UNIVERSITÉ D'OTTAWA ~ ÉCOLE DES GRADUÉS

GEORGE III OF ENGLAND AND HIS ROLE IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION: AS SEEN IN THE WRITINGS OF AMERICAN HISTORY, 1920-1950

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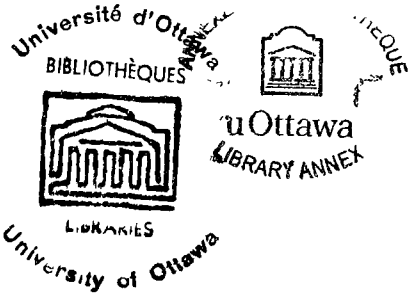
Dissertation presented to the Faculty of Arts of the University of Ottawa in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History.



Degree conferred May 22, 1958

Dean of the Graduate Division

Winooski, Vermont, 1958

UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA ~ SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

SPECIAL ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writer is deeply indebted to Doctor H. G. Buxton, Ph. D., Professor of History at Ottawa University, thesis director; to Reverend Father Edgar Thivierge, O. M. I., Secretary of the Graduate Division; to the librarians of the University of Ottawa and St. Michael's College; to Miss Theresa Sansoucy who painstakingly typed the original manuscript.

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INTRODUCTION

In attempting to assess the problem, "George III of England and his role in the American Revolution, as seen in the writings of American history, 1920-1950," the present writer is seeking to pursue the perennial task of the historian: the re-evaluation of the conclusions of his predecessors.

Ideally, the purpose of a dissertation in history is to uncover new information or present for learned consideration a new approach to a subject which has already been researched. Usually the master's essay serves as the point of departure to the hypothesis for a dissertation. While this may not appear to be the case in the present dissertation, there is a close bond. In preparing a master's essay, the author was impressed with the fact that redactors or historians of a period frequently borrow information from sources which are considered unassailable and pass this information on uncritically. After a time a conclusion appears to gain credence from the fact that it has been adhered to by a great many historians or writers on the subject. Picking up a text uncritically the student of history or reader is under the impression that the near unanimous adherence of historians, text book writers- and

use in collateral source material- indicates that a particular conclusion, opinion or evaluation "must be right." Often a curious student will search long hours to find the original source of a statement only to discover that what has become iron-clad fact was stated initially as less than timid opinion. Once having had this experience, the student approaches all secondary source material warily. He is inclined to read prefaces with greater scrutiny than texts, and to be more conscious of those attitudes and circumstances which would incline an author to strain truth or fact to fit his particular hypothesis or the urgency of the present moment.

Such, then, is the connection between a master's essay on marble and the present dissertation which seeks to evaluate American historical writings of the past twenty-five years on the American Revolution and their attitude toward George III. It is innocent enough for a fact of not too-great importance to be passed uncritically from one generation to another without being subjected to vigorous re-examination. Considering the plethora of historical writings that rolls ever faster from the printing press, and that the historian must keep vigil not only over those facts which have already found their way into print but also of current events, which are history in its embryonic or raw state, it is even understandable and excusable. Yet, it

would seem that the qualified willingness to forgive cannot be extended to broader areas. At the same time that the historian eschews the role of iconoclast, tumbling the writers of the past and their tomes from deserved pedestals and arraigning them before the bar of evidence (which in many cases may not have been available to the writers of their age), he may be willing to swallow the gnats of inaccuracy because the pressures of research are well-known to him, nevertheless he must strain at swallowing camels.

References, for example, to "mad King George" abound in the history books. But for a long time the reader might be confused and think that "mad" refers to fanaticism, stubbornness, single-minded zeal. He wonders if one of these synonyms might not be more exact, unless, of course, "mad" actually referred to a mental state. At this point the historian must examine the background and interpret, affirming anew or destroying a popular myth. For the myth itself, however popular, is something that the historian should refuse to condone.

And, again, suppose that the "myth" has been set aside. The former butt of the historian's partisanship, (because the writer of history is human, this happens all too often) appears in a more sympathetic light. He receives "better treatment." But is the reader getting sounder history or has "whitewash" been substituted for myth? The

result may be closer to the historical fact, but the history may be just as distorted.

Faced with this problem, the present writer proceeded to examine his misgivings in regard to the writing of history, viz. the acceptance of names or catch-words in history without establishing their validity.

The immediate result was a study of George III as "Patriot King" and the validity of this appellation. This all too common coin of the historian when examined alongside the Bolingbroke original proved almost entirely counterfeit. The research served to compound the original doubt that in some cases historians uncritically pass from hand to hand and book to book-- and generation to generation-- the dubiously founded bon mot.

This prompted an examination of the question of what goes into the writing of history. To condemn historians for a misstatement of fact or a readiness to accept what might not be entirely true, seemed unfair. This study uncovered the difficulties attendant on historical research and the problems which confront the writer of the history of every epoch when he tries to interpret facts. If it contributed nothing more to the present dissertation, it indicated (1) that a work of this nature should not be undertaken in a spirit of accusation or condemnation; (2) that whatever hypothesis is being surveyed, it should

be submitted with the humble realization that, while facts do not change, the historian, however much he may seek impartiality, is almost inevitably the creature of his own age, its methods, its prejudices and historiography and (3) that, almost as certainly, his own analyses will call forth the challenge of a subsequent generation.

While your author acquired thereby a more sympathetic understanding of history and its writers, he still wanted to see whether the vogue of one historical sobriquet had so passed into the entire treatment of George III that inaccuracy inevitably followed. He wanted also to see what, if anything, had been done to correct this inaccuracy. To this end he made a second preliminary study of "The Illness of George III" incorporated in this text as Chapter VI. Although disappointing from an historical point of view, the results of this study were encouraging to the fuller project of this dissertation, for they revealed the worthwhileness of pursuing the question of George III and his role in the American Revolution through a greater range of facts among other historians.

Such private studies as "The Patriot King" and "George III's Illness" might appear somewhat too personal for the point of departure of a dissertation. This writer thinks not because the apparently "personal" problem is less personal than it is the case history of many historians

Too frequently the printed page, by the mere fact of repeated publication, assumes a misleading finality.

Moreover there appears some affinity between the symptoms of this case history and the position taken by some prominent historians of 30 years ago.

The position of Frank A. Mumby in England is one instance.

> ...there were grounds for hoping that the old partisan textbooks, which no fair-minded historian could possibly accept today, would have ceased their traditional task of innoculating new generations with the prejudices of the old.[1]

Another example of the same point of view is that of A. M. Schlesinger.

> The fact is that the average American still accepts without qualification or question the partisan justifications of the struggle for independence which have come down from the actual participants in the affair on the American side...Indeed, many Americans of the present generation...condemn as unpatriotic any effort to consider the origins of the war for Independence from a standpoint of scientific historical detachment.[2]

Therefore, the present thesis is presented to explore the validity of one commonly repeated historical

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[1] Frank A. Mumby, George III and the American Revolution (London, 1924), p. vii.

[2] A. M. Schlesinger, New Viewpoints in American History, (N. Y., 1922), p. vi.

interpretation and to see whether the hope which Mumby expressed has been realized, or whether the fact that Professor Schlesinger observed still operates.

The choice of approach to this topic presents a problem. What writings on American history should be consulted? Does the need of reaching a conclusion about George III and his role in the American Revolution impose the necessity of consulting all the historical literature of the past 25 years on the American Revolution? This would be a prohibitively monumental task and hardly thoroughly rewarding since the ordinary student does not need to command the entirety of history as the foundation for an opinion. A better approach seemed to be to take the writings of American history which came to hand in the ordinary course of teaching and reading and to address the bibliography specifically to those writings which were concerned with the problems of historiography and influences on the writing of American history. To have a working guide and to provide a picture of the field, the writer compiled a more complete bibliography.[3] Textbooks have received what seems to be proper attention. Usually they teach rather than opine (and to captive audiences),

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[3] Compiled from: The American Historical Association, Annual Report, Supplement: Writings in American History.

and they present a barometer to the widest influences. In regard to these latter it seemed wisest to take those which came to hand from the average library shelf. My aim was to see the general influence and impression which textbooks have made.

In this thesis George III appears not so much for himself as for his reflection of an interpretation of American Revolutionary history too common among earlier writers.[4] Yet George of Hanover figures as an important person in this history. By presenting him as a pivotal figure it should be possible to ascertain whether the history of the American Revolution has been revised in the light of a less hostile climate than that which existed at the time of the Revolution. A noticeable change in the conclusions concerning him would be a good index to the re-evaluation of American history and the principles inspiring it.

To pinpoint the research more specifically, the author asked himself this question:

> Has the rapprochement between the United States and Great Britain since the First World War been

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[4] Writings before 1860 have not been considered in this thesis because of their closeness to the violent prejudice stirred up by the Revolution and the self republican justification of a ready independent state.

responsible for a re-assessment of the history of the American Revolution and George III's part in it?

From this another question derived, namely:

Has this re-assessment followed a sounder historiography than that formerly employed in the writing of the history of the American Revolution, or is it represented simply by a re-writing of Revolutionary history in terms of a friendlier climate between the two countries?

As a corollary to these questions, the writer tried to discover any conscious motivation which has prompted writers of American history in the past thirty years to extend their re-assessment more widely to the body of historical literature in the American Revolution.

CHAPTER I SUMMARY

George III is frequently referred to in history as the "Patriot King". The epithet is borrowed from Bolingbroke's monograph, The Idea of a Patriot King. As a test of how accurately George III has been written of in history, the first chapter seeks to find from comparing the acts of George's reign with the principles of Bolingbroke whether he was striving to realize the Bolingbroke blueprint. There is a discussion of the background of Bolingbroke's life, his connections with George III, the influences on George's concept of kingship, a comparison with the principles of the Patriot King and the conclusion that George III was not trying to fulfill the aims outlined by Bolingbroke for the Patriot King.

CHAPTER I

GEORGE III: PATRIOT KING

In this chapter the thesis of Lord Bolingbroke's "Patriot King" is applied to the monarch with whom he came in contact, George III, and the period to which he (Bolingbroke) wished it applied, England under the restored monarchy of the Hanoverians, to see whether George III can properly be called "The Patriot King".

The intention is to contribute a better understanding of George III in his relation to the "Patriot King". By placing the criteria of Bolingbroke alongside of the utterances and actions of George III, his background, and preparation for monarchy, we can decide how great his indebtedness to the Bolingbroke scheme was during his actual reign.

When George II and his heir apparent and political opponent, Frederick, Prince of Wales, came to the parting of the ways, the latter removed himself eventually to Leicester House and took up residence, but first he went to Kew House and then, at Norfolk House, St. James's Square, "...where two months before his time there entered the world on June 4, 1738, the future monarch whose

boyhood was so ignored by George II."[1] From that time forward the infant was surrounded by the friends of his father until the Crown Prince's death. "Bolingbroke, Chesterfield, Cataret, Wyndham, Cobham, Pitt..." reads one litany of Frederick's domestic entourage.[2] Under such an influence and the Princess-Mother-Bute alliance, did George III live until the time of his accession. The point is worth establishing since it provides some clue as to the influence, for better or for worse, that the author who wrote on "Patriotism" and on the "Idea of a Patriot King" could have exercised on the King-to-be.

The background of Henry St. John, Lord Bolingbroke is important to the future narration.

Born October 1, 1678, of a family which fought on both sides in the Glorious Revolution, St. John (Bolingbroke) was educated at Eton and after study at Oxford was sent to Paris where Lord Jersey, a relative of his mother, was Ambassador. At 23 the good natured, frank and impetuous Bolingbroke already held a seat in Parliament. The year was 1701. By 1702 he was Secretary-at-War and of

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[1] Guy M. Boustead, "The Lone Monarch", (John Lane, The Bodley Head, Ltd., 8 Bury Place, London, W.C., England, 1940), p. 21.

[2] Ibid., p. 21.

the Marines, which office he held until 1708 when he resigned. During the period of this tenure, he had guided the English war machine through the battles of Blenheim, Ramillies and Turin, leaving office on the eve of the victory at Oudenarde.[3]

Bolingbroke rejoined the government in 1710, after the two year Whig incumbency, as Secretary of the Northern Department and remained in office until 1714. He procured for England and his Tory Party the convenient peace of Utretcht in 1713; convenient for Bolingbroke, as he thought, since the imminent death without issue of Anne would bring to the throne the Whig-supported Hanoverians, and this respite from war would enable the Tories to negotiate with Hanover for their party's continuance in office.[4]

Anne's death, and the threat of impeachment for treason by Marlborough and the insurgent Whigs, exiled Bolingbroke to France on March 28, 1714.[5] His abortive attempt to restore the Scot Pretender in 1715 is the last heard of him until 1723 when he was pardoned and restored

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[3] A. Hassall, Letters on the 'Spirit of Patriotism' and on the 'Idea of a Patriot King', with an Introduction by A. Hassall, (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1917), Introduction, p. vi.

[4] Ibid., Introduction, p. viii.

[5] Ibid., Introduction, p. ix.

to citizenship, but denied his seat among the Lords.

Despite the denial of his right to sit among the Lords Temporal, Bolingbroke attempted to fuse the Whig opponents of Walpole (who was shaping a prime ministry for the first time in English history): The Constitutional and Hanoverian Tories of Sir William Wyndham and the Jacobite Tories of Shippen. He succeeded in uniting them by 1726.[6] But Bolingbroke's political bedfellows, the Malcontent Whigs, were not amenable to his view opposing the usurpation of royal power, a supreme cabinet, and the division of Parliament by parties. They wanted simply to assume Walpole's position for themselves. Bolingbroke did not want a party system in Parliament, merely a consultative body, presided over by the king. Impelled by the collapse of his opposition coalition, Bolingbroke again moved to France where he substituted political writing for political action.

When Queen Caroline died in 1737, he thought the time ripe for a visit to England to re-examine the party situation. This he did in 1738, only to find that the Malcontent Whigs still just desired a change of the Walpole ministry, while the Jacobites of the Tory party still would not accept his no-party government.

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[6] Ibid., Introduction, p. xi.

One source of encouragement to Bolingbroke was the group that surrounded the heir apparent: Wyndham, Pitt, Chesterfield and Cobham were frequent visitors and guests at Leicester House. Inspired by the members of this distinguished cabal, he composed the "Idea of a Patriot King" which he proposed as the means to 'a coalition of parties meeting on a national bottom'.[7] But insofar as Bolingbroke may have aspired to participate in such a coalition, it was never to be, since the death of Wyndham in 1740 deprived the group of the parliamentarian capable of effecting it, and Bolingbroke, himself, died December 12, 1749, before the Pitt attempts to realize the same scheme were made.

Pitt had been in the cabinet in 1756, but no experiment in all-party government could be carried on until the death of George II; and Frederick's death in '53 left in the midst of the illustrious heirs of the cabal a 15 year old crown prince whose mother had tutored him in one school, "George, be King."[8]

While the time elapses between Frederick's death and George III's accession, it is well to examine the principles of Bolingbroke's "Idea of a Patriot King", which ideas during this period might have acquired a new urgency

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[7] Ibid., Introduction, p. xiv.

[8] Ibid., Introduction, p. xiv.

for the lad of 15 who could now contemplate being King of England.

Bolingbroke sets himself the task of delineating the duties of a king to his country, especially of those kings who are appointed by the people, "...for I know of none who are anointed by God...," i.e. divine right kings, to rule in limited monarchies. And the author does not hesitate to say that he intends to apply the principles to the present state of Great Britain, with both strength and directness.[9]

Lord Bolingbroke claims for his principles, human nature as a source and refers them ultimately to the divine source whence ultimately all public and private morality must be derived. Bolingbroke acquits himself of any mischievousness in making such an inquiry on the counts that he is not an oriental slave fearful of looking his king in the face, and, that there are no secrets so important to be known and no heart more deserving to be pried into than that of a Prince;[10] since a prince stands highest and is most inclined to self-interest, profligacy and corruption, and his crimes cannot be measured by the immediate consequences they have or what they are, but as sins against

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[9] Hassall, Introduction, p. 41.

[10] Ibid., Introduction, p. 41

posterity, as much as against their own age, since the consequences of princely example remains to corrupt the morals of future men.[11]

Bolingbroke does acknowledge that the emergence of a patriot king may require much time but dreads that a great calamity might arise out of which either tyranny or patriotic kingship could ensue. "Either may happen: and such an alternative at the disposition of fortune is enough to make a Stoic tremble!" He goes on to point out that such uncertainty can be avoided.

> We may be saved indeed by means of a very different kind; but these means will not offer themselves, this way of salvation will not be opened up to us, without the concurrence, and the influence of a Patriot King...[12]

Putting aside any inquiry into the kingly institution de facto, he states what it ought to have been according to right reason, the common rights and interests of mankind; and assails its present situation as a plain matter that has been complicated by lawless ambition, extravagant vanity, the spirit of tyranny, and abetted by the private interests of ambitious men and the superstitious

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[11] Ibid., p. 43.

[12] Ibid., p. 46.

adulation of timid ones.[13] To redress such a condition he contemplates the unlearning of the lessons taught by ambition and timidity and the return to first principles.

Such a resolution would eliminate any divine right attitude toward kings since such attitudes are the result of mixing the priestly and regal, but have no foundation in historical fact.[14] They come from the desire of priests to sustain royalty by a communication of their pretended sacred office to the king.

Appealing to the law of nature, Bolingbroke claims that it subjects men to the law of reason and subsequently to those laws by which all men are governed: since the law of reason entails God's general Providence for men and the laws of nations stand in relation as by-laws to it.

Bolingbroke prescinds from admitting that God imposes any special form of government: monarchical, aristocratic or democratic; rather God exacts only a person's obedience to the country of his birth or legal attachment.[15] From which Bolingbroke concludes that kings have a just authority and are entitled to a due obedience, all of which is better than a pretended divine right, but which does

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[13] Ibid., p. 49.

[14] Ibid., p. 49.

[15] Ibid., p. 53.

give rise to a divine right in kings to govern well, for "...to govern ill would be blasphemy" since it would be against the happiness for men that God desires to effect through government.[16]

Declaring himself for monarchy, limited and hereditary, Bolingbroke examines the steps which lead to tyrannical kingship and assails Louis XIV as a disciple of Machievelli who desires only the amplification of his own powers, the extending of personal dominion and the subjection of the populace.[17] After criticizing such a code of rule, he establishes his "Idea of a Patriot King":

i- The King who does not see himself and his people as rivals with different interests.[18]

ii- The King who will regard his rights as a trust and the rights of his people not as the spoils of the crown but as sacred property.[19]

As regards corruption:

iii- Should his people be corrupt he will preserve their Constitution by eliminating the corrupt and choosing

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16 Ibid., p. 54.

17 Ibid., pp. 63-72.

18 Ibid., p. 75.

19 Ibid., p. 75.

only the best men.[20]

In regard to party:

iv- Having non-partisan ministers he himself will espouse no party.

v- He will allow no party government since government by party will end in faction.[21]

Toward a united nation:

vi- The King will aim at ruling a united nation and put himself at the head of the people.[22]

vii- When there arises a division because of general principles or particular policy he will be the arbiter, guided by a national and not a party spirit, seeking to keep the Constitution unimpaired.[23]

viii- He will from his vantage as non-partisan distinguish people from party, redress grievances, correct errors and punish and reform ministers.[24]

ix- In rebellion he shall treat his people not as irreconcilable foes, but as rebellious children.[25]

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[20] Ibid., p. 81.

[21] Ibid., pp. 92-93.

[22] Ibid., p. 95.

[23] Ibid., pp. 95-98.

[24] Ibid., p. 98.

[25] Ibid., p. 102.

x- Infatuated factions, like the Jacobite adherents of divine right, can be treated in the same manner.[26]

As to practical policy:

xi- He will avail himself of the individual differences that accrue to him as an English monarch, since England is not easily attacked, is capable of being a balance of power for Europe, and like amphibious animals should only occasionally assert its power on land.[27]

His examples:

xii- Elizabeth is to be imitated and James I shunned.[28]

In personal life:

xiii- He will be careful of ministers, woman companions and not come under the influence of favorites.[29]

In conclusion Bolingbroke cites the apologia for his principles, restating their foundation on right reason, their confirmation by universal experience.

> To a prince whose heart is corrupt, it is vain to speak: and for such a prince, I would not be thought to write. But if the heart of a prince

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[26] Ibid., p. 108.

[27] Ibid., pp. 115-122.

[28] Ibid., pp. 118-119.

[29] Ibid., pp. 123-131.

> be not corrupt, these truths will find an easy ingression, through the understanding, to it...What in truth can be so lovely, what so venerable as to contemplate a king on whom the eyes of a whole people are fixed, filled with admiration and glowing with affection?[30]

Lord Bolingbroke thus outlined the principles of the reign of a patriot king and it remains to compare these principles and deeds to see whether George espoused or disavowed the scheme of his father's would-be mentor. But since precedent as well as preaching in some way binds every British monarch it would be advantageous to anticipate the Georgian interpretation of the British kingship, whether it prove to be that of the Patriot King, or no, with the practice which preceded it in the Tudor, Stuart, Restoration and first two Hanoverian reigns. The reason is clear: By joining these periods together as if they were a unit and George III's reign a unit, the comparison that we would later get would suffer a distortion since the rather sharp blacks and whites in the background would have been reduced to a falsifying gray as a basis of comparison.

The British Monarchy as interpreted by the Tudors represents an anomaly.

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[30] Ibid., pp. 140-141.

> After his victory at Bosworth Henry Tudor (VII) summoned Parliament and placed before it a claim to the throne based on the rights of conquest and heredity. Parliament granted him the crown, but was silent about his hereditary right which, as a matter of fact, did not exist.[31]

It is not necessary here to trace the successful marriage, domestic and foreign policy that Henry VII pursued in order to insure the monarchy that at his accession he could claim only for himself. And, in the same way, the Henry VIII and Elizabethan policies are characterized with the same defining tendencies. The Tudor monarchy is a self-conscious, nabob-monarchy, most anxious not to talk pedigree or legalism. It exercises its constitutional rights but is not anxious to examine their basis. In this exercise they were abetted by the industrious middle-class from which they had risen who were satisfied with the strong but gloved fist abroad that gave English shipping, English trade-- and English piracy-- a respectfully wide lane on the seven seas.

If "the nation was beginning to fret under the tight reign of the Tudors"[32] it were better that they had reigned to decide or bargain for the new dispensation. They would have had two advantages that the royal bargainer,

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[31] W. E. Lunt, History of England, (Harper & Brothers, N. Y., 1951), 3rd ed., p. 282.

[32] Ibid., p. 387.

James Stuart, did not: nationality and tenure. And James, despite his Scottish setbacks, and unlike his predecessors, insisted on the theory and basis of monarchy, which they had been happy to forget.

A foreigner, without ability to comprehend or gauge the British temper, or a willingness to court the popular favor, he conceived himself as all powerful (in the Constitutional sense) and his subjects all dutiful except the royal prerogative grant them indulgence or privilege from its treasury. This was the theory of divine right monarchy. The King would rule, decide his duty and dictate that of his subjects and render account for neither shortcomings or overindulgence except to the source of his power, God. And the view that the Parliament wished to interpose almost as a condition to the continued Stuart succession represented very clearly a limited monarchy. Thus was joined the battle that was concluded only at the Glorious Revolution and whose treaty of victory was the decision of a victorious Parliament that substituted, "William and Mary, rulers by act of Parliament" for "...James II, king by divine right..."[33]

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33 Ibid., p. 462.

The Revolutionary settlement thus defined its terms of sovereignty: "Since Parliament had made a king, it could unmake one," and therefore, "The theory of divine right as a working principle of government, in England, was dead."[34] So the victorious Parliament substituted a limited monarchy for a divine one and thus for William and Mary and their successors ever after there could be no question as to divine right or parliamentary prerogative. But the Parliamentary definition was not clear cut except to the living parties on either side. The monarchy was limited; - how limited? The Parliament was Supreme but Parliament is a body and only with Walpole would it acquire a head; precisely because of these unknown quantities the Parliament profited by the royal weakness. Limitations on monarchy were easily expanded with newly appointed royalty and Hanoverians who did not know the language, the temper of the people, the real power of the Parliament or the terms of the settlement, and, far less, the English Constitution and constitutional system which were both growing rapidly apace. In short the Restorers had concentrated on abuse, had declared that the King of England was not a ruler by Divine Right, but they had not said what he was-- and no one had yet heard of a prime minister. Who was to say he

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[34] Ibid., p. 463.

could not be the King acting in another relationship, which could make him, by Constitutional Right, a ruler far more effective in practice than divine right could in theory? George III was to test the feasability of this dual monarchy-- royal and parliamentary. He was to become as a result of its demands a political schizophrenic.

George III of Hanover has been assigned the role of Patriot King by some historians who would thus account for the turbulence of the reign which lasted from 1760-1820, during part of which time the English sovereign was positively insane and at other times doubtfully sane. Whether or not this can be justified (the appellation Patriot King) is part of the scope of this chapter. But before coming to the events of George's reign and his reactions to events against the yardstick of his blueprint by Bolingbroke, something should be said about the milieu in which the third Hanoverian and fourth King of the Restoration acquired the raw material for the split personality that was his attempt at monarchy and accounted for the turbulence of his reign.

