

## Revisiting America's State Papers, 1789–1861: A Clinical Examination and Prognosis

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MORE THAN 39,000 STATE PAPERS, dealing comprehensively and in detail with the whole range of the new American nation's vital, often controversial, and sometimes sensitive matters of domestic and foreign policy, were originally published between 1789 and 1861, seriatim and more or less currently, in the U.S. congressional imprints system, which had been established in the 1st Congress, 1789–91, and which developed and flourished without interruption through the 36th Congress of 1859–61. It is a state-paper system which has persisted up to the present day, uninterrupted and essentially unaltered in purpose, scope, and detail.

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1. *American State Papers: Documents, Legislative and Executive, of the Congress of the United States . . . [1789–1838]*. 38 folio vols., comprising 6,277 numbered documents, arranged in 10 topical sub-series, with alphabetical indexes totalling 1,142 pages. Selected and edited by various U.S. Congressional staff officers, ca. 1831–60 passim, notably James C. Allen, Samuel Burch, Matthew St. Clair Clarke, Asbury Dickens, John W. Forney, Walter S. Franklin, William Hickey, Walter Lowrie, Lewis H. Machen, and John G. McDonald. (Washington, D.C., Gales and Seaton, printers to the Congress, 1833–34, 1859–61; published with Congressional subsidies at \$11.50 per volume.) Republished privately, ca. 1966–71 in five microform editions: (1) Readex Microprint Corporation, micro-opaque ed., \$125, reproduced ca. 1966, from an original set in the New York Public Library; (2) and (3) Microcard Editions, Indian Head Company, microfiche and micro-opaque eds., \$225 each ed., published 1971, reproduced from an original set in the State Historical Society of Wisconsin; (4) Xerox University Microfilms, 35 mm.

In the hindsight idiom of the 1970's, this datum of some 39,000 public policy documents, covering the entire first epoch of America's national history under the Constitution from the end of the Continental Congress to the eve of the Civil War, is a remarkable freedom-of-information performance indeed. The system provided a major, continuing, public disclosure of a myriad of details of executive and legislative operations, subjected to the ongoing scrutiny of an emerging, more-or-less vigilant national press and a more-or-less alert and literate general public. Included in the mass of published details, first trickling and later cascading, were the full texts of presidential messages, executive department reports, Senate and House committee reports, and a kaleidoscope of supporting texts, verbatim hearings and summaries, tabulations, maps, drawings, and other exhibits textual and graphic. This uninterrupted period of some seventy-five years of public exposure for the new national government was a performance that was quite unprecedented in the world's long history of the rise and decline and fall of new nations during the preceding millenia. Yet this official publishing process was based also on a genuine historical tradition, especially the precedent of America's mother country, where state papers were regularly dis-

microfilm ed., \$362.10 (publ. date and source not available); and (5) New York Times Company Arno Press, and Microfilm Corporation of America, 35 mm. microfilm ed., \$200 (publ. date and source not available).

2. *U.S. Congressional Serial Set, 15th to 36th Congresses, 1817-61.* 1,110 octavo, quarto, and folio vols., comprising 34,977 numbered executive and legislative branch reports, documents, and related state papers, with numerous alphabetical and classified indexes totalling an estimated 20,000 pages. (Washington, D.C., 1817-61.) The individual documents, each normally signed, were originally printed mostly as separates, and bound in numerous subseries, by various printers to the Senate and the House of Representatives, varying from Congress to Congress, 1817-61; later, these bound volumes of documents, or "sheep set," were renumbered in serial volume order, vols. 1 to 1,100 incl., according to a new serial classification devised ca. 1892-95 in the U.S. Department of the Interior, principally by John G. Ames, Superintendent of Documents. Republished privately, ca. 1960-63, by Readex Microprint Corporation, in micro-opaque ed., \$3,245, as part of a larger reprint edition which now extends from 1817 to 1913 (i.e., serial vols. 1-6506), available at a total price of \$20,635. The Readex edition was reproduced from an original set in the New York Public Library.

