
This collection of thirty-two papers is designed to "make more readily available studies of America's colonial period that have appeared as essays in scholarly journals." The articles are concise reports of investigations, many of which have been elaborated in books, and thus they comprise a convenient, brief introduction to the scholarship of America's formative years. Each of the interpretive essays is the work of a distinguished historian and each makes a useful contribution to our grasp of colonial history. Taken together they provide a single overall theme: that even before American independence, a sense of American nationality, of "Americanness," had emerged from the clash of the Old World patterns of living and thinking, and the New World environment had prompted men from both continents to think of Americans as a "new race of men" in an indigenous secular culture.

The book is divided into three sections. Part I considers the sources and methods of European expansion, especially the origin of England's thrust across the Atlantic. A. L. Rowse, Lawrence Stone and Michael Walzer write persuasively on the essential preconditions for Tudor-Stuart colonization. They see these in the development of a powerful and highly centralized nation in place of a fragmented and unstable medieval polity; the failure of English mercantilism; and the emergence of a revolutionary Puritan movement that discovered its perfect setting in the New World. Sigmund Diamond examines the French colonial experience, showing how it was modeled on the European idea of a well-ordered society, and he concludes that because of her "Experiment in Feudalism," French Canada could not match English America in population, wealth or extent of development.

The selections in Part II closely examine varieties of experience during the foundations of colonial settlements in the seventeenth century. Substantive essays by Perry Miller, Alan Simpson, Oscar Handlin, Carl Degler, Winthrop D. Jordan, Bernard Bailyn and Mildred Campbell focus on the encounters between God and man in the New England wilderness; the "democratic" thought of Roger Williams; the problems trading companies confronted in colonizing the New World; the theory and organization of political power; the evolutionary growth of an American social structure; the emergence of slavery and the genesis of American race prejudice; and the development of profitable patterns of commercial and agrarian enterprise.
Part III, the longest section, explores the nature and process of change in the eighteenth century. Four papers by Charles S. Grant, Lewis C. Gray, E. James Ferguson and Richard Sheridan deal with different aspects of land distribution and speculation, problems of commercial agriculturists, and colonial currency and credit, while a fifth by George R. Taylor examines the colonial economic achievement of an experienced merchant community and a vigorous urban sector. In addition to Julian Boyd's examination of the sheriff in North Carolina, Jack Greene's analysis of the role of the Lower Houses of Assembly, Milton Klein's discussion of New York politics, and J. R. Pole's study of historians and early American democracy, M. E. Thompson, J. A. Schutz and A. G. Olson investigate the structure of colonial politics, explaining who ruled and how political power was employed to settle conflicts. Perry Miller describes how and why religious bigotry gave way to tolerance; Sidney E. Mead demonstrates how denominationalism became the institutional form through which American Christianity organized its resources and activities once the ties between church and state were severed; and A. M. Schlesinger examines the similarities and differences between American and English aristocracies, concluding that membership in the American upper strata was usually the result of achievement rather than inheritance, and that the opportunities for gaining admittance to that elite were considerable. The two remaining papers by Beverly McAnear and Frederick B. Tolles are concerned with the establishment of colleges before the Revolution and with cultural pluralism in early Pennsylvania.

The editorial treatment is adequate. Goodman has a sketchy two-page introduction to his collection and prefaces each essay with a brief synopsis of the paper's contents and a few suggestions for further reading. Altogether the editor has performed a useful service for scholars and students by bringing together relevant articles on colonial America from a number of scholarly publications.

*Lamar State College of Technology*  
*WILLIAM W. MACDONALD*


The First Frame of Government drawn up by William Penn and his advisers in England in 1682 provided for a complex structure of government for his proprietary colony of Pennsylvania. A seventy-two member popularly elected Provincial Council was given extensive legislative, executive, and judicial powers. This upper house initiated all legislation, governed in the absence of the chief executive, and was constituted the highest court of the province.
By the famous Charter of Privileges, Penn modified and liberalized the government. Adopted in 1701, this remained the fundamental law of Pennsylvania until the proprietary government was overthrown in 1776. The Council was now appointive with tenure at the pleasure of the proprietor. Its role was merely advisory to the governor; it was excluded from the legislative process. In the governor's absence, the Council acted in his capacity, except for the exercise of his powers relating to legislation.

