierarchy in this country.

The reminiscences of American prelates, Archbishop Elder of Cincinnati, Archbishop Williams of Boston, Bishop Loughlin of Brooklyn, Archbishops McCloskey, Hughes, and Corrigan of New York, are from the nature of the discourses so wholly eulogistic that while they give pleasure and satisfaction to sympathetic readers, they are of no very great value in forming critical estimates of these prelates. They serve to remind one that a cardinal is a prince of a world-wide church, the head of which is a foreigner in a foreign land, and that what that prince says must be said with regard to wide-open ears which are not always sympathetic to America and American ideas, and that the speaker is an advocate far more than a judge.

To sum up, the reader will not find in this book any aids to an exact



knowledge of historic facts, nor will the non-Catholic find any arguments to persuade him to join the Church, but he will feel that the country has been very fortunate to have had a man of broad sympathies, of generous temper, of great patience and Christian charity at the head of the Catholic Church in America during the last fifty years.

HENRY DWIGHT SEDGWICK.

*History of Arizona.* By THOMAS EDWIN FARISH. Volumes III. and IV. (Phoenix, Arizona: The Author. 1916. Pp. ix, 371; viii, 351.)

THIS state history, like so many others prepared by official historians, under the American system of state administration, suffers from the practice of appointing as historian either a mere politician, or a kindly and deserving pioneer, or a combination of the two. Few states have progressed so far beyond the pioneer stage of making histories as have Wisconsin and Minnesota, and Arizona is not one of them. On almost every page of these volumes is evidence of the author's lack of training and of historical-mindedness. Considerably more than three-fourths of the 687 pages of text is made up of quotations from other writers. At least eleven of these quotations run beyond twenty pages, and one reaches a total of sixty-six pages. Only by courtesy, therefore, can this be called a history of the five years from 1863 to 1868. It is really a source-book or, making use of an Arizona figure, here are two loads of various ores, including some choice nuggets and sheets of native copper, thrown together by an honest, enthusiastic, well-meaning, tenderfoot prospector in the realm of history; from this mass someone else must extract and assay the values.

These volumes cover the period of the organization of the territory; the early legislatures and legislation; the discovery of gold and copper; the military expedition in the interests of the Union; the expansion of settlements about Tucson, Prescott, and the Colorado River; and the inescapable Indian troubles (vol. III., chs. X.-XIV.; vol. IV., chs. IV.-VII.). The story of the conflict between quasi-civilized, daredevil, foot-loose fortune-seekers in an arid and unfamiliar land and various tribes of Indians in transition from the bow-and-arrow stage to the rifle stage furnishes many a vivid paragraph and adds fresh illustrations of both the good and bad qualities of the founders of a desert commonwealth in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

In this unorderly aggregation of official documents are reports of army officers, messages of governors, and speeches in Congress, often given in full; much would have been gained and nothing lost by condensing one-half. Similarly, far too much space is given to pointless gossip and questionable details of reminiscences of pioneers, some of whom at the age of seventy-five relate minutiae of fifty years earlier, *c. g.*, Genung's "How I became a Hassayamper" (IV. 27-72). Two of

these long quotations, however, stand out in vivid contrast to the rest in importance and historical interest. The first is the series of letters written in 1863-1864 by Jonathan Richmond to his parents in Kansas, on a journey which took him from Kansas to Fort Whipple (Prescott), Arizona, and thence to Tucson (III. 47-67, 218-246), in which he relates his experiences and observations of men and conditions. The other is the story of Mike Burns, an Apache-Mohave Indian, born about 1864, captured at the age of about seven after the murder of his mother, educated at Carlisle, and now a resident of the McDowell Reservation. Rarely have the case and method of the Indian in his struggle against the white man in the Southwest been stated with so much moderation, directness, simplicity, and sympathy as in this narrative.

These volumes are wholly deficient in bibliography, foot-notes, and maps (with a single exception). Even the dates of the writing down of some of the voluminous recollections are wanting, thus making it impossible to determine the rate of discount at which they should be received.

KENDRIC C. BABCOCK.

*Diaz.* By DAVID HANNAY. [Makers of the Nineteenth Century, edited by Basil Williams.] (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1917. Pp. vi, 319.)

MR. HANNAY appears to be a man of talents, candor, and good sense, and his book, in addition to being readable, is worth reading; but it can hardly be described as well-proportioned, scholarly, or sound. What a thoughtful person would particularly expect to find in it—the more since it belongs to a series called *Makers of the Nineteenth Century*—is a thoroughly studied account of what Diaz undertook to accomplish during the twenty-six long years (1884-1909) when he controlled the life of his country; but all this comes within about fifty small pages of large type—nearly fourteen of them devoted to a superficial presentation of the Yaqui case. As illustrative inaccuracies, our war with Mexico is said to have begun in 1845, during the presidency of "J. H. Polk", and we learn that it ended on May 19, 1848, whereas the treaty was signed on February 2 and the ratifications were exchanged on May 30. Santa Anna appears as Santa Ana (p. 31), Genaro García as Genero Garcia (p. 307), and Agustin as Augustin (p. 229). General Reyes is described (p. 299) as a "moderate man", though in reality he wished to get rid of all Americans and all modern improvements. Federalist agitators, "with Santa Ana at their head", are said to have upset Iturbide (p. 229), whereas at the time of his fall the "Federalist agitators" were extremely few and did not recognize Santa Anna as their chief. Diaz, we are told (p. 304), showed "the first signs of senile decay" in May, 1911; but in fact he had begun several years earlier to have fainting spells lasting an hour and even longer. The story of the

British debt is unsatisfactory. As for the heart of the matter, although Mr. Hannay shows (p. 238) that he caught a glimpse of the real purpose animating Diaz, he gives the following (p. 305) as part of his "final verdict": "That man had no other nor higher aim than to develop resources, build public works, enable foreign capital to promote industry and make profits for itself". No wonder the editor of the series blundered into remarking in his preface that Diaz was a "type . . . of the *condottieri* who flourish and then vanish so rapidly on the Central and South American scene". In the opinion of the reviewer, on the other hand, Diaz was a genuine patriotic statesman, gifted with rare political insight, and aiming primarily to place his country on the high road to the peaceful, intelligent, and happy development of its resources for its own good and not for the benefit of foreigners. He believed, first of all, that after more than half a century of turmoil and fighting the habit of tranquillity needed to be inculcated, and therefore that strict repression of revolutionary tendencies was necessary. Public works he doubtless regarded as the readiest and most efficient means of engaging the minds and energies of the people in the interests and methods of orderly, civilized progress. Railroads and telegraphs were deemed highly important also for the squelching of insurrections before they could gain serious momentum; and the only way to obtain these and the other public works was to encourage foreign investments and make them profitable. The statesmanship of Diaz is shown further by his attitude toward the United States. At a time when it was axiomatic with almost every public man in Mexico to distrust, to fear, and often to hate this country, and we were by no means cordial toward him, he took the ground that we could be shown—if unable to see—that it was not for our interest to absorb eight millions or so of ignorant, poverty-stricken aliens, that the two countries could and should be friends, and that Mexico might profit immensely from intimate relations with us. Such views and such aims did not characterize the *condottieri*. In short the book is a well-written journalistic production. As might be inferred, the author's "bibliography" is meagre and his index inadequate.

JUSTIN H. SMITH.

*Bibliografía General de Chile*. Primera parte. *Diccionario de Autores y Obras (Biobibliografía y Bibliografía)*. Por E. VAISSE, precedido de una Bibliografía de Bibliografías Chilenas por RAMÓN A. LAVAL. Tomo primero (Abalos-Barros Arana). (Santiago de Chile: Imprenta Universitaria. 1915. Pp. lxxix, 331, x.)

IN January, 1913, the Biblioteca Nacional de Chile founded the *Revista de Bibliografía Chilena y Extranjera*, a monthly publication under the direction of Emilio Vaisse, who is chief of the bureau of information of that library. The *Bibliografía General de Chile* is virtually a reprint

of the Chilean section of that *Revista*. Emilio Vaisse is the writer whose reviews of current literature appear weekly in the *Mercurio* of Santiago above the name of "Omer Emeth". In the preface Vaisse states that his projected bibliography of Chile, 1543-1914, will be composed of two parts: first, a bibliographical dictionary of authors arranged in alphabetical order; and, second, a methodical dictionary arranged by subjects according to the decimal system used in the Biblioteca Nacional de Chile. His plan is to include in the first part of the bibliography the names of Chilean authors and the names of foreigners who have published works in Chile, or whose writings, whatever their language or place of publication, are concerned with Chile. This bibliography will not be confined to books but will include pamphlets, articles in periodicals, and even broadsides. To some bibliographers the plan of the General Bibliography of Chile may seem over-ambitious; for, as yet, only one volume of the first part has issued from the press.

The initial volume of the first part of the General Bibliography of Chile is a substantial fragment. That volume is composed of two distinct sections: a bibliography of bibliographies of Chile, and an installment of the bibliographical dictionary. The Bibliography of Chilean Bibliographies by Ramón A. Laval, sub-director of the Biblioteca Nacional de Chile, contains over 350 items. It includes not only a list of authors and of their works dealing with Chilean bibliography, but also a list of printed catalogues of manuscripts concerning Chilean history, and a list of reviews which have been made of Chilean periodicals. In the list of printed works there is found an analysis of the contents of the *Anuario de la Prensa Chilena* from 1886 to 1913. Numbers 167-222 are detailed descriptions of the bibliographical productions of José T. Medina which directly or indirectly relate to Chilean history. The history of Chile is viewed from a comprehensive standpoint, for Laval includes in his bibliography of bibliographies twelve works of another erudite bibliographer, García René-Moreno, which deal chiefly with Bolivia and Peru.

The first installment of the bibliographical dictionary of Chile includes some seven thousand titles. It begins with Carlos Gregorio Abalos and concludes with Diego Barros Arana. Only a few illustrative items may here be mentioned. Among the works of Rómulo Ahumada Maturana is mentioned his article in volumes V. and VI. of the *Revista de Artes y Letras* entitled "Revista de Revistas", which is the most complete bibliography of twenty-six Chilean periodicals that has ever been published. On pages 70-77 is printed a list of about two hundred items composing the published writings of the distinguished publicist and author, Miguel Luis Amunátegui. Over twenty pages are devoted to the writings of the eminent Chilean historian, Diego Barros Arana. These pages include the titles of the chapters in the sixteen volumes of his monumental *Historia Jeneral de Chile*. Not only does Vaisse print comprehensive lists of the writings of Chilean authors, with the dates

of the various editions of their works, but he also furnishes bibliographical data concerning certain of these authors and brief biographical notes.

Thus the bibliographical dictionary alone bids fair to be a monumental work. By this initial volume, which deserves to be ranked with the bibliographical productions of J. T. Medina, the author, and the National Library of Chile, under whose patronage the work is being published, have earned the gratitude of every student of Spanish-American history.

WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON.

*Memorias de Urquinaona (Comisionado de la Regencia Española para la Pacificación del Nuevo Reino de Granada).* [Biblioteca Ayacucho, bajo la Dirección de Don Rufino Blanco-Fombona.] (Madrid: Editorial-América, Sociedad Española de Librería. [1917.] Pp. 383.)

*Memorias de William Bennet Stevenson, sobre las Campañas de San Martín y Cochrane en el Perú.* Versión Castellana de LUIS DE TERÁN; Noticia sobre Stevenson por DIEGO BARROS ARANA. [Biblioteca Ayacucho.] (*Ibid.* [1917.] Pp. 300.)

*Memorias Póstumas del General José María Paz.* [Biblioteca Ayacucho.] (*Ibid.* [1917.] Pp. 491.)

APART from their intrinsic interest, these three additions to the *Biblioteca Ayacucho* exemplify in striking fashion the general purpose of the series. They set forth markedly divergent viewpoints in contemporary description of the struggle for independence in Spanish South America. Written respectively by a Spaniard, an Englishman, and a Spanish American, they are pervaded with a racial psychology that reinforces the personal attitude of the authors when narrating events or judging the conduct of individuals. Testimony of the sort is particularly serviceable to the historian who handles sources so intensely partizan in form, spirit, and expression as those of the period in question.

The *Memorias de Urquinaona* is a reprint of a work published at Madrid in 1820. Its author, Pedro de Urquinaona y Pardo, was an official in the Spanish colonial office. Believing that the causes of rebellion in the viceroyalty of New Granada could be removed by a policy of concession and tolerance, he obtained from the Regency at Cadiz permission to attempt a reconciliation with the mother-country. On his arrival at La Guaira, in March, 1813, he found Venezuela suffering under the reign of terror introduced by the captain-general, Domingo de Monteverde. All his efforts at pacification proving fruitless, he gave up the mission in despair five months later, and returned to Spain. While in Venezuela he had collected a large amount of

material relative to the origin and progress of the revolutionary movement. This he supplemented by research in the Spanish archives, and cast the whole into the form of a documentary history covering the period from July, 1808, to August, 1813; but he had to wait until the mutiny of 1820 before he dared give it to the press.

The idea running through the work is, that the revolution in Venezuela was due far less to the desire of the colonists for independence than to the cruel methods of repression adopted by the Spanish authorities there. Started by a few malcontents, the uprising could easily have been quelled, if the excessive rigor of the captain-general and his henchmen had not driven the people to desperation, converting a majority of loyal subjects into an overwhelming number of opponents of Spanish rule, and a comparatively simple contest for the maintenance of order into a war of extermination. What Urquinaona saw and heard during his brief stay in the country would seem to bear out the truth of his opinion to the fullest. The account he renders of events prior to his arrival is less worthy of credence, and contains numerous errors or misjudgments.

In several respects the present edition is made to differ from the original. The jocose reason adduced by the "Editorial-América" (p. 10) for abbreviating the lengthy title bestowed by the author himself on his production into "Memorias", is quite misleading. Urquinaona called his work a "documented narrative", and rightly so. "Memorias" is not a term applicable to a treatise only forty-two pages of which (324-366) have to do with personal reminiscences, and these told in five official despatches. The original, furthermore, appeared in two parts separately numbered, whereas the pagination in the new version is continuous. Wherever the paragraphs seemed too long they have been broken up. Sectional headings are provided, some of them derived from marginal annotations by Urquinaona on a unique copy of the work owned by the editor. Both in the text and in the notes, also, the spelling has been modernized or corrected at times, but not in the case of English words.

The *Memorias* of William Bennet Stevenson is a translation into Spanish of the third volume of a condensed French version, published in 1826, of *A Historical and Descriptive Narrative of Twenty Years' Residence in South America*, brought out in London the year before. Like its French predecessor—though without allusion to the fact on the title-page—it appends a continuation of the story from the point where Stevenson left off, in 1823, up to the meeting of the Congress at Panamá, in 1826. As stated in the prefatory note, taken from Diego Barros Arana's *Historia Jeneral de Chile*, the author went to South America aboard a British smuggler. After a series of adventures in Chile and Peru he became private secretary of the president of Quito. At the outbreak of the revolution in that presidency he was appointed governor of a province by the local junta, only to fall into the hands

of the loyalists from whom he managed to escape to Peru. Here he remained until 1819, when he took advantage of the arrival of the Chilean squadron under Lord Cochrane to abandon Spanish territory altogether. Entering the service of that officer, in the capacity of secretary, Stevenson accompanied him throughout the subsequent campaigns up to 1823.

Because of the exceptional opportunities for observation afforded during so long a residence, the author left an unusually valuable record of contemporary life in Chile, Peru, and Ecuador as an intelligent foreigner saw it. Unlike most of his countrymen who enlisted in the patriot armies or navies, he knew the Spanish Americans well before he threw in his lot with them. Though not very orderly in the arrangement of his material, Stevenson tells his story in a simple, natural fashion, with a due subordination of self and a fair regard for precision of statement. When he comes to speak of the course of the revolution between 1819 and 1823, however, he displays considerable partiality for his countryman and superior officer, Cochrane, and manifests an appreciation for Bolivar which appears to have been evoked more by his vicarious dislike for San Martin than by any personal knowledge he could have had of the Venezuelan leader himself. The continuation of the work by the French translator up to 1826 is a superficial, and often unreliable, summary in which the most interesting feature, perhaps, is the account given of the assassination of Montegudo.

Unless it be a case merely of following the lines of least linguistic resistance, the reviewer finds it hard to understand why the defective French version, and not the English original, which is quite as accessible, should have been selected for the present translation. Doubtless the French editor was "*mediocrisimo y presuntuoso*" (p. 10) in taking the liberties he did with Stevenson's text; but that circumstance in itself ought to have been sufficient to justify an abstention from using his material at all. No great loss would have been suffered, and a real advantage would have been gained, if readers of Spanish had been made directly acquainted with what the Englishman wrote, by means of a careful translation of the original in its entirety and a corresponding omission of the French continuation, which in no sense can be classed as "*memorias*".

The English text contains 467 pages, divided into thirteen chapters, as against 206 in the Spanish edition, divided into twelve. Although the chapter headings of the original are retained, their presence is deceptive, since no indication is anywhere furnished that more than half of the work has been elided, that the paragraphing has been arbitrarily shifted and the spelling of proper names changed, and that actual statements have been modified—all without the warning of asterisk, footnote, or any other device known to an editor.

Quite different from the foregoing in scene, circumstance, personali-

ties, and method of treatment are the posthumous memoirs of José María Paz, a young Argentine officer of artillery who took an active part in the struggle for the emancipation of southern South America from the control of Spain, and against the tendency toward political disintegration which was more noticeable there than almost anywhere else on the continent. Except for its omission of portraits and plans, the present work is a reprint of that portion of the second edition of the original, published in three volumes at La Plata in 1892, which dealt with the period from 1810 to 1825. It contains, not only the memoirs proper, but fragmentary accounts by Belgrano of his expedition to Paraguay and the battle of Tucumán, together with critical notes and comments by Paz himself, a vaguely brief biographical sketch of the author, and an appendix, consisting mainly of a quotation from the life of Paz written by Domingo Faustino Sarmiento and illustrative of the former's career in Argentina and Uruguay between 1825 and 1828. The sole editorial novelty of any sort in the new version is a foot-note on page 469.

More truly a series of realistic impressions of men and events than the personal recollections of many of his contemporaries, the memoirs of General Paz begin with a vivid description of the battles of Tucumán, Salta, Vilcapugio, and Ayohuma. They proceed then to characterize with merciless vigor the pretensions and the weaknesses of leaders, both political and military, no less than the lack of discipline and the spread of insubordination among the soldiers, which were responsible in large measure for the failure of the patriots to overthrow the Spanish power in what is now Bolivia. Toward their close the memoirs provide a spirited account of the civil wars that ensued in the La Plata country and of the rise of the "caudillos", or partizan chieftains, who were destined unhappily to play so sinister a rôle in the later development of the Spanish-American republics.

WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD.

#### MINOR NOTICES

*The Influence of Ancient Egyptian Civilization in the East and in America.* By G. Elliot Smith, M.A., M.D., F.R.S., Professor of Anatomy, Victoria University of Manchester. (Manchester, University Press, 1916, pp. 32.) To Dr. G. Elliot Smith we are indebted for a series of invaluable anatomical studies and investigations of difficult problems in the physical anthropology of the Nile peoples. In the little treatise under discussion, however, he has departed from the field in which he has displayed such enviable competence, and has attacked a formidable group of problems, chiefly archaeological, but likewise involving researches of almost unlimited scope in history, sociology, religion, ethnology, and related subjects.

The contention which he sets up is, in his own words: "That the



essential elements of the ancient civilizations of India, Further Asia, the Malay Archipelago, Oceania, and America were brought in succession to each of these places by mariners, whose oriental migrations (on an extensive scale) began as trading intercourse between the Eastern Mediterranean and India some time after 800 B. C." The civilization thus distributed the author maintains was "derived largely from Egypt" but with "many important accretions and modifications" from the surrounding world of the Near Orient. He further contends that "the reality of these migrations and this spread of culture is substantiated (and dated) by the remarkable collection of extraordinary practices and fantastic beliefs which these ancient mariners distributed along a well-defined route from the Eastern Mediterranean to America".