3. *The New American State Papers, Part I, 1789-1860*, 176 folio vols., in 11 "Subject Sets," Thomas C. Cochran, general editor. (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, Inc., 1972-; \$8,115 for all 11 sets.) Subject Set, . . . *Explorations and Surveys*, 15 folio vols., comprising facsimiles of 55 documents, edited by W. Eugene Hollon (1972, \$560 the set); assisted by Graham D. Taylor and George Spann, Research Editors. The other 10 Subject Sets, completed or in production, will total 161 folio vols. (Document totals, not available, evidently will extend to an estimated 645 documents); edited respectively by Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., Loring B. Priest, Thomas C. Cochran, Charles E. Rosenberg, Stephen Salisbury, Harold Hyman, Nathan Reingold, Wayne D. Rasmussen, Sidney Ratner, and Margaret Beattie Bogue. The facsimiles were reproduced from original sets of the *American State Papers* and the *Congressional Serial Set* on file at the University of Delaware.

closed, in increasing abundance and more or less contemporaneously, by means of Britain's official imprints system variously called Sessional Papers, Parliamentary Papers, and Command Papers. The very term "state paper," in the authoritative definition of the mother tongue in the *O.E.D.*, is informative: it was simply, generically, and expansively "an official document in which some matter concerning the government or the nation is published or expounded."

In America's state-paper procedure and policy, as operated experimentally between 1789 and 1861, it was principally the U.S. Congress, rather than the executive branch, which (even as with the British House of Commons) undertook from the very beginning to dominate, direct, and control the government's publishing activities, not only regarding its own jealously guarded legislative proceedings but also embracing most of the executive branch's public documents as well. This control was exercised through its system of Senate and House imprints, with each publication normally subjected to floor resolution, committee action, staff supervision, and financial post-audit, as the system developed and flourished from the 1st to the 36th Congresses, 1789–1861, and continued thereafter. Far from routine, congressional printing was often a lively matter. In short, the U.S. Congress was, in statistical fact, the government's principal publishing agency and control point for probably more than 95 percent of the total bulk of all government imprints during the 1789–1861 epoch. The only sizable exception was the judicial branch's published decisions, opinions, briefs, and related documents, and a small but interesting sprinkling of miscellaneous technical documents of the executive departments. These noncongressional publications were handled quite separately, by private contractors, even as the congressional printing was itself all handled privately, by an ever-changing galaxy of contractors, usually called printers to the House or the Senate, during the nation's first seventy-some years of publishing experience before the establishment of the GPO in 1860–61.

The some 39,000 original congressional imprints which are clearly "state papers" by contemporary standards fall readily into two major groups. (1) For the 1789–1817 period, there are about thirty-nine hundred items, published as unnumbered Senate and House state papers by the 1st through the 14th Congresses; they were all later cataloged in detail by General A. W. Greely, about 1897–1900, along with the reprints found in the *American State Papers* edition, and the extant imprints were subsequently collated meticulously by the Library of Congress in an annotated copy of the published Greely catalog on file in the LC's Rare Book Division. (2) For the

1817–61 period, some 34,977 imprints were published as numbered Senate and House documents and reports, in separate numbered subseries by Congress, Session, House, and type, extending from the 15th through the 36th Congresses. In bound form they comprised 1,110 volumes of what was commonly called the “sheep set” of congressional documents. Years later, in the 1890’s, the volumes were renumbered serial vols. 1 to 1110, of the renamed *Congressional Serial Set*, arranged according to the new Serial-Set numbering system devised about 1892–95 by John G. Ames in the Interior Department; and in 1911 they were itemized definitively by Mary A. Hartwell in the *Checklist of Public Documents*. In addition to these two basic groups of state papers, more than one hundred volumes of miscellaneous documents were published by Congress, between 1828 and 1861, outside the *Serial Set*.

The reprinting of congressional and executive state papers meanwhile became a recurring concern, in and out of the Congress, in the early decades of the nineteenth century, stimulated by the decimation of the often small stocks of publications on hand and by various acts of destruction including fires, theft, and the British devastation of the capital in the War of 1812. The history-conscious Congress maintained a lively interest in a variety of historical editing and reprinting projects, notably presidential papers, diplomatic correspondence of the Revolution and the post-Revolutionary period, and compendia of historical precedents. In 1829–31, Congress launched what was to become the thirty-eight-volume *American State Papers* reprint edition, initially focusing on the 1789–1817 period but eventually covering many of the imprints for 1818–38 as well. In all, 6,277 congressional imprints were reprinted in the *A.S.P.* in several installments appearing in 1833–34 and in 1859–61. The *A.S.P.* was surely the government’s largest and most comprehensive historical documentary project during the nation’s first century.