George III of Hanover did not succeed George I and George II of Hanover nearly as much as monarch as he succeeded Robert Walpole and the first Pitt. He did not issue forth from the Hanover line with nearly the impact

that he came from the loins of Frederick and Augusta and "opposition house" in Leicester. If we attend only to the bald historical facts and leave aside trivia that are here pregnant with meaning, we shall miss this third Hanoverian entirely and misunderstand him completely. His great grandfather and grandfather were his ancestors only according to the flesh. His political and spiritual ancestry were much different. Mark well, however, that his racial, although not national origin, was the same.

The absolutist George I was an absolutist in Hanover and though his body crossed the channel his soul never did. Even this queer absolutist-very-limited monarchy-dichotomy did not offend his Whig supporters. He was very much for them what William and Mary were intended to be: paper hanging in the palace windows of the Empire. The Jacobite rebellion was not nearly so much a reaction to the 54 years old George in 1715 as a reaction to a shift of power from an attempted impeachment of the Tories by the Whigs.[35] And by 1721 the Whig victory was reflected in the quarter where the rebellion actually festered: Parliament. For by that year Robert Walpole had galvanized a cabinet and was beginning to be a Prime Minister, a minister acting in relation to the cabinet as the King had formerly

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35 Ibid., p. 507.

done, but since George I rarely attended the meetings of the ministers who spoke a language he did not understand (English), Walpole was replacing him.[36] And with the lapse of a scant ten years the habitual or infrequent attendance of George I developed into precedent with George II (1727-1760). A cabinet that could command a majority in the House was an essential to a King who could not influence cabinet policy and George's attempt to do away with the persona non grata Walpole, proved abortive.[37] Walpole, benefiting from the king's need and his influence over Queen Caroline, could not yet inject another principle, cabinet homogeneity (an all-Whig ministry), something unheard of before 1716.[38] By a combination of popular legislation, corruption, and favorable civil lists, to placate the source of corruption, Walpole and Whigs were building a new political and Constitutional economy in Parliament. Its sole opposition would be largely personal as long as the balance remained so one-sided. From this milieu, disgruntled and evicted, openly hostile to Walpole on political rather than on moral grounds, emerged the writings of

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[36] Ibid., p. 512.

[37] Ibid., p. 512.

[38] Ibid., p. 513.

Bolingbroke and the "Idea of a Patriot King."[39] Into this milieu George III was born to a father who was the political rather than social antithesis of his own father, in a house which had been put outside the pall of grandparental patronage and pleasantry. He was born into the house of the king-in-waiting. He could know his father's, his mother's, Bute's, Chesterfield's, Wyndham's and Cobham's conceptions of royalty[40] and from them synthesize a negative of his grandfather and great grandfather, Hanover, but experience tells how misleading a picture a negative can give and apparently George III got just that picture of his Hanoverian predecessors.

Augusta, Princess of Saxe-Gotha and Bute are supposedly the immediate political mentors of George III. The former was his mother and the latter a fourth at cards for his father who was to play an important role in the Georgian interpretation of the English constitutional-royal arrangement.[41]

Augusta's tutelage dissipates the myth of George III as the first English Hanoverian that has been put forward

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[39] Supra, p. 4.

[40] Hassell, p. 21.

[41] C. E. Vulliamy, Royal George, (Jonathan Cape, London, 1937), p. 52.

conundrum in the problem of George III's unhappy reign.[42] In 1751, even George II complained that Augusta wanted to rule before her time.[43] She kept young George surrounded by

> ...women and pages, in an atmosphere of petty household intrigue, far removed from and with little understanding of the life and affairs of the people he was destined to rule. Intellectual pursuits he had none, for his education had been negligible.[44]

And Augusta herself is thus described:

> ...truth was that Augusta, Princess of Wales, while a fond and devoted mother, was a woman of limited intelligence who had been much embittered by her experience of life. Brought up in the ridiculous pomp and absolutism of a petty German Court, she viewed with something akin to horror the extent to which George II allowed himself to be dictated to by his ministers. She regarded such conduct as a shameful betrayal of a divine heritage and found no condemnation too severe for the men who occasioned it. Resolved that her son should revive the glories of monarchy in her person, she spared no effort to instil in him a proper sense of kingly prerogative and a contempt for the state into which the English monarchy had fallen. 'George, be a king' was the endlessly repeated admonition which dominated the uneventful days of the King-to-be.[45]

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[42] Horace Walpole, Memoirs of the Reign of George III, (reedited by G. F. Russell, Barker, Lawrence and Bullen, London, 1894), p. 3.

[43] Vulliamy, p. 55.

[44] Ibid., p. 22.

[45] Ibid., pp. 22-23.

Verbal arguments are weak but the article preceding king in Augusta's admonition is significant, since her idea of kingship was doubtless a romanticized version of what she pictured the kingship of Hanover should be. She did not know the English monarchy well enough to say, "Be the King." It would have implied a concept and understanding of the English kingly mold of which she was incapable.

And for the practical implementation of her power, since she appreciated her own limitations, she turned to Lord Bute. He was the proper combination of deference and not-too-Englishness that would satisfy her. To George, Bute and later Lord North, would serve as "windows on the Parliament" that he could not understand, and a world into which he never went.

Perhaps it is this very dependence on favorites that first calls into question George III's adherence to Bolingbroke's principles. But that will be seen. For the present we remark the immediate influence on George, from Augusta most directly and from Bute as a moral rather than doctrinal, a pragmatic rather than conceptual point of view. Schizophrenia develops here on a second head: A man convinced (George) he is an Englishman, the first English King of his line,[46] who has spent his time sipping tea

[46] Ibid., p. 4.

with bishops;[47] has seldom played with other children; is constantly admonished to be a king in a kingdom he does not know. He is tutored by a mother whose concept of kingship is based on a negative and whose closest confidant is at best a mediocrity in the politics that were evolving in England (as subsequent events were to prove). Bute's Scot ancestry was more than a liability even alongside of the German-born Augusta and more than offset the English born George who in fairness to himself-- had he but gotten outside to know it-- was as much German as his Hanoverian predecessors and even at a slight disadvantage by comparison because they had known the world outside, English or German-speaking, into which he never emerged, before or after his accession. These then were the Bute-Augusta frustrations which contributed to the kingship that can best be described as Georgian.

Now that the canons have been stated whereby George III's kingship, Patriot or otherwise can be measured in the light of Bolingbroke, the other interpretations of the British sovereignty and home influences, it is possible to examine some of the principle acts of his reign to see in fact how he matches or misses the mark.

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[47] Arthur, Seven Heirs Apparent, p. 135.

i- George to all appearances did not see his people as rivals with different interests, but the initial proclamation of his reign leads one to surmise that he did not see them very realistically, for it announced that he was determined to discountenance and punish all manner of vice, profaneness and immorality in all persons of whatever degree and quality and especially those close to the royal person. Calling for strict Sunday observance and demanding that it be read three or four times a year in all churches, his document concluded.[48] So on the first canon at least and the third, which called for a king to preserve the Constitution among a corrupt people and eliminate those who were corrupt from his midst, George was the Patriot King at the beginning of his reign, although the religious tenure and tone of the pronouncement might have sounded alarmingly "divine rightish" to Bolingbroke had he been alive.

That was on October 31,[49] but the speech to Parliament, November 18th is a little more cryptic in tone. Historians have the document and the pronouncement: "I glory in the name of Britain." George III added this

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[48] Vulliamy, p. 63.

[49] Ibid., p. 63.

himself,

> Born and Educated in this Country I glory in the name of Britain (he changed it from 'Briton') and the peculiar happiness of my life will ever consist in promoting the Welfare of a people whose Loyalty and warm affection to me, I consider as the greatest and most permanent security of my Throne.[50]

On principle two: the fact that George regarded his rights as a trust, is seen in the vehemence with which he defends himself against any who would usurp them and the resolution that he made never on any account to suffer the ministers of the former reign who had tried to fetter and enslave him.[51] That he was not so zealous of his subjects' rights but rather arbitrary in his view of them is seen in the fact that he treated John Wilkes very summarily, viewed his attempt to assail the favorite Bute as treasonable and used means definitely outlawed by his own command to attain his end. And aside from his use of corruption, George ignored the parliamentary immunities which belonged to Wilkes. He issued general warrants confiscating the offending press, author, printers and

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[50] Ibid., p. 64.

[51] Boustead, p. 65 (used because he had benefit of Georgian papers).

publishers all of which were set aside as illegal.[52]

On the third principle: George found corruption upon his ascent to office, not in the dice games forbidden on Sunday, but in the control of Parliament and the selling of votes. He proclaimed himself to put it to an end but actually centralized it in the monarch. He also extended it by his use of newspapers, e.g. in the case of the elder Pitt's acceptance of the Lordship he (George) had announcements of the same published with all accounts of his resignation to create the impression that Pitt had accepted a bribe.[53] And he entirely reversed this principle by one of his own when in his anxiety to advance Bute to the prime ministership he introduced Fox to the leadership of commons with the dictum, "We must call in bad men to govern bad men."[54]

On the fourth principle: George may have been sincere in his no-party stand, but by the time that he had shifted the ministry to put in his favorite Bute and mustered the votes necessary to force the Wilkes issue, there was definitely a king's party. He purged the Whigs

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[52] Boustead, pp. 67-69.

[53] Ibid., p. 51.

[54] Ibid., p. 55.

and organized his own party at the same time,[55] and he created weak ministries to destroy cabinet and parliamentary solidarity, adding to the strength of his "placed" picked majority by the simple expedient of purchasing the votes of outgoing ministries.[56]

v- And by creating a King's party and playing party politics to gain faction and thus weaken other factions and prime ministers, George III violated another precept of the master plan.

vi- From his appeal to faction and divisory tactics George could not hope to rule a united nation and was using the principle: Divisa et impera.[57]

vii- Since the King considered himself the personal ruler, the shaper of policy and leader of party, he could not be an impartial arbiter as in the case of Wilkes.

viii- Likewise being factitious George could not look to the advantage, the redress and correction of grievance and error.

ix- On the question of rebellion George did fulfill the dictum and perhaps herein the American Revolution succeeded whereas it should have failed.

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[55] Ibid., p. 60.

[56] Ibid., p. 64.

[57] Ibid., p. 65.

x- He was never concerned with the Jacobites and was too busy being King to worry about pretenders.

xi- In many ways he seems closer to James than Elizabeth.

xii- Just the name of Bute implies his failure here.

Certainly, then George, the experimenter in government, who flirted with divine right and embraced party, except on an accidental score, could hardly be called Patriot King. Rather he was the victim of his dual monarchy: royal and parliamentary.

CHAPTER II SUMMARY

Chapter I indicates that George III was not accurately described by historians when they apply to him the epithet of "Patriot King". To see whether the same lack of accuracy has entered into the writing of American Revolutionary history and George III's role in it, a number of histories are examined in this chapter. Since the writings of American historians represent the primary sources, they are quoted more than ordinarily. The picture that emerges is, broadly speaking, that George III, is cast in the role of villain by the pre-1915 historians on the American scene. Chapter III analyzes their statements in the light of evidence not found therein and other canons for historic accuracy. The present chapter opens with a treatment of Anglo-American relations during the years preceding the First World War in order to see in a later chapter whether improved British-American relations are responsible for a re-evaluation of the history of the American Revolution.

CHAPTER II

HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION BEFORE 1915

Commonly, the student of history who was born into the decade of post-World War I, believes that the relations of the English-speaking world were always as cordial as the alliance between the United States and Great Britain in World Wars I and II would seem to indicate. The history of the period prior to the First World War does not bear out this contention. For this reason it might be worthwhile to quickly delineate American-British relations before the First World War. From this it will be more understandable why the first war has been chosen as the dividing mark in this study; and what effects the pre-war atmosphere would have had upon the writing of revolutionary history in the United States.

Walter Lippman, distinguished American journalist and analist of foreign relations, put his finger on the sensitive spot in American-English problems, when he argued that the American nation, since it has commitments outside of its boundaries, should have a foreign policy commensurate with these commitments. Lippman contends that as early as 1823 the Monroe Doctrine recognized an American commitment to Latin America and it was based on an unwritten agreement which involved Great Britain's consent to support American

American policy with her navy. However, since the Monroe Doctrine was challenged only fleetingly (by Maximillian) between 1825 and 1895, when the United States began its Pacific expansion, most Americans were not aware of the unwritten alliance on which their national foreign commitments were based. Notwithstanding this omission the United States in making commitments in the Pacific and Far East presumed on the strength of this alliance and the British Navy. Thus American foreign policy had extended commitments without providing the foreign policy to accompany them. The American Senate consistently refused alliances until war forced them. This fact is further underscored by United States entrance into World War I as an Associate rather than Allied Power. This confusion, according to Mr. Lippman, accounts for the unrealistic situation in which even the foreign policy statements of American Presidents contradicted actual American foreign commitments. The American-British Alliance although unwritten (1823-1895) worked so well, that when foreign commitments were increased, foreign policy which presumed upon it did nothing to expand the alliance or to reenforce it.[1]

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[1] Walter Lippman, United States Foreign Policy: Shield of the Republic, Boston, (Little, Brown and Co., 1943). The author's entire thesis in the monograph is summarized here.

This lack of American foreign policy was not significant in British foreign office eyes, perhaps, until the twentieth century when the United States, all the while presuming on this unwritten alliance, launched itself imperialistically into the South Pacific and, competitively into the world trade picture.

England's poet laureate, Alfred Austin, acknowledged an America that had come of age in the Spanish-American War and called for a closer union between the English-speaking peoples. Addressing himself to the people of the United States, he sang of them,

> Yes, this is the Voice on the bluff March gale,
> We severed have been too long.
> But now we have done with a worn-out tale,
> The tale of an ancient wrong,
> And our friendship shall last long as love doth
> last, and be stronger than death is strong.[2]

The overtures of England at this time were due to the growing strength of Germany and other European and world circumstances that prompted her to seek alliances against the expanding Bismarckian Treaty System. Colonial Secretary, Joseph Chamberlain, pleaded for a public avowal of the unwritten alliance with the United States, when in a

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[2] London Times, March 29, 1898, 8:3 in Bailey, Thomas Diplomatic History of the American People, p. 511, (Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., N. Y., 5th Edit., 1955).

speech upholding the American cause over Spain, he proclaimed,

> ...I even go so far as to say that, terrible as war may be, even war itself would be cheaply purchased if in a great and noble cause the Stars and Stripes and the Union Jack should wave together [loud and prolonged cheers] over an Anglo-Saxon alliance.[3]

A further statement in the same vein underlines the opinion already offered by Lippman; it observes sagaciously,

> The United States was pleased with British sympathy and applause, but saw no need of a foreign entanglement. Even if there had been such a need, the dead hand of George Washington, to say nothing of the live hands of the Irish and other groups, would have raised insuperable obstacles.[4]

The fact was that a nation just 30 years before divided by civil war had found an arena (the world) to take its mind off of its national hurt, and was so busy flexing its muscle that it had no time to consider alliance. This was the era when President McKinley was proclaiming that the currents of destiny were flowing through American hearts. They would flow through the energetic and aggressive dollar diplomacy of William Howard Taft, the "walk softly and carry

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[3] Ibid., May 14, 1898, 12:3 in Bailey, op. cit., pp. 511-512.

[4] Bailey, op. cit., p. 512.

a big stick" diplomacy of Theodore Roosevelt's Cuban expeditions, Portsmouth, New Hampshire peacemaking, Middle East arbitration and Panama Canal building. Their echo beating upon the rocks of destiny would drown the pleas of England, with whom there was an unwritten alliance, from the ears of the "phrase-making" Woodrow Wilson. The United States, busy finding its place in that sun, which never set on the British Empire, was too busy growing up to think of Anglo-Saxon romance. At the same time American imperialistic escapades were pressing the unwritten British alliance to provide more; British-American relations understandably deteriorated.

And so the United States, unwritten alliance or no, could remain neutral when England entered World War I. Referring to the plight of a nation of hyphenated-Americans, the British ambassador castigated, "America is no nation, just a collection of people who neutralize one another." A rimester in the New York Sun concurred in his description of a man who had gone to the barber for a shave,

> The barber to the left of me was hacking for the Czar.
> A gentleman from Greece was sheering off my fleece,
> While very near a swart Italian stropped his scimitar.
> And, when presently discussion, polygot and fervid,
> On political conditions burst about my chair,

> I left the place unshaven- I hope I'm not a craven,
> But I sort of like to wear a head beneath my hair![5]

The United States was finding that very difficult: keeping its neutral head beneath its many colored hair.

Finally, American insistence on the freedom of the seas (with President Wilson leading the insistent chorus) caused a desparate and blockaded Germany to provoke the United States to abandon neutrality. The Boston Globe editorialized, of the choice between Germany and England, that the latter was a "gang of thieves" and the former, "a gang of murderers...On the whole, we prefer the thieves as the lesser of two evils."[6] The commentator further delineates the unhealthy complexion of Anglo-American relations as they were at the eve of American entry into World War I, with these remarks, particularly pertinent to our full discussion.

> The transition from a neutral to an "Associate" of the Allies was not accomplished without some difficulty. The anti-British textbooks had been poisonously pervasive; the Irish were acutely unhappy; and the recent controversies with the London government over neutral rights had left an unpleasant aftertaste. The situation called

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[6] Bailey, op. cit., p. 611.

[5] Mark Sullivan, (Our Times, V, N. Y. 1933), pp. 140-141 in Bailey, op. cit., p. 611.

> for a new propaganda campaign, and, as before, the British were conspicuously successful. The King practiced baseball throwing and ate an American buckwheat cake, which he pronounced 'good'. On July 4, 1917-- of all days-- the Union Jack and the Stars and Stripes floated side by side over Westminster Abbey and the Houses of Parliament. The Americans suddenly discovered that the anti-British textbooks were hurtful to Allied morale; and a rewriting program was launched, as a result of which liberties were taken with the truth.[7]

These, in summary, are some of the emotional and psychological factors that continued to divide England and America at the beginning of World War I. The turbulent days of 1776 and 1812 still contributed their share. The "freedom of the seas" issue recalled the war cry of the "Second War for American Independence" in 1812. All the time the British-American alliance implicit in the Monroe Doctrine of 1823 was forgotten. And even in days more recent than 1812 there had been animosity between England and America at the time of the Civil War, fostered by Northern fears that England's need for Southern cotton would incline her to give aid and succor to the Confederacy. While this did not materialize, the victorious North continued suspicious of English intentions.

Perhaps the arguments of the South that "Cotton was King" intended for foreign consumption, had registered

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7 Ibid., pp. 646, 648-649.

more at home than abroad. Senator Hammond's declaration of 1858,

> Without firing a gun, without drawing a sword, should they the North make war on us, we could bring the whole world to our feet...What would happen if no cotton was furnished for three years? I will not stop to depict what every one can imagine, but this is certain: England would topple headlong and carry the whole civilized world with her save the south. No, you dare not to make war on cotton. No Power on the earth dares to make war upon it. Cotton is King,[8]

proved the betrayal of the southern cause, because of its fallacious economic foundation. Southern intentions, and therefore American intentions, in some way were tainted with a background of blackmail in England's regard. But the North was so sure in the days of the "house divided" that southern hopes in England's regard were so ill-founded. In later days of victory, while the South could feel the traitous results of its disastrous economic reasoning to England, the North continued to regard England as having been unsympathetic to her cause during the war and the underlying hostility of "Mother Country" and "Colony" from another century continued.

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[8] Harold Underwood Faulkner, American Economic History, New York, (Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1949), Introd., 1-726, Index, Bibl., p. 350 from Scherer, James A. B., Cotton as a World Power, p. 239.

Despite both the attitudes of North and South, England seems less sinning than sinned against.

> That events did not bear out these sanguine hopes [so encouraging to the South and so frightening to the North] was due to two chief causes: first, to a surplus of cotton on hand, resulting from overproduction; and second, to the European need of northern wheat...Thus the cutting off of the supply of cotton was at first a benefit to cotton manufacturers, for it enabled them to dispose of their surplus stock and to keep up prices. When the mills in the North lowered production, operatives readily found employment in war industries. In England there was unemployment and great distress among factory operatives, but they realized that in the terrific struggle in America was being fought their battle as free laborers, and they stood stanchly by the side of the North, opposing any recognition of the Confederacy by the British government.
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> Whether the need for American wheat actually kept England neutral it is difficult to say... She bought wheat from the United States, first, because it was cheaper and more convenient to purchase it here, and second, because she could exchange arms and ammunition for it. For the moment at least, Britain's economic interests seemed more closely identified with the North than with the South.[9]

Whatever the reasons for British non-participation in the American Civil War England was bound to suffer either from Northern or Southern historians, and ultimately from both. So the Civil War became a spawning ground for the attitude that colors the period that will follow the Civil War, and

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[9] Faulkner, op. cit., pp. 350-352.

the light in which the British appeared in the writing of history of the American Revolution is partly colored by the actions and attitudes of the British toward this struggle. Unfortunately, it would take the present study too far afield to examine the histories of both Northern and Southern writers to measure the influence. This digression would extend to a thesis in itself which cannot be developed here.

To return to the mainstream of pre-World War I history, and the statement, that a rewriting program was launched in which liberties were taken with the truth,[10] it is well to introduce as evidence what writers were alleging of George III and his role in the American Revolution prior to 1917. The works introduced assume the nature of primary sources in the present work because they are the raw material from which the ultimate conclusions will be drawn. They are not chosen because they are pro-British or anti but because they were in use at the time. Using the yardstick of George III and the American Revolution that has been adopted: What attitude do they reflect between England and the United States in the degree that they are historically accurate and free of rancour and malice or misstatement or the contrary?

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[10] Above, p. 33.

The authors selected have been chosen at random to insure that theirs are the views that "might" come to the hand of any reader or student of history in the pre-World War I period. One rule has been observed: the books are taken in chronological order of the date of their publication just in case intervening events or historiography might have changed later views. The full theme of the paper and conclusions will summarize these intervening influences if they occur.

Turning now to the authors, what do they reveal?

a. Bancroft, discussing, in his five epochs, "The American Revolution," takes up in number three of his five epochs this thesis: "America Takes Up Arms for Self-Defence and Arrives at Independence." Bancroft finds that the Revolution was a necessity based on the seizure by the American people of "their peculiar inheritance in the traditions of liberty" and responding to the political aspirations which they had "deduced from universal principles, a bill of rights, as old as creation and as wide as humanity." Bancroft found it surprising that Britain should not view this colonial attitude "as the crowning glory of the country from which they [the colonists] had sprung." Citing that the majority of the ministers were bent on the using of force, and the abandonment to ministers of the running of the government by Lord North, creating the need

for the king to become "the only point of administrative authority" and describing George and the Parliament as "infatuated" Bancroft depicts the result thus, as regards George,

> In him an approving conscience had no misgiving as to his duty. His heart knew no relenting; his will never wavered. Though America were to be drenched in blood and its towns reduced to ashes, though its people were to be driven to struggle for total independence, though he himself should find it necessary to bid high for hosts of mercenaries from the Scheldt to Moscow, and in quest of savage allies go tapping at every wigwam from Lake Huron to the Gulf of Mexico, he was resolved to coerce the thirteen colonies into submission.[11]

Citing George III's reaction to Chatham's appeal of January 20, 1775 to remove troops from Boston, Bancroft describes the monarch in his reaction to Pitt.

> He raved at the wise councils of the greatest statesman of his dominions, as the words of an abandoned politician, 'void of gratitude'; and months afterward was looking for the time 'when decrepitude should put an end to him as the trumpet of sedition.'[12]

George is pictured as confident of the loyalty of the New York Assembly when it refused to consider the

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[11] George Bancroft, History of the U. S., vol. iv, p. 5.

[12] Ibid., pp. 100-104.

resolution of the Continental Congress on independence. On the day of the anniversary of the Boston Massacre, he is quoted as writing to Lord North, "I am convinced the line adopted in American affairs will be crowned with success."[13]

On July 24, 1775, a stubborn king is viewed as refusing to change his ministry despite a petition submitted by the people of London desiring that he consider the situation of England, "who had nothing to expect from America but gazettes of blood, and mutual lists of their slaughtered fellow subjects..." The English are praying for the dissolution of Parliament and dismissal of the ministry. In contrast George is pictured as relying upon the attachment of "his faithful allies," the Six Nations of Indians.[14]

Detailing the events of August to December, 1775, in the "Final Answer of the King to America," Bancroft submits what he thinks is the question being mooted between England and America,

> The administration of numerous colonies, each with a representative government of its own, was conducted with inconvenience from a want of central unity; in war, experience showed a difficulty in obtaining proportionate aid from them all; in

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[13] Ibid., pp. 132-133.

[14] Ibid., p. 188.

> peace, the crown officers were impatient of owing their support to the periodical votes of colonial legislatures. To remedy this seeming evil, James II. consolidated all authority over the country north of the Potomac, and undertook to govern it by his own will.

According to Bancroft this situation was adjusted by the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and representative governments were restored to the colonies. Conflict resumed between crown officers and colonial legislators. The parliament did not intervene although it often threatened to do so in the ensuing 75 years.