The records generated by the Provincial Council for the near century of its existence, covering virtually the entire span of Pennsylvania's history as a proprietary colony, are grouped in three categories. The Provincial Record covering the period from March 10, 1682/3 to December 9, 1775, composes the council minutes. The twenty volumes of the manuscript Provincial Record are in the custody of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission.

The second group, which is also housed in the same repository, consists of the Papers of the Provincial Council, subdivided into Executive Correspondence concerning governmental affairs within the province, and Crown Correspondence dealing with matters related to England and the crown. These papers enlarge upon and supplement the information about Pennsylvania and its government given in the Provincial Record.

The third category, Colonial Records, are the two editions, in thirteen volumes, of published council minutes, as issued by the state legislature in 1838-1840 and 1851-1853.

The National Historical Publications Commission granted funds and provided technical guidance and standards to the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission to prepare a microfilm edition of the records of the Provincial Council. The archival and historical staff of the state commission has executed the project in this twenty-six microfilm roll edition and the pamphlet guide which accompanies it.

The seven rolls of the twenty-manuscript-volume Provincial Record include the indexes that were prepared by the original Record keepers for all but the last four of the volumes. Twelve rolls reproduce some 3,000 documents that make up the executive and crown correspondence of the Papers of the Provincial Council. The other seven rolls include the two published editions of the Colonial Records and the index to the first of these editions. All of the published Colonial Records are not included because the last several volumes of the first edition are proceedings of agencies other than the Provincial Council.

Included on the film of the Papers of the Provincial Council is an index information card for each item which indicates the document number, title, and date, in whose hand it was written and who signed it, the number of pages of its text, the endorsement, and pertinent reference information.

The accompanying Guide contains general information about the records of the Provincial Council, and specific details about the format of the film. Chronological and cross reference tables locate documents by date, number, or other archival label in specific film rolls. One table makes it possible to locate all documents of a given period whether they occur in the Provincial
Record, Papers of the Provincial Council, or in the Colonial Records. The Guide further lists the individual items in the executive and crown correspondence that make up the Papers of the Provincial Council by date, heading, index card number, and the counter number for each.

Roll B1 of the film, for example, contains nearly a thousand frames of 221 items of executive correspondence and related materials from 1682 to June 1734, along with the index information card for each document. The roll is prefaced by a reproduction of the Guide. In short, the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission has done everything possible to ease the task of the researcher using this collection.

The photoreproduction is uniformly of high quality and poses no problems of readability or transcription beyond those attendant the use of the original manuscripts themselves. Indeed, given the fragile condition of the originals, in many instances the film is found more satisfactory; accentuation by the photographic process frequently renders the photocopy more readable than the faded original. In specific or special cases where it might be desirable, the original can be examined by the scholar in the archives in Harrisburg.

At a cost of $9.00 a roll this collection of fundamental basic documents is an excellent investment. Every library, repository, and school in the country with any interest in colonial America or Pennsylvania can ill afford to be without this microfilm edition. “To help achieve equal opportunities for scholarship” is the stated aim of the National Historical Publications Commission. The present endeavour in cooperation with the Pennsylvania’s Historical and Museum Commission is an important step in that direction.

Miami University, Oxford, Ohio

Dwight L. Smith


This volume is a sequel to European Origins of the Brethren: A Source Book on the Beginnings of the Church of the Brethren in the Early Eighteenth Century, compiled and translated by Donald F. Durnbaugh, and published by the Brethren in 1958 to celebrate their 250th anniversary.

The Brethren, emerging in Germany from the Pietistic reactions to the formalism of established Lutheranism, found Pennsylvania attractive and some settlements were made here as early as 1719. Durnbaugh, in compiling this volume about their life in colonial America, sets himself the goal of telling their story through the selective use of firsthand documentary evidence, contemporary eye-witness accounts, and subsequently written historical reconstructions. For this purpose he draws on many materials published in the eighteenth century by the leaders of the Brethren and by the schismatic community at Ephrata; on the output of the German language printing press run by Christopher Sauer, and then by his son
and grandson who were members of the Brethren. He also makes use of many collections of manuscripts about the Brethren and related sects, most particularly of that made by Abraham H. Cassel, a descendant of the Sauers, now deposited at Juniata College. Durnbaugh's own contribution in the texts, aside from collection, selection, and translation, is the connective tissue, the headnotes and interpretative comments that hold the source material together in one coherent, meaningful pattern.