Reprinting took somewhat different forms in the twentieth century. Since the 1930’s countless specific pre-Civil War state papers have been republished as parts of scholarly editions, complete with scholarly apparatus, focused on particular biographical, geographical, or topical subjects of the 1789–1861 period. More recently, beginning early in the 1960’s, the reprinting of entire series of state papers has become a flourishing enterprise, this time with the excellent technical help of relatively inexpensive and highly accurate facsimile copying techniques, notably miniature photography, electrostatic copying, and photo-offset printing—developments which would surely have amazed the countless nineteenth-century copyists

and compositors who laboriously helped to produce the original congressional imprints.

Thus, the entire *Congressional Serial Set* was published privately, about 1960–63, in a micro-opaque edition by Readex, covering the entire 1,110 volumes for the 1817–61 period, here under review, as well as the much more massive accumulation of 5,396 volumes that follow for the period 1861–1913. The Readex achievement has been noteworthy indeed and was inspired doubtless by its successful pioneer reprinting of the British Sessional Papers, collated and edited by the late Edgar L. Erickson. In textual completeness the Readex edition, reproduced from the New York Public Library's copy of the *Serial Set*, is good; yet many of the maps and drawings are missing, most of such graphic items are unfortunately transposed out of context, and the reduction ratios for the maps are left unidentified.

Similarly, since about 1966, the entire thirty-eight-volume set of the *American State Papers* has been reprinted also, in no less than five different microform editions, all of them privately produced and merchandised. The texts are supposedly complete, but again, the Readex edition, to cite the first of the five editions available, is missing 16 of the 197 maps, and some of the other maps that survived are almost illegible in some details; the scale reductions are left unidentified; and the opaque cards, warped in some cases by use, contain passages that are difficult to read. The four other microform editions of the *A.S.P.*, listed at the front of this review, have not been analyzed here for textual or graphic completeness.

Now, in 1972, hard on the heels of the six microform editions of the *A.S.P.* and the *Serial Set* produced in barely ten years, the first of the widely heralded 176 volumes of the *New American State Papers* are appearing over the imprimatur of Thomas C. Cochran, recent president of the American Historical Association, supported by a stable of ten other distinguished historians. They have undertaken an entirely different approach to the mass of 39,000 congressional imprints confronting them for the 1789–1861 period, and they have ventured, in addition, into the unpublished congressional residues that repose in the National Archives.

The *New A.S.P.* is indeed a majestically titled, prestigiously endorsed, and luxuriously produced and merchandised new edition of official Americana, claiming to cover comprehensively and definitively the nation's policy papers or "state papers," published and unpublished, for the 1789–1860 period. This is indeed, perforce, a noteworthy promise in America's ongoing documentary publication

activities. Judged, however, from an item-by-item clinical examination, summarized below, of the first fifteen volumes on explorations and surveys now seen on the market, this new 176-volume series is, alas, little more than a shoddy but costly government-reprint potboiler, archivally myopic, bibliographically redundant, quantitatively subfractional, editorially substandard and misleadingly huckstered and impertinently copyrighted besides. (Ironically, the mandatory copyright-deposit copies of this massive congressional reprint claimed by the Library of Congress were still undelivered almost a year after initial publication, when this review was undertaken.) Priced at nearly seven cents a page per copy of text (and mortgaging in addition more than twenty-five linear feet of costly library shelf space in perpetuity), the *New American State Papers* may indeed be the single highest-priced example, to date, in the already crowded-for-honors field of public-document republication.

Thomas C. Cochran, in his rationale for this new project, proclaims in several publisher's blurbs that "until now" (i.e., until the advent of the *New A.S.P.*), "the vast accumulation of printed and archival Federal Documents, so often unorganized and inadequately indexed, made it extremely difficult—and often well-nigh impossible [sic]—to study and research a particular subject area in a comprehensive way." What a double nonsequitur! What a hoary, discredited, graduate-school myth about official records, heretofore worthy only of a lazy graduate student or his lazier mentor. What an incredible assessment of almost two centuries of accumulating finding aids in print, in manuscript, and in microform. Ignored are literally many millions of locator entries, all of them variously usable, accessible in at least fifteen different formats and displayed in a myriad of subject classifications and subject approaches: guides, catalogs (in card and list form), checklists, inventories, bibliographies, calendars, source footnotes, essays on authorities, tables of contents, alphabetical and numerical indexes, index maps, registers, and abstract lists which taken together make up the composite rosetta stone, so to speak, which is available to the serious history student questing among the nation's published and unpublished archives.