For Bancroft, George III is the innovator of a new colonial policy, averse to governing the colonies by consent of the governed. This new policy reduced all colonies to dependence on the King. The British Parliament was to establish a permanent civil list, independent of the assemblies, making every branch of the judicial and executive government entirely of the king's appointment and subject to his will. Finally, the British Parliament was to tax the colonies for maintenance of their military establishment.

In Bancroft's eyes "Townshend, as the head of the board of trade, was unfolding the plan in the house of commons just before Bute retired." The execution was to be Grenville's, who believed "implicitly in the supreme power of Parliament." Having described the Grenville-colonial

conflict, Bancroft states that Grenville is driven from office by "a difference at court." And, "...his theory lost its importance, for no party in England or America undertook its support." A resume of the ensuing moves and countermoves follows: Charles Townshend, the Boston Tea Party, the changes in the Massachusetts charter, the second petition to the king. Then enter George again, appealing to Russia and Catherine II for troops. After sketching Catherine in properly despotic terms, Bancroft writes,

> To Catherine, George himself with his own hand wrote: 'I accept the succor that your majesty offers me a part of your troops, whom the acts of rebellion of my subjects in some of my colonies in America unhappily require;...nothing shall ever efface from my memory the offer your imperial majesty has made to me on this occasion.'[15]

Bancroft further condemns George from his own mouth, "I know what my duty to my country makes me undertake, and threats cannot prevent me from doing that to the utmost extent." Rockingham and Chatham are censured by George as the fellow-travelers of the rebels and,

> ...it was the fixed plan of the king and ministers to lay America waste if she could not be reduced. Britain and Ireland could spare few troops to execute these designs; but the British king scrupled as little as his ministers to engage foreign hirelings wherever they chanced to be

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[15] Bancroft, pp. 276-277.

> in the market, and had in contemplation a scheme of stupendous grandeur for obtaining a subsidiary army by negotiations at Moscow...

Even the despot Catherine, by contrast to George, is pictured as wishing (in her words to the British minister Gunning).

> For God's sake, put an end to it as soon as possible, and do not confine yourselves to one method of accomplishing this desirable end; there are other means of doing it than force of arms, and they all ought to be tried... There are moments when we must not be too rigorous.

Catherine's answer to George's illusions of grandeur with regard to the troop plan was a polite: "...one cannot go beyond one's means."[16] In his attempts to receive aid from Holland, George receives the same negative reply.[17] Further negotiations with opportunists from Saxony, Brunswick and Hesse were more successful from the bargaining point of view, but not for supply in America or in the eyes of Parliament which condemned the policy and its instigator through the mouth of Lord Irnham.

> The landgrave of Hesse and the Duke of Brunswick render Germany vile and dishonored in the eyes of all Europe, as a nursery of men for those who

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16 Bancroft, vol. iv., pp. 265-278, passim.

17 Ibid., p. 347.

> have the most money, making them destroy much better and nobler beings than themselves.[18]

At the same time Bancroft introduces an apologia for America's having resorted to the same policy, in a statement by Hartley,

> You set the American congress the example of applying to foreign powers; when they intervene, the possibility of reconciliation is entirely cut off.[19]

Previously, Bancroft had given his estimate of George III's character. We quote it fully.

> He had many qualities that become a sovereign: temperance, regularity, and industry, decorous manners and unaffected piety; frugality in his personal expenses, so that his pleasures laid no burden on his people; a moderation which made him averse to wars of conquest; courage, which dated to assume responsibility, and could even contemplate death serenely; a fortitude that rose with adversity.
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> But he was bigoted, morbidly impatient of being ruled, and incapable of reconciling the need of reform with the establishments of the past. He was the great founder and head of the new tory or conservative party, which had become dominant through his support. In zeal for authority, hatred of reform, and antipathy to philosophical freedom and to popular power, he was inflexibly obstinate and undisguised; nor could he be justly censured for dissimulation, except for that disingenuousness which studies the secret character of men,

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[18] Ibid., p. 357.

[19] Ibid., p. 357.

> in order to use them as instruments...he required of his friends an implicit obedience. He was willing to govern through Parliament, yet was ready to stand by his ministers even in a minority; and he was sure that one day the government would disregard majorities.
>
> With a strong physical frame, he had a nervous susceptibility which made him rapid in his utterance, and so impatient of contradiction that he could never bear the presence of a minister who resolutely differred from him, and was easily thrown into a state of excitement bordering upon madness. Anger, which changed Chatham into a seer, pouring floods of light upon his mind and quickening his discernment, served only to cloud the mind of George III., so that he could not hide his thoughts from those about him, and, if using the pen, neither could spell correctly nor write coherently. Hence, the proud, unbending Grenville won his aversion; and his years with the compliant Lord North, though full of public disasters, were the happiest of his life. Conscious of his devotion to the cause of legitimate authority, and viewing with complacency his own correctness of morals, he identified himself with the cause which he venerated. The crown was to him the emblem of all rightful power. He had that worst quality of evil, that he, as it were, adored himself; and regarded opposition to his designs as an offence against integrity and patriotism. He thought no exertions too great to crush the spirit of revolution, and no crime too cruel or too severe for rebels.[20]

This estimate of George's character clearly indicates the basis on which Mr. Bancroft expands his treatment of King George.

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[20] Bancroft, vol. iii, pp. 382-383.

b. Albert Bushnell Hart, writing in a series that stresses "the causes rather than events"[21] relates of George III, that he

> attempted to restore the Crown to the position which it had occupied under the last Stuart[22] that he was for repeal of the Stamp Act... that he and his friends were resolved to maintain the principle of colonial taxation[23] in the face of the divided Parliament of October 15, 1775.

George's position was: "Every means of distressing America must meet with my concurrence."[24]

George's embitterment with Pitt in 1778 is confirmed in the words that, "no advantage to this country, no personal danger to myself can ever make me address myself to Lord Chatham or to any other branch of the opposition."[25] Of George's zest for war, Hart writes, "Meanwhile, in England the king was imposing his relentless will upon a ministry tired of war, and upon the English people."[26] His comment upon George III's acknowledgment of peace, "Before peace

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[21] Albert Bushnell Hart, American Revolution, Longmans, Greene and Co., Pref. to 1st Ed., p. vii.

[22] Ibid., p. 34.

[23] Ibid., p. 57.

[24] Ibid., pp. 70-71.

[25] Ibid., p. 87.

[26] Ibid., p. 88.

could be reached it was necessary to break down the iron opposition of the king." His comment upon the acceptance of the Conway resolution of February 28, 1782, for the cessation of hostilities is an extension of his comment on the king's warlike attitude, "The fatal day has come."[27]

c. James Albert Woodburn, editing Lecky's, The American Revolution: 1763-1783, is "confident that those who are interested in the beginnings of our national history will find these pages luminous with instruction." He believes that, "American history...is to be studied in the light of Europe." Further,

> No doubt American journals and schoolbooks of a past generation...have conveyed false and exaggerated conceptions of British despotism and tyranny.[28]

Such a viewpoint led Lecky to the following comments on the Revolution and George: The King is among the first to realize the disastrous effects of the Stamp Act, "One of the first persons in England who fully realized the magnitude of the question was the King."

George is the moderate in regard to the rebellious colonies. He writes to Conway, December 5, 1765,

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[27] Ibid., p. 88.

[28] James Albert Woodburn, Ed., The American Revolution: 1763-1783 by Wm. Lecky, (D. Appleton & Co., N. Y.), p. 85.

> I am more and more grieved at the accounts of America. Where this spirit will end is not to be said. It is undoubtedly the most serious matter that ever came before Parliament; it requires more deliberation, candour, and temper than I fear it will meet with.[29]

Still later the King puts his request for repeal of the Stamp Act in writing.[30] Hutchinson, the former colonial governor, is the source of the opinion on which George III based his acts of coercion upon the American colonists. The ex-governor had predicted that the Americans would not resist a British army and that few troops would be necessary to force submission if they did resist. George appears here the picture of the sovereign who has taken poor advice and his determination to coerce the colonial rebels is defended on how much reliance he put on Hutchinson's opinion.[31]

Again George is ahead of his time as the one who had

> ...for many years steadily maintained that military economy in England had been carried to a fatal point, and that the army was much below what the security of the Empire required.

To the Parliament's failure in this is attributed the desire of the ministers to throw the burden of supporting a home army on America, and the lack of hesitation which the

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[29] Ibid., p. 85. [30] Ibid., p. 94.

[31] Ibid., p. 189.

Americans showed in resisting English Authority.[32]

In the prescribing and carrying out of English policy in regard to the Revolution the Government and the King are pictured as responding to the national will in wanting recovery of America despite the Opposition which was resisting the popular will. The action of the King:

> And while the Opposition by their grossly unpatriotic language and conduct exasperated the national feeling, the King, on his side, did the utmost in his power to embitter the contest,

is pictured as patriotic rather than partisan.[33] The employment of mercenaries and savages, described by others as heinous, is here defended as helpful to end a conflict "distressing to the Americans."[34]

What of Lord North's conduct in regard to George:

> His loyalty and personal attachment to the king were stronger than his patriotism. He was cut to the heart by the distress of his Sovereign, and he was too good-natured to arrest the war.[35]

Lecky admits that the King's refusals of Chatham's aid were based on personal motives, but this too becomes a weapon rather than a shield, for, "Chatham had declared as

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[32] Ibid., p. 240. [33] Ibid., p. 336.

[34] Ibid., p. 338. [35] Ibid., p. 340.

strongly as the King himself, his determination not to concede American independence.[36]

d. We turn now to Woodrow Wilson's History of the American People. Wilson enters in evidence that the Georgian plan to subvert colonial independence had its roots among the "hateful and extraordinary parliamentary" measures of the year 1774. He concedes that the passage of the act extending the boundaries of Quebec to the Ohio River in that year "had nothing to do with the ministers' quarrel with the self-governing colonies to the southward," except that it was instantly interpreted in America as an attempt to limit the westward expansion of the more unmanageable colonies, which, like Massachusetts, had arrogated the right to govern themselves.[37]

Speaking of the problem in the colonies and in England, Wilson writes,

> The question, to be once for all settled, was in reality, the question of constitutional as against personal government; and that question had of late forced itself upon men's thoughts in England no less than in America.

Agreeing with the sentiments that he finds expressed in

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[36] Ibid., p. 351.

[37] Woodrow Wilson, A History of the American People, vol. iv, p. 37.

Burke's Thoughts on the Present Discontents, 1770, the future American President asserts,

> The Parliament of 1774 did not represent England any more than it represented the colonies in America, either in purpose or principle. So ill distributed was the suffrage and the right of representation that great centres of population had scarcely a spokesman in the Commons, while little hamlets, once populous but now deserted, still returned members who assumed to speak for the country. So many voters were directly under the influence of the House of Lords, as tenants and dependants; so many members of the House of Lords were willing to put themselves and the seats which they controlled in the Commons at the service of the King, in return for honors and favors received or hoped for; so many elections to the Lower House were corruptly controlled by the court,--so full was the Parliament, in short, of placemen and men who counted upon the crown's benefactions, that the nation seemed excluded from its own councils, and the King acted as its master without serious let or hindrance.[38]

To this the Professor-President adds,

> Ministries rose or fell according to the King's pleasure and were Whig or Tory as he directed, without change of majority in the Commons... The Houses were his to command; and when Chatham was gone, no man could withstand him. Persons not of the ministry at all, but the private and irresponsible advisers of the King, became the real rulers of the country. The Duke of Grafton, who became the nominal head of the government in 1766, was not his own master in what he did or proposed; and Lord North, who succeeded him in 1770, was little more than the King's mouthpiece.[39]

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[38] Ibid., p. 39.

[39] Ibid., p. 41.

Relating internal disturbances in England to those in the colonies, he comments,

> Mr. Wilkes was expelled the House in 1769, just as the trouble in America was thickening towards storm; and long before that trouble was over it had become plain to every man of enlightened principle that agitation in England and resistance in America had one and the same object,--the rectification of the whole spirit and method of the English government.

George has too small a mind to rule an empire, and the fifteen years of his personal supremacy in affairs (1768-1783) were years which bred a revolution in England no less inevitably than in America. His stubborn instinct of mastery made him dub the colonists "rebels" upon their first show of resistance; he deemed the repeal of the Stamp Act a fatal step of weak compliance, which had only "increased the pretentions of the Americans to absolute independence."

Wilson does remove some of the sting of his appraisal.

> The nature of the man was not sinister. Neither he nor his ministers had any purpose of making 'slaves' of the colonists. Their financial measures were moderate and sensible enough in themselves, and were considered in the ordinary temper of law-making. What they did not understand and allow for was American opinion.[40]

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[40] Ibid., pp. 41-43.

e. In his History of the United States: From the Earliest Discovery of America to the End of 1902, E. Benjamin Andrews, devotes a chapter in volume two to "George III and the American Colonies". His description of George's character follows.

> ...of narrow mental range and plebian tastes, but moral, sincere, and soft-hearted, George III. assumed the crown with one dominant purpose--to rule personally; and the first decade of his reign was a constant struggle to free himself from the dictation of cabinet ministers. In 1770 during the premiership of North, who was little more than his page, the king gained the day; and for the next dozen years he had his own way perfectly. All points of policy, foreign and domestic, even the management of debates in Parliament, he was crafty enough to get into his hands. To this meddling of his with state affairs, his impracticable and fickle plans, and the stupidity of the admirers whom his policy forced upon him, may be traced in very large measure the breach between England and the colonies.[41]

But he does not say that the Revolution can be assigned to this cause alone or that it can wholly be accounted for by any series of events that can be set down and labelled. He instead recites the background of the constitutional differences between mother country

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[41] E. B. Andrews, History of the United States, vol. ii, Period III: Revolution and the Old Confederation: 1763-1789, (Charles Scribner and Sons, N. Y. 1894), p. 31.

and colonies, and concludes,

> Had the colonies rested their case upon constitutional argument alone it would have been relatively weak. While it was then a question, and will be forever, whether the American settlements were the king's colonies, Parliament's colonies, or neither, but peculiar communities which had resulted from growth, the English lawyers had a good line of logic on their side. Unconstitutional measures had indeed been resorted to-- the writs of assistance, taking Americans beyond sea for trial, internal taxation; yet the real grievance lay far less in these things than in the fact that the English constitution itself was working in a manner contrary to colonial interests.[42]

To the colonial resentment of a privileged class in the colonies, he appends,

> George III's policy was therefore wiser legally than politically. This was in fact his ministry's capital mistake--like Lord Salisbury's in respect to Ireland in 1888- that it had too great regard for the mere legal aspect of the question, ignoring the practical. The colonists were too numerous, powerful and far away, longer to be governed from home, at least by the old plan. To attempt perpetuation of the old regime might be lawful, but was certainly impracticable and stupid.

The colonies are seen as weary of the strife by 1772, two years after the Boston Massacre, and "would gladly have returned to the old cordial relations with the mother-land,"

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[42] Ibid., p. 43.

> But George III. could not rest without asserting his supremacy over America. He made an arrangement with the East India Company by which tea could be bought in America, spite of the hated tax, cheaper than in England...The colonists saw through the cunning attempt and the tide of resistance rose higher than ever.[43]

The Boston Tea Party which followed on December 16, 1773,

> ...aroused all the blind obstinacy of George III. 'Blows must decide,' he exclaimed; 'the guilty rebels are to be forced to submission.' The king's anger led to the Boston Port Bill... and closed Boston Harbor to all commerce. Changes were also made in the government of Massachusetts, rendering it almost entirely independent of the people.[44]

f. In A History of the United States for Schools, Wilbur F. Gordy, treating the question, "George III. and Personal Government," pictures George III at 22 when he became King as "pleased" with the admonition of his mother, "George be a King." Gordy sees George's subsequent difficulties, at home and abroad, as the result of carrying out the maternal advice.

> His controlling purpose was to establish personal government in England. His desire for arbitrary power, together with his narrowness and bigotry, had much influence in bringing on the Revolution. He cared little for the rights of the people.

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[43] Ibid., pp. 43-48. [44] Ibid., pp. 48-49.

> The more power they had the less he would enjoy. By the corrupt use of money he succeeded in controlling the elections. His desire was to make Parliament represent him and a few great families that were in the political ring with him. He maintained his influence largely through boss-like methods, keeping his followers under control by the use of an immense corruption fund. As long as a large number of small boroughs remained under the control of his friends, the king could maintain his tyrannical hold upon the government.

George provokes the Boston Massacre by sending troops to America to enforce the revenue laws. Referring to the further tragedy of the Boston Tea Party, Gordy writes,

> Again English merchants begged for a repeal. But the stupid king could not understand the Americans. Thus far he had failed. He now resorted to a trick by which he hoped to induce the colonists to pay a small tax levied by Parliament. He took off all the new taxes except the one on tea. 'There must be one tax to keep the right to tax' he said.[45]

George is "very angry" at the proceedings of the Boston Tea Party and closes the Port of Boston, annulling the Charter. Then,

> ...a military governor, General Gage, like the Stuart governor, Andros, was appointed to stand for the tyranny of an arbitrary king. Surely,

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[45] Wilbur F. Gordy, A History of the U. S. For Schools, New Edit. (Charles Scribner's Sons, N. Y., 1907), pp. 136, 138-139.

> George III and his followers little realized the love of self-government in these, stubborn, unruly colonists![46]

Gordy concludes with these remarks on the Revolution and George III,

> George the Third's plan of personal government in America had failed. The Revolution secured independence in America; it overthrew the personal rule of George the Third in England. In 1784 young William Pitt had become the real head of the English Government, and Parliamentary reform was only a question of time.[47]

A footnote to the author's attitude is remarked in his section "To the Pupil" and an exercise question that appears there,

> No. 10: What were King George's ideas of government for both England and America? If a man like William Pitt had been king of England, do you think there would have been any American Revolution. Give reasons for your answer.[48]

This primary material from the writers of American history in the pre-World War I period has been presented at some length. It gives a picture that is needed to appreciate subsequent history and its rewriting and the atmosphere out of which it came.

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[46] Ibid., p. 140.

[47] Ibid., p. 183.

[48] Ibid., p. 142.

A comment at this point cannot be final. Just what impression of George III's role in the American Revolution does one have? The over-all impression is that George's role was one of the intransigent preserver of the status quo. Whether by reason of ignorance, or pride, or stupidity, or madness, he did not understand the factors that were promoting revolution in the colonies and that he was contributing to them. He was unwavering in the face of the conflict which appeared inevitable. It may be that his ignorance was based on the fact that he did not know the constitution or did not understand it. It may be that it was an ignorance of the aspirations of the colonial Americans or the legal aspects of Parliamentary right to taxation. Whatever the reasons the total impression is of a George who is resolved to keep things as they are, who is happy in his ignorance, regardless of consequences.

Is it a proud George that is the problem? The "George be a king" image underlies much of what has been written. He will allow no change, is narrow and bigotted and intends to laud it over Parliament, people and colonial assemblies. Proud of his own rank and fearful of any change, the king succeeds in ousting, bribing or belittling all political and personal opposition. Pitt becomes the shining symbol of the man who will sacrifice all to resist this royal usurpation.

That George was stupid is once expressed and too-often implied by the remarks made in reference to his inability to grasp the fact that it was not possible to keep the colonies within the fold, that he was resisting the clear mandate of human nature for freedom, and the expression of the British constitution as well. Even if George were reading the British Constitution legally aright, he was reading it socially wrong.

What the entirety of the account leaves the reader with is a feeling of fact, mixed with opinion, that has been alleged and repeated-- that sometimes want even the actual writer's believing in what he writes. From an obvious incomplete picture at this point, they suggest the "pat" answers to the knotty questions of the American Revolution and George III's part in it. Every piece needs a villain: The American historian cannot cast his own countrymen in that role. Parliament now rules so a dead king is a likely candidate and there is enough about George that without second thought fits the role.

Are these histories thoroughly reliable? Before attempting an answer to that question or evaluating them, it might be well to examine some principles of historiography and to see how they correct the evidence so far presented offers as an accurate picture of George III and his role in the American Revolution.

CHAPTER III SUMMARY

An analysis of the writings of the pre-war period surveyed in the previous chapter. It indicates the over-all picture of George III in American history books does not base itself on George but on the attitudes of the writer toward the role of their own country in the Revolution, their particular theories regarding the American Revolution as an event in history, constitutional development, the expansion of the British Empire.

CHAPTER III

PRE-WORLD WAR I HISTORY ANALYZED

Charles Beard situated the problem of the present chapter:

> History has been called a science, an art, an illustration of theology, a phase of philosophy, a branch of literature. It is none of these things, nor all of them combined. On the contrary, science, art, theology, and literature are themselves merely phases of history as past actuality and their particular forms at given periods and places are to be explained, if explained at all, by history as knowledge and thought...[1]

He defines a little more closely in answer to his own question:

> What, then, is this manifestation of omniscience called history? It is, as Croce says, contemporary thought about the past. History as past actuality includes, to be sure, all that has been done, said, felt, and thought by human beings on this planet since humanity began its long career. History as record embraces the monuments, documents, and symbols which provide such knowledge as we have or can find respecting past actuality. But it is history as thought, not as actuality, record, or specific knowledge, that is really meant when the term history is used in its widest and most general significance...It is thought about past actuality, instructed and delimited by history as record and knowledge--record and knowledge authenticated by

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[1] Written History as an Act of Faith, American Historical Review, Vol. XXXIX, No. 2, Jan., 1934, (Macmillan Co., N. Y.), p. 219.

> criticism and ordered with the help of the scientific method. This is the final, inescapable definition. It contains all the exactness that is possible and all the bewildering problems inherent in the nature of thought and the relation of the thinker to the thing thought about.[2]

The then President of the American Historical Association thus presents a working definition and methodology for examining the sources of Chapter I. The elements that stand out are:

a. History as knowledge and thought;

b. History as contemporary thought about the past.

c. That history as thought is what is meant when the term is used in its broadest and most general significance.

d. That this thought is delimited by history as record and knowledge- authenticated by criticism and ordered with the help of the scientific method.

And then for further guidance, in examining the sources that have come to hand, Beard has outlined what he considers the three schools of interpretation that "have dominated American historical research and generalization" up until his time.

1- The first of these, which may be justly associated with the name of Bancroft, explains the larger

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[2] Ibid., pp. 219-220.

achievements in our national life by reference to the peculiar moral endowments of a people acting under divine guidance; or perhaps it would be more correct to say it sees in the course of our development the working out of a higher will than that of man.[3]

2- In chronological order,

> The second school of historical interpretation... may be called the Teutonic, because it ascribes the wonderful achievements of the English-speaking peoples to the peculiar political genius of the Germanic race. Without distinctly repudiating the doctrine of the 'higher power' in history, it finds the secret to the 'free' institutional development of the Anglo-Saxon world in innate racial qualities.[4]

He points out the steps of their thesis:

a. The Teutonic peoples are endowed with peculiar political talents and aptitudes.

b. These Teutonic tribes invaded England extinguishing the remnants of older Roman and British culture.

c. Since they have displayed to the world the development of "free government."

d. Their descendants settled in America and continued their institutions after the English models

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[3] Ibid., p. 220.

[4] Ibid., p. 220.

reaching their perfection in the American federal constitution.[5] Particularly noticeable in this second school is the attention given to documentation and critical spirit.

3- Beard describes the third school as "marked by an absence of hypotheses." Its representatives, seeing the many pitfalls which beset the way of earlier writers, have resolutely turned aside from "interpretation" in the larger sense, and concerned themselves with critical editions of the documents and the "impartial" presentation of related facts. He comments,

> Such historical writing, however, bears somewhat the same relation to scientific history which systematic botany bears to ecology; that is, it classifies and orders phenomena, but does not explain their proximate or remote causes and relations.[6]

With Beard's working definition of history and these classifications of historians, the representatives of pre-World War I history can be analyzed more fully.

a. Bancroft, without design, but fittingly enough is our first historian. His history reveals knowledge and thought and even a measure of opinion as when he introduces his discussion of the Revolution with the title: "America Takes up Arms for Self-Defence and Arrives at Independence."

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[5] Ibid., p. 220.

[6] Ibid., p. 220.

The top caption indicates the Americans are sinned against, not sinning. Bancroft has already taken his stand. His writing reveals immediately the contemporary influence upon him because of his closeness to the revolution. He does delimit his thought with historical record and criticism. But in keeping with the vantage or opinion that he has already assumed about the revolution, he chooses his evidence. George is willing to get mercenaries from any source and "in quest of savage allies" willing to go "tapping at every wigwam from Lake Huron to the Gulf of Mexico."[7] Parliament is supreme when Bancroft writes and so while George plays the villain's role, Bancroft promotes the Pitt stock and sees Pitt as the butt of the King's frequent ravings.[8]

Bancroft's unrelieved picture of an egocentric George next makes George indifferent to the pleas of his subjects to prevent the "gazettes of blood and mutual lists of their slaughtered fellow subjects" which the people of England are trying to avoid.[9]

The evidence from a recent historian gives a far-less complimentary view of those same English subjects of George:

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[7] Above, p. 39.

[8] Above, p. 39.

[9] Above, p. 40.