The source book tells in Part I of the emigration to America, the establishment of the first congregations, and the differences that precipitated the formation of the schismatic community at Ephrata; in Part II of life of the early congregations in the various colonies with emphasis on the mother congregation at Germantown; in Part III of the unhappy relations with other related sects; in Part IV of the challenge of the American Revolution to the Brethren and the unfortunate consequences of their combined pacifism, loyalism and neutralism. Part V presents selected doctrinal and devotional writings.

The Brethren wanted to live in strict accordance with the precepts of the New Testament as they interpreted them. They advocated adult baptism, insisting on total triple immersion. The Lord's Supper was the focal point of their religious observance, accompanied by mutual washing of feet, the love feast, the "holy kiss of charity" and the "right hand of fellowship." The Ephrata group celebrated Saturday as the sabbath and organized a semi-monastic communal society. The doctrinal disputes among leaders of the Brethren and between them and other sects concerned in large degree these matters.

To a twentieth century reader of the source book these issues may seem tedious and insignificant. One is tempted, at times, to agree with one writer on the subject whom Durnbaugh quotes: "Despite the slender prospect of success, I have plodded through the material, without shirking the boredom of many a somnolent afternoon passed in the society of some of the weakest minds of the eighteenth century, not to mention the defectives of subsequent generations." Durnbaugh's aim is to present a more appealing picture and to correct what he considers to be a "lack of sympathetic understanding." This he does accomplish. If the doctrinal tracts bore, the devotional literature portrays the deep convictions of the Brethren, the sincerity of belief, and the impact of the Scriptures on all aspects of personal and social life. And this religiosity must be recognized and admired as the life-giving and sustaining force it was. Insofar as it is Durnbaugh's aim to impress this appreciation on his reader he is successful with the source book. If it serves any purpose, the foremost will be its inspiration for the many descendants of the Brethren in contemporary America.

The standard work on the Brethren, based primarily on the Cassel Collection, is the History of the German Baptist Brethren in Europe and America, published in 1899 by Martin G. Brumbaugh, then President of Juniata College. As far as their American colonial experiences are concerned, Durnbaugh corrects, amplifies, and reinterprets much of this history but does not replace the earlier work. This has yet to be done. The source

The basic thesis of this work is not novel, but in the course of documenting in detail the fact that colonial councils were aristocratic and that the American Revolution had a markedly democratic effect on their successors, the state senates, Professor Main has added important qualifications. In the end bicameralism comes off rather well. Even in colonial days when they were bastions of aristocracy, the upper houses to some extent performed useful service as deliberative, revisory bodies. After independence, when democratic inroads seriously impeded their aristocratic roles, their members' "superior education and experience—and perhaps, too, their superior ability—were unquestionably responsible for the passage of better laws and the rejection of unwise bills."

Main found that colonial councils not only were aristocratic, they were not representative even of the colonial elite. Most of their members were the richest of the rich, and in a society that was overwhelmingly agrarian, were townspeople, merchants, and professional men. Since they also were advisors to the governors, who needed them close at hand, most came from the older eastern areas of the colonies, although by the middle of the eighteenth century the west boasted leaders eligible on all other counts for appointment. At the same time Main found more harmony between upper and lower houses than this concentration of interest might suggest. The reason, he feels, was that the lower houses were not too democratic themselves, and because of broadly corresponding interests found little to quarrel about with their coordinate branches.

These generalizations, of course, were true of particular colonies in varying degrees. Of the eleven that had upper chambers (Pennsylvania and Delaware being the exceptions) those in Georgia, the Carolinas, and Maryland were dominated by placemen, most of whom were not natives and whose well-being depended on royal favor. These were the most defensive of their own and the Crown's prerogatives, the most irascible toward the lower houses, and the most unpopular with their subjects. The elected councillors of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut were at the other end of the spectrum, but as the Stamp Act crisis demonstrated, were
not pawns of the public will. In between were the councils of the four remaining colonies, controlled by the native elite, less concerned with British than local interests, and consequently not apt to have fundamental differences with the lower chambers.