In contrast to this plethora of documentary tools, what an anti-climactic alternative is offered in the *New A.S.P.*: (1) a simplistic new eleven-point subject classification structure for all of America's national historical records from 1789 to 1860; (2) a small handful of new chronological tables of contents covering a mere 650 or more documents selected from a gross of more than 39,000 extant state-



paper imprints; and (3) a solitary new unidentified "special comprehensive index," to come later, offered "free" to librarians who purchase at least \$583 worth of this new reprint product.

Eugene Hollon's major premise for his fifteen-volume subseries is likewise questionable. All original pre-Civil War congressional imprints "have been long out of print," he declares, and "libraries heretofore [have been] unable to obtain copies of the originals," he asserts, apparently unaware that: (1) the entire original *A.S.P.* has long since reappeared on the market, in no less than five different microform editions to date, all of them full, unexpurgated sets (made from imperfect copies, to be sure, in some cases), available competitively at prices ranging from two-fifths of a cent to one cent a page; (2) the entire *Congressional Serial Set*, likewise, exists in a full unexpurgated micro-opaque edition (albeit also produced from an imperfect set), available for more than a decade for the entire 1817–60 period (and beyond) at comparable low prices; and (3) numerous additional special editions, some of them outstanding scholarly editions as well, have appeared or reappeared on the market in recent years in hard-copy and/or micro texts, including twenty-two of the twenty-eight explorers and surveyors whose writings are now being reoffered, many only in incomplete form, in the fifteen volumes on *Explorations and Surveys*. There is hardly a single serious scholar, whether an undergraduate or a graduate student or a postdoctoral fellow, who is really so far away or poverty stricken (either in travel time or in interlibrary loan costs or in other armchair conveniences) that he has no direct access to many if not all of the original imprints themselves, findable as they are, in hard copy or in microform, in any of a dozen or more large research depositories scattered across the nation.

The *New A.S.P.* "completely supersedes and augments—in content and in scope—the original American State Papers," we are told in the publisher's blurbs. However, the actual coverage of the *New A.S.P.*, when compared statistically with the original unexpurgated *A.S.P.* and the parallel unexpurgated congressional imprints in the *Congressional Serial Set*, is little more than a minuscule 1.5 percent selective sample of the 41,254 documents involved, or only 14 percent of the 1,148 original volumes. Thus, the first fifteen volumes under review contain a total of only fifty-five documents (not fifty-nine, as erroneously asserted by Hollon) which, when extrapolated to the entire series of 176 volumes, comes anticlimactically to a grand total of only 645 documents. (Extrapolation was employed at this point, necessarily, because the *New A.S.P.* publishers

ignored a written request for an actual document count covering bibliographical research that last year had been announced as "completed.")

In contrast to this 645-item sample offered as a definitive edition in the *New A.S.P.*, (1) the entire original *A.S.P.* by itself comes to all of 6,277 documents (for the 1789–1838 period alone)—33,180 folio-sized pages in all, not counting 1,142 additional pages of alphabetical indexes and hundreds more pages of calendar-type tables of contents; and (2) the corresponding volumes in the *Congressional Serial Set* (1,110 volumes, gross, for the 1817–61 period) extends to 34,977 documents in all, again not counting 20,000 pages of alphabetical indexes also included, nor the many dozens of legislative journals, which are themselves a finding-aid bonus in the full *Serial Set*. Worse yet, in its limited coverage the *New A.S.P.* sampler excludes categorically and apparently unwittingly the entire corpus of some thirty-nine hundred original pre-1817 and pre-*A.S.P.* congressional imprints listed in the Greely catalog in 1900 and collated by the Library of Congress in an unpublished shelflist for the initial 1789–1817 period of published congressional archives. Also excluded are hundreds of obscure, *non*-serial congressional imprints for the 1817–60 period.