Space prevents an enumeration of this list of evidences, but it will be seen at once that the scope of the questions involved is enormous. There is not an historian, archaeologist, or anthropologist living, who possesses full competence over all the vast area involved. The author maintains that the mariners in question were Phoenicians, but at the very outset it should be remembered that we still lack a critical and comprehensive study of Phoenician history and archaeology. It must be admitted at once that the Phoenicians achieved far more than the current reaction against their influence recognizes. Even to the casual but open-minded observer, it is also evident that much Eastern Mediterranean influence, especially that of Egypt, passed by way of the Red Sea into the maritime world of the Far East. Before such far-reaching conclusions as those of Dr. Smith can be successfully discussed, however, a formidable amount of spade work must be done in detailed investigations covering a colossal array of subjects and a whole group of highly specialized disciplines.

JAMES HENRY BREASTED.

*The Prosecution of Jesus: its Date, History, and Legality.* By Richard Wellington Husband, Professor of the Classical Languages in Dartmouth College. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1916, pp. vii, 302.) It is unfortunately not possible to congratulate the writer of this book on having added to our knowledge of the difficult subject which he has undertaken. Professor Husband tries to establish the thesis that the real trial of Jesus was before Pilate, and that the proceedings of the Sanhedrin were parallel to those of a grand jury. The whole case was one of Roman, not of Jewish law.

This is, perhaps, an arguable case; but when its defense is presented in Professor Husband's manner it cannot expect attention from those who are acquainted with critical studies of the New Testament. The first requisite for such a task is to understand the nature of the Synoptic tradition. It must regretfully be said that Professor Husband does not appear to the reviewer to possess this requisite. He had better speak for himself:

In the effort to secure an understanding of the exact course of events in these proceedings, we are confronted with the greatest difficulties. The Gospel narratives are somewhat confused, and superficially at least are inconsistent. In this situation several methods are open. The method most frequently pursued is that of putting together the four accounts in the Gospels, and of regarding all the incidents related in all four as historically accurate. Or, the earliest of the narratives, that of Mark, may be selected and made the basis, and everything that does not appear there be examined carefully before it is accepted as reliable. Or, that account which appears most reasonable may be chosen, and may be adopted as the genuine, or sole, authority. Or finally, one may choose the eclectic method of piecing together, and of rejecting what does not seem to harmonize with the progress of the episode as it is conceived. Each of these is open to objection, but probably the first is least objectionable, since it does not permit one to be swayed by his personal, and prior, convictions (pp. 105-106).

This is to return, critically speaking, to the Dark Ages.

This is not the only serious defect in the book. The whole question of the chronology of the Gospels is, of course, very difficult. Professor Husband repeats some of the usual arguments and comes to the result that he favors the year 33 for the Crucifixion. He seems to overestimate the value of the chronology of Luke and greatly to underestimate the difficulty of identifying Jewish feasts by astronomical methods; but the worst accusation to be brought against him is that when an argument is inconvenient he has no mercy on it. The Gospels tell us that John the Baptist was beheaded before Jesus was crucified; but Josephus implies that he was beheaded about 35 A. D. All that Professor Husband has to say is that "existing evidence, apart from the New Testament, is in favor of placing the beheading of John some time after the latest date that can possibly be assigned for the crucifixion of Jesus. *Since the evidence is discordant, the event must be excluded from all consideration* (p. 64)". The italics, which are the reviewer's, may serve to draw attention to the elevation to the rank of a critical canon of a method which is more often practised than praised.

K. LAKE.

*The Main Manuscript of Komungs Skuggsjá in Phototypic Reproduction with Diplomatic Text.* Edited for the University of Illinois by George T. Flom. (Urbana, Ill., the University of Illinois, 1915, pp. lxxvii, [351].) The "King's Mirror" is a didactic work of the encyclopaedic type composed in Norway about the middle of the thirteenth century. There have been three earlier editions of this work, but in faithful and accurate reproduction of the original forms none of these can compare with Professor Flom's "American Facsimile Edition". The work was undertaken some years ago and was practically completed in 1915, which is given as the date of publication; but owing to the difficulties of ocean transportation (the text was printed in Copen-

hagen) actual publication was delayed till 1916. In its present form the "King's Mirror" will be of peculiar interest to the student of the Germanic dialects; but it is also an important source for the study of medieval culture and civilization. Professor Flom has prefaced the edition with an extended introduction which is devoted chiefly to a discussion of problems of palaeography. It may be added that the care of the editor is matched by the art of the book-maker: the printer, the binder, and the photographer have combined to produce a work of rare beauty.

*Intolerance in the Reign of Elizabeth, Queen of England.* By Arthur Jay Klein, Professor of History in Wheaton College, Norton, Massachusetts. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1917, pp. xi, 218.) If Professor Klein had called his book a brief sketch of ecclesiastical controversies during the reign of Elizabeth and had made no pretensions beyond a careful restatement of the conclusions already reached by competent scholars, the book could have been commended as vital, interesting, and for the most part accurate. But as a history of intolerance during the reign of Elizabeth—it must be said in all kindness—the book possesses the remarkable deficiency of saying very little about it. It refers to much of the material from which such a history ought to be written, but Professor Klein has not succeeded in achieving the task. He has written two brief essays on intolerance, his introduction and his conclusion, both succinct, lucid, and suggestive, and between them he seems to have placed a brief ecclesiastical history of Elizabeth's reign in which intolerance as such plays little or no part, and which unfortunately seems to have little generic relation to the propositions of his introduction or conclusion.

Many will question his contention that the study of intolerance has hitherto confined itself to the Established Church and to the government, to the exclusion of the Protestant groups. Certainly, if previous efforts had been inadequate, it was hardly probable that he could fill the need for more extended treatment in a portion only of an essay itself less than two hundred pages long. What he says about the Protestant sects is on the whole well said, but it is hardly new, nor can one feel sure that Mr. Klein has made himself at home in the intricacies of the debates over the true form of church government and the veritable primitive Christianity. Without one's wishing to be captious or unsympathetic with an attempt which possesses many creditable and encouraging features, the long bibliography and the acknowledgments in the preface nevertheless raise expectations of a more extended study of manuscript and printed sources than the text substantiates, for the great majority of its details are supported abundantly by standard secondary authorities and the foot-notes are devoted mainly to Strype, the Parker Society's publications, and the *State Papers, Domestic*. The critical apparatus is moreover unconvincing because too many of the

foot-notes are appended to statements too familiar to need substantiation in an essay not primarily concerned with establishing the sequence of events. If Mr. Klein's true conclusion has not escaped him, he has hardly succeeded in emphasizing it. Elizabeth's reign has seemed to most students more instructive as a chapter in the history of the dawn of toleration than as a typical example of intolerance. Is there not much to be said, both cogent and instructive, upon Elizabeth's policy from the point of view of toleration defined as a relative indifference to religious dogmatism and to controversies about church government because of the supreme significance attached to the political and diplomatic situation?

ROLAND G. USHER.

*The Leveller Movement: a Study in the History and Political Theory of the English Great Civil War.* By Theodore Calvin Pease, Ph.D., Associate in History, University of Illinois. (Washington, American Historical Association, London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1916, pp. ix, 406.) There is one sentence in this excellent monograph which may well stand at once as a motto and as an inspiration for all such work. Concerning Mr. Gooch's *History of English Democratic Ideas in the Seventeenth Century*, Mr. Pease observes: "It represents all that scholarship can do with broad fields of thought in the absence of monographic material." It is not, perhaps, to be anticipated that, within any reasonable length of time, we shall have the whole field of human history covered with such detail as, let us say, the French Revolution, the period of the English Civil Wars, or certain epochs in the history of Germany. But it is toward that desirable consummation that the long and patient toil of investigators must direct itself, and the steady flow of such studies as this gives promise of an approach to that ideal. In particular, so far as English history is concerned, is this true of the era of the Puritan Revolution. From Forster to Schoolcraft and Gardiner we now know, to take one instance of many, enough about the Grand Remonstrance to depend upon. The main parties to the great controversy have been exhaustively treated, but with Mr. Berens's "Diggers" and this volume on the Levellers, with studies of Prynne and Harrington, Ludlow and Harrison, we come to a truer conception of those extraordinary cross-currents which swept across England in the years between 1640 and 1660. Mr. Pease has done a good piece of work, not only in the Levellers generally, but upon Lilburne in particular. He has not attempted to trace what may be called the origins of the Leveller movement back of 1640, nor the social and economic factors which produced that school. Probably his reasons of space forbade. But in the second instance, particularly in view of the lack of an adequate social-economic history of the period, we should be exceedingly glad to have just that information which Mr. Pease undoubtedly possesses. The lack of manuscript material for such a study in contro-

versy is not so serious. But, one may be permitted to add, it is unfortunate that space limitations prevented the inclusion of the bibliography in full, for which many students of the period would have been very grateful. Finally, Mr. Pease is quite right in his admission that his study is "avowedly sympathetic". Whatever the admirable qualities of Lilburne and his fellow-Levellers, however glad one may be that such doctrines as they advocated found voice, it still remains a question whether, in their own day, they helped or hindered real progress. And, as one would be glad of more statement of the situation which produced them as a social phenomenon, so one would welcome a fuller statement of their practical as well as their theoretical contribution to politics. It is to be hoped that Mr. Pease will add to his excellent study a supplementary treatise on their relations to every-day affairs, apart from the realm of political theory. For such a study no one is so well qualified.

W. C. ABBOTT.

*My Russian and Turkish Journals.* By the Dowager Marchioness of Dufferin and Ava. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1917, pp. ix, 350.) Lady Dufferin would feel either amused or horrified to think that these journals were to be submitted to critical review; or that they were to be estimated for anything other than what they really are: a casual record of the trivial commonplaces of an ambassador's household. A notice after the title-page announces the author's purpose "to present the proceeds of this book to War Charities". The intention we commend more than the language in which it is phrased. For the unhappy word *charity*, in its sense of Victorian patronizing, is one we should like to unlearn; and certainly no more incongruous term could apply to a contribution for war relief. Saving this single jarring note, suggestive of Lady Dufferin's own bygone generation, we are quite disposed to take this book in the spirit in which it is offered, as a somewhat unusual memento for a war subscription.

Lady Dufferin resided in Petrograd when Lord Dufferin was British ambassador there during the years 1879-1881, and also in Constantinople during the years 1881-1884. She accompanied him when he was detached from Constantinople temporarily on a special mission to Egypt, subsequent to the bombardment of Alexandria. How much Lady Dufferin knew or understood of her husband's diplomacy during this fateful period of the Eastern Question, her journals do not reveal. They are as free from political information, or from details of historical interest, as though they had been specially censored with that idea in view. Instead, they recount at length the management of garden parties, bazaars, Christmas-trees, aquatic sports, dances, and entertainments of all kinds. With a flourish of triumph and proud achievement at the end Lady Dufferin prints her "charity" balance-sheet, showing that she cleared for worthy objects during these few years at Constantinople almost forty-five thousand dollars. Little wonder that when the Sultan wanted

to raise funds for sufferers from the Smyrna earthquake, he insisted upon Lady Dufferin undertaking a bazaar, even though Lord Dufferin was not doyen of the diplomatic corps! If there be such a thing as an instinct for bazaars, Lady Dufferin had it; she was notoriously successful in using her high social patronage to gather in money for public purposes. This book is an example in point. Under an attractive title it contains a miscellaneous assortment of useless chit-chat, the publication of which only a bazaar motive could possibly justify. It is to be hoped the war-relief funds may realize handsomely from the book: it is further to be hoped that few of the purchasers will experience the surprise of reading it and of discovering that they have been most amiably and most pleasingly victimized.

C. E. FRYER.

*International Cases, Arbitrations, and Incidents illustrative of International Law as practised by Independent States.* Volume II. *War and Neutrality.* By Ellery C. Stowell, Associate Professor of International Law in Columbia University, and Henry F. Munro, Lecturer in International Law in Columbia University. (Boston, New York, Chicago, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1916, pp. xvii, 662.) The second volume of this case-book follows in general plan that of the earlier volume. The authors justify the space allotted to incidents of the present war.

In time of war acts of governments and those for whom they stand responsible are to be judged upon the facts as they appear at the time, especially when the government concerned makes no effort to furnish the evidence which it has at its disposal, or which it might procure. Hence it is that a collection of cases to serve as a basis for the study of the law of war and neutrality ought to be made *flagrante bello*.

Those who insist upon the historical development of international law will hardly agree to so summary a dismissal of the past. That such a compilation of material offers abundant exercise for the critical faculty, there is no question; but it does not make a case-book as a basis for instruction in international law in the sense in which that term has come to be used. Such a method produces a volume of collateral readings of illustrative material requiring some basis of text or other more or less dogmatic exposition. That this is true the authors acknowledge by suggesting "explanations of the instructor or further investigation of the authorities". So might the *Kriegsbrauch im Landkriege* be used, but only as a horrible example, and not as a source of international law. The authors have shown impartiality of choice in the selection of materials, and, generally, impartiality as to comment thereon. On the "doctrine of ultimate consumption", however, the text is original with the authors, and for it Dr. Stowell assumes responsibility. We are told that the Entente Allies have "deformed" the recognized principles of international law. Elsewhere the opposition of the authors to Great

Britain's "blockade" policy is apparent. The *Lusitania* case, however, is presented objectively, as are the Cavell and Fryatt cases. What is perhaps the *fons et origo* of all the series of maritime reprisals, the mining of the high seas and the proclamation of strategic areas, cannot be fully understood from the extracts printed. The White Book issued by the Department of State April 4, 1917, and since this volume was printed, supplies very necessary links in the development of this highly important matter.

All in all, it is difficult to say where this book leads: when it discloses what international law is, and when it sets forth what international law is not. It contains valuable materials certainly, but it proceeds upon no recognized system of arrangement; important sections of the law of war in the larger sense are omitted, as for instance, the legal results of a state of war, except as to days of grace and treatment of resident alien enemies; and what must still be considered as a prime source of the law of neutrality, the decisions of British and American courts, is relatively neglected. For an advanced course conducted under skillful leadership, the book should prove a stimulating accessory. It should be valuable as a work of reference, if used with caution. But as a case-book for primary purposes of class-room instruction, it presents seemingly insurmountable difficulties.

J. S. R.

*Termination of War and Treaties of Peace.* By Coleman Phillipson, M.A., LL.D., Litt.D. (London, T. Fisher Unwin, [1916], pp. xix, 486.) To apply the well-worn adjective "timely" at this juncture to a treatise upon peace negotiations and treaties might seem to be rather vaguely anticipatory. The dearth of modern works in English, or for that matter in any language, upon the large and important subject of treaty-making and interpretation, as well as upon the special subject of peace treaties, is a sufficient reason for the appearance of this carefully prepared volume. It has an additional value in furnishing a standard of criticism for the future arrangements by which the present war will be terminated. Dr. Phillipson has not attempted a discursive or, save in a few instances, argumentative treatment of the subject. He has carefully compiled the provisions of peace treaties from Westphalia to Bucharest. He has sought to produce a work which is "on the one hand, a comparative and analytical study, based for the most part on original documents . . . and, on the other hand, a synthetic presentation of conclusions derived from such analysis and application of first principles".

Wars have not always ended by treaties of peace, but sometimes by the extinction of states, by subjugation and conquest. Therefore the author begins with the examination of the legal results of war: the change from military occupation to the extension of sovereignty by the conqueror over the conquered territory through state succession. The doctrine of postliminy he generally rejects as not in harmony with mod-

ern international law and "serving but to obscure rules intrinsically simple and intelligible" (p. 232). The main portion of the work is devoted to the termination of war by treaties of peace, from the cessation of hostilities through preliminary *pourparlers* and protocols to treaty negotiations and the content of the formal instrument. In this part he has depended mainly upon international practice of the past century, and little that is purely theoretical is introduced by way of discussion or comment. Such a treatment does not make a text easy to read. It is in many respects an annotated digest of the various international documents. Analyzed and arranged as the material is, it becomes a reference work of much value and great convenience. The appendix, "a century of peace treaties", 1815-1913, gives the texts, usually complete, of the twenty-six peace treaties since Waterloo.

The book as a whole is characterized by breadth of view, conservatism of statement, and clarity of expression. It very certainly does what its author hoped it might do: "It fills a gap in the literature of international law and international relations."

J. S. R.

*The Colonial Tariff Policy of France.* By Arthur Girault, Professor of Political Economy in the Law Faculty of the University of Poitiers. Edited by Charles Gide, Professor of Economics in the University of Paris. [Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History.] (Oxford, Clarendon Press, Humphrey Milford, 1916, pp. viii, 305.) This book deals with the evolution and the results of the colonial tariff policy of France. As the author correctly points out, one cannot reduce this policy to a single all-embracing formula. He therefore traces step by step the treatment accorded to different colonies of France at different periods of her history. Beginning with the policy of exclusion under the ancient régime and bringing his discussion down to tariff assimilation under the present republic he reviews the various measures passed by the mother-country in order to regulate the commerce of her colonies; he considers the purposes and the validity of these measures in the light of economic and political conditions existent at the time of their enactment and he indicates the rôles played in the promulgation of each act by various forces which mould the life of a nation; he brings out clearly the influence of private interests upon legislation as well as the pressure of public opinion and of abstract ideas of right and wrong.

Professor Girault is at his best in the historical and descriptive parts of the work. A certain looseness and inconsistency characterizes his generalizations and his deductions as well as his reasoning as to the policy which France of to-day should pursue towards some of her colonies. He enunciates a truth when he states that a colonial policy animated by a spirit of exclusion easily becomes a source of dissensions and of wars; but this does not prevent him from being fully in accord



with the policy which France pursues in Algeria, a policy of assimilation which under a high protective tariff is not far different from that of exclusion; he even goes so far as to advocate the adoption of a similar policy for Tunis. With regard to other colonial possessions the writer is in favor of customs autonomy or "personality". Apparently his studies convinced him that assimilation proved injurious to the colonists, not one of the assimilated colonies, outside of Algeria, being satisfied with its lot. A few French manufacturers benefited, but their benefit was obtained at the expense of the colonial inhabitants, who were prevented from buying and selling in the nearest markets.

The "bringing together of producer and consumer" idea, enunciated by Carey, is accepted by Mr. Girault, who considers it as one of the important arguments in favor of a protective system. He does not stop to inquire whether goods would be transported if their transportation was really useless and if it represented, as he says, "a real cost in time and expense" (p. 282) as compared with domestic transportation.

The author seems also to be quite satisfied that "political domination" over the colonies constitutes "a considerable advantage for the national industry, an advantage perhaps even more important than that resulting from the application of the national tariff" (p. 283). If it is true that "commerce follows the flag" (p. 5), if the flag is the leading factor in the development of business relations, then colonies will always remain "an apple of discord among nations", and Professor Girault's attempt to brush aside the difficulty by stating that "there is room for all in all colonies" (p. 5) will not suffice to prevent the spirit of conquest from finding an "echo or support in the world of business".

The real merit of this work lies in the analysis of the causes of the colonial tariff policies under the changing governments of France and in a careful presentation of the effect of these policies upon the economic status of each colony; as such it forms an important contribution to the study of the subject.

SIMON LITMAN.

*The Menace of Japan.* By Frederick McCormick. (Boston, Little, Brown, and Company, 1917, pp. vi, 372.) It is difficult to write a serious review of a book which no thoughtful reader could for a moment take seriously. Such a book is *The Menace of Japan* by Frederick McCormick. According to the author "Japan is a world ogre, as shown throughout every civilized land east and west". The present "menace", however, is functioning primarily in China, and the book purports to describe the many instances in which Japan has ridden roughshod over American rights and interests in that arena. The author's only solution is war. He rejects all means of arriving at any understanding, for he believes we are obliged "to inculcate among coming and present Americans the principles of war with Japan". Little is said about the immigration question—that depends upon the outcome of the war we must fight in Asia.