> This basic uniformity of Georgian style [in art, dress, manners, etc.] is easily recognizable, and this in its turn has created the idea of an age which agrees but little with its reality...They create a sense of calm and urbanity, of restrained good breeding, a little heartless, perhaps, and rather artificial.

Perhaps the most obvious but least recognized feature of English life in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century was its love of aggression. Rarely has the world known a more aggressive society, or one in which passion was more openly or violently expressed. To vast numbers of eighteenth century Englishmen wars were welcome; golden opportunities to beggar their neighbours, to seize the wealth of the world and to demonstrate the contempt in which the nation held those Pope-ridden, frog-eating, puny, wooden-shoed slaves, the French. Fame was accorded to the rashes of heroes--Clive at Arcot, Wolfe at Quebec, Nelson at Abonkir; disgrace and death on the quarter-deck was Byng's lot for allowing caution and wisdom to prevail. The manic fury of Chatham's denunciations suited the Englishman's mood. The endless stream of clamorous abuse which poured from the press both stimulated and satisfied the same yearning for violence.

No nation rioted more easily or more savagely--from 1714 to 1830 angry mobs, burning and looting, were as prevalent as disease, and as frequent in the countryside

as in the great towns.[10]

Plumb's picture compliments George more. One would get the impression that in seeking savages to cope with the colonies he was merely extending his domestic philosophy of getting corrupt men to govern corrupt men. And George was not the only one that raved, Chatham too is capable of maniac fury.

The same material could have been available to Bancroft. There are certainly copious diaries, journals, newspapers that would have rounded out the story on both sides. But Bancroft was bound by a thesis. George and colonists are tools in the hand of fate and are playing out roles over which they do not have the decisive control. The unwavering George is working against the fates and tragic will be the result. The colonists are on the side of the Gods and the constitution. Even Catherine of Russia is not as ill-guided as George. The new colonial policy of George[11] flies in the fate of the fates, for it is working out the very solution that he does not want. And the plan of "king and ministers to lay America waste if she could not be reduced" will be their folly for all ages to see.[12] The Americans favorites of destiny will succeed

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[10] J. H. Plumb, The First Four Georges, (B. T. Batsford, Ltd., London, 1957), p. 14.

[11] Above, p. 41. [12] Above, p. 42.

because George "is inflexibly obstinate" in the face of progress.[13]

Bancroft has his thesis, and, since he already knows what has happened, his history gives the impression of being written backwards. He finds the facts that he wants and uses them.

b. Albert Bushnell Hart presents his thought concerning the past in much the same framework as his predecessor, Bancroft. He employs delimitation of his knowledge and is writing history in its broadest sense, but the critical element seems equally weak. He goes so far as to make George the person who is trying to turn back the clock of progress and "to restore the Crown to the position which it had occupied under the last Stuart."[14] George's personal rancour will be satisfied at any cost to country: "no advantage to this country, no personal danger to myself can ever make me address myself to Lord Chatham or to any other branch of the opposition."[15] He is opposed to peace and the day of peace is "fatal" for him.[16]

There is less in Hart about the destiny of the colonists, but it is implied in George's opposition to all

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[13] Above, p. 44.

[14] Above, p. 46.

[15] Above, p. 46.

[16] Above, p. 47.

that is apparently progress or liberal. The king's unenlightenment would be an index to his own lack of divine guidance.

c. Lecky's purpose, as editor James Albert Woodburn sees it, is to give illumination and instruction.[17] His purpose is to correct the journals and schoolbooks of "a past generation" which "have conveyed false and exaggerated conceptions of British despotism and tyranny".[18] The acknowledged purpose here departs from what the two previous contributors have offered. The concern here is with contemporary thought about the contemporary thought of other historians to correct. The spirit of criticism is thus accentuated and the scientific method should be more prominent.

What about the results? It seems that, without presenting sufficient evidence, Lecky allows the pendulum to swing too far in the other direction. "The King now can do no wrong." The burden of the situation is placed on the Parliament,[19] and the King appears a moderate seeking only a just settlement of the difficulties. If George is at fault, he is the unwitting dupe of advisors as in the case of Hutchinson.[20] Heeding the advice of George would have

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17 Above, p. 47.

18 Above, p. 47.

19 Above, p. 47.

20 Above, p. 48.

avoided the military and defense debacle that made necessary the ill-starred tax which provoked American rebellion.[21] If George desires to pursue the war vigorously it is in reply popular sentiment in England. Pitt and Parliament have become villains and George the knight in shining armor.[22] His aides, who are fellow-villains in other treatments become paragons of loyalty and patriotism,[23] as in the case of Lord North. Where the King is at fault, he is not more at fault than Pitt.[24]

At first it might appear that this account would fall directly into the third category mentioned by Professor Beard, that school which is marked by an absence of hypotheses and turning aside from interpretation in the larger sense. Lecky's impartiality does not appear that studied. The personal impression is that the author was trying to correct what he considered excess and unfortunately went to the other extreme. He appears as one, who, without prostituting himself for gain, has found the accounts so exaggerated that he feels that the opposite must be true. This option, unfortunately is filled with the same pitfalls as that of a prejudice on the other side. The

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[21] Above, p. 48.

[22] Above, p. 49.

[23] Above, p. 49.

[24] Above, p. 50.

resulting account is almost comical in its qualities of historical "tightrope" walking.

d. Woodrow Wilson certainly verifies all of the preliminary credentials and his emphasis appears strongest on the score of contemporary thought about the past. He is bringing to the previous history his own scholarly meditation, doubtless authenticated by criticism and ordered with the help of the scientific method. He seems to impose a personal preoccupation "the question of constitutional as against personal government" the question that "had of late forced itself upon men's thoughts in England no less than in America."[25] While Wilson tends to center his attention on the need for reform, ultimately he rests in the Teutonic school. Reform and progress are a tide that continue to remodel ancient institutions. There is something of the Bancroft school, but the insistence upon the personal government objective of George, as contrasted with the prevailing winds of more popular and representative parliamentary government, smack of the craving within the Anglo-Saxon peoples for fuller expression. Wilkes and the smallness of "George's mind to rule an empire" exemplify that the popular sentiment was away from

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[25] Above, p. 50.

strong monarchy and that empire was a passing institution.

That this is where Wilson would fall seems further demonstrated by his haste to insist that neither George nor his ministers had as their purpose enslavement of the colonists.[26] The most compelling words that Wilson uses--and most revealing, is when he speaks of the king and ministers in such wise:

> Their financial measures were moderate and sensible enough in themselves, and were considered in the ordinary temper of law-making. What they did not understand and allow for was American opinion.[27]

They were out of contact with that tide which had brought about the Magna Charta and the Glorious Revolution, and the very institutions of which they were a part. That tide was about to take another fateful turn which would sweep them away in its wake.

Wilson does not descend to the invective of Bancroft. The "higher will" which presides over the destinies of the affairs of men is less divine than human and so Wilson need not moralize. But the constitutional processes are just as inexorable in demanding the defeat of George III as the moral are in Bancroft's thesis.

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[26] Above, p. 52.

[27] Above, p. 52.

e. Historian Andrews ruminates among the historians of the third school, but has a definite affinity with Bancroft and something in common with Wilson. This might well be the case in historians of this last category at all events. He vies with the bitter and cliched invective of Bancroft with remarks like, that spoken of George's character: "...of narrow mental range and plebian tastes, but, moral sincere, and stout-hearted, George III. assumed the crown with one dominant purpose---to rule personally;"[28] "All points of policy, foreign and domestic, even the management of debates in Parliament, he was crafty enough to get into his hands."[29] A man who goes quite clearly into the legal background of the Parliamentary and Colonial arguments should have more critical information at his disposal that would make him aware of the fact that a king acting as a prime minister would have had to manage debates in Parliament, but this only reveals more clearly the historical trichotomy of Andrews.

There is the moderation of Wilson that "George III's policy was therefore wiser legally than politically."[30] Again, in common with Wilson, he says, "To attempt perpetuation of the old <u>regime</u> might be lawful, but was certainly

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[28] Above, p. 53. [29] Above, p. 53.

[30] Above, p. 54.

impracticable and stupid."

f. A textbook rounds out this seminar of pre-World War I writers. The textbook, as previously mentioned, usually is the recipient rather than the innovator. It becomes the distillation of the various opinions, and, its influence, because it teaches to the captive and naive audience, is wide and important.

Professor Gordy is a curious melange: He has "personal government", the desire for "arbitrary power", together with "narrowness and bigotry" as influences for the Revolution. George "cared little for the rights of the people. The more power they had the less he would enjoy." Words of classical meaning, like corruption, are given a modern day criminal flavor and "boss-like" methods suggest the big city political machine of the turn of the century rather than the era of George III. The Wilsonian allusions to the borough system, which represent an analysis of the constitution in their original context, have now become the instrument of tyranny after the Bancroft manner.[31]

To put Gordy in any school would be difficult. The Bancroft, and therefore, presumably, or perhaps the patriotic thesis, is foremost, but he seems to have the

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[31] Above, pp. 55-56.

extremes of all schools and without any moderating influence. This well illustrates how what was formerly historical opinion becomes for the schoolboy fact.

An apologia for the weaknesses of the history which is under discussion might be found in the words compiled by a student of historical method. It is this,

> One drawback to honest, non-partisan history, if it is a drawback, is that it is seldom popular history. Lord Acton, said that the impartial historian can have no friends. Exaggerated, misleading, or patently false accounts of personalities and events are cherished because they minister to national or local pride. The attempt to deal with them critically provokes resentment. Recent rewriting of the history of the American Revolution on the basis of due appreciation of all interests involved, met with protest in many quarters...[32]

The history of the pre-World War I period suffers from this myopia. In attempting to serve local and national interests the facts have been distorted in order to present the "traditional" picture of George III. It is a quirk of the writing of history that this is possible.

Historians of the caliber of Bancroft and Wilson perhaps were not aware that they were pursuing a partisan line. They were writing the kind of history they themselves had read and they were also serving another purpose: the

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[32] Joseph Donat, The Freedom of Science, (N. Y., 1914), p. 93 in Gilbert Garraghan, SJ., A Guide to Historical Method, Fordham U. Press, 1946, Jean Delanglez, SJ., Edit.

promotion of a national spirit. With the ease of any mind that has been predisposed by prejudice they took for their evidence those facts which pleased them. Other facts that might have spoken a different case were left aside. But with the accumulation of instance after instance of this technique, the finished product, despite the author's good intentions and attempts at objectivity, contains an over-all bias. By just removing those sections that deal with a personality like George III or the American Revolution, the isolated instances of prejudice accumulate into a distortion of historical reality.

Merely to view these finished products without understanding how easily this vice can be fallen into, would induce the cynicism of Voltaire that "after all history is only a pack of tricks which we play on the dead."[33] The comment of a more recent writer corrects that spirit of cynicism.

> There is nothing you cannot find in the past--except the truth: a truth you can indeed find; any number of truths are there ready to be picked out, and perfectly indifferent to the process. Such facts as the mind is predisposed to select as interesting or important will come out and 'speak for themselves.' The trouble is, they don't care what they say; and with a little

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33 Ouevres, (Paris, 1880, Vol. XXXIX,) p. 173.

intelligent prompting they will speak, within reason, whatever they are commanded to speak.[34]

This sampling of pre-World War I historians reveals that they commanded their facts to do a work of patriotism rather than information. It contributes to a long range understanding of the problem of history. The facts are indifferent. The historian seldom is or can be.

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[34] Carl Becke, Mr. Wells and the New History, Americal Historical Review, vol. xxvi, no. 4, July, 1921, p. 641, (Macmillan and Co., London, 1921.)

CHAPTER IV SUMMARY

What the problems are that complicate the writing of the history of any period are treated at some length here. First, there is a treatment of the schools of the writing of history that have developed in the United States and the type of history and rewriting of history that would have been indicated by their presence on the American scene in the post-World War I era. American historians are found to have grappled with the main problems of every age in the writing of history. Having freed themselves from the shackles of other disciplines and understood what really constituted "scientific history", historians were capable of re-assessing the history of the American Revolution and discarding historical distortions.

CHAPTER IV

PERENNIAL PROBLEMS OF THE WRITING OF HISTORY AND THE AMERICAN HISTORIAN, 1919-1950

The study of George III, the analysis of the writing of American history concerning the revolution in the pre-world war period, and the conclusions that are suggested by the evidence and analysis only underline the puzzlement of the student of history when he approaches the literature of his field. The questions persist: "How objective is this account?" On the national plane, for example, "Is this the German, the British, the American or the Italian point of view?" The question we raise can be critical (in the strictly historical sense), if this were an account of national socialism in Germany, the Sepoy rebellion in India, the American Civil War, or the unification of Italy. Even when the question is not critical from the technical point of view, it remains intriguing. The reader wonders if the author of his book has "an axe to grind." How deeply has the author studied the problem? What is there in his background that would prevent his treating the subject unemotionally? Is it history, or is it propaganda? Is it personal reminisce, colored by nostalgia, or straight fact? In the light of what can happen to "mere facts", as seen in the earlier chapters, the reader wants to know whether the author has

used only those points of view that support his own, or has tried to give a fuller presentation, representing all attitudes. The reader would like to know what branch of study may have influenced the writing of history. Does the author's concern with some other branch of study, his attitude on economics, his devotion to a political party or to a cause mean that his impressions or conclusions must be tempered by the reader in the light of what the author wants the record of the past to show?

Becker's statement reminds the reader of history that even when no influence other than his desire to record history has prompted the narrative, the author's attitude toward history and fact can cause conclusions to carry "commanded" overtones. History is not just a chronicle. The historian is not forbidden to put an interpretation on what he reads. He may decide that events are important and men unimportant and vice versa. This will change the emphasis of his selection of facts and conclusions. Moreover, as the previous chapters indicate, if he thinks the virtue of patriotism and the devotion to nation should take precedence in the writing of history, then historical accuracy will suffer.

A dissertation which selects a problem in the world between 1920-1950 is extremely conscious of the historical evidence that has been offered and the problems

that have confronted historians in the face of national and international problems. Textbooks and background materials must be read questioningly. Every witness must be suspect of having taken sides, for this has been an era of ideologies in conflict. The problem is even more acute here, because the present study sets itself the purpose of historical re-evaluation and employs a single personage, George III, as an index to that re-evaluation. Seeking to find and examine the attitudes of the historians of a particular country, during a given period, to ascertain what treatment they have given an historical personage of another country who figures large in the history and beginnings of their own country, points up the entire problem of the writing of history. It raises a host of questions which it is necessary to pause and explore.

> How is history defined? What generally are the attitudes underlying the writing of history? How is the definition applied by individual historians of all ages and in the United States? An appreciation if not the answers to these questions is needed before we can turn to an examination of the picture of George III in the post W.W.I period, taking a specific instance from his life, his illness, and seeing how it is treated.

A definition of history as taken at random from a standard dictionary reveals in clear, if non-committal language, the problem that confronts any person who seeks to analyze approaches to the writing of history.

> 1. an account of what has happened; narrative; story, tale. 2. a) what has happened in the life or development of a people, country, institution, etc. b) a systematic account of this, usually with an analysis and explanation. 3. all recorded events of the past. 4. the branch of knowledge that deals systematically with the past; a recording, analyzing, co-ordinating, and explaining of past events...6. something that belongs to the past: as, that argument is history now. 7. something important enough to be recorded.[1]

All of these approaches are open to the writer and redactor of history. He can give the simple, uncritical account, in the narrative, story or tale vein. His scope can be broadened to the range of treating more than a small locale or event to an entire country or people. To this he can add something in the nature of method so that his standard of approach is consistent throughout and then there is analysis, the collation of sources and co-ordinating of material, so that his writing of history ceases to be mere chronicle and reveals personal traits that must be carefully noted and artfully criticized by the reader.

As a "fundamental explanation of the changes in the conception of history" that have taken place over the ages, the following explanation has been offered.

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[1] Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language, College Edition, (World Publishing Co., New York, 1953).

> The historical writing of every age, as Professor Shotwell has so clearly explained, reflects the dominant interest of that period. The gossipy narrative of Herodotus, the rhetoric of Isocrates, the national epic of Livy, and the polemic of Tacitus all mirrored contemporary interests. Historiography from Augustus and Orosius to Baronius, Bolland and Bossuet was chiefly concerned with the religious and ecclesiastical interests which were uppermost in the minds of the educated classes in Europe for a thousand years.

But with the coming of the industrial revolution and advances in the natural sciences this historic and static mold was shattered.

> In the earlier regime when human thought was believed to be the result of a mysterious spiritual essence, when economics and social relations and positions were fixed by custom and confirmed by an inscrutable Providence, and when prowess in the natural sciences was thought to be allied to sorcery or savored of impiety, none of the most characteristic lines of modern thought could well exist. The political, economic, scientific and theological revolutions which humanity has passed through since 1750 have transformed the whole basis of our civilization and have also been reflected in the development of a group of new sciences which were virtually impossible in an earlier era...Each of these sciences represents a new set of interests and there has grown up as the result a vital need for <u>its</u> type of information and analyzis. Their spirit and tendencies have reacted upon history to give it a broader, sounder and more human content.[2]

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[2] Harry Elmer Barnes, <u>The New History and Social Studies</u>, (The Century Co., N. Y.), pp. 14-15.

The experimental sciences and the scientific and rationalistic tendencies of men since their inception have invaded the domain of history and challenged the approach to the writing of it. History, in the hands of those writing with these preoccupations, ceased to be merely an account of the body politic or to be a redaction of episodes. It divides into schools: geographic history, psychological history, anthropological history, economic history, political and ethical history. All of these were formerly included under the subject matter of the historian; presently the difference is that the subject matter of history in all its phases is now interpreted or approached in the light of the methods and goals of the geographer, the economist, the political scientist, the psychologist. The proponent of this type of history appears not so much concerned with the complete chronicle of the past and its events as with showing that "forces" within his particular discipline could account in part or entirely for the explanation of the "course" of human events. His conclusions, and he makes no apology, obviously reflect his immediate concern with the field of his own specialization rather than his devotion to the historical events and discipline.

Historical "interpretation" along such lines developed over recent years eight schools which are in

"...no sense mutually exclusive" but are rather, to a large degree supplementary. First, the personal or "great man" school. Then the economic or materialistic school; the geographic or environmental; fourthly, the spiritual or idealistic; the scientific; the anthropological; seventh, the sociological; and, finally, the synthetic or "collective psychological."

The first or Carlylean school claimed that great men were responsible for the course of history. The second, readily recognized as that to which Marx and Engels adhered, attributes to economic forces and causation for existing political and social institutions. Geographic or environmental history is closely allied to this, except that it gives to geography the same deterministic role in explaining the development of history. The spiritualists or idealists of the Fichte-Hegel school seek to discover what spiritual forces are at work alongside of the geographic and economic. The members of the strictly scientific school trace historical development in connection with the progress of natural science, and feel that the laws of science which are prior to their immediate application in economics or geography give their approach precedence over the others since science determines these fields. For them the principles of science are that rigid and far-reaching. The anthropological school studies man to find in his

actions over the ages some consistent pattern, and from this, to deduce laws of historical behaviour. Close to the historians of this school are those of the sociological school with its study of the origins of institutions and society. Its best known representative was Spencer. The last group of historians (the psychological school) that,

> Nothing less than the collective psychology of any period can be deemed adequate to determine the historical development of that age, and it is the task of the historian to discover, evaluate, and set forth the chief factors which create and shape the collective view of life and determine the nature of the group struggle for existence and improvement.[3]

Each of these "schools" sets for their historian a task in history rather than writes history. It "commands" for him the task of explaining the past from their point of view. Bias, it would seem, would be the immediate result of such narrowing of the purpose of writing history. Yet these apostles of a "new" and "scientific" history are thus defended:

> History, in order to become scientific, had first to become historical. Singularly, enough, what we now regard as the strictly historical interest was almost missed by historians before the nineteenth century. They narrated such past events as they believed would interest the reader; they commented on these with a view of instructing him. They took some pains to find out how things

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[3] Ibid., pp. 31-38.

> really were...To this extent they were scientific, although their motives were mainly literary, moral or religious. They did not, however, in general try to determine how things had come about...History has remained for two or three thousand years mainly a record of past events, and this definition satisfies the thoughtless still. But it is one thing to describe what once was; it is still another to attempt to determine how it came about.[4]

The condemnation of the history of the earlier periods by a contemporary English philosopher and practicing historian is scathing.

> Four thousand years ago, then, our forerunners in civilization did not possess what we call the idea of history. This, so far as we can see, was not because they had the thing itself but had not reflected upon it. It was because they did not possess the thing itself. History did not exist. There existed, instead, something which in certain ways resembled what we call history, but this differed from what we call history in respect of every one of the four characteristics which we have identified in history as it exists to-day.

Collingwood stresses the impress of the author upon the history that he writes.

> St. Augustine looked at Roman history from the point of view of an early Christian; Tillemont, from that of a seventeenth-century Frenchman; Gibbon from that of an eighteenth-century Englishman; Mommsen, from that of a nineteenth-century German. There is no

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[4] J. H. Robinson, The New History, p. 62, quoted in Barnes, op. cit., p. 29.

> point in asking which was the right point of view. Each was the only one possible for the man who adopted it.[5]

The personal and subjective in history, "the historian preoccupied with his own age and time" is not something new; but the more recent historians of the "new" or "scientific" school add to this preoccupation their concern with the causes of what has happened. When such a historian begins his consideration of this causation with principles derived from the science of geography, he becomes a geographic historian; if from economics, an economic historian. He may be factual in his observations and scientific in his approach, but his point of departure already dictates the framework within which his factuality is limited. Their attempt is to give history and its discipline the nomenclature of the exact sciences. To face it would enable exact results. Failing to find in the discipline of history itself the exact tools to which they are accustomed; they transfer the implements of their allied, but not synonymous disciplines, and, rather than refine these to accommodate the purpose of history, they mold history to fit their premises. The historians' problem, and the problem of the writing of history,

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[5] R. G. Collingwood, The Idea of History, Galaxy Books, (Oxford U. Press, N. Y., 1956), pp. 12-13; intro. pref., xii, T. M. Knox, Edit.

and the history that results from such auspices arises from the serving of alien gods.

Collingwood who arraigns the history of the "pre-scientific" period as lacking the idea of history insists that four canons be met: (1) an awareness of the definition of history as "a kind research or inquiry;" (2) a realization of the object of history: "What kind of things does history find out? I answer, res gestae: actions of human beings that have been done in the past;" (3) recognition of the historical procedure or method; which "consists essentially of interpreting evidence." Finally, (4) an understanding of the value of history, that it is 'for' human self-knowledge.[6]

But the person, skilled or unskilled, who sought after the record of the past would qualify as an historian on the first two criteria. Should he even be merely literary or didactic, personally and, consciously or unconsciously, for those who read his account, there would be human self-knowledge. It appears that the critical point is one of interpretation. The writer who does not interpret would not be an historian; he would be a compiler or recorder solely. Qualification is needed here. It seems unfair that, because interpretation was more narrow, in

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[6] Ibid., pp. 9-10.

functions of an historian's era, religion or nationality, he should be completely discounted as an historian. To another age he might be a poor historian, an apologist, but his work carries as much of the historian's art as that writing which discards the discipline of history and employs its raw material to the end of another science or discipline. The interpretations of such an historian belong as much to the archives of history as that history which is presently written to validate the principles of some other field.

For the writing of history and examination of the history that has been written, the important emphasis is for the reader to get some understanding of what colors the subjective approach of the author. With less malice than Pilate, but with as much finality, the volumes look down from the library or study shelf and say, "What I have written, I have written." The reader must understand the "why" and "to what end does the speaker rise." That the range of answers to this question is varied would be implied by the categories and schools of historical interpretation already mentioned. It will even be more evident as the statements of some historians of recent years are introduced.

A recent compilation, drawn from the prefaces and statements of historical writers on history and their view

of it, emphasized the diversities within the historical camp over the ages. The enigma is presented even more tellingly then the problematical way in which our previous statements have presented it. The statements of the writers of all ages, by the very fact that they are offered as apologia by them, acknowledge the limitation that the historial (of every age) feels. The historian, rather than pretend that he can be completely impartial, and untainted by bias, thoroughly objective or neutral, states, without apology, his major prejudgments in order that his reader will understand even the mentor is human and prone to human weakness.

> In writing about their task, which is to reconstruct a past that they have never known, and that they can neither deduce from first principles nor create by an act of their imagination, they reveal their diverse presuppositions, concerns, and ambitions.

Admitting the influences of the confinements of a given age, the compiler of these apologia of the historians goes a step further and stresses the artistic difficulty which is a continuation of the history writer's personal and subjective limitation.

> The techniques of historical scholarship can be acquired, like the techniques of any craft. But the art of history, the manner of combining individual facts into a truthful and persuasive whole involves so much that is individual as well as timebound that the writing of history must always be changing and varied.

Taking Voltaire as a point of departure,

> himself...a very self-conscious pioneer of a new type of philosophical and cultural historian, dedicated to truth, though intensely partisan, and as thoroughly modern man, in his emphasis on history, as promoting the enlightenment of men in a secular world...,

the editor (Stern) traces the era of history from Niebuhr in 1811 to Bury in 1903, finding it as a period during which history became a field of enquiry unto itself, severing its ties with philosophy and literature, applying to itself and to the newly discovered collections, and source material, the critical method. Finally, there emerged those schools of history whose growth has already been noted.[7]

How have historians seen the perennial task of their art?

