that can be ascertained by industrious (and in this case, imaginative) dredging among the sources can really tell us what the significance of the movement is. I shall use this book and the information presented in it to help me understand the coming of the American Revolution as well as the nature of that Revolution. The failure of the British to provide adequate local government, reasonable equality of taxation, proper representation, educational and religious facilities, the protection of property, and a means of resolving conflicts between groups within the colonies is represented in microcosm in South Carolina. That these conditions, which existed for a decade, perhaps decades, just prior to the Revolution, had no connection with the Revolution itself, can hardly be an acceptable conclusion, implicit or explicit. In my opinion, Brown has written a more important book than he realizes, and his second book should not be, as he promises, a further study of the vigilante movement, but volume two in the coming of the Revolution in South Carolina.

The Newberry Library Lawrence W. Towner

Royal Raiders: The Tories of the American Revolution. By North Callahan. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1963. Pp. 288. Bibliography, notes, index. $5.00.)

The Tory view of the American Revolution and the actions which resulted from that view form the theme of *Royal Raiders.* Professor Callahan thinks that Americans have long had a one-sided conception of the war for independence, with the mistaken notion that the colonists rose as one unified body to expel the enemy. Now they are realizing more and more, he feels, that the struggle also pitted Americans against Americans.

By Professor Callahan's definition, the Tories comprised those Americans who preferred the security of the Empire to the uncertainty of a new government under inexperienced leaders. From this kind of change they shrank, perhaps aware that they stood to lose a job, land, trade, a hoped-for bishop, or their idolized king. Many Tories who had approved a little rioting as a means of bringing the British government to terms later opposed the movement when propertyless mobs began to destroy for the sheer joy of destruction and when those without political privilege cried loudest for liberty. When war came, about 50,000 Tories helped the British armies with enthusiasm and vigor. Their failure arose from a lack of unity, leadership, arms, and aggressiveness; furthermore, their position was defensive and they had no positive program, for they were satisfied with a system which had been successful for 150 years.

Many familiar stories appear in the book, but there is also a definite effort to present the truth about some Tory leaders whose reputations have been distorted by hatred and propaganda. One meets Thomas Hutchinson, who loved his country and deplored some of the British policies; the Reverend Jonathan Boucher, who preached with loaded pistols on the pulpit cushion; and the delightful Congregationalist,

the Reverend Mather Byles of Boston, who gravely marched guard, musket on shoulder, before his own door while his official " 'observe-a-Tory' " ran an errand for him. One also meets Americans—on both sides—who persecuted, tortured, and defiled graves.

A topic such as this is difficult to organize, and at times the reader comes away with impressions of a rambling, repetitive account; for instance, the same prominent families that were split by opposing sympathies are named on pages 92 and 101. And in view of the fact that at least a dozen books treat Loyalists and their problems, it is strange to read that "they have . . . virtually lost their place in history" (p. 35).

There are a few errors such as an incorrect reference to Lord George Germain, secretary of state for American affairs. The index is very inadequate; for example, because the individual colonies or states are not entered, it is impossible to draw together what Professor Callahan says about any one of them.

All in all, the book rounds up much information about the Tories and is especially valuable because the author has used Tory materials. The evaluations are so fair and moderate that Professor Callahan has certainly given a frequently maligned devil his due.

Indiana University Frances Krauskopf

Foreign Policies of the Founding Fathers. By Paul A. Varg. ([East Lansing]: Michigan State University Press, 1963. Pp. xi, 316. Notes, index. $6.50.)

In this volume Paul A. Varg surveys American foreign policy from the outbreak of the Revolution to the declaration of war in 1812. Although monographs on aspects of the period abound and there are several general surveys of only slightly smaller scope than Varg's, his volume is the first to perform this precise task. For the general reader or beginning student, *Foreign Policies of the Founding Fathers* will perhaps be useful as an introduction. Varg writes clearly, tells an uncomplicated story, and generally apportions his space reasonably. He describes such matters as Madison's nationalism and Jefferson's dislike of Genêt with an air of discovery that makes his treatment seem fresh. Because his fairly numerous errors concern matters of detail (Washington did not "deliver" the Farewell Address, the Tripolitanians did not "arrest" the *Philadelphia*'s crew, Madison's pamphlet of 1806 does not carry the title Varg gives it), these errors will irritate the scholar rather than seriously mislead the tyro.

As original scholarship, Varg's book has little to offer. He presents few new interpretations, although in analyzing the diplomatic implications of the Constitution he plows ground too long fallow. Aside from the Madison manuscripts, he has examined almost no non-printed sources. Given the scope of his volume, this is perhaps not surprising. More upsetting is the absence of reference to the printed works of many American statesmen and to numerous important historical studies, although the text sometimes shows an awareness of material and inter-