The Revolution brought no widespread demand for an end to the upper houses. In fact, the consensus clearly was that they were very necessary. Old established families, however, found their accustomed percentage of seats sharply diminished, and since the number of seats increased and the separation of powers dictated an end to the former connection with the executive, the west gained fairer representation. Thus, too, there were more farmers than before. Of the eleven upper houses after independence (Georgia having replaced Delaware as an exception) Main would classify only Maryland, South Carolina, and possibly Virginia as aristocratic, with the first alone clearly in that category. New Hampshire joined the other New England states as the most democratic—aside from North Carolina, which between 1776 and 1788 elected two hundred and fifty senators, who “with few exceptions, were obscure then and are generally unidentifiable now.” Clashes between upper and lower chambers remained at a minimum because of the continued, though now more democratic, community of interest. The accelerated growth of political factions during and after the war also tended to concentrate struggles within the houses. But rather than curtailing the function of the upper house as a check on the lower, Main found that democracy encouraged it by altering the purpose from the protection of vested interests to the improvement of measures desired by both chambers.

In this work Main does not attempt to explain the reasons for the advance of democracy though, as in his other recent writings, he seems mildly surprised that it was not accompanied by a sharper struggle. The changes he describes are relative and someone else’s definitions might produce another result. The Virginia upper house, for example, shifted from a 100% aristocracy to a 60-40 ratio and so came to the brink of democracy. Some of the changes perhaps can be explained by the increase in the size of government after independence. Besides a burgeoning membership of their own, senates became distinct from executive councils and in Virginia from the judiciary. Simultaneously Congress and the army siphoned off distinguished talent. It would be interesting to discover where effective control actually lay within the new legislative chambers. But this question is beyond the scope of this work, which is a readable, scholarly evaluation of changes in the membership of the upper houses as a result of the Revolution and one that brings out many of the nuances in that process.

The College of William and Mary

John E. Selby


Roger Burlingame came to Franklin studies as a result of his interest in the history of American technology. The Franklin that appealed to Bur-
lingame in his *Benjamin Franklin: The First Mr. American* (1955) was first and foremost Franklin the inventor, the man of science, the pragmatic solver of problems through the application of mind to the world of nature. But when the author of *March of the Iron Men* (1938) turns to diplomacy and international history, he stumbles badly. The book is an effort at popularization written in a patronizing tone. The subtitle, *The Secret Missions and Open Pleasures of Benjamin Franklin in London and Paris*, suggests sensational exposé. Similarly, although Burlingame's characterization of Franklin is compelling, the denouement ("In our moments of panic, his [Franklin's] hand is on our shoulder. Don't lose, he seems to say, your peace of mind") reveals a vein of sentimentality that too frequently mars an otherwise admirable portrait.

*Envoy Extraordinary* includes Franklin's English years from 1757 through the Revolution when Franklin represented the United States in France. There follows a brief summary of Franklin's last years and a comment upon his relevance for our times. The chapter notes and bibliography are helpful although highly selective.

Relying heavily on the work of George Otto Trevelyan (the Morris edition), Burlingame gives a picture of a corrupt England ruled by an insane king who is "obsessed with the passion to put the colonists in their place. . . ." If the interpretation is naive ("The triumph of liberty brought a sort of throwback from the absolutism of George III to the philosophy of the Magna Carta"), some of Burlingame's facts are simply wrong. The terms "intolerable" and "coercive" are not applied to the Townshend duties but to the series of acts following the Boston Tea Party. Again, the earlier quartering acts did not require the billeting of troops in private houses as claimed by Burlingame.

Some of the author's infelicities result either from imprecision ("One of the contributions Franklin made . . . was a translation into French of the book of state constitutions. . . .") We are told later that the translation was in fact done by La Rochefoucauld): hyperbole ("The whole Franklin was recognized by his native country, in the United States, which he designed and which was the greatest of his inventions"); and superb slips of the pen (Samuel Bemis Flagg); and/or wretched editing (in the bibliography, *History of American Biography* for *Dictionary of American Biography*).

Burlingame's latest essay on Franklin is a self-conscious effort to reach the mythical general reader. Its style is frequently cloying. It does provide, however, a sort of negative testimony to the greatness of Franklin, who manages to survive as a viable human being. Burlingame's Franklin is an individual of great serenity, a characterization that rings true throughout the book. As history, the book is inadequate; as a portrait of a multitudinous man, it gives us a dimension not frequently emphasized by other biographers. For this at least, we can be grateful.