In terms of subject classification, Cochran, in his publisher's blurbs for the *New A.S.P.*, postulates eleven new, simplified, revisionist, "easy-to-use" topical categories to replace the ten original *A.S.P.* rubrics which had been specified in the terms of reference furnished by the congressional mentors for that edition in the 1830's. In the process Cochran has completely obliterated, without a word of explanation, three ranking subjects of prime national concern to the congressional editors who produced the original *A.S.P.*—the "Foreign Relations," "Military Affairs," and "Naval Affairs" sub-series, which taken together had dominated the original edition, with 1,423 documents in all, or almost half of the original thirty-eight volumes. By thus excluding all the state papers which, in the constitutional mandate, "provide for the common defence," he seems to have achieved unilateral disarmament by historical fiat, and rejected the very *raison d'être* for the newly constituted central government achieved in 1787.

In other respects, the eleven domestically oriented subjects now reclassified and upgraded in the *New A.S.P.* are all interesting and viable enough, such as "Labor and Slavery," and "Transportation," with two old headings actually surviving from the original *A.S.P.* But most of them are biased toward a preoccupation with what is called "social and economic history in its broad sense." One new



category, "Social Policy," covers some \$249 worth of what looks, in the blurb, like a batch of odds and ends of pre-Welfare State and pre-Sociology utopianism and central-government interventionism during the pre-Civil War era. The new "Science and Technology" rubric is a useful new topical pigeonhole, fully enough documented, and more, to warrant a whole niche in this abbreviated sampler; but the term itself is a historical anachronism belonging to the mid-twentieth century and beyond—a cliché quite foreign to the Jeffersonians, the Lazzaroni, and the multitude of ambitious and productive inventors and science lobbyists during that fertile and innovative era of 1789–1860. The new heading "Explorations and Surveys" is also doubtless useful for undergraduate and graduate-level instruction, but its subtitle, "Continental North America," is a misnomer (British Canada, Mexico, and Russian America are of course omitted, except tangentially from a U.S. boundary viewpoint, in the documents selected). The companion sub-heading, "Overseas Explorations," is an anachronism ("expeditions" is the more authentic early federal rubric), implying as it does that the young republic was already, in its infancy, presuming to "explore" such advanced civilizations as, say, China and Japan and Palestine. Actually the Perry and the Lynch expeditions had immediate commercial and scientific aspects, as Hollon makes clear enough. Likewise the African expedition was hardly intended to "explore" the cultural mysteries of the dark continent, but to do a practical coastal reconnaissance focused on resettlement planning. Saddest of all in the dogmatism of Cochran's pre-Civil War subject classification scheme is the liquidation of the time-honored category, "miscellaneous"—that last refuge of all frustrated archivists and their clients.

The galaxy of misleading official name-dropping in the *New A.S.P.* is positively eyebrow-raising: (1) the official imprimatur of the A.H.A.'s president heading the masthead; (2) the two ranking federal archival and manuscript agencies, the National Archives and the Library of Congress, dominating almost exclusively the credit lines and said to have assisted in the selection of the documents for the *New A.S.P.*; and (3) two of the several other major federal agencies deeply involved in official American history—Smithsonian and Agriculture, whose two ranking official historians are assigned to edit some thirty-three volumes still to come, on science and agriculture, presumably at the taxpayer's expense. Several National Archives officials, specifically queried by this reviewer on the fulsome praise lavished on their distinguished institution in the credit lines, vigorously and positively denied having given any research help whatsoever or helping at all in "the selection of Archival mate-

rial," as claimed. But various staff members, it was conceded, did spend countless man-days, apparently first in brain-storming and later in laborious re-researching, re-processing, re-filing, and otherwise re-handling several hundreds of documents re-requested by the *New A.S.P.* staff after its somewhat prolonged unofficial residence in the National Archives Building was terminated.