Voltaire (Francois Marie Arouet), the devotee of human reason who achieved renown in his native France as satirist, philosopher and dramatist, definitely espoused a history written along philosophical lines. He acknowledged, in his introduction on The Age of Louis XIV, that he was

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[7] Fritz Stern, The Varieties of History, (Meridian Books, N. Y., 1956), pp. 11-14. From this compilation of Mr. Stern the views of the historians which follow are quoted.

not trying solely to depict the life of a single man, but the minds of men in the most enlightened century that ever was.[8] Understandably, his attitudes will be as much the product of a Frenchman of the age of the enlightenment, as was Augustine of his own age, or Mommsen.

Barthol Georg Niebuhr (1776-1831), apostle of the critical method, stated his creed thus:

> The critic might be content with the excision of fiction, the destruction of fraud: he only seeks to expose a specious history and he is content to advance a few conjectures, leaving the great part of the whole in ruins. But the historian demands something positive: he must discover at least with some probability the general connectedness of events, and by a more credible story replace that which he has sacrificed to his better judgment.

It was Niebuhr's contention that the Roman history written after the first two decades of the Renaissance had surrendered its critical judgment to desire for style in the written word.[9]

To Leopold von Ranke (1795-1886) have gone laurels and tributes for both historical scholarship and critical method. He started out with the purpose, in his pursuit of an ideal of universal history, to show (in his Histories of

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[8] Fritz Stern, op. cit., p. 40, Introduction: The Age of Louis XIV by Voltaire.

[9] Barthol Georg Niebuhr, History of Rome, Preface to the First Edition in Stern, op. cit., p. 48.

the Latin and German Nations from 1494-1514), "how these nations developed in unity and common enterprise." For Ranke two qualities were required for the making of an historian: that he first feel a participation and pleasure in the particular for itself, and, further, that he keep his attention fastened on the universal aspect of things, having "no preconceived notions as the philosopher."[10]

Augustin Thierry (1795-1856), sometime secretary of Saint-Simon, disciple of romantic historiography, and after Guizot, perhaps the greatest historian of his day, confined his writing of history to two main topics, drawn as he was to such a pursuit "by a passion for liberty." Guizot's pivotal points were the formation of the French nation and the communal revolution. He writes,

> I have tried to determine the exact point at which the history of the Frankish kings turns into the history of France, and to present in its true character the greatest social change to take place from the establishment of Christianity to the French Revolution.
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> . . . . . .
>
> In 1817 my predominant concern was to contribute my share to the triumph of constitutionalism. As a result I turned to historical works to find corroboration of my political beliefs...

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10 Leopold von Ranke, Histories of the Latin and Germanic Nations from 1494-1514, Preface and A Fragment from the 1830's in Stern, op. cit., pp. 56, 59.

Again,

> ...our patriotism would gain a great deal both in selflessness and steadfastness if the knowledge of history and particularly of French history, were more diffused among us.[11]

Thierry certainly has the curiosity needed for the historian. He is prepared to examine the record of the past, but his examination is predicated upon finding out certain information concerning the beginning of the French nation. He is concerned with reading and writing on history to confirm and, it must be assumed, disseminate his own political beliefs. His ultimate purpose is to incite or stimulate patriotism. Thierry's history is not for the sake of history, but for the sake of promoting a spirit which the reading and re-editing of the historical record can make possible.

Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881) found history not something dull or abstract, but a wrestling with the record of the past, to capture its dramatic impact. The Scottish historian, philosopher and essayist, believed that in

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[11] Augustin Thierry, Letters on the History of France, Preface, On the Need for a True History of France and on the Chief Defect of the Existing Histories, Stern, op. cit., pp. 64, 67.

"a certain sense all men are historians." That history was philosophy teaching by experience. Carlyle surmised,

> The truth is, two difficulties, never wholly insurmountable, lie in the way. Before Philosophy can teach by Experience, the Philosophy has to be in readiness, the Experience must be gathered and intelligibly recorded.

Carlyle distinguishes between the artist and the artisan in history, the former with an "Idea of the Whole" and the latter laboring "mechanically in a department, without eye for the Whole." The following option, in the writing of history, Carlyle adopts:

> For, as I take it, Universal History, the history of what man has accomplished in this world, is at bottom the History of the Great Men who have worked here. They were the leaders of men, these great ones; the modelers, patterns, and in a wide sense creators, of whatever the general mass of men contrived to do or to attain; all things that we see standing accomplished in the world are properly the outer material result, the practical realisation and embodiment of Thoughts that dwelt in the Great Men sent into the world: the soul of the whole world's history, it may justly be considered, were the history of these.[12]

Carlyle intends to gain the tenets of the philosophy needed to understand history, and intelligibly record the

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12 Thomas Carlyle, On History, pp. 91, 93; On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History, Lecture One, p. 101, in Stern, op. cit.

experience that will serve as the raw material of history: but, in this gatherine, he already has an eye for one object: great men. He may have a complete record of the past; he also has a thesis which he will seek to establish: great men make history.

Theodor Mommsen (1817-1903) rounds out these remarks for the period immediately preceding which will be considered by us in the consideration of the writing of American Revolutionary history. The German jurist and historian, winner of the Nobel prize for literature in 1902, outstripped his predecessors in both the scope and scholarship of his work. Remarks of the onetime rector of the University of Berlin, regarding the preparation of historians, are pertinent here.

> History, after all, is nothing but the distinct knowledge of actual happenings, consisting on the one hand of the discovery and examination of the available testimony, and on the other of the weaving of this testimony into a narrative in accordance with one's understanding of the men who shaped the events and conditions that prevailed. The former we call the critical study of historical sources and the latter, the pragmatic writing of history.[13]

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[13] Theodor Mommsen, Rectorial Address in Stern, op. cit., p. 192.

Here at least, the problem of what goes into the writing of history, if it be a problem, is reduced almost entirely to elements that can be understood. If history consists in "the discovery and examination of the available testimony," then the historian is not responsible for what the witnesses and former historians say. He can account for the record only after he has treated of it. What he finds as his own raw material, he must accept and work with. The "weaving of the testimony into a narrative in accordance with one's understanding of the men who shaped the events and conditions that prevailed" enables the historian to make some evaluation of the times that have preceded. With Mommsen, at least, the recognition of the subjective and individual has become real and admitted as testimony.

All of the evidence thus far presented points out the difficulty of the problem that confronts readers when they evaluate their sources. It comes time now to turn to the broader American scene, to see what attitudes, personal and otherwise have been present in the writing of history.

Frederick Jackson Turner (1861-1932), the distinguished American historian and theorizer on the influence of the frontier on history of the United States, acknowledged American attachment to the geographical and chronological past. For him most of the definitions of history that has been derived and employed had some

validity. Turner defines, "...history is past literature, it is past politics, it is past religion, it is past economics." He puts his greatest stock in Droysen's, "History is the 'Know Thyself' of humanity-- the self-consciousness of mankind." Turner premises the terms of his own "American Definition of History" on that. History must consider "all the spheres of man's activity" because "no one department of social life can be understood in isolation from the others." This cannot be contained in one or many books for its sources in documents, in archeological findings, in continued human activity, are endless and the historian must always be striving to recreate them, to evaluate them. History must have "a unity and continuity" and the growth from age to age warrants this. Thus the divisions which the historian makes are convenient, but artificial. At this point, the utility expressed in the "Know Thyself of Mankind," seems to take pre-eminence in the thought of Turner. He acknowledges, but does not stress the dignity of history, the mental growth, which is a by-product of its study or even its vastness.

> To enable us to realize the richness of our inheritance, the possibility of our lives, the grandeur of the present-- these are some of the priceless services of history.
>
> But I must conclude my remarks with a few words upon the utility of history in affording a training for good citizenship. Doubtless good citizenship

> is the end for which the public schools exist. Were it otherwise there might be difficulty in justifying the support of them at public expense. The direct and important utility of the study of history in the achievement of this end hardly needs argument.

Turner does bolster this argument by attributing to a utilitarian use of "public history": the efficiency of public administration in Germany; citing men like Macaulay, Dilke, Morley and Bryce, in England, who have been distinguished in Parliament, and history. He contrasts these with American historians: Motley, Irving, Bancroft and Lowell, who have served in the American diplomatic corps, but have not graced the American Senate. For Turner, "American local history should be studied as a contribution to national history." The stress is again on the building of citizenship because of "the example and lessons that the history of other peoples has for us."[14]

As with his European predecessors Turner makes reverence at the altar of history, accepts the critical strictures that it imposes, yet insists on his right to give homage to an alien god: patriotism, citizenship - (utility).

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[14] Frederick Jackson Turner, The Significance of History, in Stern, op. cit., pp. 200, 203-204, 206.

Turner supplies his own apologia and personal profession of faith in writing history. His apologia insists on the personal problem of the historian and the objective demands of the discipline of history, the tools that must be accepted by the artisan, and the work of personal genius that results which is peculiar to the artist who is not just a mechanic:

> Each age tries to form its own conception of the past. Each age writes the history of the past anew with reference to the conditions uppermost in its own time...History is the biography of society in all its departments. There is objective history and subjective history. Objective history applies to the events themselves; subjective history is man's conception of these events. 'The whole mode and manner of looking at things alters with every age,' but this does not mean that the real events of a given age change; it means that our comprehension of these facts changes.
>
> History, both objective and subjective, is ever becoming, never completed.[15]

Such a definition is a prayer for understanding. The objective and factual, the critical demands of history are recognized, but the subjective and personal, the pragmatic demands are appreciated. If history is ever becoming, then what of the historian? Is this the touchstone to evaluating attitudes and approaches which can only be

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[15] Ibid., p. 200.

classified up to a point in schools of interpretation, and then assume a very personal impress, that, perhaps, even the writer, product of his time, locale and prejudgments, could not explain?

Carl Fish appreciates the "becoming" that Turner encountered. Making a posthumous evaluation of Channing's history, Fisher says,

> The multiplicity of histories of our country disguises for the layman the nature of the task... None of the classic histories, like those of Bancroft and McMaster, cover more than half the story; Bancroft ends with the Constitution, McMaster begins in 1783. The more recent works, like the American Nation, divide this labor among many cooperators. Of course no comparison runs at all with those which are rewritings rather than restudies, or even with those that reinterpret the gathered evidence.

Turner's view is underlined

> The story [of American history] will and needs to be continually rewritten, added to and reevaluated, but it is not probable that the raw material will ever again pass through the crucible of one mind. It is a work which becomes increasingly golossal with the ever-growing mass of evidence and the constantly increasing questionnaire with which the present faces the past.[16]

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16 Carl Russell Fish, Edward Channing: American Historian, Current History, Vol. XXXIII, (N. Y. Times, March, 1931), pp. 862-863.

Still another survey of the history written in America, between 1884-1934, found a departure from the previous interest in the colonial and revolutionary period, and a greater emphasis on the analysis of the nature of currents, and some attempt to predict the destination of these currents. The narrative historians of America (Bancroft, Prescott, Motley) were found readable, but with the exception of McMaster they considered that history was concerned with public affairs and the larger currents of political change (which have been described). These, in their attempt to create a more truly representative history, left on their writing their individual personalities and attitudes. A common trait, which should be noted in the light of what has previously been introduced was that "each was essentially a moralist [or theorist],"

> ...and did not hesitate to praise or criticize, to single out individuals for downright censure, to analyze the claims of Presidents, or congressional statesmen or general for consideration. This did not in their minds runs counter to any assumed impartiality.[17]

In this the historians of the earlier period foreshadowed their successors. The critical method was used

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17 Theodore Smith, The Writing of American History in America, from 1884-1934, (American Historical Review, Vol. xi), pp. 439-441.

not only to evaluate source material; they also considered the personalities and policies that appeared in it. American historians, imbued with the tenets of popular sovereignty, did not prescind from its prerogatives in writing history. The historian was not just a narrator but a commentator. His opinion on the rightness and wrongness of positions, the constitution, the strength of federalism in contrast to statism, he felt to belong in his work.

The successors of the early school just described were those historians of the university realm, the technical scholars of history. With them the essay on history or "contribution" became the vogue. Generally, it was a monograph or critique of an historical work. It provided a ready avenue for the man with a theory, a commentator, even a crusader (his counterpart in the patriotic school existed), was anxious to re-assess the previous history and to add something more to the lustre of the American story from his undertakings. The marriage of convenience between the critical discipline of scholarly history and the more personal motivation, or theorizing of the later history, far from being looked upon with disapprobrium, was considered to be the goal to be sought.

Stern writes

> ...By the middle of the last century historians began to consider their craft a science, and for

> some zealots it possessed the same objectivity and yielded, or was about to yield, the universal laws of human development comparable to those of the natural sciences. It became an academic discipline, first in Germany and gradually elsewhere; professional journals and associations were founded, and the free field of the eighteenth centure where amateurs had been almost sole masters became fenced in; it was divided into ever smaller fields, reserved for the deeper plowing of the specialist. Historical thought grew narrower even as research and interpretation became more rigorous.[18]

By the second decade of the twentieth century the mastery of these objective tools in history seemed to confer the same right on history, which had been condemned in the earlier historians, of using the historical information thus mined to corroborate theory or support other conclusions. The difficulty implied, and the contradictions, suggest that treating history as a science, or attempting to do so, is to use the word "science" as a misnomer.

Without doubt there were elements of influence, in America, as elsewhere, that were less than critical. Stern opines,

> In addition to this influence was that of the cultural ties, the pre-Romantic and Romantic influences,

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[18] Stern, The Varieties of History, Introduction, p. 16.

> the growing sense of nation and the fictional influence of men like Walter Scott.[19]

Certainly, such elements, so very subjective in appreciation and imaginative in source, do not appear the likely spouse of strictly objective and scientific historical research, with its "overwhelming passion for truth."

But, as was evident in an earlier period, the historian always appears to have more than one master. Money and livelihood are not too mundane to mention. Patriotism, respect for tradition, reverence for former historians, the historical writer before higher tribunals. And even if the writer can so submerge his personality to the demands of absolute impartiality, how possible is "scientific" history?

Despite the fact that history is so often spoken of as a science, the perusal thus far of American historians and their predecessors, reveals elements that tend to make the writing of history unscientific, particularly because subjective, and personal factors loom so large. It is from this that the diversity of results of historical writers, despite their uniformity of sources, may be accounted for.

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[19] Ibid., p. 17.

An exploration of the problem of history as a science, based on an examination of the statements of historians and their carrying out of the task that they imposed on themselves, results in the conclusion, that if history is a science, it is not an "exact science," because there is lacking in it uniformity of approach and lack of opportunity for actual demonstration which is demanded of the experimental and exact sciences. Even history's vocabulary contains words like progress, civilization, culture, which lack the univocity demanded for scientific accuracy. These "unscientific" elements which appear in historical works are understandable and essential.

> The questions whether history is a science or not, is after all merely academic. Its resolution one way or the other will not help the historian to discharge his task more effectively. What is vital is that his work show the qualities which entitle it to be called scientific. The term itself is not at all important. An illusion cherished among historians, but less so today than a generation or two ago, is that there is something magic in the description scientific. But the term has stood and continues to stand for certain traits which may be lumped together under the virtually equivalent term <u>scholarly</u>, and which by common accord all history-writing that attains to the highest levels of the art should possess. In general, such traits are honesty, impartiality, thoroughness, accuracy, documentation. Let these traits obtain in a

> work of history and it is a matter of no consequence whether it be characterized as scientific or otherwise.[20]

Historians who have striven for a strictly scientific history are making an end out of the method and, since, the historian depends on witnesses and material that he cannot control, because he is not present, inevitably there must come questions of personal decision. The historian must keep his "scientific" method fluid enough to fit the discipline in which he deports himself.

For this reason Charles A. Beard, then President of the American Historical Society, characterized the writing of history as an act of faith. An examination of the elements of this act of faith will indicate how widespread of necessity are the influences, already seen, that have overshadowed American historians in the period between the war, and before, and, indeed, the historians of every age. Beard's remarks serve to round out the consideration of this chapter by way of a summary and critique of the attitudes which perennially go into the writing of history.

Some twenty-two years before he delivered his impressions to the American Historical Association meeting in

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[20] Gilbert Garraghan, SJ, A Guide to Historical Method, Jean Delanglez, SJ, Edit., (Fordham U. Press, 1946), p. 43, #43: "An Academic question."

Urbana Beard had been of the mind, as has been quoted in a previous context,

> Broadly speaking, three schools of interpretation have dominated American historical research and generalization. The first of these, which may be justly associated with the name of Bancroft, explains the larger achievements in our national life by reference to the peculiar moral endowments of a people acting under divine guidance; or perhaps it would be more correct to say, it sees in the course of our development the working out of a higher will than that of man.
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> The second school of historical interpretation, which in order of time followed that of Bancroft, may be called Teutonic, because it ascribes the wonderful achievements of the English-speaking peoples to the peculiar political genius of the Germanic race. Without distinctly repudiating the doctrine of 'higher power' in history, it finds the secret to the 'free' institutional development of the Anglo-Saxon world in innate racial qualities.
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> ...The full fruition of their political genius was reached in the creation of the Federal Constitution.
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> The third school of historical research is not to be characterized by an phrase. It is marked rather by an absence of hypotheses. Its representatives, seeing the many pitfalls which beset the way of earlier writers, have resolutely turned aside from 'interpretation' in the larger sense and concerned themselves with critical editions of the documents and with the 'impartial' presentation of related facts.
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> Such historical writing [the third school], however, bears somewhat the same relation to scientific history which systematic botany bears to ecology; that is, it classifies and

> orders phenomena, but does not explain their proximate or remote causes and relations.[21]

In 1933 Mr. Beard expanded his remarks and explained the reason for this reticence on the part of the third school, which had gained noteworthy prestige in the intervening two decades.

Beard began,

> History has been called a science, an art, an illustration of theology, a phase of philosophy, a branch of literature. It is none of these things, nor all of them combined. On the contrary, science, art, theology, and literature are themselves merely phases of history as past actuality and their particular forms at given periods and places are to be explained, if explained at all, by history as knowledge and thought.

For Beard the definition of history was Croce's "contemporary thought about the past." His reasoning,

> History as past actuality includes, to be sure, all that has been done, said, felt, and thought by human beings on this planet since humanity began its long career. History as record embraces the monuments, documents, and symbols which provide such knowledge as we have or can find respecting past actuality. But it is history as thought, not as actuality, record, or specific knowledge, that is really meant when the term history is used in its widest and most general significance. It is thought about past actuality, instructed and

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[21] Charles A. Beard, An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States, 1913, Rev. Edit., 1935, (Macmillan Co., N. Y.), pp. 3-5.

> delimited by history as record and knowledge--record and knowledge authenticated by criticism and ordered with the help of the scientific method. This is the final, positive, inescapable definition. It contains all the exactness that is possible and all the bewildering problems inherent in the nature of thought and the relation of the thinker to the thing thought about.[22]

His reasoning and definition is arresting. The contradiction cited in the works and opinions seen thus far become now only an apparent contradiction. The historian or writer of history reviews rather than writes originally. His review becomes the history of another generation and era. But, for the historian in the here and now, the writing of history is the application of his contemporary mind and the historical method to the records, of varying value, of the past.

For Beard there is no reason for this conclusion on the status of history to be a source of alarm to those who have spoken of the "science of history" and "scientific method" in history. It is a recognition of the fact that has arisen often in the present account that every historian is the child of his own age and therefore must reflect those

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22 Charles A. Beard, Written History as an Act of Faith, American Historical Review, Vol. XXXIX, No. 2, Jan., 1934, (Macmillan Co., N. Y.), pp. 219-220.

facets of his condition: race, language, class, over which he has no control. The historian of the present day cannot duplicate what has been written in another age. Moreover, the historian

> ....knows that his colleagues have been influenced in their selection and ordering of materials by their biases, prejudices, beliefs, affections, general upbringing, and experience, particularly social and economic; and if he has a sense of propriety, to say nothing of humor, he applies the canon to himself, leaving no exceptions to the rule. The pallor of waning, time, if not of death, rests upon the latest volume of history, fresh from the roaring press.[23]

This attitude does not seem unduly pessimistic. By the same token that the historian of the present feels free to revise in the light of his own age the historian of the past, he must have the humility to submit his critique to a future reviewer.

In the same spirit of humility the historian of any period must admit that it is impossible "to describe the past as it actually was, somewhat as the engineer describes a single machine..." Passionate attachment to some conviction is unavoidable and the neutral historian cannot really exist unless he merely be a collector of documents and, even in this, there are choices to be made. And it is

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23 Ibid., p. 220.

because of this that the person of the author becomes an intimate part of the work. To avoid the extreme of "scientificism" Beard recommends, besides good humor and humility, the observance of a supreme command,

> ...that the historian he must cast off his servitude to the assumption of natural science and return to his own subject matter-- history as actuality...Natural science is only one small subdivision of history as actuality with which history as thought is concerned.

Remembering the schools of historical interpretation and their devotion to one, or another, of the natural and exact sciences, it is interesting to note that such a distinguished historian sees this as submission to the tyranny of another discipline. They can all be used as approaches, as even Beard used economic determinism as an approach to the study of the American Constitution[24] but, as he pointed out to his critics in the preface of the 1935 revision, economic interpretation was not <u>the</u> explanation of the Constitution but only <u>an</u> explanation.

To subject the writing of history to the scientific methodology and principles of biology and physics is to demand too much of it in the view of the limitations of the

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[24] Charles A. Beard, <u>An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States</u>, 1913, (Macmillan Co., N. Y., Rev. Edit., 1935).

historians actual experience of the events and his total dependence on source material. It will never be possible to subject the causation in history to the unchanging laws of physical science. Even the attempts to transfer Darwininian evolution into history are doomed to failure because in reality it is an attempt to supply some deterministic, unvarying element in history like that tried without success in conjunction with history and physical science. Beard well remarks the fascination that this particular endeavor had.

> If a science of history were achieved, it would, like the science of celestial mechanics, make possible the calculable prediction of the future in history. It would bring the totality of historical occurrences within a single field... It would be omniscience. The creator of it would possess the attributes ascribed by the theologians to God. The future once revealed, humanity would have nothing to do except to await its doom.

Even the attempts of the relativists have failed, because inevitably there must be an absolute and their own work in its relativity becomes worthless unless compared to some absolute.[25]

What is left to the historian if he cannot adopt the rigid instruments of exact science in order to give a consistent regulation to causation between historical

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[25] Ibid., pp. 221-224.

events? An act of faith is Beard's conclusion and, in the light of what has been seen, it seems logical. Remembering all of the factors which militate against absolute impartiality and knowing that the other sciences are different in nature than history,

> The historian who writes history, therefore, consciously or unconsciously performs an act of faith, as to order and movement, for certainty as to order and movement is denied to him by knowledge of the actuality with which he is concerned. He is thus in the position of a statesman dealing with public affairs; in writing he acts and in acting he makes choices... with respect to some conception of the nature of things. And the degree of his influence and immortality will depend upon the length and correctness of his forecast-- upon the verdict of history yet to come. His faith is at bottom a conviction that something can be known about the movement of history and his conviction is a subjective decision, not a purely objective discovery.[26]

History and historians are not then right and wrong so much as they are good or bad in terms of the width of their judgment. The historian of today may say that the historian of another age did not take into account enough factors. We cannot say that such an historian was right or wrong, because the judgment on the totality of history must await that last moment when history ceases.

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[26] Ibid., p. 226.

What emerges from the examination of the perennial influences on the writers of American History 1919-1935 is that these historians are as much a product of their times as the historians of other ages. Total war, heavy exporting, imperialisms, economic booms, national socialisms are part of the contemporary scene. These will find their supporters, implicit or explicit, among the writers of history. Isolationism, the new South, New Dealers, Fair Dealers, Civil Rightists will have their influence, because history is written by individuals and certain individuals will have these preoccupations in mind as they take up their pens. It will not always be "an axe to grind" but something unconscious and perhaps commendable if we consider that it is the measure of a writer's conviction.

In examining the attitudes it comes as a surprise that the trend has not so much influenced the writing of history as the historians concern for achieving greater accuracy or improving the history of a prior period. Schools do exist in America as elsewhere. Beard has indicated this for us. But each of these schools has been busy re-evaluating and correcting the results of the research of its school. The new tools of research have been used and older ones discarded. The sin of the American historians is, if he admit it, the sin of the

ancients: they see history according to the needs of their own age. In human writers this is not an unforgivable sin. The record indicates that it may be well-nigh unavoidable.

Gradually, the scientific emphasis on history has given way to a realization that history must not enslave itself to other disciplines although it may employ their instruments to provide a scholarly and uniform approach. American writing of history has shown a certain passion for the nationalistic, "my country, right or wrong," it has recognized the need to establish America's connectedness with its past, it has not been without guilt in extolling the virtues of its great men, occasionally, the deterministic as with the economic theory of Beard, has dominated more than it should as a "single cause" explanation of the totality of history, but, by and large, it is a history, like all history, that is continually rewriting itself. New approaches are being taken to old problems: the American Revolution, the states rights question, the amount of democracy guaranteed in the constitution, the traditional American foreign policy.