*San Jose State College*  
*Thomas Wendel*

Professor Lutnick has written an interesting book about the news coverage and editorials in the British press concerning the American Revolution. He has summarized these materials rather than using lengthy quotations. Enough quotations have been included in his book, however, to give his readers the flavor of the writings of the editors whose journals he has studied.

The most influential of Britain's eighteenth century newspapers were written and printed in London. Professor Lutnick has made an exhaustive study of the London press, but he has also read some of the journals which were published in such cities as Bristol and Edinburgh. He has ascertained that most of the London papers were vigorous supporters of the Opposition. They denounced the Ministry as being corrupt, tyrannical, and inefficient. Consequently, they not only criticized it adversely, but they called repeatedly for its downfall.

Criticism of the Ministry included the following: Lord North was a weak and vacillating leader; an "inner cabinet" of sinister characters was running the government from behind the scenes; some of the cabinet members were lazy or corrupt; and the Ministry was guilty of buying support in Parliament through the corrupt use of secret funds. As for the Ministry's conduct of the war, the press charged that North had blundered into the war by coercing the American colonists when they should have been conciliated; North had been tardy in offering the Americans peace terms after he had blundered into a war; and he and the generals he had appointed had repeatedly mismanaged the military operations which were supposed to bring the rebels "to their senses." Finally, Opposition editors insisted that British troops fighting more than three thousand miles from their bases could not defeat a numerous and determined enemy who was fighting in his own backyard.

There was something close to treason in the way in which the press encouraged the enemy and spread gloom and defeatism among British readers. Yet the Opposition editors were not in the pay of the Continental Congress and they were not in favor of the dissolution of the Empire. They were attempting to use the Ministry's embarrassments in America as a means of clawing down Lord North and of promoting the formation of a Whig ministry. Many of them looked upon the Americans as allies in the struggle to save the British Constitution, but they hoped that the American colonists would be persuaded to remain within the Empire when the agony of war had come to an end.

As was to be expected the press attacked the ministers (and some of the generals) whenever there was bad news such as: heavy losses at Bunker Hill; the evacuation of Boston; Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga; and Lord Cornwallis's surrender at Yorktown. Likewise, the press criticized the ministers for the expenditure of vast sums of money on indecisive campaigns, for sending too few troops to America, and for failing to bring the war to an end by some decisive military or diplomatic means.
Not all the journalistic thunder came from the Opposition. The Ministry hired some pens to defend its policies, to advertise its victories, and to minimize its setbacks. The captive editors did their best, but many of the most eloquent writers were in the Opposition camp. Moreover, the prolongation of the war coupled with a series of humiliating defeats suffered by British arms handicapped the ministerial defenders severely. They needed news of victories, but all too often they found themselves trying to explain away defeats or indecisive victories.

News of the surrender of a British army at Yorktown gave the Opposition press an opportunity to cry: “We told you so!” Ministerial journalists were at a loss to defend their masters after Yorktown, and the Whig writers were soon able to crow over the fall of Lord North and his colleagues. The Opposition press could hardly take credit for North’s fall, however; North had survived years of attacks by the press until the reaction to the Yorktown disaster had deprived him of a part of his Parliamentary following.

All told, Professor Lutnick’s book is a fine one. It is based on careful research and is well organized and well written. It fills a gap in our knowledge of British politics during the American Revolution, and it raises some important questions about the responsibilities of an opposition party to the government’s policies in time of war.

Northern Arizona University

George W. Kyte

Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan Papers, 1757-1787. Ten microfilm rolls. (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1967. $90.00.)


Manuscript Group 19 in the Pennsylvania State Archives is titled the “Sequestered Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan Papers.” One of the most important bodies of source materials in the state archives, the papers constitute the correspondence and other business papers of the famous trading house of Baynton and Wharton and of its successor, Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan, of colonial Philadelphia.

This firm was engaged in trade not only in Pennsylvania but with other colonies, the West Indies, Europe, and with Indians and frontiersmen in the western country. The establishment played a considerable role in westward expansion—provisioning military posts, participating in the early development of the Illinois country, and engaging in the fur trade.