The actual archival research on the texts and graphic illustrations in the congressional imprints selected is conspicuously missing, or at best marginal, in three cases, judging from the finished product of Hollon's first fifteen volumes on *Explorations and Surveys*. Thus, not a single collation with an original archival holograph is evident for any of the four *A.S.P.* documents and the forty-eight *Serial-Set* imprints that comprise the first fifteen volumes of the *New A.S.P.* For example, in the case of Thomas Jefferson's historic message of February 1806 on the recent Lewis and Clark Expedition, Hollon mislabelled it; left undated, unidentified, and unlisted the several attached reports; ignored Jefferson's earlier confidential message of February 1803, from which the expedition was derived; and perpetuated all of the old *A.S.P.*'s bowdlerized spellings of Jefferson's interesting authentic style as revealed so perfectly in his two identical holographs (made on his "polygraph") sent to the Senate and the House, such as his "Missisipi River," the Missouri River surveyed "from it's mouth to it's source," and "the remarkable Hotsprings" found near the Washita River. Omitted entirely by Hollon is Jefferson's important graphic enclosure—William Dunbar's vivid map of the Washita, drawn by Nicholas King and engraved by William Kneass, a truly historic "first" for the new nation's surveying and mapping history, the very first map known to have been published by the U.S. Congress. Missing too from the 1806 message, in favor of a lesser, abbreviated, intriguingly anonymous, paraphrased version (itself left unexplained in the *New A.S.P.*), are the full texts of Dunbar's accompanying narrative and his neglected point-to-point "geometrical survey journal"—an archival fugitive, long since in private institutional custody (and hence officially ignored by the *New A.S.P.* editors). Having berated the old *A.S.P.* for its "unfortunately abbreviated" texts, the editors of this "new" dispensation have now compounded the error with their own editorial lapses.

Hollon did include, usefully, the texts of three previously unpublished manuscripts found in the National Archives. But instead of printing a graphic, faithful, and inexpensive facsimile of each document, he had them laboriously and garishly transcribed on an electric typewriter of the 1960's, at the additional cost of some twenty

typos committed on three brief pages. As a result, for example, the naturalist Isaac Lea now becomes Isaac "Les," and two of eight prominent American leaders who signed on as lobbyists for the Kane Polar Expedition are now complete proofreading drop-outs, consigned to a further new oblivion. All three "newly" discovered documents are interesting enough, of course, but rather minor manuscript "scoops." Furthermore, no congressional items whatsoever were included from the many fugitive archival strays scattered in nonarchival custody, e.g., in the Library of Congress and in various private, local, and state depositories recorded in Hamer's *Guide* and in the LC's *NUCMC*.

Hollon's *apparatus criticus* is virtually *nil*, and his introductory notes and tabular checklists are twenty-two pages of perfunctory, uninspired chronology, riddled on every page without exception with misspelled personal and place names, incorrect dates, defective provenance notes, faulty serial numbers, and/or inaccurate quotations. Some eighty-eight such factual historical errors were noted in twenty-two pages, in an initial cursory check, not counting the fifty-five so-called document "titles," which are mostly not titles at all but subjective paraphrases, sometimes misleading. Thus, one official report candidly titled "Remove Indians Westward" in the original is now euphemistically re-labelled ". . . Exploration West of the Mississippi River." Two famous explorers become victims of the substandard editing: Lt. J. W. Abert, confused with Col. J. J. Abert; and Joseph Nicolas Nicollet, renamed I. N. Nicollet. Conversely, the reports of many of the top political leaders are left completely nameless in the checklists (dumped in the ashcan of anonymous bureaucratic history, as it were), notably two presidents (Tyler and Fillmore), six cabinet officers, and all eleven of the powerful Senate and House committee chairmen, 1795–1835, whose policy-making reports had all been selected, aptly enough, as significant ingredients in the launching of the precursors of America's manifest destiny. On top of all this, the *New A.S.P.* editors superimposed a confusing new acronymic jungle of Senate and House citation symbols on the well-established congressional imprints system, recast in the style HD, SMD, HR, SR, IA, PL, etc.

Maps and related engravings and drawings have been all but completely ignored in the *New A.S.P.* and mishandled when included. This is a major disaster for such a map-oriented subject as "Explorations and Surveys." Not one of the some two hundred survey maps in the original *A.S.P.* has been reproduced, or even mentioned; and barely 1 percent of the nearly three thousand *Serial Set* maps is included. Only a single reprinted text from the *Serial Set* has the