Shorn of its repetitions, its involved and at times unintelligible phraseology, and its amazing figures of speech, the text could be reduced to about one-third its size. Offering no new information, it deals with the Portsmouth Treaty, the Harriman railway schemes in Manchuria, the Hukuang loan, the currency loan, the Knox neutralization proposal, the Russo-Japanese entente, and the withdrawal of American shipping from the Pacific. It is concerned primarily with questions of commerce and finance. Japan is held responsible for every set-back which American enterprise has received, although at times the "predatory pack" of Manchurian allies, including Japan, Russia, France, and England, share the blame, with Japan always as the masterful leader.

Mr. McCormick, however, would prove too much. He himself tells us that Secretary Root, President Wilson, Senator LaFollette, and others have helped to force the United States out of the Far East. And he leaves out of consideration two very important factors. Japan, by geographical location, has greater vital interests in China than any third power, east or west. And if the "Open Door" is preserved there it must be largely done by the Chinese themselves. For the United States and Japan to become involved in war over the "Open Door" or the integrity of China would be wicked and futile. It might be well to wait and see how the readjustments after the "Great War" affect the Far East. The present volume need not be taken too seriously. The perusal of a few pages will show how loosely the author writes and reasons. His historical allusions are frequently amusing, and at times amazing, and his careless use of such terms as "possession", "domination", "command of the Pacific", "monopoly", "Open Door", is disconcerting. He might well have taken to heart one of his own dicta: "Not only can no man judge to-day what a people may be to-morrow: he cannot with appreciable certainty determine wholly what they are to-day."

*Lighthouses and Lightships of the United States.* By George R. Putnam. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1917, pp. xiii, 308.) There is many an American who thinks it no blemish on his patriotism to think ill of his government, perhaps because Congress does not abound in wisdom, or perhaps because the Cabinet is not selected from his own party. The holder of such opinions might often be led into more cheerful views if he could make thorough acquaintance, from the inside, with any one of many bureaus of the executive branch of the federal government, and could see with what intelligence and devotion it is managed—intelligence and devotion which, by the way, have greatly increased in the last fifteen years. Among such divisions of the executive government the lighthouse service has always taken a high rank. It may fairly be called a model of competent administration and scientific ingenuity in the general staff and of faithfulness, endurance, and helpfulness in the rank and file; and Mr. Putnam's ex-

position of its history, plant, equipment, operations, and personnel is also a model. The competence of the descriptive part is assured by the fact that the author has for several years been commissioner of lighthouses—a fact nowhere mentioned in his modest volume. The historical portions, written in a plain style but not without appreciation of the elements of interest involved, present the story of many of the older lighthouses, beginning with Boston Light in 1716, an account of the development of federal lighthouse administration from the legislation of 1789 to 1910, and a variety of incidents illustrative of engineering skill on the one hand or of personal heroism on the other. For the material in these historical pages, colonial newspapers and local histories have to some extent been drawn upon, but chiefly the valuable manuscript records of the lighthouse service itself. It is much to be wished that many another bureau of the government might have its history and operations described in the same competent and entertaining way. Mr. Putnam's volume ought surely to enhance greatly the general public's interest in the lighthouse service and appreciation of its invaluable and devoted work.

*Benjamin Franklin, Printer.* By John Clyde Oswald. (New York, Doubleday, Page, and Company, for the Associated Advertising Clubs of the World, 1917, pp. xv, 224.) Mr. Oswald, editor of the *American Printer*, frankly tells how his book came to be written, and limited in time by a need of meeting a certain occasion—the convention of the Associated Advertising Clubs in Philadelphia—he admits that the work was “performed somewhat hurriedly”. A collector of Franklin material, he had long cherished a wish to write such a book, but the result cannot be regarded as a successful use of the available material. It is rather a sketch of a part of Franklin's life, with special reference to his printing achievements, some of the chapters having little connection with that subject. A suggestion on the printers who came before Franklin begins the volume, and the well-known events in Franklin's early life—the *New England Courant*, his escape to Philadelphia, Keith's default, his London experience, and his return to Philadelphia—are once more related. Of Franklin as a real printer, journalist, and almanac-maker there was little to tell that was new without a somewhat technical and bibliographical investigation of the subject, or, at least, a careful study of the Franklin manuscripts. This Mr. Oswald does not appear to have done, or he could hardly have failed to discover the important series of letters from James Parker to Franklin, which have been printed in the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The single letter of Parker, drawn from another source, which he does print is worth many pages of his own writing. He has quoted from such authorities as P. L. Ford, Smyth, Hildeburn, and Livingston, but the general impression left on the reader is that the study would have gained much by concentration on Franklin, the printer. Livingston's

account of Franklin's press at Passy shows what a field exists for such a study, and the material is abundant. Mr. Oswald has compiled a popular account of Franklin, and the many illustrations give his volume a value apart from the text; but he has hardly scratched the surface of the subject.

*Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio, 1778-1779.* Edited with Introduction and Notes by Louise Phelps Kellogg. [Publications of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Collections, vol. XXIII., Draper Series, vol. IV.] (Madison, Wis., the Society, 1916, pp. 509.) In this volume Miss Kellogg has edited a series of documents descriptive of frontier defense on the upper Ohio, the Pennsylvania and Virginia frontiers, covering a period of fifteen months, from May, 1778, to July, 1779. The volume is a continuation of three volumes issued in former years entitled respectively *Documentary History of Dunmore's War, 1774*, *The Revolution on the Upper Ohio, 1775-1777*, and *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1774-1778*, which were edited under the joint supervision of Miss Kellogg and the late Dr. Thwaites. This series, which has been supported hitherto by the Wisconsin Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, has now, with the present volume, been taken over by the Wisconsin Historical Society. Future volumes designed to cover the frontier history of the entire Revolutionary period are also promised.

In the present volume the documents are taken mainly from the Draper Collection in the library of the Wisconsin Historical Society. The Washington Papers in the Library of Congress are also drawn upon for a considerable number. There are in all about 250 original documents; of this number about sixty-six come from the Washington Papers, and about twenty-five from the letter-books of Col. George Morgan. This is in striking contrast to the policy followed in the previous volumes of the series, which restricted the publication almost wholly to the Draper Collection. Another innovation is the printing of summaries of some fifty-five documents which have been printed in other collections. About a dozen "Recollections" of participants in the border struggles, obtained by the late Dr. Draper years after the events happened, are included.

Prefaced by a well-written introduction, based upon the documents which follow, the volume picks up the thread of the narrative beginning with the recall of General Hand from the command of the Continental troops at Fort Pitt and surrounding territory and the succession of General McIntosh, the personal choice of Washington for the western command. The sundry projects for an expedition to Detroit, Niagara, and into the Ohio country, the negotiations and treaties with the Delaware and other Indian nations, and the various measures for the defense of the border settlements against the counter-attacks of the British and Indians are illustrated in detail. Failure in most of the larger offensive

enterprises was due to the machinations of such men as Col. George Morgan, Indian agent in the West, and his friends, the lack of intelligent co-operation between the Continental and Virginia forces, and the general ignorance of Congress as to western conditions. But despite this general lack of harmony, with the resulting lamentable failure so frequently suggested throughout the documents, the small Continental force performed a signal service in holding the frontier intact until the more spectacular expedition of George Rogers Clark had removed the British menace from the West.

The volume is accompanied by a wealth of explanatory foot-notes and a complete index. In mechanical appearance and in execution it is far superior to any of its predecessors and is in harmony with forms now fast becoming standard.

C. E. CARTER.

*The Jumel Mansion, being a full History of the House on Harlem Heights built by Roger Morris before the Revolution, together with some Account of its more notable Occupants.* By William Henry Shelton. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1916, pp. xii, 257.) It may be said at once that this sumptuous volume will be—in all probability—the authoritative source on the famous mansion and its occupants. The author is the curator of the property, and has had access to many documents, and the book bears ample evidence of the extent of his researches.

Mr. Shelton describes in detail the house and its origin. He emphasizes the special features of the construction, dwells on its environment, and illustrates with a wealth of plans the arrangement of its quaint colonial rooms. The builder, Roger Morris, a British colonel, and his wife the celebrated Mary Philipse, were the earliest occupants. To them succeeded Revolutionary soldiers, and for a few weeks in the autumn of 1776 the building was Washington's headquarters. During this time occurred the battle of Harlem Heights, various courts martial and dinners, and the great fire in New York city. The American retreat caused the transfer of the mansion into British possession for the remainder of the war. On the conclusion of peace the Morris property was confiscated; it changed ownership several times, and in 1810 the title passed to the wealthy and ill-fated merchant Stephen Jumel. Its historic events had been numerous already, including a state dinner given by President Washington.

The writer recounts at considerable length the family history of the notorious Betsy Bowen who became Madame Jumel; her life in the mansion, her visits to France, her marriage to Aaron Burr, and the eccentricities and insanity of her last years. Considerable space is devoted to the *causes célèbres* in the litigation over the estate. In 1903 the house was acquired by the city. It came under the control of the Daughters of the American Revolution and was partially restored. A suggested scheme for a further scientific restoration concludes the book.

Mr. Shelton disposes of various legends: that the house was built in 1758 instead of in 1765-1766; that Mme. Jumel entertained in the mansion Lafayette and Louis Napoleon; and other pleasing fables. By far the most striking historical contribution is the author's excursus on the great fire of September, 1776, and the connection therein of Nathan Hale. His thesis briefly is: Hale was concerned in the patriotic plan to burn New York city; he was not a "spy" in the ordinary sense, and was not within the British lines for the purpose of obtaining sketches of forts; he was executed for his part in the unsuccessful incendiary attempt. These claims are supported with much marshalling of documentary evidence and plausibility of reasoning.

The reviewer has observed no slips of consequence. One may question the proportion of space allotted to the law-suits and to the unsavory chronicles of the Bowen family. The volume is well illustrated, and is a creditable and attractive addition to the list of works on famous American houses.

EDMUND K. ALDEN.

*Political Opinion in Massachusetts during Civil War and Reconstruction.* By Edith Ellen Ware, Ph.D., Instructor in History in Smith College. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Columbia University, vol. LXXIV., no. 2, whole no. 175.] (New York, Columbia University, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1916, pp. 219.) In the first three chapters, which occupy approximately one-third of the work, Miss Ware has made a careful study of the changes in political opinion in Massachusetts between the election of 1860 and the end of the year 1861. Changes in opinion from that time to the end of the Civil War are presented in two chapters, under the headings Emancipation and the Rise and Fall of Copperheadism. The remaining chapter is devoted in part to a detailed statement of the different theories of reconstruction prevalent in Massachusetts, and in part to a survey of political issues to the year 1876. This method brings out clearly the most striking phases of political opinion in Massachusetts during the period that Miss Ware has selected, though possibly one result is that the characteristics of the various leaders in Massachusetts and their personal careers do not stand out as they would if another method had been chosen. At the beginning of the book, in particular, one misses the characterization of these men.

The period chosen by Miss Ware offers an excellent opportunity for the study of manuscript material. The official correspondence of Governor Andrew at the State House, the Charles Sumner Papers and other collections in the Harvard University Library, the Weston and the Garrison manuscripts at the Boston Public Library, the Winthrop, Bancroft, and Schouler manuscripts, and the Amos A. Lawrence papers, in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society, offer a rich field, which Miss Ware has investigated with great success. She has

also made use of six volumes of privately printed *Reminiscences and Letters* of John Murray Forbes. In particular has she studied the newspapers of Massachusetts, and her account of the press during the sixties in appendix II. is highly interesting and valuable. If one asks for more here he would perhaps express the wish that the characterization of the Boston *Advertiser* had been as complete as is that of the Springfield *Republican*.

Many interesting points come out in the text as the result of Miss Ware's careful study of her sources—for example, the effect upon public opinion at the beginning of 1861 of the general business depression, and the opposition of the Irish newspaper in Boston to emancipation. The account of McClellan's visit to Boston early in 1863 is well worked out, and full recognition is given in both text and appendix to the importance of the New England Loyal Publication Society.

There is some carelessness in the copying of proper names, and the reference to the librarian of the Massachusetts Historical Society as the late Dr. Samuel A. Green is regrettable.

*Downing's Civil War Diary.* By Sergeant Alexander G. Downing, Company E, Eleventh Iowa Infantry, Third Brigade, "Crocker's Brigade", Sixth Division of the Seventeenth Corps, Army of the Tennessee. August 15, 1861—July 31, 1865. Edited by Olynthus B. Clark, Ph.D., Professor of History in Drake University. (Des Moines, Historical Department of Iowa, 1916, pp. vi, 325.) Sergeant Downing served throughout the Civil War. He participated in thirty-eight battles and skirmishes. He was present at Shiloh and in the engagements around Vicksburg, and was with Sherman in the campaign before Atlanta and on the march through Georgia and the Carolinas.

His diary covers the entire period. Unfortunately, as published, it is not in its original form. Sergeant Downing was unwilling that it should be. It has been corrected and enlarged, the editor having used both the diary as first written and a revision prepared by Sergeant Downing in 1914, which included much additional material. The editor has performed his difficult task capably. The result, however, makes wearisome reading, for the matter added to satisfy the original diarist has overloaded the book without in any way increasing its interest or value.

But the student who persists through the three hundred pages is well rewarded. He has the story, honestly told, of the daily life of the man in the ranks in the Western armies; and he is given a picture of the best type of the American volunteer: a manly, straightforward boy, who did his duty simply and courageously.

Of special interest at this time are the entries telling of the gathering of the volunteers in the early months of the war; their training, or rather lack of training, and the unnecessary hardships to which they were subjected through the inefficiency of authorities ignorant of mili-

tary administration and organization. The men themselves were of the best fighting stock, young and adventurous. The entry describing the composition of Sergeant Downing's company is worth quoting:

My company, E, has ninety-seven men. They are of several different nationalities; as follows: Three from Canada, four from Ireland, two from England, two from Germany, and one from France; the rest are American-born; twenty-three from Ohio, twenty-one from Pennsylvania, sixteen from New York, eight from Indiana, six from Iowa, two each from Michigan and Vermont, and one each from Maryland and Maine. The average age is less than twenty years, and there are eight married men.

Perhaps the most interesting entries in the diary are those covering the march to the sea and through the Carolinas. One is reminded of Henry W. Grady's description of General Sherman as "a kind of careless man about fire".

The book is well printed and has a full index. There is an appendix with a short autobiographical sketch, "some observations", and a roll of Company E.

*A Financial History of Texas.* By Edmund Thornton Miller, Adjunct Professor of Economics in the University of Texas. [Bulletin of the University of Texas, no. 37.] (Austin, Texas, University of Texas, 1916, pp. viii, 444.) The publication of Professor Miller's *Financial History of Texas* again calls to attention the primitive character of our financial machinery—and its message is a quiet appeal for the establishment of a budgetary régime. Not only do the records of our states afford splendid examples of finances gone wild, but those of the nation are equally wild. It is only through analyses, such as the present volume has attempted, that the serious condition of things is borne home.

It is fair to say that no state offers so rich a field for exploitation as does Texas, whose history lies across two and a quarter centuries, flecked by the flags of five several powers. In that earlier time there was some excuse for floundering—conditions were imperious, appalling; but nowadays? If one were frank and fearless fairly to criticize the administrations of to-day, it might be said that ignorance of financial devices and of the fundamental principles of budgetary operations was never more flagrantly displayed. This is indeed what the author leaves to be inferred.

In 1852 the *Fiscal History of Texas* was published by William Gouge, and not since his day to the present volume has a serious effort been made to follow the financial fortunes of Texas. Gouge's book, for the period it covers, has merit of a sort; but Professor Miller's is final. He has shown his clear thinking by recognizing economics as a large factor only in the unfolding of history. He has grouped his data under the large heads: the Spanish-Mexican Period, the Republic, the State, the Civil War, Reconstruction, etc.



Not only is his scheme excellent—he has well pursued it. His researches have been exhaustive. Naturally, the early period under Spain affords little light on the scant economic life of the colony; the Mexican period fares better in this respect, while for the republic he has ransacked the records of the Consultations, Councils, and Conventions, as well as the enactments of Congress. The financial struggles of the republic, with its utter helplessness, are admirably set out.

For the later periods, obviously, there is heavy multiplication of data, but the same careful researches have been made. The book is not a mere chronicle of legislative enactments, but the results of the operation of laws are followed, together with court decisions, etc. Even the attitude of the public towards this or that measure is pursued through the press.

All in all the work is well done. It now remains for some strong man to apply the lessons which grow out of this statement of the state's finances—in a word to reform taxes, to create a new régime, to establish a budget on modern scientific lines.

W. F. M.

*Bibliografía de Luz y Caballero.* Por Domingo Figarola-Caneda, Director de la Biblioteca Nacional de la Habana. Segunda Edición, corregida y aumentada. (Havana, Imprenta "el Siglo XX" de Aurelio Miranda, 1915, pp. xv, 272.) Though Luz y Caballero credited Padre Varela with having first taught his countrymen to think, he himself seemingly holds that place of honor in the opinion of his countrymen. His writings are, indeed, modest in volume; but he enjoyed, as scholar, educator, courageous thinker, and outspoken patriot, a rare leadership among his contemporaries; and this bibliography shows that the anniversary of his death is still annually celebrated half a century thereafter. Decidedly more than half of the 1300 items of the volume date since the beginning of Cuba's modern life in 1878.

The book contains: first, a bibliography of every bit of writing of which Luz y Caballero is known or supposed to be the author (including even reprints of single aphorisms!); second, a notice of all his likenesses (portraits, masks, statues), of every monument, tablet, and medal dedicated to his honor, of isographs, and of coats of arms, seals, and furniture associated with his life; third, a list of every book, essay, address, poem, and newspaper article of specifically biographical or critical content, and also (apparently) of every other discoverable reference to him (such as the dedication of a book, or even mere allusions).

The reviewer does not agree with Sr. Figarola (p. xiii) that the form of the bibliographical descriptions is that best calculated to make clear the nature of the prints referred to (*e. g.*, no actual dimensions are given). The book is open, also, to one criticism of substance. Everything is deliberately excluded which the compiler has not himself both seen and (p. x) retained note of. But when the inclusion of that

seen is even meticulous, why not include, with due disclaimer of responsibility, titles that others vouch for? Sr. Figarola's rule ignores the interests of investigators.

Whatever differences of opinion there may be as to such details, however, the book is a valuable tribute to a worthy subject, betokening a fine allegiance to letters and idealism.

F. S. PHILBRICK.

*La Trata de Negros: Datos para su Estudio en el Rio de la Plata.* Por Diego Luis Molinari. (Buenos Aires, Compañía Sud-Americana de Billetes de Banco, 1916, pp. 97, with maps.) Though Dr. Diego Luis Molinari (who studied history at the University of Illinois, and is now Assistant Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Argentine Republic) modestly states (p. 77) that the history of the abolition of slavery in the River Plate is yet to be written, he has contributed much valuable information in his careful study on the subject of the former negro population in what are now the republics of Argentina and Uruguay. There is probably no other instance in the history of colonization where such a large imported colored population has disappeared in such a comparatively short space of time. As in Mauritius, and in some of the northern United States, a contributory cause was the lack of economic employment for the negro slave. Dr. Molinari also furnishes in this well-documented essay much valuable material regarding the status of foreigners during the Spanish colonial era.

CHARLES LYON CHANDLER.

## COMMUNICATION

TO THE MANAGING EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

*Dear Sir:*

WITH reference to the notice of my *Prolegomena to History* in the April number, may I call attention to the fact that the comments of Professor Fling are just a dogmatic reiteration of certain pronouncements in regard to history which he took over some fourteen or fifteen years ago from the German philosopher Heinrich Rickert, and that, so far as he is from addressing himself to the topic in hand, no one could discover from his remarks that the argument he now presents again had been fully considered in my publication.

The formula which Professor Fling has adopted necessitates the setting up of an opposition between "science" and "natural science", and hence he has ignored the section in which I point out that, while everyone to-day uses the word "science" in a sense to suit himself, there is a well-defined "method of science" which may be applied to any subject-matter whatsoever. It is, therefore, immaterial whether Professor Fling and Herr Rickert desire to apply the term "science" to a form of literature like historiography; what does matter is that the method of science has not been applied to the subject-matter which historiography utilizes in one particular way. The point is that Professor Fling is in the position of maintaining that the historical student is, for some unassigned reason, to be debarred from utilizing the results of historical investigation for any other purpose than the construction of a "unique synthesis".

