

the arrangement of the book it is difficult to avoid acceptance of Knollenberg's case for inevitable conflict. Only at one point does there seem to be a solution short of war. The author speculates that if General Thomas Gage in 1775 had been able to seize the leading Massachusetts rebels, as Lord Dartmouth suggested, the Whigs throughout the thirteen colonies would have retaliated by holding crown officials as a more effective bargaining force for redress of grievances than economic boycott. This did not happen, of course, and war came.

Knollenberg admits that his sympathies lie with the colonial Whigs, defined as those colonists who not only denied the right of Parliament to impose taxes, but when petitions failed to bring repeal, advocated commercial pressure. He does not use the term "loyalist" because all colonists were loyal in this period, but he defines as "Tories," as did their contemporaries, those who favored limiting protest to petition and those who did not protest at all.

British conviction by 1774 of the colonial desire for complete independence, fortified by pride and bad advice that the Americans could be subdued easily by force because of cowardice and inability to fight, made compromise impossible. Although opposing parliamentary taxation, the American Whigs maintained their loyalty and their submission to the prerogative of the crown as late as their 1774 petition to the king from the First Continental Congress. Their image of responsible leadership, carefully planned by the Whigs, objecting to British policy in a controlled manner was a major influence in uniting the other colonies behind beleaguered Massachusetts.

This book and its predecessor will stand as monuments to the author's excellent scholarship and mastery of the sources.

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Thomas L. McKenney: Architect of America's Early Indian Policy, 1816-1830. By Herman J. Viola. (Chicago: The Swallow Press, Inc., 1974. Pp. xii, 365. Maps, illustrations, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$15.00.)

Since it is generally assumed that Washington's bureaucrats, past and present, have not been part of the policy making process, they are not often subjects of book length biog-

raphies. Some of course have been more than mere functionaries. Herman J. Viola makes such a case for Thomas L. McKenney, the first superintendent of Indian Affairs. He argues that McKenney was in fact the architect of America's early Indian policy.

Rescued from the life of a Maryland merchant, McKenney became the superintendent of Indian trade in 1816, a position he held until 1822. The fur trade was essentially a lucrative business, but the government sponsored factories steadily lost money. Congress was not prepared to support the factories adequately in the face of growing competition from entrepreneurs such as John Jacob Astor. The system was destined to failure, and McKenney received the blame.

While in Washington, McKenney carried the favor of the political and social elite. He started a short lived newspaper which in 1824 vigorously supported the presidential aspirations of John C. Calhoun. This won him the lasting enmity of Andrew Jackson's supporters, but more immediately it got him back on the government payroll. Secretary of War Calhoun, without congressional approval, appointed McKenney a senior clerk in his department, responsible for Indian affairs. From such a small beginning evolved the Bureau of Indian Affairs. McKenney assumed the title of superintendent of Indian Affairs.

There was a grandiose side to McKenney's character. To keep up pretensions of class he attempted to maintain a large estate called Weston on a senior clerk's salary. It bankrupted him. His visions of grandeur were further reflected in the public spectacles he arranged for Indian chiefs who visited the capital. When he and other commissioners traveled to the Indian lands, they sometimes arrived at treaty signing ceremonies in a canopied canoe.

The election of Jackson to the presidency in 1828 precluded a lengthy stay for McKenney in the bureau. He was dismissed in 1830. Thereafter he made repeated attempts to regain his position, but even the Whigs ignored him when they came to power in 1840. A more useful activity, and perhaps McKenney's most lasting monument, was the publication of a three volume folio edition of his *History of the Indian Tribes of North America*.

Thomas L. McKenney is a well written and thoroughly researched book. Viola includes an enormous amount of detail. This does help make Washington politics of the 1820s

come alive and problems of the Bureau of Indian Affairs seem immediate. But much of the detail borders on the antiquarian. Perhaps it is useful to know something about the bookkeeping practices of the bureau or the number of letters each overworked clerk transcribed. For some there may be a certain fascination in knowing precisely how Indian medals were struck or how books were bound, but does it matter?

Viola is generally sympathetic toward his subject, although at one perceptive moment he refers to McKenney as a blend of blarney and sincerity. He insists that McKenney was a great humanitarian. This does not quite come off. Other than that McKenney grew up in a Quaker family, there is not a satisfactory explanation of the wellspring of his humanitarianism. But more importantly, the McKenney of this book seems not to have a deep insight into the needs of Indians and the overwhelming problems they faced. Viola sets out to correct what he calls a faulty image of McKenney as a vacillating and self seeking opportunist. The picture that does come through is that of a socially ambitious, impractical dreamer who could not keep his own financial house in order and who did not do much better with the affairs of the Indians.

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The Mind of America, 1820-1860. By Rush Welter. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975. Pp. xvi, 603. Appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. \$14.95.)

Rush Welter, whose previous writings have displayed a talent for the American Studies approach to scholarship, is a professor of American history at Bennington College. This latest impressive work pursues the same interdisciplinary avenue to understanding an age often called the Middle Period. Welter's emphasis here is more of an exploration of the "inarticulate premises" of a generation (p. vii) than of the formal intellectual trends of the day; therefore, predictable personalities rarely appear except as spokesmen for commonly shared beliefs.

In order to reveal the views of this traditionally silent majority, Welter draws from patriotic Fourth of July orations,