engraved maps intact—the Henry Dodge expedition of 1835; in 19 other cases, some 85 of the 116 engravings are missing from the related text, presumably because a defective copy of the *Serial Set* was used. The other thirty-one engravings that did survive are often defectively reproduced, notably with altered scales whose new reduction ratios are left carelessly unidentified. More than a hundred major survey parties are missing entirely, beyond some twenty-eight surveys partially presented as a sampler; and not even a bare-bones directory of the heroic roster of all the principal explorers and surveyors is furnished. Worst of all, not a single exemplar has been reprinted from any of the six major types of surveys of the pre-Civil War period that were so profusely published by the Congress: (1) the magnificent Coast Survey topographical maps and hydrographical charts of America's shorelines; (2) the several definitive national boundary surveys along the land borders and the Great Lakes; (3) the Army's ubiquitous, unexcelled local internal-improvement surveys along the changing trans-Appalachian frontiers and beyond; (4) the General Land Office's methodical cadastral index maps, portraying so authentically the changing patterns of settlement of the many new territories and states being established across the new nation; and (5) the incomparable, wide-ranging railroad route surveys to the Pacific Coast from the Mississippi Valley. Likewise, for the foreign expeditions, (6) not a single engraving, nor even a solitary word of text or tabulation, from the thirty monumental, profusely illustrated volumes of technical reports and atlases produced out of the U.S. Exploring Expedition, 1838–42 (the nineteenth-century equivalent of the "moon shot"), published by the Congress, 1844–61. Engravings aside, not a single archival manuscript map or annotated map, either in the congressional record groups or in closely related record groups, was used to illustrate the evolution of a crucial state paper.

In short, the destiny of the new American nation is only very dimly manifest. On substantive matters Hollon seems to be especially preoccupied less with the product of the explorations than with ferreting out dark motives and concealed psychological meanings. In his introductory notes he hints darkly of "secret motives and international intrigue," surveys "calculated . . . as diplomatic weapons," expeditions undertaken in the cover-story "guise" of military necessity, base "commercial motives," and "purely economic" objectives. There is not a word in his introduction of the actual professional development of surveying and mapping, such as instrumentation, triangulation, topography, hydrography, oceanography, lithography, and the other methodologies employed so

fully in America's genuine "success story" of exploration, reconnaissance, and cartographic portrayal during the manifest-destiny era.

Meanwhile the ancient and honorable *A.S.P.* "may be dead, but she won't lie down," as one of Mark Twain's disciples has paraphrased him. It remains as truly monumental and fundamental today as in 1938 when it was last appraised officially, by Clarence Carter, in a notable critique which itself, even today, has never been publicly challenged, explicitly, nor updated with any comprehensive or detailed historical or archival textual criticism known to this reviewer. In a recent recheck of some of the unpublished working papers of that long-forgotten historical project led by a dozen congressional staffers in the 1830's who remained nameless in the credit lines, this reviewer has noticed fresh evidence of the diligent, thoughtful, prudent, and carefully executed character of that patriotic, cooperative, and scholarly government enterprise, along with new evidence of deficiencies and peccadilloes as well. Indeed, the *A.S.P.* was the most comprehensive and productive official archival and historical project during the new nation's first one hundred years. And the finished product, which was published between 1833 and 1861, remains today a splendid and ever-useful historical documentary, albeit peppered with noticeable lacunae, textual impurities, and biases.

By way of prognosis, if and when a new, genuinely critical and comprehensive, scholarly edition of America's basic "policy papers" or "state papers" does indeed become a truly viable commodity, actually needed in serious scholarship and serious teaching for the early federal era, it must surely embrace not only the two congressional record groups involved, but also the executive and judicial branches, as indeed the old *A.S.P.* editors were aware. And possibly the records of the "Fourth Estate" should also be included in such a fresh purview, significant as it was as a newly emerging and developing national press during the precedent-making administrations from Washington to Buchanan. Such a comprehensive, archivally based edition must also embrace, perforce, not only the important unused residues found in the official records, but also the wonderland of archival fugitives which, not wholly improperly, had repeatedly strayed from official custody into private or non-federal-government custody during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, long before the 1930's when the mandates of the National Archives were made secure.

Finally, any serious new edition of America's "state papers" must be harnessed, directly and explicitly, to the two basic archival publishing achievements of the past eventful thirty-five years, led by the

new SAA and its historically oriented individual and institutional members: (1) the proliferation of new finding aids, in many new and old and revised locator dimensions and subject approaches; and (2) the unparalleled production of so many usable, flexibly reproduced, and carefully edited textual and graphic documentary publications—letterpress, facsimile, and microcopy. Taken together, these new documentaries and revised documentary tools, supplemented by inexpensive reprints and electrostatic copies, remain the real woof and warp of research and teaching materials—an intellectual cafeteria, as it were, with something for every serious student, in the ongoing enterprise of historical and archival understanding.