Now, it is of the highest importance that the historical student should come to realize what this programme involves. There can be no possible objection to the maintenance of the tradition of history-writing, but it is high time we began to understand the kind of basis upon which historiography rests. Professor Fling in adopting Rickert's argument is simply using the weapon that lies to his hand in order to defend the traditional practice of historians, but he has not taken the trouble to see where his argument leads.

The methodological principle adopted by the historian is that his aim would be accomplished by stating what it was that had happened *in the form of narrative*. As a mode of explanation, however, narrative is unsatisfactory, for it can be carried out only by the selection, from among the many happenings that might be included, of such events as appear to be of importance to a particular individual at a particular time. This defect has long been recognized by the open admission that history must continually be rewritten, not so much because of the discovery of new facts, but because of the attainment in successive generations of new points of view. And here is the crux of the methodological problem for the historian: selection of facts for presentation can be made only in the light of some personal interest or general idea. Selection implies a theory of value, a basis for estimating the relative importance of events.

The most obvious basis of selection is the interest excited in the mind of the historian by the outcome of a specific series of happenings, more particularly when this takes what we speak of as a dramatic form. Nevertheless, this dramatic unity is essentially episodal, for it cannot be made applicable to history as a whole. Hence men have been driven, in the effort to create a synthesis of human events, to formulate, consciously or unconsciously, some abstract idea as to the meaning or significance of the course of history. In recent times, the most usual form of this activity has been the attempt to define the "law" or principle of "progress".

Now, such attempts to formulate a "philosophy of history" are, necessarily, based upon the presupposition that all human history constitutes a unity, that all human events may be regarded as a single, unique sequence of happenings. And the mutual dependence of the two is aptly illustrated in Professor Fling's contention that *history is the unique synthesis of human evolution*. Without postulating some philosophical principle by which unity is introduced into history, it is useless to speak of a unique sequence of events; the synthesis is entirely dependent upon the informing idea. The simple fact is that we are not presented in experience with one history, but with many. The histories of Japan, China, Turkestan, Russia, Germany, France, England, are unique, and cannot be reduced to one save by the imposition of some vague hypothesis such as that of "social evolution".

There are many histories, and this manifoldness reveals our task as historical students if we can overcome our predilection for the method of philosophy and adopt the method of science. That task is, not the writing of narratives based upon some undefined philosophy of history, but the comparison of these several histories with the object of ascertaining the elements which they exhibit in common.

In conclusion, may I say that, whether as students or as men, we cannot escape the appeal of the world-situation of to-day. Amid the turmoil, the fact stands out with painful clarity that after all the energy that has been expended upon the study of human affairs we know less about man than about any other phenomenon of nature. The question comes very close to us at the present moment whether, instead of utilizing the facts of history to construct narratives ever to be rewritten, we may not utilize these same facts to elicit scientific knowledge. What of?—of the way in which man everywhere has come to be as he is; a problem which can be dealt with only through the study of history. Is it improper for us as historical students to endeavor to contribute in some degree to the welfare of humanity? Let us remember that Darwin's imperfect analysis of the processes of biological evolution revolutionized, within a few years, our ideas of nature. Is it too daring a suggestion that the historian, through the application to his own materials of the method of science, might similarly aid in throwing light upon the obstacles and difficulties that now lie in the path of mankind?

FREDERICK J. TEGGART.

## HISTORICAL NEWS

From June 23 until September 18, the address of the managing editor will be J. F. Jameson, North Edgecomb, Maine. Express parcels and telegrams should, however, be addressed to Wiscasset, Maine.

### AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The committees in charge of the thirty-third annual meeting have made such progress that it is possible to make in this issue a tentative announcement of the sort which commonly appears in our October number. The meetings will commence on Thursday morning, December 27, and will close on Saturday evening, December 29. The headquarters of the convention and the bureau of registration will be at the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel. On Thursday morning there will be a general session at 10 o'clock, devoted to American history, with papers probably by Professors A. C. McLaughlin and F. J. Turner. In the afternoon the conference of archivists will be held, and conferences on ancient history (probably a joint session with the Archaeological Institute of America) and on medieval and English history. These will be followed by dinners of special groups, in continuation of the practice inaugurated at Cincinnati. In the evening Mr. Worthington C. Ford will deliver the presidential address, after which there will be a reception. All the sessions of Friday will be held at the University of Pennsylvania. In the morning there will be conferences on church history (a joint session with the American Society of Church History), and on military history and war economics, as well as a session of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. In the afternoon and evening there will be general sessions, the former on modern history, the latter probably on historiography. Luncheon and supper will be served at the University, and there will be a smoker after the evening session. On Saturday morning will be held the annual conference of historical societies, a conference on the history of the Far East, and the usual conference of history teachers, which will be a joint session with the History Teachers' Association of the Middle States and Maryland. The afternoon will be devoted to the annual business meeting, and in the evening a general session, the precise nature of which has not yet been determined, will bring the meetings to a close.

The General Index to Papers and Annual Reports of the American Historical Association, prepared by David M. Matteson, has been completed in manuscript and is now in the hands of the Public Printer. It will be issued as volume II. of the *Annual Report* for 1914 and will

include all the volumes of *Papers* and *Annual Reports* to the *Annual Report* for 1914, inclusive. The *Annual Report* for 1915, in one volume, is in page-proof at the Government Printing Office and should be issued early in the fall. The *Annual Report* for 1916, in two volumes, the second volume containing the papers of R. M. T. Hunter, edited by Professor C. H. Ambler, is on the point of going to press.

#### NATIONAL BOARD FOR HISTORICAL SERVICE

In the last days of April, under the auspices of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington, a conference of some fifteen or twenty historical scholars, representing different parts of the country, was held to discuss the question, what the members of that profession, as such, could do for the government or the public in time of war. The result of their two days' discussion was the formation of a National Board for Historical Service, now organized as follows: Messrs. James T. Shotwell of Columbia University, chairman; Charles H. Hull of Cornell University, vice-chairman; Waldo G. Leland, secretary; Victor S. Clark of Washington, Robert D. W. Connor of North Carolina, Carl R. Fish of Wisconsin, Guy S. Ford of Minnesota, Evarts B. Greene of Illinois, Charles D. Hazen of Columbia University, Gaillard Hunt of the Library of Congress, Henry Johnson of Teachers College, and Frederick J. Turner of Harvard University. This board has been in continuous activity since early in May, as many members sojourning in Washington as can from time to time be there; it expects to continue its activities throughout the duration of the war. Its address is 1133 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

The main function of the board will be to serve the nation, in a time when the national problems of war and of ultimate peace cannot receive their best solution without the light of historical knowledge, by mediating between the possessors of such knowledge on the one hand, and on the other hand the government and the public who need it; in a word, to mobilize the historical forces of the country for all the services to which they can be put. To this end, the board endeavors to keep in relation with as many historical scholars as possible, desires their constant aid and counsel, and from large numbers of them has received the most generous promises of assistance.

While maintaining entire independence of the government, the Board is in close relations with the official Committee on Public Information and with the Bureau of Education, and has already rendered valuable services to both, by appropriate supply of historical information for their publications, and by eliciting expert opinion as to those problems of history teaching which the war has brought into existence. It has obtained the cordial co-operation of the *History Teacher's Magazine*, which will follow up with a series of articles on these new problems of historical education the bulletin on the subject, prepared by

the board, which the Bureau of Education expects to issue early in the autumn.

The board has also made arrangements with publishers, with editors of magazines, with newspapers, and with organizations which issue pamphlets, for the presentation to the public of material which it may secure from historical scholars. It has aided in organizing courses of historical lectures, bearing on the issues of the war, in various summer schools and institutes. It has directed the attention of historical societies and libraries to the importance of a timely collecting of material on the war, and has framed plans for a systematic and intelligent prosecution of such work. It has organized auxiliary committees for local co-operation, and has maintained a large and interesting correspondence with the members of the historical profession.

In all these valuable activities, the board intends to keep strictly within the lines of what is proper to historical students as such. To propagate any set of opinions, to advocate any course of policy, to swerve in any way from historical impartiality, is no part of its programme. Its doctrine is that, supplied with adequate information, the public can be trusted to choose its own political course, and that in the impartial supply of such appropriate information as is strictly historical in character there is a sufficient function for any organization of historical scholars. The reader of pages 831-835 above, will not doubt that the *American Historical Review* is strongly of this opinion, and that it will give cordial aid, whenever it can, to the operations of the board.

#### PERSONAL

Antonin Debidour, professor of history at the Sorbonne, died on February 20, 1917, aged seventy years. He began his career at the University of Nancy. He is best known for his *Histoire Diplomatique de l'Europe du Congrès de Vienne au Congrès de Berlin* (2 vols., 1891) and its continuation, *Histoire Diplomatique de l'Europe depuis le Congrès de Berlin jusqu'à Nos Jours* (2 vols., 1916-1917), which he was just completing at the time of his death (see pp. 862-864, *ante*); *Histoire des Rapports de l'Église et de l'État en France de 1789 à 1890* (1898); and *L'Église Catholique et l'État en France sous la Troisième République* (2 vols., 1906-1909). Besides numerous other works he had edited three volumes of the *Recueil des Actes du Directoire Exécutif* (1910-1914). His death was hastened by the disappearance of his son in the war.

Prosper Cultru, professor of the history of the French colonies at the Sorbonne, died February 10, 1917, aged fifty-five years. His writings included a life of Dupleix (1901), and histories of Cochin China (1909) and Senegal (1910).

Professor Paul Vinogradoff of Oxford has been knighted.

Professor St. George L. Sioussat, of Vanderbilt University, has been elected to the Littlefield professorship of American history in Brown University, in succession to Professor William MacDonald.

Professor George B. Adams, who has for twenty-nine years been professor of history in Yale University, has retired from his professorship.

Dr. Francis W. Coker, of the Ohio State University, will teach in Yale University during the next academic year, taking the place of Professor Allen Johnson, whose leave of absence has been extended.

Dr. Edward L. Stevenson has a year's leave-of-absence, March to March, from his duties as secretary of the Hispanic Society of America.

Dr. Eugene M. Curtis, formerly of the University of Wisconsin, has been appointed assistant professor of history in Goucher College.

Professor Bernadotte E. Schmitt, now assistant professor of history in Western Reserve University, has been promoted to an associate professorship.

The University of Michigan has granted to Professor Ulrich B. Phillips a leave of absence for the first half of the academic year 1917-1918.

Professor Frederic A. Ogg, of the University of Wisconsin, is lecturing on colonial history during the present summer session of Columbia University; Professor W. T. Root teaches in that of the University of Chicago.

Dr. Wallace Notestein has been promoted from the rank of associate professor to that of professor in the University of Minnesota.

Professor A. T. Olmstead of the University of Missouri has been appointed professor of history in the University of Illinois. His special historical field will be ancient history in the Near East.

Professor Walter L. Fleming, head of the department of history in Louisiana State University, will give two courses in history at the summer session of the University of Texas.

In the University of California Mr. Louis J. Paetow has been advanced from an assistant professorship to an associate professorship of medieval history, and Dr. Herbert I. Priestley has been made an assistant professor.

Mr. Yamato Ichihashi of Leland Stanford University has been appointed an assistant professor of history in that university.



## GENERAL

The April number of the *History Teacher's Magazine* is chiefly occupied with the official report of the conference, held at the Cincinnati meeting of the American Historical Association, on Field and Method of the Elementary College Course. There is, besides, a discussion of the question What should we attempt in Collateral Reading and how shall we test it? The May number contains an article by Professor Albert E. McKinley on the War and History Teaching in Europe, which is not only informing upon some of the changes in history teaching in Europe wrought by the war but is suggestive of means and methods of bettering the teaching of patriotism and civics in this country. Other articles are: the Outline Map and how to use It, by W. L. Wallace; and the Use of Magazines in History Teaching, by Professor D. S. Duncan. The June number is devoted almost wholly to articles concerned with the entrance of the United States into the Great War. "Bobbie and the War, by Bobbie's Father", is an explanation of the more important aspects of the war, from the point of view of an American, in reply to questions propounded by a boy fourteen years old. The Great War: from Spectator to Participant, by Professor A. C. McLaughlin, is a restrained but stimulating presentation of the case of the United States. Professor Herman V. Ames discusses in a very helpful manner the question How far should the Teaching of History and Civics be used as a Means of Encouraging Patriotism? Dr. Arthur P. Scott, using the title "The Passing of Splendid Isolation", points out how the United States has become a world power, is now engaged in a world war, and "cannot honorably shirk the task of helping to forge a new world organization". Professor J. T. Shotwell gives an account of the organization of the recently constituted National Board for Historical Service and sets forth its principal aims; Professor C. D. Hazen presents a list of important books upon recent European history; and Professor G. M. Dutcher a list of books suitable for "Summer Reading on the War".

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has recently issued, as no. 26, a pamphlet of documents concerning the treaty relations between the United States and Prussia; as no. 27, a body of official documents relating to the Armed Neutrality of 1780 and 1800; and as no. 28, a body of Extracts from American and Foreign Works on International Law, concerning those neutral agreements. The Endowment expects before long to issue a large volume of the reports made to the Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907 by the several commissions which prepared the conventions and declarations of those conferences, together with pertinent documents. It has in contemplation the printing of a collection of the classic projects for international organization; another of the prize decisions of the belligerent countries during the present war, and another of American diplomatic corre-

spondence respecting the emancipation of the Latin-American countries, 1810-1830, to be edited by Professor William R. Manning of the University of Texas. The diplomatic correspondence between the United States and belligerent governments relating to neutral rights and commerce, published in two special supplements to the *American Journal of International Law*, for July, 1915, and October, 1916, has been largely distributed by the Endowment in a special edition of two volumes, indexed.

Muller, Feith, and Fruin's *Handleiding voor het Ordenen en Beschrijven van Archieven*, published in 1908, is the standard work upon its subject (the classifying and describing of archives), and has been translated into German, French, and Italian. The original edition being now out of print, Messrs. S. Muller Fz. and R. Fruin, the two surviving authors, are preparing a new one, with aid from the official Dutch Society of Archivists.

Mr. J. W. Jeurwine has, in *Manufacture of Historical Material* (Williams and Norgate), given expression to many useful ideas, though the book is marred by some inaccuracies.

The eighth course of James Schouler Lectures on History and Political Science was delivered at the Johns Hopkins University, in March, by Dr. David J. Hill, who chose as his general subject International Readjustments. The substance of the lectures will appear in the *Century Magazine* throughout the summer and, in October, will be published as a book.

The *Tsing Hua Journal*, published by the faculty and students of Tsing Hua College in Peking, prints in a special issue for March, 1917 (pp. 49), a series of six lectures on the Representative Idea in History, delivered at the college during the year 1916 by Professor R. M. McElroy of Princeton, N. J.

Messrs. Putnam are soon to publish *France, England, and European Democracy, 1215-1915: an Historical Survey of the Principles underlying the Entente Cordiale*, by Professor Charles Cestre, of the University of Bordeaux. The volume has been translated by Professor Leslie M. Turner of the University of California.

The January number of the *Military Historian and Economist* contains two historical articles, a brief one by Professor Julius von Pflugk-Harttung on Front and Rear of the Battle Line at Waterloo; the other by Dr. Justin H. Smith on Our Preparation for the War of 1846-1848. The April number also contains two historical articles, one on the Discipline in an English Army of the Fifteenth Century (that of Henry V.), by Mr. R. A. Newhall, and the valuable paper on England and Neutral Trade which Professor William E. Lingelbach read before the American Historical Association last December.

For historians the greatest interest possessed by Sir Thomas Holdich's *Political Frontiers and Boundary Making* (Macmillan and Company) will be found in the author's descriptions of the Russo-Persian and Russo-Afghan frontiers, but the entire study of demarcation lines is suggestive.

The Oxford University Press publishes a volume of selections from Sir Walter Raleigh's *Historie of the World*, and from his letters, edited with introduction and notes by Mr. G. E. Hadow (pp. 212). The same press also announces a volume on *The Beginnings of Overseas Enterprise*, by Sir Charles P. Lucas, with an appendix containing the first charter to the Merchant Adventurers.

The American Jewish Historical Society held its twenty-fifth annual meeting in the city of New York April 22 and 23. Among the papers read at the meeting were the following: Napoleon and the Jews, by Dr. Abraham A. Neuman; Colonel David S. Franks, by Leon Hühner; Jewish Rights at the Congresses of Vienna and Aix-la-Chapelle, by Max J. Kohler; the Aims and Tasks of the Science of Jewish History, by Professor Alexander Marx; and Cotton Mather and the Jews, and "Six French Men-of-War full of Jews at Louisburgh", two papers, by Lee M. Friedman.

The April number of the *Journal of Negro History* contains among its articles one by Mr. John M. Mecklin on "The Development of the Slave Status in American Democracy", pt. I.; G. D. Huston's "John Woolman's Efforts in Behalf of Freedom"; and a study of the life and character of Francis Williams, a Jamaica negro, by T. H. MacDermot, editor of the *Jamaica Times*. The Document section consists of extracts from travellers' accounts of slavery conditions in various parts of the United States between 1679 and 1860. Among the Notes is an interesting one on negro soldiers in the American Revolution.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Davillé, *Le Retour à la Tradition Française en Histoire* (*Revue des Études Napoléoniennes*, May).

#### ANCIENT HISTORY

I. Sandalgian has written a *Histoire Documentaire de l'Arménie des Âges du Paganisme (1410 av.—305 apr. J. C.) précédée de Questions Ethnographiques, Linguistiques, et Archéologiques et suivie de la Mythologie Ourarto-Arménienne* (Rome, Imp. du Sénat, 1917, pp. xl, 800).

E. Cavaignac, who has already published the second and third volumes of an *Histoire de l'Antiquité*, has now issued the first part of the first volume, entitled *Javan, l'Orient et les Grecs jusque vers 1150 avant J. C.* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1917). The second part of the volume will contain historiographic discussion and polemic relating to the matter set forth in the first part.

An important new contribution to the early history of Rome is *Les Origines de Rome* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1917), by A. Piganiol, which is published as the 110th number of the *Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises de Rome et d'Athènes*.

The first part of the *Manuel d'Archéologie Romaine* (Paris, Picard, 1916, pp. xxvi, 735) prepared by R. Cagnat and V. Chapot deals with monuments and sculpture.

The period of the Punic Wars is the subject of the third volume of *Storia dei Romani* (Turin, Bocca, 1917, pp. xvi, 432, vii, 728) by G. De Sanctis.

Professor Clarence E. Boyd, of Emory College, is the author of a treatise on *Public Libraries and Literary Culture in Ancient Rome* published by the Chicago University Press.

E. S. Bouchier, the author of monographs on the Roman provinces of Spain and Syria, has completed a volume on Sardinia, entitled *Sardinia in Ancient Times* (Oxford, Blackwell), which not only studies the relations of the island to Rome but also gives careful attention to earlier phases of its history and to its archaeology.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: M. Jastrow, *The Summerian View of Beginnings* (*Revue Archéologique*, November); E. Cuq, *Les Nouveaux Fragments du Code de Hammourabi* (*Revue d'Assyriologie*, XIII. 3); A. Moret, *Déclaration d'un Domaine Royal et Transformation en Ville Neuve sous Pepi II.* (*Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, July, 1916); A. Moret, *L'Administration Locale sous l'Ancien Empire Égyptien* (*ibid.*, September); L. Franchet, *Essai de Chronologie Crétoise* (*Revue Archéologique*, September); Dr. Capitan, *Les Origines de la Civilisation en Europe: les Précurseurs Magdaléniens et le Berceau Égéen* (*Journal des Savants*, March).

#### MEDIEVAL HISTORY

The section for the years 1201 to 1510 of the *Répertoire d'Épigraphie Sémitique* (vol. III., pt. I., Paris, 1916, pp. 176) has been published by the Commission on the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*.