One might have expected to find canons clearly enough established so that certain historians could be condemned as wrong and others saluted as right. Such is not the case. The historians of this age, like the historians of every age, have made their act of faith, tried

to see the causation and connection in history. In so doing they have begun to abandon some of the constraint that marked a history of an earlier era that was too devoted to single theories or too anxious to be called scientific. This can only augur well for the future.

In summary, the reader of history must not forget that his is an art too. The writer is not without prejudice and bias. He is subject to his own personal background. When the reader takes the piece of art in hand, he must understand that the historical masterpiece is not marred by the traces of the author's person that appear therein, but rather enhanced. It is the peculiar genius of the individual writer that gives character to a work of history as it is the singular genius of the painter that produces a work of art and not stereotype.

CHAPTER V SUMMARY

George III was the victim of manic depression. He suffered five severe attacks of mental disease during his lifetime. Medical reports certify this. The present chapter examines the treatment of this illness by American historians in the period between the war. Those prior to World War I did not treat it because it would have won sympathy for George who is treated as the villain of the American Revolution. The post-war historians do not rectify the account. Medical evidence is introduced which was available to correct the writing of the personal history of George III, as well as the entire history of the American Revolution from other sources. The fact that this was not done indicates that the better relations between the United States and Great Britain after World War I, while it brought about some temporary propaganda revisions of history, was not lasting enough to achieve a full-scale rewriting of the history of the American Revolution by American historians.

CHAPTER V

THE ILLNESS OF GEORGE III

Recently, an English writer commented, in reviewing the record of George III of Hanover and the American Revolution,

> Yet the American story is a sorrier tale. As with humans who have ceased to love and grown to hate, no compromise was possible; every gesture of reconciliation was vitiated by a withholding of complete surrender which only led to further suspicion and deeper rancour. And when at last, riot gave way to war, George III and his ministers had alienated many loyalists and created a unity amongst the colonists, that, frail as it was, would have been impossible at the start of his reign. And he himself had, unfortunately, become the symbol of tyranny, so that the myth of George III's personal despotism has become almost ineradicable in American history. It is improbable that the most skillful statesman could have found a modus vivendi, short of complete independence for the colonies, but it was unfortunate for George III himself that his intransigence turned him into a convenient scapegoat.[1]

Studying the Europe of the Empires and the post-Reformation world, no student can help but give pause at the power of Charles V of Spain, Louis XIV of France, or the beginnings of the parliamentary dispensation that came to England after the Glorious Revolution in 1688. If one passes over William and Mary, and Anne, and the first three

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[1] J. H. Plumb, The First Four Georges, London, (B. T. Batsford, Ltd., 1957), p. 122.

Georges of Hanover, it is not because they are unimportant. They represented the triumph of the Cromwellian Army and the limited monarchy "by the grace of God and parliament." But it is only with and in George III of Hanover that the issue of how limited the British monarchy is to be is drawn.

George III (1760-1820) spanned important years of the British Empire. It was an empire that passed successively from geographical domination (conquest) to political domination, to economic domination and finally emerges in the commonwealth. At the birth pangs of the commonwealth, George III, for better or worse was present. His reign covers a period of 60 years, his rule was much less.

One doctor-turned-historian, to study and to report upon the sickness of George III has written,

> At the outset of my study, I realized that to understand George III's mental disturbances, I had to know George III -- as a link in his family chain and as a pawn in the play of history. I had to know him in sickness and in health, in his relations with his immediate world and with the great British Empire over which he ruled. In the pages which follow, I have tried not only to recreate the details of the King's periods of insanity, but also to show how his birthright and his way of life produced his mental disorders,...how his mental condition effected the history of his time. George III suffered five attacks of outspoken insanity, four of which were exhaustively recorded.[2]
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[2] Manfred S. Guttmacher, M. D., America's Last King, N. Y., (Charles Scribner's Son, 1941), pp. 11-12.

> In few psychiatric cases can one get such a wealth of detail.[3]
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> . . . . . .
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> Even if George III had not been a king the study of his madness would have intrinsic psychiatric worth. His first attack of mental disorder occurred when he was twenty-seven and he died at the ripe age of eighty-two. Only rarely can we follow cases of recurrent insanity in which there is a half century between the first and last illnesses. And the factors that produced several of the attacks are unusually clear.[4]

Notwithstanding this testimony, it seems that George III has not been re-assessed, at least in American history, in the light of it. The present paper sets itself no task of special pleading. Presently the author wishes to see how George III has been treated by American Historians. As Chapter I served as a point of departure, the illness of George can do the same. It would seem unfair, without giving attention to his mental disorder, to treat him like any other man or king in his era. The following is presented in order to show what effect the make-up of George III had on the settling of the post-glorious revolution constitutional crisis in England and also to indicate what consideration must be given to George's illness in probing the age in which he reigned and ruled.

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[3] Ibid., p. 13.

[4] Ibid., p. 13.

The index to the writings on American history says simply,

> On January 29, 1820, the long reign of George III came to an end. The life of the King closed in darkness of eyes and mind. Stone blind, stone-deaf, and except for rare lucid intervals, wholly out of his senses, the poor old King wandering from room to room in his palace, a touching picture with his long white flowing beard.[5]

To put the tale so calmly is to betray the colorfulness of a reign and era that has happily been called Georgian. Guedalla writes, "For on that winter night in 1820 they were burying the Eighteenth century." And in the same vein of reminisce he recalls the night of his birth years before and his near death at birth; he states,

> With a kind provision for its soul's welfare and a sad feeling of its approaching end, they baptized the little creature before night. But it survived them all, survived the century, even survived itself.[6]

Somewhere between the living death of 1820 and the near death at birth is the key for the understanding of George III and the eventful six decades connected with his name. One almost feels that he was born too late or too early.

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[5] Index to the Writings of American History, 1902-1940, George III, p. 387.

[6] Philip Guedalla, The Stepfather of the United States; portrait of H. M. King George III, (Harper's Monthly, CLI, 1925), pp. 6-14.

The George who was such a model of Protestant virtue, a good family man, and an astute manipulator of Parliament, would have been, it would seem, the perfect Stuart, divine right monarch. Farmer George or Gentleman George of later years was, in public at least, the prototype of the perfect limited monarch. What changed the former to the latter is the story that is about to unfold.

The late 18th and early 19th century in England were extremely turbulent. George III had to survive in a political climate that would have predisposed many a better man to madness. Parliament is coming of age. England sits in the shadow of the Glorious Revolution. The British Isles are in the throes of those birth pangs that gave rise to Empire and finally Commonwealth. It is the age of the American Revolution and the French Revolution.

Some of the outward trappings of this age are misleading:

> The physical remains of the age of the Georges are almost uniformly of an elegance of design rarely achieved since...The same preoccupation runs through much of the poetry and prose, the painting and music of the time. This basic uniformity of Georgian style is easily recognizable, and this in its turn has created the idea of an age which agrees but little with its reality...They create a sense of calm and urbanity, of restrained good breeding, a little heartless, perhaps, and rather artificial.

> Perhaps the most obvious but least recognized feature of English life in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century was its love of agression. Rarely has the world known a more agressive society, or one in which passion was openly or violently expressed...To vast numbers of eighteenth century Englishmen wars were welcome; golden opportunities to beggar their neighbours, to seize the wealth of the world and to demonstrate the contempt in which the nation held those Pope-ridden, frog-eating, puny, wooden-shoed slaves, the French. Fame was accorded to the rashest of heroes -- Clive at Arcot, Wolfe at Quebec, Nelson at Abonkir; disgrace and death on the quarter-deck was Byng's lot for allowing caution and wisdom to prevail. The manic fury of Chatham's denunciations suited the Englishman's mood. The endless stream of clamorous abuse which poured from the press both stimulated and satisfied the same yearning for violence.
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> No nation rioted more easily or more savagely -- from 1714 to 1830 angry mobs, burning and looting, were as prevalent as disease, and as frequent in the countryside as in the great towns.[7]

This was the scene over which a shy and overly-sensitive George III came to reign. From a childhood surrounded by an overly-protective mother and tea-sipping bishops he was flung into milieu of England -- growing brawny, vulgar, savage. London was a cobble-stoned jungle of petty ambitions, corrupt politics, well-spoken scoundrels.

George started under the tutelage of Bute. It seemed salvation for the sensitive and shy George. But the Glorious Revolution had long ago sounded the deathknell of

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[7] Plumb, p. 14.

the Scots' party. Bute must go. And without this shield George had to tilt swords with the wiliest of pamphleteers, John Wilkes, and "that devil Wilkes" was to haunt his waking and sleeping hours -- his sane and insane moments -- for the rest of his life. Already by 1765, without Lord Bute and in the midst of the political and personal storms, George III was cracking. He transferred allegiance to Pitt, who was equally unstable and in the throes of a mental breakdown. Later it was the American Revolution that strained George's personality limitations. His family disappointments in private life was magnified by those in public. He began to feel a sense of constant betrayal. To one who considered the colonials as his "children", becoming the object of colonial abuse was insult and treason.

> The colonists favorite term of abuse was "tyrannical" rather than "unconstitutional" and owing to an unfortunate concatenation of events for George III, this sense of "tyranny" was strengthened by the effective protests of Wilkes against general warrants which occurred at this time, so that the cry of "Wilkes and Liberty" echoed in the backwoods of America. Furthermore the propaganda which Wilkes and his supporters were sedulously cultivating, that George himself was the leader in a dark conspiracy to subvert the constitution and deprive Englishmen of their ancient liberties, was swallowed wholesale by the credulous colonists. Nor was the reaction one-sided. The cries of "tyranny" which went up in America struck their own responsive chord in the circle of Wilkes' supporters bringing new justification to their attitude toward the monarchy. And, in addition, George III had the mischance to become himself

> the central target of the attacks of the enemies of his ministers. True, to start with, these were shared with Bute and his mother, but by 1763 Bute had ceased to be a really effective power in politics. The rapid change of ministries in the next seven years, and the long period of Chatham's incapacity when the minstry was leader-less all helped to create the illusion that George III himself was the dominant personality in politics and responsible for the policies of his ministers, who lasted only so long as they did his will--and, of course, the illusion was fostered by opposition propaganda. But its effectiveness can be measured by the way it was readily believed both in London and America. The myth that George III was intent on restoring a Stuart despotism was not the fabrication of later historians but a widespread belief which grew out of the conflict with Wilkes and America.[8]

That George III could be dragged so far into the political upheaval is in part the cause of his mental upsets and in part the result. For as he developed in the years of the 'sixties he had become more rigorous in his own opinions and the charges of the office of King became for him "awful obligations imposed on him by a Providence more inclined to justice than to mercy." The Empire of Great Britain in all of its sovereign acts of Parliament, of war, of colonials became the daily concern of his mind with little room for anything else. He must discharge them or disgrace both ancestors and posterity. These principles George III grasped with "almost lunatic intensity." For him any compromising would have been nothing less than a

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[8] Ibid., pp. 110-111.

betrayal of a divine trust. And so the entire populace subject to his rule was to be effected by this obsession with kingly duty.

> When it is remembered that the King, although stupid and a little mad, was still the fountain of honour, that his approbation was almost essential for a successful career in church or state, that his character was powerful and intense, and that he was single-minded and obstinate, his presence on the throne can only be regarded as a national disaster.[9]

It proved every bit that -- and more. It proved a personal tragedy for a monarch who put far too much of his heart and soul into what, at best, remains the makeshift condition of the body politic. What consideration this has earned for him from subsequent historians is interesting.

In the light of this statement about George III's importance in the England of his day and the rather generally admitted fact, for which further evidence shall be offered, of his insanity, it would seem that most historians would hasten to understand the "national disaster" of his reign-- the American Revolution-- in the light of his illness. Has such been the case?

A review of some American histories in general circulation and other comments, prompts agreement with the

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9 Ibid., pp. 112-113.

reviewer in a popular magazine on the book, "Mad Last King of America,"

> As many an American schoolboy does not know, George III was for the most part an able, honest man and a forceful ruler, the first English king since Cromwell's revolution who really ruled. He rode out tempests that would have unseated a man of less character: the undeclared revolution that raged during the rioting instigated by a demagogue John Wilkes, the disastrous war against the rebelling Americans, the bloody "No Popery" riots. He weathered a constitutional crisis that nearly resulted in his abdication and the threatened invation of England by Napoleon. His life was six times attempted by assassins...and he was five times stricken with madness and had to be confined in a strait jacket.
>
> The royal family...was generously tainted; the King's grandfather George II was a neuropath; so was an uncle; two nephews were mentally deficient; three cousins were psychopathic cases, and two of the King's sons were definitely off-balance. George's own malady was manic-depression.[10]

Yet an extensive outline for history and study of the American Revolution makes no mention of this. It cites the causes of the American Revolution and admits that like the causes of any great historical events they "are not simple but complicated," but accumulating source after source and stressing the "divergence" which appeared in opposing theories as to the constitution of the Empire and as to representation, the author comments, "In England, the

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[10] Mad Last King of America, (Newsweek, Sept. , 1941).

cabinet and parliament had taken to themselves most of the king's former power, with little or no change in form." While in a further point the author alludes to factional quarrels and "party demoralization in England, with the attempts of George III to restore the former power of the Crown" and summarizes that it helped to discredit the English government and make it less efficient than ever, it would appear that George III was a normal King pursuing a mad policy rather than a man whose obsession with "being a king" was a genuine madness that permitted no other policy.[11]

The same author comments on another reference in re: the conduct of the revolution saying that the British government was handicapped by trouble in raising troops, by inefficient and often corrupt administration, which gave a foothold to "political opposition", but no particular concern is given to the fact that it was precisely the overall Constitutional question which on the English domestic scene was "the fat in the fire" between George and the Parliament and this was one of the reasons why supply was not forthcoming for the proper prosecution of the suppressing of rebellion in the American colonies.

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11 George Morton Churchill, Conductor of the Historical Program, Department of the Historian General, (Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine), Vol. 59, No. 8, p. 676, No. 10, p. 634.

Still other writers refer to the mental condition without pointing out the possible effect that it had on his administration or England,

> He was obstinate, narrow-minded, and did not possess great ability. Unfortunately, too, he suffered from recurring attacks of a mental illness that grew more serious as he advanced in age.[12]

The account is, at least, not unsympathetic.

A standard reference stresses the "split" in George III's personality between public and private life,

> Although he bore himself with dignity on all public occasions, in private, he was homey and undignified, his utterance was rapid, he swung himself to and fro as he talked, asked numbers of questions each ending with What? What? and often repeated his words. He was often rude to those who offended him. He set a high value on small points of ceremony...

Again,

> He was sincerely pious, his morality was strict and he invariably acted according to the dictates of his conscience...The sullenness of his youth appeared in later life in the form of an implaccable disposition. He considered all opposition an affront. Some of his petulancy must be attributed to the morbid exactability of his brain which broke out from time to time in attacks of insanity. He was slow and prejudiced.

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[12] J. A. Richards, History of England, N. Y., (Barnes and Noble, 1953), p. 141.

At least the significance of these traits is not missed, "He carried on a long struggle with the great Whig families and their political adherents at a terrible cost to both himself and the country."[13]

What does one read of the effects of George's illness in the writings of history in the United States in the past 25 years? The purpose of reciting this evidence at length is not simply to stress falsehoods or to demand redress, but to see if "full" treatment has been accorded the whole George. They must be cited before they can be evaluated.

Writing on, "the men who made the first beachheads against the wilderness," and the way of life they brought with them, Gerald W. Johnson comments:

> George could have learned from Penn how to preserve an empire; but it would have been beneath his dignity to learn statescraft from a simple gentleman, with no title at all. So, deservedly, he lost both his dominion and his dignity - in the end even his wits.[14]

With some qualification Pares writes:

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[13] Dictionary of National Biography, London, (Oxford U. Press, 1917), vol. vii.

[14] Gerald W. Johnson, Our English Heritage, p. 103, (J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia, Pa., 1949).

> Perhaps his madness can best be explained as the breakdown of a too costly struggle to maintain this [refers to Kingly sense of duty] artificial character- the reserve and equanimity imposed upon a hot temper and anxious nerves, to say nothing of his fanatical fidelity to a hideous Queen, and a regimen of violent exercise to counteract strong passions and a tendency to fat.[15]

Gentleman George? Expanding his remarks on Benedict Arnold into the Secret History of the American Revolution, Carl Van Doren testifies that bribery and corruption were transacted under George III "in a language elegantly bristling with subtle points of decorum." Describing the King as both a fountain of honour and profit for his subjects, Van Doren avers that "They would not serve him without their share of both."[16]

Van Tyne recalls George's dislike of Grenville's "curtain lectures to him" in echoing the sentiment of Pares that the King did not relish "his minister's habit of looking to Parliament rather than to him as the source of authority." He grants that the Rockingham Whigs and George III were both fighting for a principle in which controversy Pitt sided with the King in opposing a strong

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[15] Richard Pares, George III and The Politicians, Oxford, 1953.

[16] Carl Van Doren, Secret History of the American Revolution, p. 60, N. Y., (Viking Press, 1941).

party organization, but arraigns George and his ministers on the ground that:

> George III and his ministers, using pensioners and placemen brought with the nation's money and offices, bent the House of Commons to the royal will for some fifteen years.

Both are generously condemned with,

> It was the failure of a Parliament, corrupted by George III, to heed the warning of England's greatest living statesman, that brought about the rending of the Empire.[17]

Louis Kronenberger suggests, if not sympathizes with the degeneration of the man that took place, "in his moral crusade" against England's vice and on behalf of his own desire to fulfill the injunction of Augusta and Bute to be a King --

> In a moral crusade the means are not important; only the end counts. George therefore quite cheerfully condescended to stoop. In the interests of his own morality he dispensed with all other and embarked upon a campaign of his and broken promises, of treacheries and insults, of bribery and blackmail.

For him the King's private life, without social vices, is a "great contrast, but not a contradiction," and

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[17] Claude H. Van Tyne, The Causes of the War of Independence, N. Y., (Houghton-Mifflin, 1922), Vol. I, pp. 184, 242, 250, 478.

"His consort, the crocodile-mouthed Charlotte...was all the king asked for, and as much as he deserved."[18]

To the voices of condemnation, add the most recent, Bruce Lancaster,

> Across the Channel, the personally righteous and incorruptible George III was ponderously moving to use the unrighteousness and corruptibility of others to turn England, last hope of liberalism, into a neat, one-party state. Parliament was to be a mere echo, subdued and respectful of the royal will.

Of the eve of the Revolution,

> Across the Atlantic, George III could survey the new year with a comfortable feeling that, despite the American troubles, he was drawing close to his ideal of what royal rule should be. He had a most obsequious Parliament, and, more important, a cabinet made up largely of yea-sayers...
>
> As to the rebels themselves, the King could chuckle a little...January ought to bring to those perfidious people copies of his October message to Parliament. He had stigmatized that distant rising as a 'desperate conspiracy'...The gracious royal patience was at an end and would be replaced by strong measures of suppression. Not only were the army and navy to be enlarged, but treaties with foreign powers - the petty German princes were underway.[19]

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[18] Louis Kronenberger, Kings and Desperate Men, N. Y., (Alfred A. Knopf, 1942), 323 pp., pp. 215, 216, 218, 219.

[19] Bruce Lancaster, From Lexington to Liberty, (Doubleday & Co., Inc., Garden City, N. Y., 1955), pp. 1, 169-170.

John Hicks, seeking to be among the historians who would do most to make the present intelligible by keeping the prejudices of the present out of the past, allows to George some subtlety,

> In order to gain great personal power in the direction of national affairs he proposed to control parliament rather than overthrow it. Members were induced by the gift of honors, pensions or offices and by every other means of corruption then current to become the 'King's friends'...[20]

It seems only fitting to quote at some length the extended remarks of a former President of the American Historical Association on the question.

> It is true that in fixing the responsibility for the Revolution we must attribute much to the obstinacy, prejudice and personal government of George III, to the unfriendliness, stubbornness, and duplicity of Hillsborough, and to the subservience and good nature of Lord North; but more important than the personal influence of any of these was the inability of British officials and lawyers to depart in any essential particular from the strict interpretation of the land and the constitution...
>
> It is a more difficult matter to decide whether or not George III deserves the sentence of execration to all eternity that has been passed upon him by nine-tenths of the American people. In our Declaration of Independence he is made responsible for many things with which he had nothing to do, and for nearly a century and a half has been the scapegoat of the Revolution. But the fact is that

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[20] John D. Hicks, The Federal Union, Cambridge, (The Riverside Press, 1953), 734 pp., p. 121.

the influence of George III was not the same at all stages of the revolutionary movement. It played but a small part in the period before 1774, when the king was merely one of that stiff-necked body of Englishmen who made up the ruling classes, holding opinions and prejudices that were characteristic of his order and identifying himself heart and soul with the system against which the colonists revolted. He could pray as devoutly as anyone else of his kind that the British constitution might remain (as he himself expressed it) 'unimpaired to the latest posterity as a proof of the wisdom of the nation and its knowledge of the superior blessings' it enjoyed; and, even after the war was over, he could say that the age was on 'when disobedience to law and authority' was 'as prevalent as a thirst after changes in the best of all political institutions' and that in order to stem these evils it required a degree of temper and sagacity such as was to be expected only from 'a collection of the best and most calm heads and hearts' than the kingdom possessed. After 1774, however, his influence became more direct and personal and he must share equally with his ministers and the members of parliament whatever guilt belongs to a group of political leaders who could see but one course to pursue and that a course characteristic of the age in which they lived. George III was a thorough believer in coercion as the only remedy for insolence, and both he and his ministers were upheld in that belief by a majority of the English electorate. After 1778 the situation changed again and George III fills the scene as the one outstanding figure to whose stubborn persistence and almost criminal obstinacy was due in largest part the prolongation for five long years of a burdensome and costly war. More and more of those who had given him support saw both the hopelessness and the unwisdom of the struggle; the ministerial majorities in parliament dwindled; the friends of America increased in numbers; demands for the cessation of the war became more insistent and attacks on the crown more frequent; and both North, his own chief minister, and Barrington, his secretary at war, warned him of the ruin that might follow the continuance of so disastrous a purpose. Yet the king held on, yielding only to the inevitable after the cause was lost, and

consenting very ungraciously to a change of ministry and the beginnings of negotiations for peace.

There can be little doubt but that many of the impressions which we have formed of George III and of his place in the history of our Revolution are due to his later and not his earlier conduct. We read the words of his letter to the Corporation and Livery of the City of London in 1775, as if they were sufficient to fasten upon him for all time responsibility for our revolt. In fact, however, they were but the embodiment of the opinions of his ministers and other British officials, of the majority in parliament, and, as far as we can judge, of the greater part of the ruling class in England at that time. We do not like the sound of those words: 'It is with the utmost astonishment that I find any of my subjects capable of encouraging the rebellious disposition which unhappily exists in some of my colonies in America. Having entire confidence in the wisdom of my Parliament, the Great Council of the Nations, I will steadily pursue those measures which they have recommended for the support of the constitutional rights of Great Britain and the protection of the commercial interests of my kingdoms,' but they merely echoed the sentiments of the extremists in England, who at this juncture were in the governmental saddle. Davies, in his treatise, The Influence of George III on the Development of the Constitution, says truly that George III 'was one of the most popular kings that ever lived with the average elector - with the middle classes and the Tory squires. As a general rule his opinions and his prejudices were those of the public opinion of the time - so far as can be estimated.' As to the king's views on the quarrel with the American colonies, Davies adds, 'the prejudices of the King were the prejudices of his people.'

If we are to consider the king as in any way responsible for the original estrangement of the colonies from the mother country, it must not be because of his personal influence but because of his constitutional position as the embodiment of

> the royal prerogative a power upheld by such lawyers as Blackstone and wielded rather by the King's councilors, secretaries and executive departments than by the king himself. The royal prerogative in its application to America was disliked and opposed by the colonists as a power exercised by someone outside themselves and hence conflicting with their management of their own affairs. Yet it was authorized by the law and custom of the British constitution, as part of the common law, and those were responsible for its use would brook no encroachment upon it. As far as the colonists were concerned, it is doubtful if George III ever attempted to assert the power of the prerogative more than had William III or Anne or even his own immediate predecessors, and it is a curious fact that except for a few paragraphs concerning special events of the period, due to the adoption of the coercive policy, there is not one of the major charges contained in the Declaration of Independence that might not have been brought against any of the sovereigns of England from 1689 to 1760, as justly as against George III. But in fifty years, times had changed and the colonists had changed with them, and in 1775 they were no longer willing to endure what they had borne for many years without serious protest. In revolting against the prerogative, the colonists were opposing a legal convention of the constitution rather than a man, and the Declaration, though directed against the king as a 'tyrant' and as one 'unfitted to be the ruler of a free people,' was in fact an indictment of the constitutional power of the prerogative. It was not, because, truthfully, it could not be, an indictment of a man, whether of German descent or otherwise.[21]

To add the remarks quoted of George III by John Dos Passos "'Every man has his price' and 'I will have no innovations in my time' had been the two tenets on which

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[21] Charles Andrews, The Colonial Background of the American Revolution, pp. 212-216.

