

lish colonies and it would be more proper to judge the failure of the French on its merits and not on a hypothetical question of what the English would have done had they landed at Quebec instead of Jamestown and Salem.

Dr. Caldwell has shown from manuscript sources the great difficulties that the French faced in their colonial enterprise and in their attempt to build up and control the fur trade. He seems at times to attach too much importance to the opinion of one observer, particularly Kalm (p.39) or Beauharnois (p.67), but his authorities are contemporary and he has endeavored to use them impartially. He has brought out quite well the relative importance of the various Indian wars which interfered with the general plans and has indicated the beginning of the Anglo-French conflict in the valley. He gives little significance to the superiority of English merchandise in quality and price and underestimates the importance of the French missionaries. The statements of values in actual cash figures is of slight use when the coin values were so changeable, but they do show careful work on the part of the author. His conclusions are rather large for such a brief study. Dr. Caldwell's mastery of the manuscript material is admirable and his style while not ornate, is quite clear. Not to be picayune, but because of local interest, it should be pointed out that the accompanying map places the St. Joseph portage improperly.

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*The Civil War Veteran in Minnesota Life and Politics.* By Frank H. Heck. Volume III of the *Annals of America*. Edited by Philip D. Jordan and Charles M. Thomas. (The Mississippi Valley Press, Oxford, Ohio, 1941. Pp. 295. Maps, appendices, illustrations, etc., \$3.50.)

It is only recently that adequate historical studies of the Grand Army of the Republic have been undertaken. It is a subject of significance for our own times, and Mr. Heck's contribution is of outstanding importance and excellence. In his earlier pages he describes the purpose, ritual, and nature of the Grand Army of the Republic, its slow start and early weakness in Minnesota, and its increased size and influence in the eighties and nineties. He then discusses veteran activities in the state with considerable light on matters of national scope. Some of the activities of the order

were social, being concerned with good fellowship among comrades, convivial assemblage, fraternal benefaction, campfires, encampments, flag ceremonies, parades, and excursions; others were of a public or political nature having to do with pensions, soldier preference in government employment (often with slight duties), and pressure politics in promotion of this or that type of soldier privilege.

As to the party aspect of the G. A. R., one can point to that order's official declaration prohibiting its use for partisan purposes. Practice and performance, however, did not always conform to this well-intentioned rule. Many G. A. R. posts were "originally . . . organized as Republican campaign clubs" and the order absorbed soldier groups united "primarily for partisan purposes" (p. 238). In Indiana the Grand Army "served openly and frankly as a political agency"; members were brought together "by their desire for good fellowship and Republican supremacy" (p. 239). When the nonpartisan declaration was adopted, many influential members resented this action; for this and other reasons local or state officials looked with distaste upon the power and authority of "superior" national officials. It was not uncommon for an ex-soldier seeking appointment to add party labors to his war record, "exhibiting . . . a life-time of service for the Grand Old Party" (p. 162). Soldiers' and sailors' conventions, "ostensibly assembled to consider . . . great . . . issues" were often of the sort that "any well-informed Minnesotan . . . set . . . down as Radical Republican gatherings, pure and simple" (pp. 191-192). The soldier vote was treated as a bloc. In circularizing the veterans an astute politician would point to his "success at getting individual pensions allowed or increased" (p. 187).

Perhaps the most obvious functioning of the veterans as a pressure group was in connection with pensions. When Cleveland vetoed private pensions and exposed pension frauds he became the target of severe veteran denunciation. Objecting to the principle that need be the criterion for pension eligibility, the national encampment of the G.A.R. assumed a monopoly of the pressure function by adopting in 1884 "a gag rule forbidding posts to memorialize Congress regarding pensions, except through the departmental and national headquarters" (p. 216). This was after more than a thousand posts had petitioned in favor of the proposal that broken

and needy veterans should have preference over the strong and affluent. By 1904 pensions had become universal for all who had war service; thereafter need or disability was not necessary for eligibility.

Numerous other topics are developed by Mr. Heck. He treats not only the G. A. R., but the Woman's Relief Corps and various lesser veteran organizations, of which the Military Order of the Loyal Legion was the most select, being a hereditary order whose high fees and emphasis upon distinction kept it above the more plebian soldier groups. When treating intra-party factions the author shows that no party in Minnesota fitted the ideal of "a harmonious band of like-minded men" (p. 131). He does not neglect contributions of the G. A. R. to community life, finding them more prominent in sparse than in more settled areas. More might have been given on the relation of veterans to civil service reform; perhaps more to patronage, though there are good bits on this theme. The word "propaganda" does not appear in the index, for which many a reader will probably be grateful; even so, it might be well if we had the G. A. R. counterpart to William Gellermann's *The American Legion as Educator*. What matters chiefly, however, is that the author, while mindful of reader interest, has served the cause of competent scholarship. In elaborate annotations one finds credentials for every statement; those interested in further study are assisted by an admirable bibliography and by other aids.

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*English Whiggism and the American Revolution.* By George Herbert Guttridge. (University of California Press, Berkley, California, 1942. Pp. i, 144. Index, \$1.50.)

Shortly after writing the Prince Consort Prize Essay at Cambridge in 1922 on the *Colonial Policy of William III*, Professor Guttridge became affiliated with the University of California. His *David Hartley, M. P., an Advocate of Conciliation, 1774-1783*, published in 1926, was the first of a series of monographs and papers which have qualified him to write authoritatively on Whiggism in the period 1760 to 1783. The present essay, originating "from a particular interest in the lesser figures of that Whiggism which was dominated by Burke," might perhaps more accurately be entitled *A History of the Rockingham Whigs*. For the other