Lists of the masters general of the Dominican Order, of the secretaries of the Congregation of the Index, and of various other leading officers of the order, and the list of the general chapters for the seven centuries from 1216 to 1916, have been critically compiled by I. Taurisano in *Hierarchia Ordinis Praedicatorum* (Rome, Manuzio, 1916, pp. xii, 128).

Professor N. Jorga of the University of Bucharest has completed his *Notes et Extraits pour servir à l'Histoire des Croisades au XV<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (vols. IV. and V., Bucharest, 1915, pp. vi, 378, 349) with two volumes for the years from 1453 to 1500.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. L. Poole, *Papal Chronology in the Eleventh Century* (English Historical Review, April); G. B. Borino, *L'Elezioe e la Depositione di Gregorio VI.* [concl.] (Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria, XXXIX. 3); William Miller, *Salonika* (English Historical Review, April); Alice Gardner, *Some Episodes in the History of Medieval Salonika* (History, April); L. Madelin, *La Syrie Franque* (Revue des Deux Mondes, March 15); P. Fournier, *La Prohibition par le II<sup>e</sup> Concile de Latran d'Armes jugées trop Meurtrières, 1139* (Revue Archéologique, September); Paul Hamelius, *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (Quarterly Review, April); W. R. Scott, *The Mystery of the Medieval Draper* (Economic Journal, December).

#### MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Many interesting ideas are propounded by Guglielmo Ferrero in *Le Génie Latin et le Monde Moderne* (Paris, Grasset, 1917), and by Professor P. Villari in *L'Italia e la Civiltà* (Milan, Hoepli, 1916, pp. xxxiii, 451).

Much information is recast in an interesting way in *Le Danube: Aperçu Historique, Économique, et Politique* (Paris, Tenin, 1917), by C. I. Baicoianu.

*A Great Emperor: Charles V., 1519-1558*, by Christopher Hare (Stanley Paul), despite some minor inaccuracies, is a skillful biography, both readable and fair-minded.

A German presentation of *England und die Napoleonische Welt-politik, 1800-1803* (Heidelberg, Winter, 1916, pp. xviii, 231) by Otto Brandt is an addition to the discussion of the treaty of Amiens and its rupture.

The international aspects of the revolutionary movements of 1830 are set forth in *La Révolution de Juillet 1830 et l'Europe* (Paris, Émile-Paul, 1917), by Vicomte de Guichen.

French discussions of the topic of perennial interest to them, the Rhine frontier, have been unusually numerous during the war. In addition to items mentioned in earlier numbers there are the more recent publications of F. de Grailly, *La Vérité Territoriale et la Rive Gauche du Rhin* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1916, pp. 384); of Henri Stein, *Notre Frontière de l'Est: la France et l'Empire à travers l'Histoire et les Origines du Pan-Germanisme* (Paris, Alcan, 1917); of V. S. Ruelens-Marlier, *Le Rhin Libre* (Paris, Attinger, 1917); of J. Duhem, *La Question d'Alsace-Lorraine, 1871-1914* (Paris, Alcan, 1917); of Professor C. Pfister, *Lectures Alsaciennes, Géographie, Histoire, Biographies* (Paris, Colin, 1916, pp. 135); and of E. Driault, *Les Traditions Politiques de la France et les Conditions de la Paix* (Paris, Alcan, 1916).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Preserved Smith, *English Opinion of Luther* (Harvard Theological Review, April); J. H. Pollen, S. J., *The Council of Trent and Attendance at Anglican Service* (Dublin Review, April); H. Delbrück, *L'Exemple de Napoléon* (Revue Politique Internationale, January); W. R. Scott, *Mercantile Shipping in the Napoleonic Wars: with some Statistics of Mercantile Shipping Losses a Hundred Years Ago* (Scottish Historical Review, April, 1917); Joseph Reinach, *The Origins of the Franco-German War* (Quarterly Review, April); *Un Projet d'Alliance Franco-Russe en 1871* [from the Thiers papers] (Revue de Paris, February 1); Rev. Alfred Fawkes, *The Pontificate of Pius X.* (Quarterly Review, April); XXX, *Le Saint-Siège et l'Autriche* (Revue de Paris, February 15); A. Gauvain, *Encerclement et Hégémonie* (*ibid.*, April 1); P. Louis, *Les Courants de la Social-Démocratie* (Mercure de France, February 16); D. Bellet, *L'Histoire du Socialisme en Italie et les Influences Germaniques* (Revue d'Économie Politique, September); G. Melegari, *I Rapporti tra la Russia e la Germania nel Passato e nell' Avenire* (Nuova Antologia, February 16); E. Catellani, *L'Alleanza Russo-Giapponese* (*ibid.*, January 1).

#### THE GREAT WAR

Under the title *War Message and the Facts behind It*, the official Committee on Public Information has issued as a pamphlet the message of the President delivered before Congress on April 2, 1917, with annotations prepared by competent historical scholars, giving the leading facts on which the rupture with Germany was developed, and the issues in international law, and contrasting the spirit of Prussianism and Americanism.

The *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library for March contains (pp. 200-206) a list of recent accessions relating to the European war.

Volume IV. of *Books on the Great War*, an annotated bibliography compiled by F. W. T. Lange and R. A. Peddie, has recently been published (London, Grafton, pp. viii, 199). It extends through April, 1916, and has been republished in White Plains, N. Y., by the H. W. Wilson Company.

Professor O. P. Chitwood of West Virginia University has published through Messrs. Crowell *The Immediate Causes of the Great War*, a brief survey of the war from the beginning to the entrance of Rumania.

The second volume of *Proceedings* of the Grotius Society (English), papers read before the society in 1916, includes fourteen papers, some of them of unusual merit, on problems of international law raised by the present war.

Useful or interesting additions to the descriptions of conditions antecedent to the war are furnished by A. Gauvain in *L'Europe avant*

la Guerre (Paris, Colin, 1917); by F. Chapsal and several other lecturers in *Intérêts Économiques et Rapports Internationaux à la Veille de la Guerre* (Paris, Alcan, 1915, pp. 269), of special interest as a series of public lectures delivered a few weeks before the war began; by E. Laskine in *L'Internationale et le Pangermanisme* (Paris, Floury, 1916, pp. ix, 471); by S. Ghelli in *Austria Nemica: i Ricordi degli Absburgo, gli Ultimi Anni della Triplice, l'Adriatico e l'Albania* (Milan, Bonfiglio, 1916, pp. xxxii, 352); by the Baroness von Suttner in *Der Kampf um die Vermeidung des Weltkriegs* (Paris, Fischbacher, 1917, 2 vols., pp. xx, 628, xvi, 630), a compilation from her comments on passing events in her journals from 1891 to 1900 and from 1907 to 1914; by L. Maurice in *La Politique Marocaine de l'Allemagne* (Paris, Plon, 1916, pp. ii, 207), which has run through several editions; and by G. Dejean in *Casque à Pointe et Bonnet Rouge* (Lausanne, Martinet, 1916).

Because of the author's recent period of residence in an American university, as well as on account of the intrinsic merits of the book, American readers will be interested in the translated work of Professor Léon van der Essen, of the University of Louvain, entitled *The Invasion and the War in Belgium, with a Sketch of the Diplomatic Negotiations preceding the Conflict* (London, Fisher Unwin).

The issue for 1916 of the international annual entitled *Grotius* (the Hague, Nijhoff) contains the year's reports of the cases involving Dutch ships and cargoes in the prize courts of Germany, France, and England. Especially interesting is the partial but express repudiation of international law by the German prize courts. Dr. W. J. M. van Eysinga, professor of law in the University of Leiden, reviews (in French) the events in international law from September 1, 1915, to January 15, 1917. There are also essays (in English) by Dr. G. Vissering, president of the Netherlands Bank, on the Netherlands Bank and the War and on the Netherlands East Indies and the Gold Exchange Standard.

Among the new contributions to the history of the international rupture in July, 1914, are *Histoire de Douze Jours, 23 Juillet-3 Août 1914: Origines Diplomatiques de la Guerre* (Paris, Alcan, 1917) by Joseph Reinach; *Devant l'Histoire, Causes Connues et Ignorées de la Guerre* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1917), by Paul Giraud; the anonymous *Le Mensonge du 3 Août 1914* (Paris, Payot, 1917); *La Guerre qui Venait* (Paris, Boivin, 1917, pp. xvi, 304), by Albert Milhaud; and *La Question Luxembourgeoise: la France et le Grand-Duché de Luxembourg* (Paris, Tenin, 1917, pp. 107), by J. Dontenville.

Future historians of the war will be glad to have as part of their working equipment Comte Georges de Morant's *La Noblesse Française au Champ d'Honneur, 1914, 1915, 1916, avec la Liste Alphabétique des*

*Morts au Champ d'Honneur, Blessés, Disparus, Cités à l'Ordre du Jour, Promus, Nommés dans la Légion d'Honneur, la Médaille Militaire, la Croix de Guerre* (Paris, Le Nobiliaire, 1916, pp. xlv, 275).

J. W. Headlam has published in a small pamphlet, *The Peace Terms of the Allies* (London, Richard Clay), the reply of the Allies to the American note, the German note to neutrals, and the Belgian reply.

A fifth volume has been published of *Documents relatifs à la Guerre, 1914-1916: Rapports et Procès-Verbaux d'Enquête de la Commission instituée en vue de Constater les Crimes commis par l'Ennemi en Violation du Droit des Gens* (Paris, Hachette, 1917). R. Marchand has furnished a French version of A. S. Rezanoff's *Les Atrocités Allemandes du Côté Russe* (Petrograd, 1916, pp. 232).

Three members of the French Academy are among the recent contributors to the literature of the war. René Bazin has written *La Campagne Française et la Guerre* (Paris, Eggimann, 1916); Maurice Donnay, *Pendant qu'ils sont à Noyon* (Paris, Tallandier, 1917); and Pierre Loti, *Quelques Aspects du Vertige Mondial* (Paris, Flammarion, 1917). With these may be mentioned *La France et le Monde* (Paris, Plon, 1917) by Hugues Le Roux, and *Dans la Tourmente, Avril-Juillet, 1915* (Paris, Crès, 1916, pp. xiii, 129) by Rémy de Gourmont.

Further narratives of British participation in the war will be found in *Chez nos Alliés Britanniques: Notes et Souvenirs d'un Interprète* (Paris, Boivin, 1917, pp. xvi, 350), by F. Laurent; in *Through French Eyes, Britain's Effort* (London, Constable, 1916, pp. viii, 256), by H. D. Davray; and in *Australia in Arms: a Narrative of the Australasian Imperial Force and their Achievement at Anzac* (London, Unwin, 1916, pp. 328), by P. T. E. Schuler, war correspondent of the *Melbourne Age*.

Miss Katharine Babbitt has translated the *Campaign Diary of a French Officer*, by Sous-Lieutenant René Nicolas of the French infantry, which consists chiefly of jottings made in the trenches between February and May, 1915.

Mrs. C. Curtis has translated the narrative of Marcel Berger under the title *The Ordeal by Fire, by a Sergeant in the French Army* (New York, Putnam, 1917, pp. vii, 532). Twenty essays from the trenches, written by Donald Hankey, are collected under the title *A Student in Arms* (New York, Dutton, 1917, pp. 290). The author after army schooling at Sandhurst went late to Oxford and so could combine the points of view of the army officer and the scholar. An insert reveals that the author fell in action on the western front last October.

The Norwegian war correspondent, Frocis Froeislund, is the author of *Fra Paris og Frankrigs Front under Krigen* (Christiania, Cammermeyer, 1916) recording observations in 1914. *Aerens Land* (Copenhagen, Pio, 1916) is the second war book of the Danish correspondent



Andreas Winding, whose narrative is more critical than the title, *Land of Honor*, might indicate. Arnould Galopin describes conditions mainly on the English front in *Sur la Ligne de Feu: Carnet de Campagne d'un Correspondant de Guerre* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1917). *Les Flandres en Khaki: Notes de Campagnes d'un Interprète Français à l'Armée Britannique* (Paris, L'Édition Française Illustrée, 1917) is the narrative of Victor Breyer.

*Les Spécialistes de la Victoire, Quand on se Bat* (Paris, Plon, 1916, pp. iv, 264) by François de Tesson, is interesting for its realistic descriptions of the various methods of combat employed. The pseudonymous Jean des Vignes Rouges portrays *L'Ame des Chefs, Récits de Guerre et Méditations* (Paris, Perrin, 1917). Charles Nordmann has described the artillery fighting with enthusiasm for its technique in *À Coups de Canon* (*ibid.*, pp. v, 254) for which General Nivelles wrote a preface which was suppressed by the censor in the earlier editions. The activities of the cavalry arm are similarly described by Capitaine Langevin in *Cavaliers de France, 1914: Étapes et Combats* (Paris, Édition Française Illustrée, 1917). Another book on the famous brigade of marines is *La Brigade des Jean le Gouin* (Paris; Perrin, 1917) by Georges Le Bail; and still another is *Un Parisien sur l'Yser: le Fusilier Marin Luc Platt, d'après son Journal et sa Correspondance* (Paris, Larousse, 1917). These half-dozen volumes include some of the most vivid and at the same time some of the most informing narratives of war experiences.

Mr. H. Perry Robinson's *The Turning Point: the Battle of the Somme* (Heinemann) is a critical weighing of the advantages gained by this battle.

Mr. Frederick Palmer has followed his early writings on the war by *With the New Army of the Somme: my Second Year of the War* (Dodd, Mead, and Company), a stirring account of the earlier features of the Allies' drive against the German lines.

In *With the British on the Somme*, by W. Beach Thomas (Methuen), the author gives a vivid idea of modern warfare, which is apparently his major purpose, the narrative being a secondary interest.

Either the importance of the campaigns described or the vividness of the narrative mark the following volumes of memoirs as of more than ordinary interest: J. Dieterlen, *Le Bois le Prêtre, Octobre 1914-Avril 1915* (Paris, Hachette, 1917); A. Marix, *Les Rêveries d'un Poilu vivant depuis Vingt Mois sur le Front et aux Avant-Postes de Woëvre et de Lorraine* (Paris, Jouve, 1916, pp. 130); Lieutenant Péricard, *Face à Face: Souvenirs et Impressions d'un Soldat de la Grande Guerre* (Paris, Payot, 1916, pp. 356), which has a preface by M. Barrès of the French Academy and relates to the campaign in the Argonne; C. Tardieu, *Sous la Pluie de Fer: Impressions d'un Marsouin, les Marquises, 1914*,

*Massiges, 1915* (Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1917); and Lieutenant-Colonel Bourguet, *L'Aube Sanglante, de la Boisselle, Octobre, 1914, à Tahure, Septembre, 1915* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1917) which is composed of letters revealing the burdens and experiences of a regimental commander.

The third of Mr. Stanley Washburn's volumes on the Russian front, *The Russian Offensive* (Constable), covers the period from June 5 to September 1, 1916.

Narratives of prison experiences in Germany will be found in *L'Évasion: Récit de Deux Prisonniers Français évadés, du Camp d'Hammebourg* (Berger-Levrault, 1917) by D. Baud-Bovy; in *Souvenirs d'un Otage, de Hirson à Rastatt* (Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1916, pp. 192) by G. Desson; and in *Prisonniers en Allemagne* (Paris, Chapelot, 1917) by E. Zavier.

Édouard Herriot has written the preface for the collected volume, *La France en Macédoine: Études publiées par les Officiers, Sous-Officiers, et Soldats de l'Armée d'Orient dans la Revue Franco-Macédoine, Avril-Mai-Juin 1916* (Paris, Crès, 1917).

Italian policies and achievements in the war are set forth by Sidney Low in *Italy and the War* (London, Longmans, 1916, pp. 316); by G. Faure in *De l'Autre Côté des Alpes: sur le Front Italien* (Paris, Perrin, 1916, pp. iv, 150); by L. Barzini in *La Guerra d'Italia, Gennaio-Giugno, 1916: sui Monti, nel Ciclo e nel Mare* (Milan, Treves, 1916, pp. 354); by B. Astori in *Gorizia nella Vita, nella Storia, nella sua Italianità* (*ibid.*, pp. 158); and by A. Benedetti in *La Conquista di Gorizia* (Florence, Bemporad, 1916, pp. 141).

*The Revolt in Arabia* (New York, Putnam, 1917, pp. vii, 50) is a translation of some brief articles contributed to the *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* by the eminent student of Mohammedanism, Professor C. Snouck Hurgronje of the University of Leiden. The articles are merely commentary on the earliest news despatches and furnish neither recent information nor fully authenticated narrative.

A phase of the war somewhat neglected in popular writing is described in *A Doctor's Diary in Damaraland* by H. F. B. Walker (London, Arnold). Dr. Walker was in charge of a field ambulance in the recent campaign in Southwest Africa.

A general account of the naval operations of the war will be found in *Deux Années de Guerre Navale* (Paris, Chapelot, 1917, pp. x, 272), by René La Bruyère.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: *The Archives of the War* (Quarterly Review, April); W. T. Laprade, *The War and the Historians of Tomorrow* (Sewanee Review, April); R. Lote, *Des Causes Économiques et Intellectuelles: Réflexions sur la Guerre* (Mercure de

France, May 1); J. Reinach, *A Propos de Cartes Allemandes* (Revue de Paris, April 1); Général Malletterre, *Les Étapes de la Victoire: où Nous en Sommes* (Revue Hebdomadaire, April 21); Contre-Amiral Degouy, *Les Étapes de la Victoire: la Maîtrise des Mers* (*ibid.*, March 31); *id.*, *La Guerre des Côtes et les Deux Blocus* (Revue des Deux Mondes, March 1); G. Hanotiaux, *La Bataille des Ardennes, 21-25 Août, 1914* (*ibid.*, February 15); G. Deschamps, *Les Alpains à Saint-Dié, 25-29 Août, 1914* (*ibid.*, March 15); E. Griselle, *Les Libérateurs de la Pologne* (Revue Hebdomadaire, January 13); H. Bidou, *L'Offensive de Broussiloff, Juin-Septembre, 1916* (Revue des Deux Mondes, March 1); C. Stiénon, *L'Effondrement Colonial de l'Allemagne: la Conquête Anglo-Belge de l'Afrique Orientale Allemande* (*ibid.*, April 1); A. Gauvain, *Les Offres de la Paix* (Revue de Paris, February 1).

#### GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

In addition to books of births, marriages, and deaths, the Scottish Record Society has issued during the past year a *Calendar of Writs preserved at Yester House, 1166-1536*, edited by the late Lieut. C. C. Harvey and Mr. John M'Leod, of which a continuation will be published during the present year. The society also expects to issue before long the *Protocol Book of Thomas Johnstoun, 1528-1578*, relating chiefly to lands in the county of Linlithgow, and to be edited by Mr. James Russell, town clerk of Linlithgow, and Mr. James Beveridge, rector of the Academy of Linlithgow. The Protocol Book of Robert Rollok, 1541-1553, and that of Sir John Christison, 1518-1582, will be undertaken later.

*The Archaeological Survey of Wales: an Inventory of the Ancient Monuments in Wales and Monmouthshire, V., County of Carmarthen*, has been issued by the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions in Wales and Monmouthshire.

*Early English Adventurers in the East*, by Arnold Wright (Melrose), has to do primarily with both the work and the personality of certain seventeenth-century representatives of the East India Company.

Harvard University announces for early publication *Lectures on the Industrial Revolution* by Professor E. F. Gay.

A new edition of Southey's *Life of Nelson*, with taking illustrations, is issued by the Houghton Mifflin Company. An introduction by Mr. Henry Newbolt argues, against Southey, for the exoneration of Nelson in the matter of the surrender of the castles at Naples and the execution of Prince Caracciolo. In the latter case, Admiral Mahan's grave expression of "instinctive aversion" from Nelson's conduct is ascribed to his being a republican, who "cannot forgive Nelson his success on behalf of a king against republican rebels"! The introduction also gives a useful summary of the report on Nelson's tactics at Trafalgar

made in 1913 by a committee appointed for the purpose by the Admiralty.

An interesting contrast between English economic conditions to-day and those prevalent one hundred years ago is presented in H. R. Hodges's *Economic Conditions, 1815-1914* (Bell).