George based his politics"; and more, "In spite of him there had appeared the dreadful innovation of the transatlantic republic; wherever he looked new innovations threatened,"[22] would be to state a redundance like that author. Little wonder that "George began to behave so strangely that he had to be restrained."[23]

Yet it would be unfair not to introduce at least one decisive voice in dissent in the purely historical field (the hysterical field we leave more fittingly to the medics although it already appears to have been infringed by some historians).

> The Americans did not yet realize that the King was an Englishman of only moderate abilities and a vision that reached no farther than that of his ministers and his Parliament...The man who kept the logs (of Parliament) rolling was the King. In the absence of a better politician...George was good at the job but no bigger than the men he managed.[24]

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[22] John Dos Passos, The Men Who Made the Nation, (Doubleday & Co., N. Y., 1957), p. 206.

[23] Ibid., p. 206.

[24] Edmund S. Morgan, The Birth of the Republic, (Chicago U. Press, 1956), p. 29.

> To follow Jefferson's metaphor, George III would not have been content to be a handy man around 'the great machine of government'; he believed that he ought to be in the driver's seat.[25]

Enough. The sentiments expressed are not exhaustive but pertinent. Whatever the merits of George III historians do not appear indifferent to him. They are generous in their advice as to what he could have done, e.g. take Penn's example. They are ready with their prognosis as with Pares. In Van Doren's case the indictment of character is slightly hinted. Van Tyne's fist is gloved but swinging. Kronenberger adds insult to injury in alluding to his wife. Lancaster is equally scathing and only slightly less sarcastic. Hicks may keep the prejudices of the present out of the past, but what about the prejudices of the past? With Charles Andrews there is balance although no re-evaluation. Passos tends to some sympathy. Morgan is out and out defensive. George tends to get a reaction. It goes the full circle from indifference to hysterical dislike and perhaps a too great attempt to understand.

But the evidence alleged in the position of all reveals a King of many facets and personalities. Only an extraordinary person could warrant such varied reactions.

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[25] Ibid., p. 184.

Undoubtedly, a psychologist or psychiatrist would have a field day examining men who could arrive at such varied and heated conclusions from the factually recorded acts and omissions of one man. Even more certainly they would want to examine the man whose manners induced such divergent interpretations of his motives. And indeed - both in life, and since death, they have. It is to their diagnoses that we now turn.

Writing on George III and Bolingbroke's idea of the Patriot King, we have remarked that certainly George, the experimenter in government, who flirted with divine right and embraced party, except on an accidental score could hardly be called Patriot King. Rather he was the victim of his dual monarchy: royal and parliamentary.[26]

The above is recalled because the actions of George III, as discovered in his many commentators and biographers, suggested at one and the same time a sincerity and yet a pattern of abnormality which seemed to indicate that his actions should be both psychoanalyzed and analyzed. Since this is not strictly the province of the historian, it suggested the subject-matter of this chapter. Against the background of comment already recorded, it can be seen unfortunately, that not enough writers have

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[26] Above, pp. 19, 21-22, 27.

acknowledged this need for psychoanalysis in understanding the role of George III. The present paper takes exception in the interests of fuller historical accuracy.

Little wonder that George III would have foundered in his attempt to be both the limited monarch established by the post-Cromwellian Parliament and the party-leader in Parliament as well. England itself foundered in that same storm many times between the days of Walpole and when, having lost the American Revolution, the mantle of the Prime Minister was wrenched from George III to rest more or less permanently on the succession of His Majesty's First ministers in the Commons. But, from a medical point of view, George's make-up, as well as the times, foretold his fate.

Reliance here is best placed on medical men. Writing, what he cites to be the first book written about a mad king in the English language, Dr. Guttmacher became an historian to better psychoanalyze George. Of his records of the third Hanoverians illness he writes, "There is not a single factual statement in this book for which the source cannot be given."[27] And moreover Guttmacher stresses the fact that while the war of the word

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[27] Intro. p. XII, Manfred Guttmacher, M. D., America's Last King: An Interpretation of the Madness of George III, N. Y., (Charles Scribner's Son, 1941).

psychiatrist might be anachronistic in the light of its only coming into use in the nineteenth century, "There were doctors specializing in mental disorders during the eighteenth century."[28] In another place he asserts that the treatment given George for his mental disorder would not vary essentially in the practices of present-day psychiatry.

Dr. Guttmacher stresses the predisposition of George III to insanity showing the neuropathic tainting of his family tree into which he researched extensively. The neuroticism of George II, the probable suicide of an uncle on his mother's side, that his cousin Christian VII was a psychopath, two other schizophrenic cousins, Ludwig II and Otto I of Bavaria, mental deficients of the House of Brunswick are offered as evidence. Among his own children George IV was a psychopath and a son of William committed suicide in a fit of depression. As early as 1592 William the Younger, a relative, was held incompetent to reign for his last eleven years due to insanity.[29]

Unhesitatingly, Guttmacher calls George a manic depressive and cites that he had five major attacks of insanity and died in the fifth in 1820. Characterizing

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[28] Ibid., p. XII.

[29] Guttmacher, p. ___.

this type of illness as one of "mood disorder" ranging from elations, excitability, restlessness, over-ambitions, over-optimism to the emotional, suicidal, tearful and depressive the doctor-historian revives in the reader's mind comments of historians on George's actions at levees, the theatre, his estates, with his family and ministers. The aura of the erratic and eccentric with which some historians seek to explain them is less conclusive than his medical opinion.

Guttmacher also reminds historians of a fact, too-readily overlooked in the Hanoverians, that George III's father, Frederick, instilled in his children virtues which he himself neither had nor practiced. Perhaps because of the treatment which he received from his own father, George II, Frederick was in regard to his own children, an ideal father, and in regard to George he earnestly tried to prepare him for kingship.

Augusta his mother is well known for her domineering character and her isolating of the royal princes and princesses to keep them from what she considered demoralizing influences. Her attempts to pit George's younger brother, York, against him as a model, weakened rather than nurtured confidence in George III. When Frederick died in 1751, George, but 12, wept twelve days and took much to heart the provisions of his father's will to be a good-living king. The stress of this, his tutor

Waldegreave's admonitions on the inviolable personal character of a king (from Bolingbroke) and Augusta's "George be a King" forms a trinity of repression and restraint that George would never escape.

Commenting on George's anger the doctor stresses that it took the form of sullenness not heat, a melancholy indulgence in his own ill-humor that might last for days. It is evident what his reaction to "his children in America" would be -- no less caused by English constitutional qualms that his own constitutional make-up. From his father he transfers all his confidence to Bute and when Bute "fails" him as Prime Minister in 1762 George is psychologically shaken. The rapid changes of ministry are less the result of government instability as George's personal mental instability.

By 1765, with the problem of Wilke and the North Briton, George had his first attack of insanity. The subsequent Regency Act and the exclusion of his mother took further toll.

Again, after the American Revolution, he suffered in 1788, an attack of insanity - the deportment of his son and heir-apparent, would perhaps have played the major part in this. In 1801 Pitt's resignation brought on another attack because of his dependence on Pitt and because he saw the latter's departure as a betrayal. 1810 witnessed

the attack in which he lingered until the time of his death.[30]

Needless to say George's illness did not go unnoticed in the England of his day. The Cambridge Modern History relates,

> Parliament immediately appointed two committees, one to examine the King's doctors and another to inspect precedents in the manner of succession... The House of Commons heard the report of the physicians which indicated that the King was seriously ill but there was a great probability of his recovery.[31]

Guttmacher cautions against the obvious mixture of politics and medicine in their reports but the reading is interesting and informative:

> Dr. Richard Warren, a veteran of 28 years, states that there is a chance of recovery and says that the greatest number of persons afflicted with the disorder do recover.[32]

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[30] The preceding is essentially a summary of Guttmacher's opinions.

[31] The Cambridge Modern History, Ward, Prothers and Leadhes, Editors, (University Press, Cambridge, 1934), p. 473.

[32] Report from the Committee Appointed to Examine the Physicians Who Have Attended His Majesty, During his Illness, Touching the State of His Majesty's Health, London,(Printed by J. Stockdale, Opposite - Burlington-House, Piccadilly, 1778), pp. 3-7.

Sir George Baker, who had experience in a hospital for the insane sees no signs of convalescence in George but asserts that the greater number of cases do recover.[33]

Rev. Dr. Francis Wilks, clergyman turned doctor, and for 28 years with about thirty patients a year, says that about nine out of ten such patients recover and feels that the cause is

> ... from a particular detail of his mode and manner of life for twenty-seven years...that weighty business, severe exercise, and too great abstemiousness and little rest, has been too much for his constitution.[34]

Dr. Thomas Gisborne, much more limited in experience than the rest, offered nothing new.[35] Dr. Anthony Addington, who had run an asylum in 1754, finds in His Majesty's habits good harbingers for recovery.[36] Sir Lucas Pepys already sees signs of convalescence.[37] The final physician, Henry Rivel Reynolds added nothing new.

The same physicians gave substantially the same testimony before the Committee appointed by the House of Lords. Later they were summoned and examined again.

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[33] Ibid., pp. 6-8.

[34] Ibid., pp. 8-9.

[35] Ibid., p. 10.

[36] Ibid., p. 11.

[37] Ibid., p. 14.

At the same time suggestions were not wanting from other sources. A dutiful subject assigns the cause to George III's having adopted exercise and temperance as "preservatives of good health" and recommends, after explaining his treatments, warm-bath of sea or salt-water, one in 24 hours, coffee on waking, hot and strong, to alternate with beef or mutton soup, and, if there is appetite, "fresh solid meat," warm white wine accompanying it.[38]

Whatever else emerges, it is undeniable that George's insanity played an important part in his own and England's life. Guttmacher describes manic-depression as the result of frustrations. Ample enough evidence exists that the country, the family and the very person over whom George III resided was rich enough in these. With his background in the family and the events of daily life George III could hardly escape the end to which he came.

Guttmacher concludes that his belief in the kingship as all-powerful caused him to be unbalanced when he could not act. Such frustration resulted both from forces

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[38] A Dutiful Subject, An Attempt to Ascertain the Causes of the K___G's Present Illness: with a new method of treating it, applicable to all who suffer in like manner, Nov. 1788, London, sold by J. Robson, New Bond Street, pp. 1, 9-10. (Philip Withers). Bound in the same volume is a less sympathetic History of the Royal Malady with a variety of entertaining anecdotes.

outside him and a feeling of inner inadequacy. His psychoses would result from failing to live up to his earlier training in kingship which groomed him to be decisiveness, energetic, unbending.

George was the victim of theory unfitted to a practical and too-rapidly changing world.

It might be thought that George III - the insane George would have been a ready prey for the politicians. such was not the case. In reality his illnesses won him popular sympathy at home. The very politicians who might have sought to capitalize on it found the King rising in the popular favor. His recovery occasioned great rejoicing by the people and the King whose "unbendingness" would have won him so little favor, because of his weakness, rather than strength, rose to the proportions of a popular hero. His success with American historians, as we have seen, has not been as great.

Undoubtedly, however, his illness influenced England and the world. George was influenced by it in his decisions. The doggedness with which he clung to the unpopular Wilke, his unrelenting disaffection for Pitt, his inability to assess the Revolutionist except in terms of rebellious children, these are after all manifestations. The purpose here is not to decide whether the course of history would have been different if George III had been. A different

person might have been more sanely insane. Rather the purpose seems to have been well-served: that the writing and appreciation of the history about and in which George III appears should be tempered with the fact that he was not completely sane. History is not the creation of a man, but those who appear in it must be treated as they are.

All that we have accepted in this evaluation of the illness of George as seen by historians in recent years is the challenge of the Sewanee Review:

> No blazoned banner we unfold -
> One charge alone we give to youth,
> Against the sceptered myth to hold
> The golden heresy of truth.
> AE[39]

Or to follow the thinking of another historian who is indebted to Dickens, "Lies is lies. Howsoever they come, they don't ought to come, and they come from the father of lies, and work round to the same."[40]

Treating of the illness of George III has revealed for the curious and interesting facet of the man's

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[39] Sewanee Review, Vol. XLII, No. 3, July-Sept., 1939, p. n. g.

[40] Albert Bushnell Hart, American Historical Liars, (Harper's Monthly Mag., Vol. 131, Oct. 1915), p. 735.

personality and the difficulty under which he labored. In regard to the fuller historical problem under study here, there is a definite parallel between the treatment of George III as Patriot King and the treatment of his illness. In the former instance George was saluted with a title to which he had no claim, except the slightest. It served for our purposes to precise the manner in which he has been misrepresented in history and how the writing of the history of the American Revolution subsequently suffered. The first instance represents a historical sin of commission. In regard to the illness of George the sin is one of omission. The American historian, who found for purposes of inspiring patriotism that George III filled the role of bete noire in the American Revolution so admirably, has been steadfastly reluctant to introduce at any length any sympathetic treatment of his mental condition, since this would create an empathy for George that would jeopardize the characterization that they have given him in their history.

These two sins of historical commission and omission forecast the general conclusion of our work. The treatment of George has not been comprehensive. Guttmacher, for example, has shown us George's mental condition. The testimony of the doctors appointed to look into the royal illness indicates that his sickness was grave enough by eighteenth century standards to require their attendance.

Yet the general American historians have not included this knowledge which modifies drastically all of the traditional hypotheses concerning George III.

Guedalla treats with some pathos the events of George's birth and death.[41] Plumb, from the English viewpoint, depicts the background of the age of George, but, it is abundantly evident, that "many an American schoolboy does not know" too much about his illness.[42] Richards has recorded his obstinacy, his narrow-mindedness and lack of ability, independent of that the fact George "suffered recurring attacks of mental illness." The historian who opined that George could have learned much from Penn, feels that "deservedly" George III lost "both his dominion and his dignity" and "in the end even his wits."[43] Louis Kronenberger is the most scathing. He makes reference to George's consort as the "crocodile-mouthed Charlotte."[44] While this is not an allusion to George's illness, it is a symptom of the illness of much of the history that speaks of him. Generally speaking accounts of George's marital and family life indicate that it was, on his part, neither satisfying nor stabilizing, but that George is deserving of

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[41] Above, p. 120.

[42] Above, p. 126.

[43] Above, p. 129.

[44] Above, p. 132.

no reproach whatever in this regard. Kronenberger cheapens the domain of history by introducing into the appreciation either of George or the history of the period the shape of Consort Charlotte's mouth, and the comment that follows that she was as much as "he [George] deserved."

Kronenberger does at least mention the illness, despite his harassing of George III. Bruce Lancaster begins by saying that George was trying to turn England, the "last hope of liberalism" into a one-party state. Writing as late as 1955 he finds no need to qualify his remarks, either on the significance of the "one party" or "no party" government that George wanted, or to qualify his remarks with any mention of the monarch's illness.[45] Even Charles Andrews, refers to the full range of George's activities in the history of the American Revolution, and to George's continued obstinacy in the pursuit of the war after 1778, without mentioning the background of mental illness that began as early as 1765. A President of the American Historical Association might be expected to be better informed.[46] John Dos Passos sees the illness as a result, rather than a cause of George's difficulties at home and abroad. Dr. Guttmacher has certainly indicated what an

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[45] Above, p. 132.

[46] Above, pp. 133-136.

important area, not of medicine, but history, these historians are neglecting. Their negligence is the measure of the weakness of the writing of the history of the American Revolution.

The twofold sin of historical commission and omission in regard to George as Patriot King and his illness, signifies, in the latter case, that post-war American historians have not fulfilled the promise that the trend toward a more scientific history that the previous chapter forecast. The default of the historians has not gone unnoticed.

In 1899 the American Historical Association appointed a committee to study the writing of American history and related social studies in the schools. Recording the results of that Committee, Krey found that "it has been responsible for improvements all of which have followed the ground plan laid down," but, there was still an outstanding problem:

> ...to determine whether these foundations can still be used or whether new foundations must be dug to support a structure adequate for the needs of the next generation.[47]

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[47] A. C. Krey, Thirty Years After the Committee of Seven, (The Historical Outlook, Vol. XX, No. 2, Historical Outlook, Philadelphia, Pa., Feb., 1929), pp. 64-67, p. 64.

This survey further found that the schools of thirty years ago generally were terminal on the elementary level, whereas by 1929 high school and college preparatory had become normal. The high schools no longer dealt with a select few, but with the many. The purpose must be, to give an instruction that would equip for membership in society, and to increase the proficiency of the student for college.

Another survey, terminated in 1934, includes the historians of the period of which this chapter treats. These historians were supposedly trying to overcome the moralizing tendencies of those historians that had written previously. The interest in the revolutionary and colonial period gave way to an analysis of the currents in the history of the nation, rather than their destination. This in part would account for the failure to correct previous error or to follow the mandates of the earlier schools.[48]

The period from 1884 to 1915 reflects the influence of the German Universities and the great concern with scholarship. They deplored the preoccupation of earlier writers with public affairs and found their writings

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[48] Theodore Smith, The Writing of American History in America from 1884-1934, (American Historical Review, Vol. XL, 1935), pp. 439-440.

"lacking in comprehension of the actual forces that controlled events." Again, the writer of this survey agrees with the previous one just mentioned in saying that the writers of the period found fault with the tendency to moralize of their predecessors, and felt that this had led previous historians to an unbecoming impartiality. Smith acknowledges that the writers of the post 1884 period frequently had gone to the other extreme to point out the flaws in the figures of history whom their predecessors favored. His synopsis of these efforts is,

> They are dominated, from the monograph to the many-volumed work, by one clear-cut ideal--that presented to the world first in Germany and later accepted everywhere, the ideal of the efford for objective truth.[49]

But the objective element that has been noted is here readily allowed,

> ...Men might differ in their conclusions, but only where the evidence itself permitted alternative hypotheses, and in such cases the effort to approach probability had to be conducted in the open, as it were, and on the basis of actual material. This was the intellectual assumption underlying the whole mass of professional historical writing.[50]

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[49] Ibid., p. 445. [50] Ibid., p. 446.

There is no need to pursue further the remarks that we have made in this regard. Intellectual assumptions do not remove all subjectivity. However, with such high ideals, what accounts for the failure of the penchant for fact and objectivity to spread is the final question that should be posed herein. What will explain why the pre-war history with its prejudices and distortions to continue in the post war period after the rapproachment between the United States and England.

The remarks of Kronenberger and Dos Passos are still fresh in our minds. Smith's remarks could apply to them:

> Certain tendencies have come into view that directly challenge the intellectual assumption...Sundry, conspicuous ones, that deliberately cast aside, for one reason or another, the whole ideal of impersonality and impartiality.[51]

For Smith, one of the reasons why there has been no re-writing of history along the more scientific lines suggested by a survey of history, is the growth of non-professional history; another reason is a type of "historical writing which discards impartiality as incompatable with a specific theory of human activity."[52] Properly, these are the matter

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[51] Ibid., p. 446. [52] Ibid., p. 447.

of our conclusion. But the conclusion raises itself here, for here it is indicated what did not happen to the writing of American history after the First World War. The why remains to be suggested.

Despite the closer relations between the United States and England and the efforts of the British and Americans, the writers of the history of the American Revolution continued to pursue their art along the channels which had been dredged in the pre-war period. That the attitude was professional is admitted. Its mistakes could have been corrected because they were the product of an era, and that era too close to the emotional stress of the events which it appraised, and thus the influence on the writers of its history. The passage of time could and should have made possible a sober re-appraisal. But elements foreign to the discipline of history entered.

Were these elements foreign to history, pre-occupations with the experimental sciences, the cause of a re-evaluation of the previous history of the American Revolution? Apparently not. Unless they infringed upon the history of the revolution in terms of the "functional" rather than the "factual" approach to history, they were discarded. George III's illness, George III as Patriot King would undoubtedly be continued to be written about in the traditional manner. 1915-1950 historians were about

other business. Those "popularizers" who write on history (not write history) would remain content to use the raw material that they found and simply make it more palatable and more colorful. "History"? It is questionable. The writing of history took another turn and the perennial problem of the historian of the American scene would not profit from it. At least the thesis of a previous historian could be taken into account and his results read in that light. The neglect here has not been "salutary", because it is seldom deliberate, since the writer is often not an historian at all, but some one who writes history because it will do yeoman's service for his theory and his pocketbook (literary and financial) or his professional philosophy.

Smith concludes his review:

> No one can deny the skill and plausibility with which this these interpretations are supported, but no one can fail to see that the formula eliminates the possibility of more than one interpretation and excludes anything like impartiality.[53]

In the pre-World War I period, it was the textbook that "disseminated" and "popularized", e. g., Gordey. It contained extremes and a series of views without

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[53] Ibid., p. 448.

qualification. When the bulk of "history" becomes the work of those who are not historians, the textbook will become the depository of less than hypotheses and the historical legends will become fictions and figments.

The goal nears achievement. The turning point of the First World War and the rapprochement between the United States and Britain is not the source to which we must look for the rewriting of history. It is not new historical canons that must be looked for as the major influence in the post-World War I history, but the discarding of those canons has become the critèria. Non-professionality becomes an influence stronger, in general reader and student circles, than professionality. It is unfortunate for the strict artist of history. It is unfortunate for strict history.

Are there other influences, alongside of this non-professionality, historically speaking, and the pre-occupation with other fields non-historical in the writing of history? The final pages turn to these other influences to examine their influence if any.

CHAPTER VI SUMMARY

Chapter V indicated that the improved American British relations did not cause a rewriting in the United States of the history of the American Revolution. It did not introduce evidence concerning the illness of George III which would have made the history concerning him more valid. No re-assessment was made in other areas. This chapter offers an explanation for that and further evidences of the conscious motives that obstructed the work of the American historian in the years since the First World War. The patriotic thesis, the continued subservience of history to other branches, functional rather than factual history, figure among these.

CHAPTER VI

OTHER INFLUENCES ON THE WRITING OF HISTORY SINCE WORLD WAR I

Having come full circle in our examination of George III as an index to the writing of American Revolutionary history, 1919-1950, it is well to return to the state of relations between the United States and England when World War I began. Our original commentator supplies this further evidence. American entry

> ...did not mean that the American people wanted to get into the fight. Nor did it mean that they now loved Great Britain. Although the great majority of those who took sides favored the Allies, this feeling was probably more anti-German than pro-British.[1]

Bailey further relates that much has been written about the fact that British propaganda seduced the United States into war. "There can be no doubt that there was much Allied propaganda; but there is considerable doubt as to its effect." The main instruments of this propaganda was the censorship of all cables in the United States which achieved the effect of making Americans see the war largely through Allied eyes. The second means was a well-developed propaganda organization, vastly more effective than the German,

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[1] Bailey, Diplomatic History of the American People, p. 613.

because,

> Understanding Anglo-Saxon psychology better than the Germans, and enjoying the advantage of a common language, the British were quiet, discreet, and effective. Their great success was to enlist a number of influential Americans--preachers, teachers, politicians, and journalists--to espouse the Allied cause.[2]

These propagandists were all in a perishable realm. They caused no long term re-evaluating of history. The basic relationship between the two nations, the United States and Britain, was not over warm and the rapprochement not permanent. World War propaganda, as such, was not an enduring factor that caused a thorough rewriting of American Revolutionary War history.

Writing on the "Suppression of Minority Opinion in Times of Crisis in America" Ray H. Abrams[3] describes the extent of the suppression of all opinion contrary to the allied cause and the positive pattern that was pursued to insure full support of the American war effort. "Pulpits again became recruiting stations and among the best means of spreading propaganda for the winning of the war..."[4]

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[2] Ibid., pp. 613-614.

[3] (The Crozer Quarterly, Published by the Faculty of Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pa., Vol. Fifteen, 1938), pp. 124-142.

[4] Ibid., p. 137.

> There was scarcely a patriotic activity, from recruiting to working in shipyards, that the ministers of the gospel and rabbis did not conceive as part of their contribution toward the winning of the fight against the powers of darkness.[5]

He continues,

> We might also bear in mind that college professors, particularly the historians, were most active in helping to prosecute the war. Our most eminent scholars and members of the higher learning built up a historical frame of reference into which the Germans were very neatly and appropriately placed as the enemy of true civilization and culture.[6]

The President of the American Historical Association wrote a book on Germany versus Civilization, his purpose being to "prevent the total pollution of our people" (by Prussian moral sewers).[7]

> ...this historian is quite typical of dozens of others everyone recognizes who has followed the subject of the record of the higher learning during the war. The historians, as a group, lost their objectivity and promoted research to prove that Germany was the archfiend of all time.[8]

Yet it must be stressed that again the attitude was anti-German rather than pro-British and there was no corresponding rewriting of the history of the American Revolution

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[5] Ibid., p. 137.

[6] Ibid., pp. 139-140.

[7] Ibid., p. 140.

[8] Ibid., p. 140.

in a friendlier climate.

Another commentator insists that psychoanalytic biography and interpretations of history resulting from mating it to other sciences, e. g. economics, geography, or psychology are two influences that have influenced the historian since the first world war.[9] While he considers the latter valid in some instances, in too many cases it has been sterile because it is "merely the transferences of the peculiar vocabulary, methods, and viewpoints of one science into another field in which they have no validity at all."[10] The former type of history lacks value, because there is seldom enough fact to call forth an historical personality and psychoanalyze him according to the principles suggested by Sigmund Freud.[11] And Walton appends that the value of these approaches has been lost because,

> It is obvious that the types of writing discussed thus far have been too much influenced by popular and so inevitably unscientific demands.[12]

This approach to writing history has been popular. The vogue of the Beard Economic thesis on the American

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[9] Walton E. Bean, Ideas, Emotions, and History, (Sewanee Review, Vol. XLVII), pp. 9-10.