*England: its Political Organisation and Development and the War against Germany*, by Professor Eduard Meyer of Berlin, translated by Helene S. White (Boston, Ritter and Company), despite its faults of temper and bias, presents matter both informing and suggestive which is well worth reading.

Accounts of early events of the British administration in Egypt, the author's mission to Russian Central Asia, and irrigation work in India, form a portion of the subject-matter of *Life and Letters of Sir Colin C. Scott-Moncrieff, 1836-1916*, edited by Miss Mary A. Hollings (John Murray).

*Lord Kitchener: his Work and his Prestige*, by Henry D. Davray, with a prefatory letter by M. Paul Cambon (Fisher Unwin), summarizes Kitchener's work before the war very briefly, but recounts in great detail his work in organizing the British army of the present war. *With Kitchener in Cairo* by Sydney A. Moseley (Cassell) presents a critical study of Kitchener's work in Egypt.

*In Ireland in the Last Fifty Years (1866-1916)*, by Ernest Barker (Clarendon Press), the author discusses the Irish church, education, and agrarian and government questions.

Professor Ernest Scott of the University of Melbourne has in *A Short History of Australia* (Oxford University Press) produced a well-written book, based on adequate knowledge and condensed with excellent judgment.

British government publications: *Calendar of the Liberate Rolls, Henry III.*, vol. I., 1226-1240.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: C. B. Firth, *Benefit of Clergy in the Time of Edward IV.* (English Historical Review, April); H. J. Laski, *The Early History of the Corporation in England* (Harvard Law Review, April); A. V. Dicey, *Thoughts on the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland under the Constitution of 1600* (Scottish Historical Review, April); E. R. Turner, *The Cabinet in the Eighteenth Century* (English Historical Review, April); E. E. Minton, *The Case of Admiral Byng, or Judgment by Court Martial* (Manchester Quarterly, January); Sir J. P. Middleton, *Cyprus under British Rule* (Quarterly Review, April).

#### FRANCE

General reviews: L. Halphen, *Histoire de France: le Moyen Age jusqu'aux Valois* (Revue Historique, March, May); C. Petit-Dutaillis, *Histoire de France: Fin du Moyen Age, 1328-1498* (*ibid.*, May).

The second volume of the *Manuel de Numismatique Française* (Paris, Picard, 1916, pp. x, 468) is by A. Dieudonné, and deals with the period from Hugh Capet to the Revolution. The first volume, covering the earlier period, was published in 1912 by A. Blanchet.

*Une Femme Poète du XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle, Anne de Graville, sa Famille, sa Vie, son Oeuvre, sa Postérité* (Paris, Picard, 1917, pp. x, 328), by Maxime de Montmorand, is a very attractive volume of literary history which has its value to the historian in portraying the noble poetess of the age of Louis XII. and Francis I. as a typical woman of the French Renaissance.

Abbé A. Anthiaume has issued two volumes on *Cartes Marines, Constructions Navales, Voyages de Découvertes chez les Normands, 1500-1650* (Paris, E. Dumond, 1916, pp. xiv, 566, 597).

A new series of regional studies of France, one of the manifestations of the present revival of interest in the old provincialism of the country, is initiated by L. Gallouédec with *La Bretagne* (Paris, Hachette, 1917). Comte de Caix de Saint-Aymour has issued a second series of *Mémoires et Documents pour servir à l'Histoire des Pays qui forment aujourd'hui le Département de l'Oise* (Paris, Champion, 1917).

Interesting studies in the recent colonial administration of France in western Africa are *Une Conquête Morale: l'Enseignement en Afrique Occidentale Française* (Paris, Colin, 1917, pp. xvi, 356) by Georges Hardy, and *La Pacification de la Côte d'Ivoire, 1908-1915: Méthodes et Résultats* (Paris, Larose, 1917), by G. Angoulvant. The French interests in Syria are the subject of *La Syrie et la France* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1917, pp. xxviii, 144) by Dr. C. and Paul Roederer.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: C. Jullian, *Aix-en-Provence dans l'Antiquité* (Journal des Savants, January, February); F. Aubert, *Les Sources de la Procédure au Parlement au XIV<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, July, 1916); Comte de Caix de Saint-Aymour, *Le Siège de Péronne par les Impériaux en 1536* (Revue Hebdomadaire, March 31); L. Romier, *Les Protestants Français à la Veille des Guerres Civiles*, II. [concl.] (Revue Historique, March); E. Saulmier, *Le Siège d'Orléans au Début de 1580* (*ibid.*, May); J. Adher, *L'Assistance Publique au XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle: l'Enquête de 1775 dans le Diocèse Civil de Toulouse* (La Révolution Française, March); G. Pariset, *Le Lieutenant Napoléon Bonaparte Étudiant à Strasbourg* (Revue Historique, May); G. Rouanet, *Robespierre et le Journal "L'Union"* (Annales Révolutionnaires, March); A. Mathiez, *Les Subsistances pendant la Révolution*, I. *De la Réglementation à la Liberté* (*ibid.*); P. Mautouchet, *La Population Parisienne et la Crise de l'Alimentation sous la Terreur* (Révolution Française, March); A. Chuquet, *Maubeuge en 1793* (Revue Hebdomadaire, March 31); A. Mathiez, *La Mobilisation Générale en l'An II*. (Revue de Paris, April 1); G. Weill, *Un Groupe de Philanthropes Français* (Revue

des Études Napoléoniennes, March); E. Driault, *Les Historiens de Napoléon: M. Frédéric Masson, "Napoléon et sa Famille"* (*ibid.*); A. Grouard, *Les Derniers Historiens de 1815 à propos des "Énigmes de Waterloo" de M. E. Lenient* (*ibid.*); F. Masson, *L'Énigme de Sainte-Hélène* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, April 15); A. Debidour, *Le Régime du Concordat et les Origines de la Séparation de l'Église et de l'État* (*Revue des Études Napoléoniennes*, May); Saint-Mathurin, *Napoléon III. et l'Allemagne Française* (*ibid.*).

#### ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

General review: C. Rinaudo, *Risorgimento Italiano* (*Rivista Storica Italiana*, January).

G. Ialla, *Storia della Riforma in Piemonte fino alla Morte di Ematarini brothers between 1392 and 1408 for Uomini e Fatti dell' Ultimo Trecento e del Primo Quattrocento* (Venice, R. Deputazione di Storia Veneta, 1916, pp. 105).

G. Ialla, *Storia della Riforma in Piemonte fino alla Morte di Emanuele Filiberto, 1517-1580* (Florence, Claudiana, 1915) is a chapter from the tragic history of the Waldenses.

N. Giorgetti has published a prolix compendium on *Le Armee Toscane e le Occupazioni Straniere in Toscana, 1537-1860* (Città di Castello, Unione Arti Grafiche, 1916, 3 vols., pp. 629, 742, 801).

Some recent volumes of interest on the Risorgimento are *La Filosofia Politica di Giuseppe Mazzini* (Bologna, Zanichelli, 1916, pp. 366), by A. Levi; *Il Dittatore di Modena: Biagio Nardi e il suo Nepote Anacarsi* (Rome, Albrighi, 1916, pp. cli, 344), by G. Sforza; *Goffredo Mameli* (Milan, 1916, pp. xii, 178), by B. Maineri; *Il Decennio di Occupazione Austriaca in Ancona, 1849-1859* (Ancona, Tip. del Commercio, 1916, pp. 396), by E. Costantini; *Marsala nell' Epopea Garibaldina* (Marsala, Soc. Industr. Tipogr., 1916, pp. xiv, 396), by A. Figlioli; *I Comitati Segreti della Venezia prima e durante la Campagna del 1866* (Venice, Ferrari, 1916, pp. 75), by G. Solitro; and *Le Guardie Nazionali Valtellinesi alla Difesa dello Stelvio nel 1866* (Milan, Co-gliati, 1916, pp. 416), by V. Adami.

A substantial addition to our knowledge of the early history of the Christian Church in the Spanish Peninsula is made by Dr. E. L. Smit in his *De Oud-Christelijke Monumenten van Spanje* (the Hague, Nijhoff, 1916).

R. Ramírez de Arellano has brought out the first volume of a *Historia de Córdoba* (Ciudad Real, 1915).

J. Gómez Centurión has contributed to the critical study of the career of St. Theresa a volume of *Relaciones Biográficas Inéditas de Santa Teresa de Jesús, con Autógrafos de Autenticidad en Documentación indubitada* (Madrid, Fortanet, 1916, pp. 354).

An important contribution to the history of Spanish commerce is the *Historia del Consulado y Casa de Contratación de Bilbao y del Comercio de la Villa* (vol. II., 1700-1830, Bilbao, Astuy, 1916), by T. Guiard y Larrauri.

A small volume of essays on *Las Mujeres de Fernando VII.* (Madrid, Tip. Artística, 1916, pp. 109) is by the Marquis de Villa-Urrutia.

*L'Espagne en Face du Conflit Européen* (Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1917) is a translation from the Spanish of A. Alcalá Galiano.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Falco, *Il Comune di Velletri nel Medio Evo, Sec. XI.-XIV.* [concl.] (Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria, XXXIX. 3); J. Joergensen, *Les Premières Années de Sainte-Catherine de Siemie* (Revue des Deux Mondes, March 1); P. Molmenti, *Le Relazioni tra Patrizi Veneziani e Diplomatici Stranieri* (Nuova Antologia, March 1); L. de Lanza de Laborie, *Le Prince de Bénévent [Talleyrand]* (Revue Hebdomadaire, April 7); Enrico Corradini, *Italy from Adowa to the Great War* (Nineteenth Century and After, May); P. Paris, *Emporion, I.* (Revue Archéologique, November); P. Duran Lladó, *Vida de Don Domingo Yriarte* [ed. A. Aguirre] (Revue Hispanique, April); *Libelos del Tiempo de Napoleón: Colección formada por Santiago Alvarez Gamero* (*ibid.*).

#### GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Professors Heinrich Brunner and Bernhard von Simson and Dr. Theodor Hirschfeld of the Central-Direction of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* have recently died. At the meeting in January Professor Hintze was chosen to replace Professor Brunner, and Professor Seckel was placed in charge of the section of *Leges* in place of Professor Brunner. The only new publication reported was the first volume of the letters of St. Boniface and of St. Lull in the *Scriptores ad Usum Scholarum*. Serious discussion having arisen over the proposed edition of the *Lex Salica*, a special committee was appointed to conduct an exhaustive investigation of the questions involved before proceeding further with the publication. Professor Bretholz of Brunn was selected to continue the work of the late Professor Uhlirz as editor of the *Annales Austriacenses*.

The Historical Commission of the Bavarian Academy has decided to undertake the publication of a collection of the historical sources for the nineteenth century down to the beginning of the present war. The scheme contemplates several hundred volumes and will include not merely the political history but also the history of the several states, the growth of nationality, and the history of ideas. The direction of this new *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* has been entrusted to a special subcommittee.

J. W. Headlam is the author of *The German Chancellor and the Outbreak of the War* (T. Fisher Unwin).

*Germanism from Within* (New York, Dutton, 1916, pp. x, 363) is a study of German conditions and ideas before the war by A. D. McLaren. Professor J. P. Bang of Copenhagen has collected war-time expressions by leading Germans in *Hurrah and Hallelujah: the Teaching of Germany's Poets, Prophets, Professors, and Preachers* (New York, Doran, 1917, pp. xi, 234), which is translated by Jessie Bröchner.

*Inside the German Empire in the Third Year of the War* (New York, Century Company, 1917, pp. xxi, 366) by H. B. Swope, an American newspaper correspondent, and *L'Allemagne en Détresse d'après ses propres Documents: les Hommes, l'Approvisionnement, l'Argent* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1916), by Gaston Cerfberr, are interesting attempts to ascertain and explain the conditions in Germany in recent months.

*Der Freistatt der III. Bünde und die Frage des Veltlins: Korrespondenzen und Aktenstücke aus den Jahren 1796 und 1797* (vol. I, 1796, Basel, Basler Buchhandlung, 1916, pp. cccxxviii, 339), edited by Alfred Rufer with an excellent introduction, fills a lacuna in the history of French relations with the Swiss cantons.

Lucien Cramer has presented a study of Swiss neutrality in *Notre Neutralité Autrefois et Aujourd'hui* (Geneva, Sonor, 1917, pp. 115). *L'Indépendance Intellectuelle de la Suisse* (Paris, Fischbacher, 1917, pp. 109) contains six addresses by Professors P. Seippel, F. de Quervain, E. Zürcher, and L. Ragaz, which discuss chiefly the matter of German influence. Professor Max Turmann of Fribourg has written *La Suisse pendant la Guerre* (Paris, Perrin, 1917), which contains an account of the Swiss aid to prisoners and other victims of the war, a discussion of the economic problems of neutrality, and various notes and observations. Colonel de Loys has written a preface for a collection of remarkable photographs showing *L'Occupation des Frontières Suisses, 1914-1915: un Hiver sous les Armes, 1914-1915* (Paris, Crès, 1917).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Fliche, *Les Théories Germaniques de la Souveraineté à la Fin du XI<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (*Revue Historique*, May); W. H. Friedel, *Le Rôle Politique des Universités Allemandes* (*Mercure de France*, April 1); E. Haumant, *Un Problème Ethnographique: la Slavisation de la Dalmatie* (*Revue Historique*, March).

#### NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

A general guide to the Dutch archives, with brief descriptions of the contents of each, is under preparation by the official Dutch Society of Archivists.

A Netherland Museum, to illustrate the history and arts of the Netherlands and their colonies during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, has been established in the buildings of All Saints' Church, 292 Henry Street, New York City.



Of the *Geschiedkundige Atlas van Nederland*, Martinus Nijhoff (the Hague) has brought out the first sheets of the maps for 1300 and for the Burgundian period.

Philip II. in 1558 ordered Jacob van Deventer, an excellent map-maker of his time, to make minutely detailed maps of all the towns and villages of the Netherlands. Under the title *Nederlandsche Steden in de 16<sup>e</sup> Eeuw, Platte Gronden van Jacob van Deventer*, Martinus Nijhoff is publishing facsimiles of those relating to the northern Netherlands. The plates will reproduce 111 of the original drawings, the 72 which are now in the Netherlands being published now, the 39 which are at Brussels and Madrid after the war.

The same house has published the first volume of *Notulen van Zeeland*, edited by Dr. K. Heeringa—journals of the governor and council, 1576–1578, and of the States of Zeeland, 1577–1578, important for the history of the war for independence.

*Les Déportations Belges à la Lumière des Documents Allemands* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1917, pp. 454) is a compilation by F. Passelecq, a Belgian officer at Havre. Maurice des Ombiaux has added another chapter to his chronicle of Belgium's misfortunes in *Un Royaume en Exil: la Belgique du Dehors* (*ibid.*, 1917).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. Rocquain, *Le Cardinal Mercier* (*Revue Hebdomadaire*, April 21).

#### NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

General review: G. Gautier, *Histoire de Russie, Publications des Années 1914 et 1915* (*Revue Historique*, March).

*Danmarks Kapervæsen, 1807–1814* (Copenhagen, Gyldendal, 1916, pp. 206) is by K. Lausen.

Loparev's *Vizantijskiiia Jitiiia Sviatuich VIII<sup>e</sup>–IX<sup>e</sup> Vichov* (Petrograd, 1915, reviewed by L. Bréhier, *Journal des Savants*, January) is a study of the eighth- and ninth-century Byzantine lives of the saints.

The Russian Imperial Historical Society (the name will probably be changed soon to Russian Historical Society) will publish in the very near future the documents found in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and in the French archives having to do with the relations of Germany and France during the year 1875 and showing the part played by Alexander II. in preventing war between the two countries. The material has been gathered and prepared by Senator Serge Mikhailovich Goriainov, former director of the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He has also written the introduction, which is both interesting and scholarly. The book when it shall appear will be a most valuable contribution.

*Russian Court Memoirs, 1914-1916*, by "A Russian", is of special interest at the present time. The volume contains "some account of court, social, and political life in Petrograd before and since the war" (Herbert Jenkins).

*When the Prussians came to Poland*, by the Marquise L. B. de G. Turczynowicz, is a vivid account of the experiences of the wife of a Polish noble during seven months of German occupation.

B. Bareilles is the author of a volume on *Les Turcs: ce que fut leur Empire, leurs Comédies Politiques* (Paris, Perrin, 1917); and P. G. Chotch, of *Du Nationalisme Serbe: Étude d'Histoire Politique* (Dijon, Thorey, 1916, pp. 189), a doctoral dissertation. *Greece in her True Light: her Position in the World-wide War as expounded by El. K. Venizelos* (New York, 1916, pp. 288) is compiled, translated, and published by S. A. Xanthaky and N. G. Sakellarios.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Millet, *Les Zemstvos à la Veille de la Révolution* (Revue de Paris, April 1); Sir Paul Vinogradoff, *Some Impressions of the Russian Revolution* (Contemporary Review, May); J. Bainville, *Comment est née la Révolution Russe* (Revue des Deux Mondes, April 15); P. G. B. Familiari, *La Rómania e la sua Storia attraverso i Secoli* (Rivista Internazionale, January 31); S. P. Duggan, *Balkan Diplomacy, I.* (Political Science Quarterly, March); P. Popović, *Serbia and Greece* (New Europe, March 15).

#### THE FAR EAST

A bibliography of Chinese books is being compiled by Mr. Ernest Kletsch, of the Library of Congress. Titles of productions in practically all the principal European languages are included, and those in Chinese, Sanskrit, and other Asiatic languages that have been transliterated into one of the main European languages. While not restricted to historical titles, still the bibliography will be of value to historians interested in the Far Eastern field. Mr. Kletsch hopes to publish his bibliography in the near future. It is not a Library of Congress publication.

Martinus Nijhoff (the Hague) is bringing out a second edition of his very excellent *Encyclopaedic van Nederlandsch-Indië* in four volumes, the first edition (1894-1905) having gone out of print. The present issue will be completed in 1917-1918.

*A life of L'Apôtre des Indes et du Japon, Saint François Xavier* (Paris, Perrin, 1917) is from the pen of A. Bellessort.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Chavannes, *Le Royaume de Wou et de Yuc* (T'Oung Pao, May, 1916); P. S. Rivetta, *Un Grande Stratega Giapponese, Ōyama, 1842-1916* (Nuova Antologia, March 1).

## AMERICA

## GENERAL ITEMS

The Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington has been obliged, on account of circumstances growing out of the war, to postpone for the present the work on West Indian archives in the islands and in London which has been undertaken by Professor Herbert C. Bell of Bowdoin College. It may be useful to mention that the following are the ten repositories which have acquired sets of the Institution's photographs, hitherto spoken of in these notes, of the despatches sent by the Spanish governors of New Orleans to the captain-general at Havana, 1766-1791: Harvard University Library, New York Public Library, Hispanic Society of America, Library of Congress, Howard Memorial Library, Newberry Library, University of Illinois Library, Missouri Historical Society, Wisconsin State Historical Society, and a private library.

The Library of Congress has recently received a group of letters written to W. H. Crawford; a body of manuscripts of Wilson Cary Nicholas, political and miscellaneous, 1763-1820; an additional body of Madison papers, 1789-1836, drafts and miscellaneous letters; archives of the New Jersey colonization society, 1852-1890; and additions to its series of transcripts from the archives of Seville, Paris, and London, the latter coming in part from the library of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

Of the Pulitzer prizes awarded at the recent commencement of Columbia University the prize of \$2000 for the best book of the year on the history of the United States was awarded to Monsieur J. J. Jusserand, the French ambassador, for the book entitled *With Americans of Past and Present Days* (see p. 669, above); the prize of \$1000 for the best American biography teaching patriotic and unselfish service was bestowed on Mrs. Laura E. Richards and Mrs. Maude Howe Elliott for their biography of Julia Ward Howe.

The prize of five thousand francs founded by M. Angrand will be awarded in 1918 to the best book published, in any country, during the years 1913-1917, on the history, ethnology, archaeology, or linguistics of the native races of America before the arrival of Columbus. Authors desiring that their books should be considered should send ten copies of each to the secretary of the Bibliothèque Nationale before January 1, 1918.

Mr. Thomas F. Madigan of 507 Fifth Avenue, New York City, has compiled and publishes, for the use of autograph collectors and historical students, *A Biographical Index of American Public Men*, classified under the categories usual to collectors and alphabetically arranged.

Dr. James Brown Scott, secretary of the Carnegie Endowment for AM. HIST. REV., VOL. XXII.—60.

International Peace, is editing and expects to publish two volumes giving a full historical account of the action of the Supreme Court of the United States in suits between states, and between states and the United States. All the decisions of the court in such cases will be reproduced in this work, and there will be essays on the practice and procedure of the court in controversies of the kind.

The *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society at the meeting of October, 1916, contains an article by Mr. Otis G. Hammond on the Mason Title and its Relations to New Hampshire and Massachusetts, one by Mr. George A. Plimpton on the Horn Book and its Use in America, and one (of 122 pages) by Mr. Frank Cundall, secretary of the Jamaica Institute, on the Press and Printing of Jamaica prior to 1820; also the New Jersey installment of Mr. Brigham's bibliography of American newspapers, 1690-1820.

Victor Cambon's volume, *États-Unis—France* (Paris, Roger, 1917) is chiefly devoted to an account of the industrial development and condition of the United States as related to France.

In commemoration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the original production of the first play by an American produced in America by professional players, Messrs. Little, Brown, and Company have brought out a limited edition of *The Prince of Parthia*, by Thomas Godfrey, with an extended introduction, historical, biographical, and critical, by Professor Archibald Henderson, of the University of North Carolina.

*A Treatise on Federal Impeachments*, by Dr. Alexander Simpson, jr. (Philadelphia, Law Association), will be useful to historical students by reason of an appendix, of nearly 150 pages, containing an abstract of the articles of impeachment in all the federal impeachments which have taken place in the United States and in the chief English cases.

Rev. Anders Bobjerg of Askov, Minn., is preparing, with aid from the American-Scandinavian Foundation, a history of the Danes in the United States.

The *Thirty-first Annual Report* (1909-1910) of the Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1916, pp. 1037) consists almost entirely of a treatise by Dr. Franz Boas, on Tsimshian Mythology. The Tsimshian dwell in the region of the Nass and Skeena rivers in British Columbia. The work comprises for its principal part a translated collection of Tsimshian myths and tales recorded during twelve years by a late member of the tribe. Other parts describe the social organization and religious ideas and practices of the people, and their mythology in relation to the phenomena of dissemination of myths in northwestern America. Appendixes embody myths of the Bellabella and of the Nootka.

The contents of the April number of the *Catholic Historical Review* include: Bishop Rosati and the See of New Orleans, by Rev. Charles L. Souvay, C. M.; lists of the hierarchy of the provinces of Philadelphia, Milwaukee, and Santa Fé, prepared by Bishop Corrigan; Negro Catholics in the United States, by Rev. Joseph Butsch, S.S.J.; and Early Irish Schoolmasters in New England, by Michael J. O'Brien; and four documents relating to an attempt (1789-1790) to have a separate episcopal see established at Oneida Castle, N. Y., for the Six Nations of Indians.

Articles in the March number of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* are: an account of the third bishop of Harrisburg, Bishop Shanahan, by Monsignor Maurice M. Hassett; the conclusion of Rev. John Lenhart's Capuchins in Acadia and Northern Maine; the continuation of the late Mr. Griffin's life of Bishop Conwell; and the continuation of Father Peter Helbron's Greensburg (Pa.) Register, 1809-1812.

It is announced that the *Census of Incunabula in America*, which was begun under the direction of Mr. John Thomson of Philadelphia some twenty years ago and has latterly been taken in charge by the Bibliographical Society of America, will probably be printed during the present year by the New York Public Library. The census now consists of about ten thousand titles, with notes of ownership about the year 1900. Inasmuch as nearly all these were in the larger public libraries, only a fraction would be of doubtful location at the present time.

The University of Chicago has brought out *Household Manufactures in the United States of America, 1640-1860: a Study in Industrial History*, by Rolla M. Tryon.

*The Bevier Family: a History of the Descendants of Louis Bevier*, by Katherine Bevier, is a genealogical and biographical record of nine generations of Beviers and related families. Louis Bevier came from France to America in 1675, after a sojourn of ten years in the Palatinate, and settled in New Paltz, N. Y. (Katherine Bevier, 600 West 146th Street, New York).

#### ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

J. R. MacClymont is the author of a study of *Vicente Añes Pinçon* (London, Quaritch, 1916, pp. 82).

In 1906 a Spanish translation of the late Professor Edward G. Bourne's *Spain in America* (1905) was published in Havana. No copy of this having ever come to Chile, Señor Domingo Amunátegui Solar, rector of the University of Chile, has printed under the title *Rejimen Colonial de España en América* (Santiago de Chile, Sociedad "Barcelona", 1916, pp. 117), a translation of the last eight chapters of that

book, Mr. Bourne's general survey of Spanish achievements in the New World.

The *Genealogical Magazine* for March contains further items on American trade, 1628-1633, from the Admiralty records in London, and a letter of Rufus Putnam, 1784, on the northeastern boundary of the United States.

*A Bibliography of the English Colonial Treaties with the American Indians, including a Synopsis of each Treaty*, by Henry F. De Puy, has been brought out in New York (printed for the Lenox Club). This monograph describes only those treaties that have been printed separately, copies of which are as a rule very rare.

Dr. W. E. Dunn of the University of Texas has published, as no. 1705 of that university's bulletin, *Spanish and French Rivalry in the Gulf Region of the United States, 1678-1702; the Beginnings of Texas and Pensacola* (pp. 238), an elaborate study based on archival material.

*George Washington's Accounts of Expenses while Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army, 1775-1783*, reproduced in facsimile, with annotations by J. C. Fitzpatrick of the Library of Congress, has been issued by Houghton Mifflin Company in an edition of 400 copies.

The Vicomte de Noailles has brought out a new edition of his *Marins et Soldats Français en Amérique pendant la Guerre de l'Indépendance des États-Unis, 1778-1783* (Paris, Perrin, 1917).

Miss Julia P. Mitchell has completed a painstaking study of *St. Jean de Crèvecoeur*, published by the Columbia University Press.

*Smith College Studies in History*, II. 3, is a master's thesis by Miss Margaret C. Alexander on the Development of the Power of the State Executive, with special reference to the State of New York.

Dr. W. K. Bixby of St. Louis has brought out a volume of *Correspondence of Thomas Jefferson* printed from the originals in his possession. The letters are accompanied with notes by Mr. Worthington C. Ford.

In the *Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, n. s., XIII. 4, Dr. Henry Beets of Grand Rapids has an article on the origins and history of the True Reformed Dutch Church in America, "De Afscheiding van de Gereformeerde Hollandsche Kerk in Noord-Amerika in 1822, in hare Wortelen, Voorloopers, en Leiders".

The Princeton University Press has brought out *The Mexican War Diary of George B. McClellan*, edited by Professor W. S. Myers.

The Cadmus Book Shop (150 West 34th Street, New York) has issued a reprint of William Miles's *Journal of the Sufferings and Hardships of Capt. Parker H. French's Overland Expedition to California, which left New York City May 13, 1850, and arrived at San Francisco December 14* (Chambersburg, Pa., 1851).

*Abraham Lincoln: Three Addresses*, by President M. W. Stryker, is brought out in Kirkland, N. Y., by the author.

A doctoral thesis by John W. Oliver, published as a bulletin of the University of Wisconsin (History Series, vol. IV., no. 1, pp. 120), pursues with intelligence and with thorough research the *History of the Civil War Military Pensions, 1861-1885*.

*A Historical and Legal Digest of all the Contested Election Cases in the House of Representatives of the United States from the Fifty-Seventh to and including the Sixty-Fourth Congress, 1901-1917*, by Merrill Moores, is a continuation of the *Digest* by Chester H. Rowell. The volume includes also the laws relating to the nomination and election of representatives in Congress, with some reference to decided cases (Government Printing Office).

Houghton Mifflin Company has brought out *A Soldier-Doctor of Our Army: James P. Kimball*, late colonel and assistant surgeon-general, U. S. A. The record of Dr. Kimball's life, prepared by his widow, Maria B. Kimball, covers his services in the Civil War, with the army in the West, and in the Spanish-American War.

Doubleday, Page, and Company have brought out a biography of James J. Hill, in two volumes, by J. G. Pyle.

Houghton Mifflin Company has published Lt.-Col. James M. Morgan's *Recollections of a Rebel Recifer*, which appeared serially in the *Atlantic Monthly*. It is the record of an eventful life, including well-told experiences in the Confederate navy, in the Egyptian army, in Paris under the Commune, in South Carolina under the carpet-baggers, in Mexico, and in Australia as consul-general.

#### LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

##### NEW ENGLAND

A number of King's Chapel lectures delivered in Boston in 1915 and 1916 have been collected under the title *The Religious History of New England*. Among the contributors are Professors J. Winthrop Platner, G. E. Horr, William W. Fenn, and Rufus M. Jones.

Hon. James Phinney Baxter, of Portland, Maine, president of the Maine Historical Society, has in preparation for the Gorges Society a volume entitled *Samuel Moody, the Rebuilder of Portland*. Maj. Samuel Moody, prominent in the Indian wars and commander of the fort at New Casco or Falmouth, was the leader in the re-establishment of the scattered colonists at that place, now called Portland. Orders for the work should be addressed to the Maine Historical Society, Portland. The edition will be limited.

*A Bibliography of Piscataquis County, Maine*, compiled by J. F. Sprague, is brought out in Dover by the *Observer* Publishing Company.

An interesting brochure on *The Tories of New Hampshire*, by Otis G. Hammond, superintendent of the New Hampshire Historical Society, has been published by the society.

The February-March serial of the Massachusetts Historical Society's *Proceedings* contains a journal, kept by Jeremiah Fitch, of a visit to Saratoga Springs, N. Y., in 1820 (from Boston and return), and some letters of Charles Eliot Norton, 1864. The April issue contains a paper by Mr. Samuel E. Morison on the Vote of Massachusetts on Summoning a Constitutional Convention, 1776-1916, and a series of letters, especially interesting at the present time, written to Charles Sumner, in 1845, respecting his celebrated oration of July 4 of that year, on "The True Grandeur of Nations". The same society has in press a volume of Warren-Adams Letters (vol. LXXII. of its *Collections*) and expects also to issue, within a year, a volume of the papers of Jasper Mauduit and one of papers respecting Sir William Phips's search for treasure. The Society's reproduction of the *Boston News-Letter*, in seventeen photostat sets, has been extended through the year 1722, and within a year will cover nine more years, thus placing in seventeen libraries every known issue, through 1731, of this earliest of English-American newspapers.

The American Antiquarian Society has recently received from Mr. Richard W. Greene two orderly-books connected with brigades commanded by Gen. Nathanael Greene. One is an orderly-book of the regiment commanded by Col. James M. Varnum and contains both the general orders and brigade orders, April 22 to July 8, 1776. The other is the orderly-book kept by Capt. Samuel Ward, jr., containing General Greene's orders for the period June 28 to July 30, and August 17 to September 2, 1775.

The *Massachusetts Magazine* of January contains an article by F. A. Gardner concerning Col. David Brewer's Regiment (Revolution).

The principal article in the April number of the *Essex Institute Historical Collections* is by W. S. Nevins, concerning Nathaniel Hawthorne's Removal from the Salem Custom House. Francis B. C. Bradley's papers on the Eastern Railroad are continued, as are also the newspaper items relating to Essex County, Mass.

The Essex Institute has published volume I. (1916, pp. 536), of *Vital Records of Salem, Massachusetts, to the end of 1849*. The series will embrace births, marriages, and deaths; the present volume covers births from A to L. The book, which is extraordinarily complete, presents all accessible entries in records kept by the town clerk, in church records, in those of the quarterly court, in cemetery inscriptions, private records in family Bibles, etc.

*An Old New England School: a History of Phillips Academy, Andover*, by C. M. Fuess, prepared under the authorization of the



trustees, besides relating the history of the institution from its founding in the time of the Revolution, contains accounts of the more distinguished alumni (Houghton Mifflin Company).

*A History of Williams College*, by Professor Leverett W. Spring, will be brought out shortly by Houghton Mifflin Company.

The Rhode Island Historical Society has acquired the official records and papers of the Bristol (R. I.) custom house, covering a period of about one hundred years; and the papers of Jeremiah Olney, about six hundred manuscripts pertaining to Rhode Island during the Revolutionary period. Included in the latter were five letters of Washington. The society is compiling a list of *Rhode Island Soldiers and Sailors in the Colonial Wars*, with an account of their individual services.

The Connecticut Historical Society has brought out *The Wolcott Papers: Correspondence and Documents during Roger Wolcott's Governorship of Connecticut, 1750-1754*, with some of an earlier date (pp. xxxv, 557), constituting volume XVI. of the society's *Collections*. The documents of an earlier date are papers (1727-1750) of Governor Jonathan Law, and are contained in an appendix (pp. 449-524). There is a sketch of the life of Roger Wolcott, as well as an introduction to the volume, by the editor, Mr. Albert C. Bates.

*The Coming of Yale College to New Haven*, the historical address delivered by Professor Williston Walker in October, 1916, has been issued by the Yale University Press.

Catharine M. North's *History of Berlin, Connecticut*, has been rearranged and edited with a preface by A. B. Benson (New Haven, Tuttle).

#### MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The director of the division of archives and history of the state of New York is urging historical societies, local public officials, librarians, and high school teachers of the state to collect and preserve all material in their respective localities which has to do with local activities brought on by the war. The director has recently presented to the state library a collection of manuscripts relating to the French spoliation claims.

The division of history of the University of the State of New York has issued vol. VII. of the *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York*, prepared by Dr. E. T. Corwin, an index to the series.

*The Perry's Victory Centenary: Report of the Perry's Victory Centennial Commission State of New York* (pp. ix, 209), compiled by George D. Emerson, contains an elaborate record of the chain of celebrations in 1913 of the Battle of Lake Erie, September 10, 1813. Among the numerous addresses made in connection with the celebration those of particular historical interest were by Hon. Asa Bird Gardiner, Hon. John M. Whitehead of Wisconsin, and Dr. James A. MacDonald of

Toronto, Canada. Dr. MacDonald's address, delivered September 10, 1913, was entitled "America's Message to the Nations". In the light of the events of nearly four years that have elapsed since its delivery the address has peculiar significance. Included in the volume are an account of the battle, by Frank H. Severance, George Bancroft's account, a dissertation on the battle by Henry Watterson, the letter of William V. Taylor, sailing master of the *Lawrence*, written October 17, 1813, the official report of Capt. Robert H. Barclay, British commander, and Commodore Perry's official reports, despatches, and letters. There are seventy-three illustrations, including several pictures of the restored *Niagara*; also a portrait of Captain Barclay.

The first number (April) of the *New York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin* has appeared. The announced purpose of the publication is to present from time to time in illustrated articles the attractive features of the library, art gallery, and museum, extracts from the society's proceedings, lists of accessions to its collections, and articles of historical interest. Original documents presented in this number are: a letter from Washington to Dr. John Cochran, August 16, 1779, given also in facsimile; and a List of Farms on New York Island, 1780, from a note-book of Evert Bancker, surveyor in New York. Mr. A. J. Wohlhagen gives an account of the spurious *Ulster County Gazette* of January 4, 1800. Mr. Harris H. Johnston has placed at the disposal of the society the letters and papers of his great-grandfather, John Pintard, comprising in particular letters written by Pintard to his daughter in New Orleans, 1811-1830. These letters and papers will be edited for the society by Mr. Johnston and published in the society's *Collections*.

The *Nederlandsch Archievenblad*, XXIV. 3, has an article on the seal and flag of New York City, by Mr. C. de Waard, and some notes on the archives of the *Deputati ad res Indicas* of the classis of Walcheren.

The *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* for April contains a frontispiece portrait of Horace White and a sketch of his life by Miss Amelia E. White.

The April *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library continues Mr. Lydenberg's history of that institution, the present installment giving the story of the New York Free Circulating Library.

The Buffalo Historical Society proposes to publish the Journals and other writings of Samuel Kirkland, missionary to the Indians and founder of Hamilton College, and will count it a favor if librarians or other custodians knowing of Kirkland manuscripts will communicate with the secretary of the society.

The January number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* is occupied with an address by Hon. Hampton L. Carson on

the life and services of Samuel W. Pennypacker; to which are appended certain of Governor Pennypacker's messages of approval and disapproval of bills, and also a bibliography of his writings. The April and July numbers contain installments of the journal of Samuel R. Fisher of Philadelphia (1779-1781), contributed by Anna Wharton Morris, and an installment of the Orderly-Book of General Edward Hand, Valley Forge, 1778. Among the sundry letters which appear in the section of Notes and Queries are a letter of Robert Anderson, the defender of Fort Sumter, to Benjamin Drake, November 8, 1839, relative to the death of Tecumseh, and also one from Aedanus Burke to Gen. Lachlan McIntosh, written from Yorktown, Va., October 28, 1781.

The *Year Book* of the Pennsylvania Society for 1917 (New York, the Society, pp. 280), edited by Mr. Barr Ferree, contains, besides the society's proceedings and reports, a record of anniversaries, memorials, and foundations in each county for the year 1916.

#### SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

It is understood that Professor W. K. Boyd of Trinity College (Durham, N. C.) and Professor R. P. Brooks of the University of Georgia are engaged in the preparation of a syllabus of Southern history.

The March number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* contains a list of taxables in Baltimore County, anno 1699; some account of the second regiment of Maryland volunteer infantry; and continuations of the Journal of the Committee of Observation of the Middle District of Frederick County and of the Carroll Papers.

The *National Genealogical Quarterly* for April includes lists of patriots of Montgomery County and of Washington County who took the oath of fidelity and support, March, 1778; and lists of civil officers of Montgomery County who took the oath, 1780-1782.

*Confederate Literature: a List of Books and Newspapers, Maps, Music, and Miscellaneous Matter Printed in the South during the Confederacy, now in the Boston Athenaeum*, prepared by C. N. Baxter and J. M. Dearborn, with an introduction by James Ford Rhodes, is brought out in Boston by the Athenaeum.

*Conscription in the Confederate States of America, 1862-1865*, by R. P. Brooks, is issued as a *Bulletin* of the University of Georgia.

The *Thirteenth Annual Report* of the Library Board of the Virginia State Library, 1915-1916, has come from the press. Bound with it is a *List of the Colonial Soldiers of Virginia*, with an extended preface, being a special report of the department of archives and history for 1913, by H. J. Eckenrode, archivist.

The contents of the April number of the *Virginia Magazine of*

*History and Biography* include, besides continued series hitherto mentioned, some Revolutionary pension declarations and the expense account at Eton, 1762-1764, of Alexander and John Spotswood, sons of Col. John Spotswood of Spotsylvania, Va. This number of the *Magazine* includes also the Proceedings of the Virginia Historical Society in the annual meeting held March 17, 1917, the principal content of which is the president's annual report. This report, far from being one of the formal sort, surveys the society's activities during the preceding year and the contents of the *Magazine*, and presents intimate personal sketches of some of the deceased members of the society.

The April number of the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* continues the Letters of Major Thomas Rowland, C. S. A. The *Magazine* also prints some papers (1788-1834) from the college archives pertaining to phases of the history of the college.

*The Virginia Committee System and the American Revolution*, by James Miller Leake, Ph.D., is a recent number of the *Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science*.

Four papers comprise the contents of the *Richmond College Historical Papers*, vol. II., no. 1 (June). They are: Nathaniel Beverley Tucker: his Writings and Political Theories, with a Sketch of his Life, by Maude H. Woodfin; Taxation in Virginia during the Revolution, by Louise A. Reams; William Grayson: a Study in Virginia Biography of the Eighteenth Century, by Weston Bristow; and the Letters (1757-1789) of William Allason, merchant of Falmouth, Virginia, by the editor, Professor D. R. Anderson.