[10] Ibid., p. 9.

[11] Ibid., p. 11.

[12] Ibid., p. 11.

Constitution was the object of a University of Buffalo Monograph in History and a recent book. The twofold conclusion,

> Thus by 1935, in spite of all the adverse criticism, An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution had made its greatest impact at the top rung of the educational ladder, where critical evaluation of texts was theoretically at its best.[13]

This despite the fact that Beard only offered his thesis as an interpretation and not the interpretation of the American Constitution.[14]

Two reviewers, Carl Russell Fish and Harry J. Carman, emphasize another influence which, though negative, becomes more and more pressing as time continues: the vastness of the field of American history. Professor Carman[15] points out that since 1900 American historians have been laboring to produce synthetic histories that will do more than simply emphasize the political-national aspects of American history, but the task is an elusive one. Fish describes the approach that has been adopted of dividing the work among

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[13] Charles Beard and the Constitution by Robert E. Brown, p. 9.

[14] Charles A. Beard, An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution, 1913. See preface to revised edition, 1935.

[15] History-- Old Style and New, (The Historical Outlook, Jan., 1927, Vol. XVIII, No. 1), pp. 22-25.

collaborators as in the American Nation.[16] The very nature of writing cooperative history, which has become so fashionable creates problems in revision. Collaborators do not work one alongside of the other and do not always know each other well. Divergent views and thesis go into the complete work. Specializing in one or another phase of history, they are concerned with presenting just that area and are not overly concerned with the entire work. This is left to the publisher, who is not an historian, or the general editor, who may not be an authority on the given subject. He would be inclined to "blue pencil" an idea or interpretation that seems too novel, however accurate or whatever new research it might represent. Such material in his view is alright for learned journals, but to maintain the over-all agreement of the various collaborators traditional points of view would take precedence over the latest and most learned historical discoveries. They serve as a common denominator even when the intention is obviously not to suppress truth but to keep harmony in the family of collaborators and produce, under difficult circumstances, a volume that is fairly uniform throughout, but historically it is without startling

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[16] Carl Russell Fish, Edward Channing: America's Historian, Current History, (New York Times, Vol. XXXIII, March, 1931), pp. 862-867, p. 863.

revision. It is the lowest common denominator.

In the same period influences outside of the schools of history have been at work. Ultimately, the work of the historian is destined to be the raw material of education, the textbook. For this reason, school teachers, politicians, parents have always exercised considerable influence on the writing of history. In 1920 New York City was the scene of an attack on the textbooks being used in the teaching of history.[17]

Reporting on the General Principles and Specific Aims that went into teaching the Committee appointed to investigate the textbooks stated

> ...the parent must be assured beyond all question that the facts taught and the sentiments expressed in the schools are in full accord with the aims and ideals of the public school system.[18]

The Committee borrows an expression of this ideal from the Commissioner of the State of New York who had described what was expected of the school system and the teacher. "The Schools of America should be an expression of America's ideals, of her democratic institutions and of her

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[17] Report on History Textbooks used in the Public Schools of New York City, (Historical Outlook, Vol. XII, Jan.-Dec., 1921), pp. 250-255, Historical Outlook, Philadelphia, Pa.

[18] Ibid., p. 250.

philosophy of life and representative government."

> There has never been a time in the history of the country when the public schools should be engaged more persistently, scientifically, and patriotically in teaching the fundamental principles of America's philosophy of life and government than at the present time. A person who does not, without reservation utilize all his intellectual powers and exert all his influence as a teacher in the public schools to make such schools and effective and efficient agency in the accomplishment of this great function of a school system is not a suitable person to be charged with the duties of the sacred office of teacher.[19]

The members of the Committee then transfer the Commissioner's definition and requirements of the teacher to the textbook.

> The textbook is a teacher. It must be judged by the standards applicable to the teacher. A textbook which fails to give unquestioning support to the aims and ideals of our public school system has no place in the public school.

And further,

> The formulation of aims and standards by the Commissioner of Education denies, by necessary implication, that the writer of a textbook for use in the public schools has absolute freedom in the selection or in the interpretation of historical material. Predetermined aims and standards predetermine selection and interpretation.

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[19] Ibid., p. 251.

> The textbook must contain no statement in derogation or in disparagement of the achievements of American heroes. It must not question the sincerity of the aims and purposes of the founders of the Republic or of those who have guided its destinies.[20]

Under its specific aims, the committee outlines certain basic requirements of the text, e.g. 2. To emphasize the principles and motives that were of greatest influence in the formation and development of our government. 3. To establish ideals of patriotic and civic duty. 6. To present the ethical and moral principles exemplified in the lives of patriotic leaders. 9. To bring the light of reason and experience to bear on radical or alien theories of economic and political systems. In discussing their general principles and specific aims, the committee specifies that no material is to be in a textbook "unless it is essential and of the highest educational value."[21]

Section B in the same discussion is noteworthy:

> Strictly speaking the textbook writer is not a historian. The historian writes for the open market. He has the privilege of selecting and organizing his material in accordance with his own views. He may be an impartial writer and he may be a partisan. The textbook writer has not this freedom. He is subject to the limitations imposed upon the teacher.[22]

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[20] Ibid., p. 251.

[21] Ibid., p. 251.

[22] Ibid., p. 251.

Further, in stating its policy concerning the treating of national heroes and others, the Committee states boldly,

> In order to avoid any misapprehension we desire to state at this point that even if the derogatory statement which an author might want to include in his work is true, it should not be made unless essential and of high educational value.[23]

A special section is devoted to the teaching of history of the Revolutionary War. These are some of the stipulations:

> ...there should be but one aim: to impress upon the pupils the sublime spectacle of thirteen weak colonies spread along fifteen hundred miles of sea coast poorly equipped and poorly disciplined giving battle to the strongest military and naval power in the world...
>
> In telling this story what matters whether the Revolutionary War was really a war of secession? What matters whether King George III or his ministers were mainly responsible for the war? So far as a pupil in the elementary grades is concerned these are academic questions. What the pupil needs to know is this: The Colonists believed themselves to be oppressed, and so believing, they stood ready to sacrifice all in the cause of freedom. The pupil must be taught that if liberty is to continue 'to dwell in our midst,' he must be prepared, should occasion arise, to make similar sacrifices.

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[23] Ibid., p. 252.

> ...There is so much glory for us in the Revolutionary War that there should be no desire to harbor the memory of mistakes.
>
> Everything essential is accomplished when it is made plain to the pupils: that the Colonists had just grievances; that they rebelled because they could obtain no redress; that they were inspired by a fierce love of liberty; that they counted neither the cost nor the odds against them; that the dominating spirit of the Revolution is found in the words of Nathan Hale: 'I regret that I have but one life to lose for my country.'[24]

In Section F., "Our Heroes", the Committee took up the objection to derogatory remarks being made about heroes of the nation, even though true. Their observation, "Truth is no defense to the charge of impropriety. The Aristotelian sense of justice" which would spread upon the pages of a textbook the weaknesses of our heroes to assure itself that our children will not entertain for them a gratitude too deep or a veneration too exalted is a sentiment which may find a place and an audience somewhere. That place must not be the public school; that audience must not be the children in attendance.

> ...To preserve unsullied the name and fame of those who have battled that we might enjoy the blessings of liberty, is a solemn and sacred obligation. Hero worship may have its faults. In comparison with the vice of ingratitude they are negligible.[25]

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[24] Ibid., pp. 252-253. [25] Ibid., p. 253.

In regard to propaganda and the work that had been undertaken of removing from textbooks"obvious untruths or distorted truths concerning England's relations with this country, notably during the Revolutionary War" to improve international relations, the Committee put itself with the American Legion Weekly of October 7, 1921 which took the attitude that this was a good work providing that the result was not to make it appear that the American Revolution was not justifiable from the Colonial point of view.[26] Further controversial subjects are to be avoided and patriotism instilled.

The New York Committee met with resistance. Walter Hart Blumenthal argued against keeping pure the minds of children "by disillusion."

> The unmanipulated facts, it is assumed, might weaken the jingo spirit which feeds the nationalist faith. The idols must not be toppled; the legends must not be annihilated; the flag must not be desecrated; the holy ghost of patriotism must not be besmirched.

Blumenthal calls to his witness, the address of Stanley Baldwin, the prime minister of England before the Anglo-American Conference of Historians in London in July, 1926. The Prime Minister had protested that much harm had been

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[26] Ibid., p. 254.

done by this chauvinistic teaching of history to "immature minds", as for example, the continuance of the teaching of Britain as the villain in the Revolution which says Baldwin "still is inculcated with secular persistence, and the first heroes of history are indubitably held to be those who eneacted the Boston Tea Party."

Further the Prime Minister pleaded that

> ...the distortions of school histories, if less acute than those of a generation ago, still incite patriotism through prevarication. Is not propaganda among our youngsters rather contemptible? How can the intellectual drugging of future citizens make the children of democracy fitter to exercise the later prerogative of their judgment in self-government? The halo school of history may conduce to exalted fervors, but if we chronicle the past to record rather than to extenuate or to glorify, in the name of historical science why can there not be an end of star-spangled legends and tinsel nimbuses?[27]

"Baseless Slanders on Great Men" by Albert Bushnell Hart appears in the same article as a reply to Blumenthal. His argument is that there is no need to dig up dirt simply to debunk historical characters.[28] The reply is a weak one.

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[27]Current History, Vol. XXV, No. 3. March 1927, Should American History be Hero-Worship? Two Views of Whether Patriotism Should Excuse Myths and Errors; I. A Plea for the Unvarnished Truth by Walter Hart Blumenthal, p. 792.

[28] Current History, March 1927, pp. 798-802.

The question is not whether certain obscure facts can be dug up, but the fact that the New York Committee very definitely imposed an historical thesis on textbooks that must be followed. This thesis was to have far-reaching effect not only on the rewriting of the history of the American Revolution in textbooks but in the entire range of historical literature of the period.

New York City was not the only place where the textbook was embattled in the period between the two wars. In Chicago, textbooks, historians and others came under the salvos of Mayor Thompson. In 1927 he writes,

> Treason-tainted school textbooks were a big issue in the Chicago mayoral campaign last Spring. I exposed in speeches and campaign literature the vicious pro British, un-American propaganda in the school histories which were in the Chicago public schools with the approval of Superintendent William McAndrew, who had been imported from New York by the Dever Administration through the influences exerted by Professor Charles E. Merriam of the University of Chicago, and members of the English-Speaking Union.[29]

Arthur Meier Schlesinger's New Viewpoints in American History, is first of all condemned by the Mayor because it had been used in a course conducted by the University of Chicago

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[29] Current History, Vol. XXVII, Feb. 1928, Shall We Shatter the Nation's Idols in School Histories by William Hale Thompson, pp. 619-625, p. 619.

for school teachers. It was "being taught to our school teachers to be taught by them in turn to the 550,000 school children of Chicago." In it the mayor finds a defamation of the nation's heroes.

Taking up arms with the "Citizens' Committee for the Investigation of History Textbooks," Mayor Thompson charged,

> The truth of my charges that American school histories have been falsified and denatured, through pro-British influences, to the end that our children may be denationalized and fitted for Anglo-American union, has been shown with startling clearness in text books submitted in evidence.[30]

McLaughlin, Van Tyne, Muzzey, Hart, Ward and other writers are cited as producers of "pernicious teachings" and, in general, the Thompson thesis is that they are teaching that "George Washington is a traitor." What emerges from this and the New York School instance is that the closer relations of the United States to England at the time of the first world war rather than aiding in the rewriting of the history of the American Revolution, rather caused it not to be rewritten. The climate was too friendly in the eyes of the New York Committee and the Mayor of Chicago.

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[30] Ibid., p. 621.

The digression into the textbook is portentious. The textbook is a lucrative field for the writer of history. When the schoolboard imposes on the textbook writer the canons that the New York Committee drew up, the historian who writes is free not to write textbooks. Yet, even in the writing of other history, he must be careful. Should he wish to write a textbook at a later date, he will find that his works for other markets will be examined. The ideas that he advanced in these will be used to measure him as fitted or unfit to be a writer of textbooks. And so the action of the schoolboard and the intervention of the politicians, as in Chicago, serves to suppress the introduction of new ideas into written history. The general, well-accepted explanation is the safest.

It is undeniable that during the same period, 1915-1950, the historical journals have been filled with articles, re-evaluating and rewriting history, but this has not come to the general public and is not part of the fund of knowledge of the student of the American Revolution who has read textbooks or been to school. The historian feels at ease writing in his own journals, because theory can be advanced here without jeopardizing future earnings or opportunities on the textbook market. But when he writes for publication in the general literature market, he must prescind from those facts that he knows need correcting.

His history is limited to promoting a "patriotic thesis".

Considering the fact that the New York School system is so large, and Chicago, another large city, the action of these two alone would have a great effect on publishers. Publishing firms cannot afford to antagonize such good customers. They must comply with the wishes of their customers and so they too will impose on their writers the formulae which have been pronounced.

Even a writer not publishing for the textbook market may suffer from these formulae. The publisher will hesitate to have on his lists writers who have won the ire of the schoolboard or political party because the firm becomes suspect and this cuts off a potential market. So insidious is the relationship between what is to be taught in the classroom and how it can delimit the entire field of history, not only in the textbook, but in the general field, up to the one remaining bastion of the historian-- his learned journal, which unfortunately, is usually written by historians to be read by historians and does not become the property of the general reader.

Who then writes the textbook and exercises the influence? It is the person or persons who are acceptable to the schoolboard and who will teach in their texts that history that the school wants. Floyd T. Goodier, in a paper read at a Social Science Conference in Chicago,

November, 1926, discussed "The Rugg Plan of Teaching History." His first comment is significant,

> Dr. Rugg agrees with Superintendent McAndrew of Chicago in placing chief emphasis upon the public school system as the agency of the state organized to guarantee and safeguard our democratic form of government.

History will be used in the Rugg system to promote citizenship and "preparing the rank and file for the intelligent operation of democratic government."

In cooperation with a group of teachers from Columbia Teachers' College, Rugg drew up eight tenets which formed the foundation of his plan for teaching the social sciences and within these history served a functional approach to present background for the examination of current problems. History is being used, rather than written. This is the unfortunate result.

The major influences on the writing of history in the post-war period have been non-historical: the result is that the rewriting of the history of the Revolution that had been prepared and promised by historians did not take place and still remains a necessity.

Extensive work has been done in history during recent years. The work has been one of accumulation rather than integration into the existing body of history, however. New sources have been added, new collections have been

discovered and these have been picked over by non-historians to support existing and traditional hypotheses rather than to rewrite and re-evaluate. The growth of history has been quantitative rather than qualitative in the domain of the American Revolution. The addition of significant facts and letters, primary sources, can be misleading. It may well be that we know more about the Revolution, but the approach to all of the portrayals in it has been standardized. New material is added rather than used as an instrument to re-interpret and redefine. One can easily be misled and measure the growth of history from a quantitative point of view. Since it is an art, considered in the light of the definitions that we have followed, it is the qualitative that is our index to the growth of history, in the realm of the American Revolution or any other sphere.

To offer an example of the misconception: Robert Carlton Clark penned during the period under discussion an essay: "Why History Needs to be rewritten."[31] In it he finds history under constant revision. He finds that the former authorities like Bancroft are no longer reliable

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[31] The Oregon Historical Quarterly, Dec. 1932, Vol. XXXIII, No. 4, pp. 295-310, Leslie M. Scott, Edit., (Statesman Publishing Co., Salem, Oregon).

"as to fact and much less dependable for interpretation."[32] He measures the extent of revision that has been done by the bibliographies all of which had been rewritten and revamped since 1880 and replaced by more "scholarly and authoritative works." In 1932, Clark's impression was:

> It is not too much to say that the history of the United States both for short periods and in general has been completely rewritten during the past 30 years and that the histories written within that period must be consulted for accurate information and trustworthy interpretation.[33]

Clark adopts a conclusion directly opposed to that at which we have arrived. But what does he mean by "rewritten"?

Volume of production is a factor that indicates this for him. 1880 saw only 70 histories a year published in the United States. 1890 saw an increase to 150; 1900, 250 and 1910 600 volumes. "During the past 30 years no less than 18,000 books with history titles have been printed in this country."[34] Clarke is measuring by a quantitative measure. What difference does it make how many more books are published if the basic interpretations remain constant? He finds that the growth of departments of history in universities has produced new history and exploration into fields formerly

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[32] Ibid., p. 295. [33] Ibid., p. 296.

[34] Ibid., p. 296.

untouched. This has been a source of the greatest growth in the production of history and is the one that interests Clark most. He apparently just presumes, from the question of volumes and new accumulation of fact that rewriting has taken place. Whatever the sincerity of his motives, the present study brings us to a far different conclusion. The newer fields have produced a great amount of literature and because of their freedom from the chronological staples of the patriotic thesis, they will doubtless continue to advance. Nonetheless, as regards the Revolution, the use of new material is factual, because the strictures of interpretation are so rigid to satisfy the demands of patriotism, citizenship, hero-worship. And, in this real at least, history is almost completely functional.

CONCLUSION

At the beginning of the present work we addressed ourselves to George III, King of England at the time of the American Revolution, to see how his role in the American Revolution had been seen in the writings of American history between 1920-1950.

We can now answer directly specific questions that were the thesis problem: Has the rapprochement between the United States and Great Britain since the First World War been responsible for a re-assessment of the history of the American Revolution and George III's part in it? If so has this re-assessment followed a sounder historiography than that formerly employed in the writing of the American Revolution, or, is it represented simply by a rewriting of the revolutionary history in terms of a friendlier climate between the two countries?

In presuming a rapprochement we discovered through the treatment of George III as Patriot King and also through an analysis of American-British relations prior to World War I[1] that the alignment was military and utilitarian and represented no genuine attempt to put aside former grievances. A temporary rewriting for the immediate moment of the war was followed by a re-assessment that only

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[1] Chapters II and VI.

enforced older bitterness and distortion.[2] The closer alignment between England and America resulted in just the opposite attitude of what would have been presumed.

The picture of George III does not change and the picture of the Revolution remains stable because George is a fixed entity in the patriotic thesis. Hero-worship would suffer from the introduction of material that added to the stature of George III or increased sympathy for him, e.g. his illness.[3]

This does not indicate that in the field of pure history and historiography nothing was done.[4] Our survey of the problems and solutions of perennial in history indicates that the historian has not been idle. While he has not succeeded in his attempt to write a purely scientific history, generally speaking, his history is not less accurate than his predecessors. Within the body of historians themselves, resistance has been shown to the attempts of other fields to subordinate history to their ends. Yet, our comments have been on general historical knowledge, and not the history by and for historians and their journals. Unfortunately, for non-historical reasons, the results of

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[2] Chapter VI.

[3] Chapter V.

[4] Chapter IV.

this historical labor, in the area of the American Revolution, has been barred from the widest market, the textbook. No historian holds any brief for the debunker of national heroes, when his only purpose is to debunk, but the other extreme, which prevails, is dangerous to the complete history and stagnating to the writers of history.

So, while a sounder historiography has been developed, that historiography, when applied to the American Revolution, by writers in America, has been confined to their own journals and is not generally popular knowledge. The re-assessment of the history in favor of the patriotic thesis has made this impossible for the present time. The history of the pre-war period has been continued. The moralizing of Bancroft becomes the standard of the 1915-1950 period. Facts are added, editorializing of an obvious nature removed, but the resulting history bears the familiar distortion. The bulk of history increasing but not its quality. The artisan not the artist reigns.

The motivation on the writing of American Revolutionary history and its form has come from sources outside the discipline. These outside influences have not served the cause of history and historical interpretation, but have made history and its writers, handmaidens of other schools and their research. As in the realm of hero-worship and patriotism, so in that of the social and physical

sciences, history has been made to serve a functional approach and not to deepen appreciation of the factual, which is properly its domain.

The following thought seems to haunt and mock the end point of our journey through the history books of our forefathers and contemporaries:

> One drawback to honest, non-partisan history, if it is a drawback, is that it is seldom popular history. Lord Acton said that the impartial historian can have no friends. Exaggerated, misleading, or patently false accounts of personalities and events are cherished because they minister to national or local pride. The attempt to deal with them critically provokes resentment.[5]

At this point it would seem that the cherished myth will triumph over the historical art. But comfort comes from another quarter.

History is not written in a vacuum. American history is part of a broader European history that has been rewritten and revised. American history about the Revolution has been sustained chiefly because the Whig interpretation, in England, fostered the same anti-George III, pro-colonial

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[5] Joseph Donat, The Freedom of Science, New York, 1914, p. 93, in A Guide to Historical Method, by Gilbert Garraghan, SJ, (Fordham U. Press, 1946), p. 43.

bias. The defeat of George was a Whig triumph and the writing of the history of the period from the other side of the Atlantic made it possible to present the American story in the light that has been described. But recent interpretations in England that see the American Revolution as part of the broader imperial question, and in the stream of the international social and economic currents have tended to discredit the Whig interpretation. It may be that there will be extremes here, too, but it is hopeful that the end result will be a happier middle course on both sides of the Atlantic.[6]

There should be no pessimism. The spade work has been done by the professional historians and just awaits a more favorable climate for growth. The mounting spirit of international cooperation may provide it. The lethargic condition of patriotism in the body politic may demand it. Admittedly, for some time to come George III will be misrepresented as Patriot King; the bombast of the American Revolution will continue to obscure the broader constitutional crises that were raging in England; the victory over the historical muse which students of the American Revolution have wrested in the past 50 years will go

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[6] Edmund S. Morgan, The American Revolution: Revisions in the Revolution. Need of Revising (Wm. and Mary Quarterly, Jan., 1957, Ser. 3, Vol. XIV, No. 1), pp. 3-15.

unannounced; George's sickness will not come to light, lest it win for him a sympathy that will becloud American heroes. The reasons behind all of this amounts to the fear of those who are not historians. Our country's heroes will fair better at the hands of masters of the heart of history and disciples of truth, than the "debunker" and political regulator. The field of the rewriting of history has been left to the debunker to exploit for money, fame and sensation. When exploration is permitted, undoubtedly those who opposed it, will find that the national heroes and history will be enhanced, for it will be discovered that those who were a party to it were not just privy to an important page in local and national history, but a colorful, and by no means, inglorious page of the world's history.

THE END

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ABSTRACT

Has the rapprochement between the United States and Great Britain since the First World War been responsible for a re-assessment of the history of the American Revolution and George III's part in it? If so, has this re-assessment followed a sounder historiography than that formerly employed in the writing of the American Revolution, or, is it represented simply by a rewriting of revolutionary history in terms of a friendlier climate between the two countries?

The thesis seeks to find any conscious motivation that has prompted writers in the past thirty years to re-assess the history of the American Revolution. The thesis limits itself to their treatment of George III in order that the final evidence can be pinpointed in terms of one person and the influences upon the treatment of this historical person and his actions assessed and applied to the entirety of the writing of the American history of the past thirty years.

The references treated are of two kinds: works in historiography during and before the period covered by the thesis since they supply the point of view of the historical discipline and serve as a point of departure for examining the period 1920-1950, and evidence of any de facto re-assessment. In dealing with the second group of

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references, the writings of actual historians in the pre-war and post-World War I period, they have been treated as primary sources. Viewed ordinarily as secondary sources in regard to the literature of the immediate revolutionary period, they become primary in the context of the present thesis which seeks to establish the attitude of historical writing regarding a particular subject during a designated period, and assign, if possible, the motives for this attitude.

Historical writings indicate that there is need for the re-assessment of the history of the American Revolution.

The method employed has been to examine some aspect of George III to see how accurately it has been treated. Chapter I reveals that the appellation, "Patriot King" applied to George is not fully accurate.

The following Chapter on pre-World War I history presents the reader with the atmosphere in which the history of the American Revolution was written by American historians in the period before the First War. It also describes the relations of America and Britain at the time of the war and indicates that a climate favorable for a more accurate history appeared to be breaking.

Chapter III makes a thorough analysis of the historiography that implemented the writings of Chapter II and other prejudices concerning George and England that

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entered into the writing of the history prior to the First War.

Chapter IV relates the problems and pitfalls of the writers of Chapter III to the perennial problem of the historian. It also introduces the schools that were growing up in historiography in the United States from the turn of the century and what tools were available to the historian of the post-World War I period.

With the measurement of Chapter IV, George III's illness is examined in Chapter V to see what new attention this received in the years since 1920. There was no re-evaluation except in specialized sources. Why had historians neglected this new evidence? The reasons were non-historical, and the increasing role of history as the handmaid of other sciences, its writing by non-professionals and the vogue of popular history that demanded that the traditional interpretations be not disturbed.

In a final chapter, the other influences that prevented the rewriting of American history are described, particularly the patriotic thesis, which had barred the historian from the fruits of his own research on the Revolution.

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