Mr. A. J. Morrison of Hampden-Sidney College has brought out (Roanoke, Stone) a pamphlet of 55 pages containing *Six Addresses on the State of Letters and Science in Virginia*, delivered at Hampden-Sidney College, 1824 to 1835. The authors of these addresses, portraits of whom are included, were Jonathan P. Cushing, John H. Rice, William Maxwell, Jesse B. Harrison, James M. Garnett, and Lucian Minor.

The January number of the *North Carolina Booklet* includes, besides the proceedings (October, 1916) of the North Carolina Society of the Daughters of the Revolution, a paper on Isaac Shelby, by Archibald Henderson; one on the North Carolina Medical Society of 1799-1804, by Marshall DeLancey Haywood; and an account of the Old Cemetery at Charlotte, by Violet G. Alexander.

The January number of the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* contains the sixteenth of Judge Henry A. M. Smith's studies of the Baronies of South Carolina, the present article being Quenby and the Eastern Branch of Cooper River. In the series of letters of John Rutledge, edited by Joseph W. Barnwell, two are printed in this number, dated November 26 and December 8, 1780. W. E. Dunn con-

tributes an interesting letter written from Saint Augustine, December 12, 1672, by Joseph Baily, who had been sent to Saint Augustine in 1670 to demand the release of some Englishmen and had himself been imprisoned. Miss Mabel L. Webber contributes some marriage and death notices from the *South Carolina Weekly Gazette* (1783), which will be continued.

*A Standard History of Georgia and Georgians*, in six volumes, by Lucian L. Knight, has been brought out by the Lewis Publishing Company.

#### WESTERN STATES

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association held its tenth annual meeting at Chicago April 26, 27, and 28. The address of the president, Professor Frederic L. Paxson, was on "The Rise of Sports, 1876-1893". Other papers were: the Value of the Memoir of George Rogers Clark as an Historical Document, by James A. James; the Coming of the Circuit Rider across the Mountains, by W. W. Sweet; Glimpses of some Old Mississippi River Posts, by Louis Pelzer; the Military-Indian Frontier, 1830-1835, by Miss Ruth Gallaher; the Trading Companies in the Northwest, 1763-1816, by W. R. Stevens; the Collapse of the Confederacy: an Analysis of Certain Internal Causes, by Lawrence H. Gipson; the Pioneer Aristocracy, by Logan Esarey; Some Possibilities of Historical Field Work, by F. F. Holbrook; Latin-American History as a Field of Study for Mississippi Valley Students, by Paul F. Peck; Nauvoo, a Possible Study in Economic Determinism, by T. C. Pease; the Influence of the West on the Rise and Decline of Political Parties, by H. C. Hockett; President Lincoln and the Illinois Radical Republicans, by A. C. Cole; and the Formation of the American Colonization Society, by H. N. Sherwood. There was a session on historical pageantry, and a joint meeting with the history teachers of Cook County, in which the subject of the history course in high schools was discussed.

The March number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* contains an article by R. S. Cotterill on Southern Railroads and Western Trade; one by Roy Gittinger on the Separation of Nebraska and Kansas from the Indian Territory; one by Jane M. Berry on the Indian Policy of Spain in the Southwest, 1783-1795; and a survey of Recent Historical Activities in the South and Trans-Mississippi Southwest, by Donald L. McMurry. In the section of Notes and Documents is a brief account by Milledge L. Bonham, jr., of the first council of the American city of Baton Rouge, and one by Archibald Henderson on the state of affairs at Post St. Vincent in the summer of 1786. An extra number (April) includes, besides the proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at the meeting held at Nashville April 27-29, 1916, the address of Dr. Dunbar Rowland entitled the Mississippi Valley in American History; and the following articles:

Religion as a Factor in the Early Development of Ohio, by Margaret J. Mitchell; New Light on Early Kentucky, by James R. Robertson; the Dutch Element in Early Kentucky, by Percy S. Flippin; Internal Improvement Projects in Texas in the Fifties, by Charles W. Ramsdell; Representation and the Electoral Question in Ante-Bellum South Carolina, by Chauncey S. Boucher; the Early Life of Jefferson Davis, by Walter L. Fleming; the Veto Power in Ohio, by R. C. McGrane; the Present Situation in Mexico, by G. B. Winton; and a Further Definition of the American History Course in High Schools, by J. L. Kingsbury.

The Western Reserve Historical Society has come into possession of an important body of papers of General Braxton Bragg, covering practically the whole of the operations of the Confederate army under his command. Among these papers are four letter-books, March 10, 1861, to August 16, 1862; January 1 to August 20, 1863; September 8 to November 30, 1863; December 26, 1864, to April 10, 1865, containing correspondence, orders, proclamations, reports, rosters of officers, etc. Other noteworthy items are: a diary of the Kentucky and Tennessee campaigns for 1862-1863, kept by Captain Stoddard Johnson, one of Bragg's aides-de-camp; more than two hundred letters from prominent commanders; and a large number of Confederate newspapers. The letter-books contain more than 4000 pieces; the separate items aggregate some 2000 pieces. The society has received a considerable quantity of other Civil War material, and also a number of records, letters, etc., pertaining to the early history of Ohio, the War of 1812, and a body of twenty-two letters and documents pertaining to the Blennerhassett-Burr affair. Particularly noteworthy is a collection of material relating to early Cleveland, presented by Mr. Allen Severance.

The *Annual Report* of the Western Reserve Historical Society for 1915-1916 has joined with it *The Connecticut Land Company and Accompanying Papers*, by Claude L. Shepard. The study itself occupies only 23 pages; the documents accompanying it, twenty in number, fill 115 pages. The documents are for the most part of a legal sort but there are also some letters, which relate particularly to the later phases of the company's career.

The January-March number of the *Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* is occupied entirely with a series of letters of Thomas Boylston Adams, youngest son of President John Adams. The first of these letters, April 8, 1795, is to William Cranch; the others, twenty-two in number (1796-1801), are to Joseph Pitcairn. Adams accompanied his brother, John Quincy Adams, to the Hague, when the latter was made minister to Holland in 1794, and to Berlin when he became minister to Prussia in 1797. In December, 1798, he returned to Philadelphia, where he had previously begun the practice of law. The earlier letters are of interest for their

first-hand view of European affairs, and the later ones chiefly for their light on domestic politics.

The principal article in the April number of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* is a study of Ohio in the Presidential Election of 1824, by Eugene H. Roseboom. There are two archaeological articles, one by William C. Mills concerning Explorations of the West-haver Mound, and one by C. W. Clark on the Mound Builder and the Indian.

The principal articles in the March number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* are a study of Universalism in Indiana, by Rev. Elmo A. Robinson; an account of Old Corydon, the first capital of Indiana, by Charles Moores; some Reminiscences of the Civil War: Escape from Fort Tyler Prison, by Horace B. Little; and a paper on Tecumseh's Confederacy, by Elmore Barce. Those in the June number are Pioneer Politics in Indiana, by Logan Esarey; a sketch, by Blanche G. Garber, of Colonel John Paul, Hoosier Pioneer, founder of Xenia, Ohio, and Madison, Indiana; and the conclusion of Elmo A. Robinson's study of Universalism in Indiana.

The *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* for July, 1916, contains a paper, by O. W. Aldrich, on Slavery or Involuntary Servitude in Illinois prior to and after its Admission as a State; one by Rev. Ira W. Allen on Early Presbyterianism in East Central Illinois; a biographical sketch, by E. A. Snively, of James M. Davidson (1828-1894), an Illinois editor; and the story of Mary Spears, an Indian captive, reprinted from *Putnam's Magazine*, March, 1853. The October number includes an article by N. H. Debel on the Development of the Veto Power of the Governor of Illinois; one by Charles A. Kent entitled Lincoln and Gettysburg after Fifty Years, November 19, 1863-1913; and a number of briefer articles.

R. S. Cotterill has written a *Pioneer History of Kentucky*, which has been published in Cincinnati by Johnson and Hardin.

*Letters on the Condition of Kentucky in 1825*, edited by Earl G. Swem, has been issued by Charles F. Heartman in *Heartman's Historical Series* (no. 2).

Mr. A. E. Martin of the Pennsylvania State College has completed a study of *The Anti-Slavery Movement in Kentucky to 1850*, which, it is understood, the Filson Club will bring out in the summer or early autumn. The author expects to continue the study for the succeeding period, 1850-1870, the results of which will be published in a second volume.

The January number of the *Register* of the Kentucky State Historical Society contains an article by A. C. Quisenberry on Kentucky's "Neutrality" in 1861.

*Kentucky's Famous Feuds and Tragedies: Authentic History of the World Renowned Vendettas of the Dark and Bloody Ground*, by C. G. Mutzenberg, is said to be the result of twenty years of investigation.

The March number of the *Tennessee Historical Magazine* contains the first part of a paper by Professor St. George L. Sioussat entitled *Memphis as a Gateway to the West: a Study in the Beginnings of Railway Transportation in the Old Southwest*. Another study begun in this number is an investigation, by W. A. Provine, into the history of Lardner Clark, Nashville's First Merchant and Foremost Citizen. The documents in this number are letters of James K. Polk to Andrew J. Donelson, 1843-1848. The letters of 1843 and 1844 are concerned principally with Polk's candidacy for the vice-presidency and the campaign of 1844; those of 1845 were written to Donelson as American chargé to Texas and relate chiefly to the Texas question; and those of 1846-1848 have to do with the mission to Prussia to which Donelson was appointed in March, 1846.

*A Century of Maryville College, 1819-1919: a Story of Altruism*, by Samuel Tyndale Wilson, is published by the college (Maryville, Tennessee). Dr. Wilson anticipates the completion of the century of the life of the college by setting forth something of its plans for the future.

The *Fourth Annual Report* (1916) of the Michigan Historical Commission has appeared. Among the activities of the commission is an effort to develop among pioneer societies a systematic collection of historical materials, and the organization of new societies in counties where none now exist.

The third number of Mr. C. M. Burton's series of pamphlets entitled *Manuscripts from the Burton Historical Collection*, edited by Miss M. Agnes Burton, contains a memorial of Thomas Hutchins the younger to the United States Senate, praying compensation for the sufferings and services of his late father the geographer general, and giving some account of the latter's life; but is mainly occupied with interesting documents on early Indiana history, 1805-1806, connected with the administration of William H. Harrison and derived from the archives of the War Department in Washington.

The *Minnesota History Bulletin* for November (vol. I., no. 8) contains but one body article, Capt. Theodore E. Potter's *Recollections of Minnesota Experiences*. These recollections cover the period from 1852 to 1876, with brief reference to events of later years. Annotations upon the narrative, which occupies slightly more than one hundred pages of the *Bulletin*, are supplied by Miss Franc M. Potter of the society's staff. The *Bulletin* for February includes appreciative sketches of two Minnesota historians, Capt. Henry A. Castle and Return Ira Holcombe. The sketches are by Gideon S. Ives and Warren Upham, respectively. The section of Notes and Documents includes



a Lawyer's View of the Kensington Rune Stone, by Charles G. Willson; an Address, September 9, 1912, from the Pioneers of Rupert's Land to Dr. J. E. Jones, the American consul-general at Winnipeg, touching the relations between the United States and western Canada in the fifties and sixties; and a note on the Genesis of the Republican Party in Minnesota, accompanied by a number of documents. The May number of the *Bulletin* contains an article by Professor Carl Becker entitled the Historical Background of American Participation in the War, and one by F. F. Holbrook, field agent of the Minnesota Historical Society, on Some Possibilities of Historical Field Work. It is expected that the society's new building will be ready for occupancy in October.

A *History of the First Regiment Minnesota Volunteer Infantry, 1861-1864*, is published at Stillwater by Easton and Masterman.

The *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for April contains two extended articles: a study of the Executive Veto in Iowa, by Jacob A. Swisher; and a translation of the History and Constitution of the Icarian Community (Paris, 1855), written by Étienne Cabet, the founder of the community.

A *History of Adair County, Iowa*, in two volumes, edited by L. M. Kilburn, is published in Greenfield, Iowa, by the author.

Mr. Duane Mowry contributes to the January number of the *Missouri Historical Review* a number of letters to Senator James R. Doolittle of Wisconsin written (1859-1872) by Edward Bates, Frank P. Blair, sr., Frank P. Blair, jr., and Montgomery Blair. This number of the *Review* also contains the third of Mr. David W. Eaton's papers on How Missouri Counties, Towns, and Streams were Named, and the proceedings of the Kansas City Convention, November 24-25, 1916, a preliminary to Missouri's centennial celebration.

The *Twentieth Biennial Report (1914-1916)* of the board of directors of the Kansas State Historical Society includes the proceedings of the fortieth and forty-first annual meetings (1915 and 1916) and a history of the newspapers and magazines published in Kansas from the organization of the territory in 1854 to January 1, 1916.

The February number of the *Texas History Teachers' Bulletin* contains two brief articles: What should History mean to the High School Teacher? by Frederic Duncalf, and How can the Results of History Teaching be best tested? by E. D. Criddle. In the May number Milton R. Gutsch discusses the Field of Instruction in Elementary History. Professor Eugene C. Barker's Source Readings in Texas History are continued through both numbers.

The contents of the April number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* include four chapters of a study, by A. K. Christian, of the

Tariff History of the Republic of Texas; the second installment of the paper, by H. R. Edwards, on the Diplomatic Relations between France and the Republic of Texas; a sketch, by Rosa Groce Bertleth, of the life of Colonel J. E. Groce (1782-1836), a prominent Texas pioneer; and Recollections of Stephen F. Austin, written by George L. Hammeken in 1844.

*A Brief History of the Lower Rio Grande Valley*, by F. C. Pierce, is brought out in Menasha, Wisconsin, by the G. Banta Publishing Company.

*North Dakota, History and People: Outlines of American History*, in three volumes, by C. A. Lounsbury, is published by S. J. Clarke.

*Arizona, Prehistoric, Aboriginal, Pioneer, Modern: the Nation's Youngest Commonwealth within a Land of Ancient Culture*, three volumes, by J. H. McClintock, is from the press of S. J. Clarke.

The April number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* contains some Pioneer Reminiscences of Thomas B. Beall; an article on Washington Forts of the Fur Trade Régime, by O. B. Sperlin; Chief Sluskin's True Narrative (an account of his guiding two men to the "White Mountain"), prepared by L. V. McWhorter; a letter of William Pickering, governor of Washington Territory, July 26, 1862; and Early Records of the University, contributed by Professor Edmond S. Meany.

The issue of the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* for December contains a short account, by Socrates Scholfield, of the Klamath Exploring Expedition, 1850, an expedition in search for gold on what was supposed to be the Klamath River; the Reminiscences of Mrs. Martha E. Gilliam Collins, prepared by Fred Lockley; some notes by T. C. Elliott relative to the Last Will and Testament of John Day, a member of the overland party of the Pacific Fur Company; some letters of Elihu Wright, a sailor on a whaling cruise, to his brother in Connecticut; and continuations of the diaries of Rev. Jason Lee and Rev. Ezra Fisher.

Recent accessions to the Bancroft Library in the University of California comprise about 5000 pages of documentary material relating to the occupation of Lower California and to the activities of the civil and religious authorities in the advance northward from Mexico toward California; some thousands of pages bearing upon the powers of the Council of the Indies and the Casa de Contratación; and some thousands more relating to Florida, Texas, and New Mexico. The accessions to the library since 1911 are roughly classified as follows: 8000 pages of material bearing specifically upon the history of California; 5000 pages relating indirectly to California; 8000 pages of "Provincias Internas" transcripts (including about 1000 pages relating to Louisiana, Florida, and Virginia); and 10,000 pages relating to commerce in the Pacific, the Philippines, Spanish colonial policy, and kindred topics. These transcripts come chiefly from Spanish and Mexican archives.

Professor Charles E. Chapman has prepared for publication, and is now sending to the press (University of California), a *Catalogue of certain Materials in the Archivo General de Indias, relating to the History of the Pacific Coast and the American Southwest*. The work will consist of two volumes. It will catalogue more than 6000 selected documents, and will give a detailed description of some 200 legajos in those sections of the archive called Papeles de Estado, Audiencia de Mexico, and Audiencia de Guadalajara.

## PHILIPPINES

Appleton has published a work by Conrado Benitez and Austin Craig bearing the extended title *The Former Philippines through Foreign Eyes: the Pre-Spanish History, the Spanish Occupation, the Beginnings of Philippine Nationalism, and 333 Years of Struggle for Liberty*.

## AMERICA SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

The January-February number of the *Boletín del Archivo Nacional* (Havana) continues the bibliographical notes concerning Cuban periodicals, presenting in this issue a history of the transmigrations of the periodical founded in 1813 with the simple name *Noticioso*, but experiencing a complete transformation of name in 1844. Nineteen facsimiles accompany the notes. The other principal articles are also continuations. The March-April number of the *Boletín* contains some additional remarks concerning the periodical *Lucero de la Habana* and its successors, and an extended bibliographical account of the *Memorias de la Real Sociedad Económica de la Habana* (with varying title), accompanied by facsimiles of eleven successive title-pages, 1793-1901.

*The Mexican Constitution of 1917 compared with the Constitution of 1857* has been issued as a Supplement to the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*.

*British Exploits in South America: a History of British Activities in Exploration, Military Adventure, Diplomacy, Science, and Trade in Latin-America*, by W. H. Koebel, gives an account of the English navigators and buccaneers on the Spanish Main, describes the work of the English and Irish Jesuits in the Spanish colonies, the British voyages of exploration in the eighteenth century, Britain's part in the development of British Guiana, the Falkland Islands, and Brazil, and the early relations of England with the Latin-American republics (Century Company).

All who are interested in the relations between the historical students of the United States and those of South America will find many things to interest them in a pamphlet published at Berkeley, California, by the Lederer, Street, and Zeus Company, entitled *A Californian in South America*. It is an official report of the visit of Professor Charles E.

Chapman, as representative of the University of California, upon occasion of the American Congress of Bibliography and History held at Buenos Aires in July, 1916, accompanied by interesting appendixes.

A volume on *La Federación en Colombia, 1810-1812* (Madrid, Reus, 1916, pp. 325) has been written by I. de La Vega.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: D. M. Andrews, *De Soto's Route from Cofitachequi, in Georgia, to Cosa, in Alabama* (American Anthropologist, January-March); H. P. Biggar, *Jean Ribault's Discoverye of Terra Florida* (English Historical Review, April); J. F. V. Silva, *Elogio de Vaca de Castro por Antonio de Herrera* (Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Museos, January); J. S. Davis, *Charters for American Business Corporations in the Eighteenth Century* (Quarterly Publications of the American Statistical Association, December); A. M. Schlesinger, *The Uprising against the East India Company* (Political Science Quarterly, March); Rear-Admiral C. F. Goodrich, U. S. N., *Our Navy and the West Indian Pirates* [cont.] (United States Naval Institute Proceedings, March, April, May); W. J. Aylward, *The Clipper-Ship and her Seamen* (Scribner's Magazine, April); E. C. Barker, *California as the Cause of the Mexican War* (Texas Review, January); J. E. Winston, *Robert J. Walker, Annexationist* (*ibid.*, April); R. S. Cotterill, *The Telegraph in the South, 1845-1850* (South Atlantic Quarterly, April); Lady Macdonnell, *America Then and Now: Recollections of Lincoln* (Contemporary Review, May); Maj.-Gen. I. R. Trimble, C. S. A., *The Campaign and Battle of Gettysburg* (Confederate Veteran, May); H. H. Hagan, *The United States vs. Jefferson Davis* (Sewanee Review, April); Capt. F. H. Pulsifer, U. S. Coast Guard, retired, *Reminiscences of the Harriet Lane* (Journal of the United States Coast Guard Association, January-March); F. Portusach, *History of the Capture of Guam by the United States Man-of-War Charleston and its Transport* (United States Naval Institute Proceedings, April); F. Iznaga, *Ecos del Tratado de Paris [1898]: la Duda Colonial* (Cuba Contemporánea, March); J. M. Leake, *Four Years of Congress [1913-1917]* (American Political Science Review, May); A. Gauvain, *Les Initiatives du Président Wilson* (Revue de Paris, March 1).