Largely untapped by scholars, this cache of manuscripts is another cooperative project undertaken by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission and the National Historical Publications Commission. The Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan papers now available in this ten-microfilm-roll edition include letter books, correspondence, journals, letters, cash books,
memo books, and sale books. Omitted are such routine materials as blotters, receipts, waste books, and invoice books.

While statistics do not tell the whole story they give some indication of the scope and magnitude of such a collection. Roll 1, for example, contains eleven volumes of letter books. Rolls 2-5 each reproduce an average of 1,159 frames of correspondence from such figures as George Croghan, Thomas Hutchins, John Connolly, and scores of others. Four volumes of journals from Fort Chartres, Kaskaskia, and Philadelphia make up part of another roll. The mother lode is rich indeed.

Each roll is prefaced by a reproduction of the printed Guide. Interlarded at appropriate places are explanatory statements, notations of omitted materials, and cross-references to items located elsewhere on the film. The reproduction is of high quality and an excellent example of the considerable improvement made in photoreproduction techniques over the earlier days of microfilming.

Indispensable to the user of this collection is the Guide prepared by William A. Hunter. Included as contextual materials are the provenance of the collection, location of related materials in other repositories, a bibliographical indication of the relatively unexploited status of the collection, and other helpful information.

Hunter has also included another invaluable feature. Although it would have been manifestly impracticable to film the entire collection, the Guide inventories the complete manuscript group in the Pennsylvania State Archives from which this edition was derived. This is detailed to the extent of type of manuscript, dates, names, and places. Filmed items are designated and located. Brief summary sketches of the company and of some of the important persons concerned with its affairs are inserted at appropriate places to aid the scholar as he searches through the materials. The Guide in itself is a valuable reference item.

Given that the Daynton, Wharton, and Morgan Papers are largely unexploited, and that they are now available in a very practical and usable format at a ridiculously low price, it seems inconceivable that it will be long before several major studies will be forthcoming. These will shed a great deal of light on this too-long-neglected eighteenth century aspect of American colonial history.

Miami University, Oxford, Ohio

Dwight L. Smith

Lewis Miller Sketches and Chronicles; The Reflections of a Nineteenth Century Pennsylvania German Folk Artist. (York: The Historical Society of York County, 1966. Pp. 185. $25.00.)

In the July 1950 issue of The American Neptune, A Quarterly Journal of Maritime History, which I was then editing, Alexander Crosby Brown published a study of the sheet iron steamboat Codorus built by John Elgar at York, Pennsylvania, in 1825. On the editorial pages of that issue I wrote: "Visitors to York, Pennsylvania, who can resist the attractions of the city's numerous markets, where the produce from the rich farms of the
county is displayed in geometrical patterns with unsurpassed skill, long enough to enter the Historical Society of York County will find there a remarkable example of local folk art that illuminates the history of the region. Although Professor T. J. Wertenbaker and others have drawn upon the Chronicles of York, 1798-1870, this series of water-color sketch books by an eccentric local carpenter, Lewis Miller, who was born in 1796 and died in 1882, does not enjoy the wide reputation that its originality, detailed information and unconscious humor deserve. Miller described most things that happened in the region during his lifetime and drew appropriate illustrations, usually without too much reference to chronology or a logical sequence of ideas. Take, for example, the page of his Chronicles that is reproduced as plate 21 of this issue. The Marquis de Lafayette, on his last tour of the United States, visits York on 2 February 1825. The Columbia Bridge is carried away by ice in 1832. An Irishman by the name of John Gallagher has the misfortune to fall into the vault of a privy in 1837, and calls loudly upon his neighbors for assistance. With this remarkable series of occurrences, Lewis Miller thought it appropriate to depict the construction of the sheet iron steamboat Codorus at York in 1825, and thereby placed future readers of the Neptune in his debt.”

While still on active duty at the Navy Department in the spring of 1946, I spent a week or more in York, Pennsylvania, to read the proofs of Fleet Admiral Ernest J. King’s U. S. Navy at War, 1941-1945, Official Reports to the Secretary of the Navy, being printed at the Maple Press. As there were many free hours between bouts of proofreading, I explored the markets of the city with delight, and when I returned to Washington carried with me a great basket full of vegetables, sausages, and strings of garlic. I also carried away the strong conviction that Lewis Miller’s Chronicles of York should be published at the first possible moment, for I had spent many hours in the Historical Society of York County poring over the pages of this enchanting mish-mash of local scenes. Thus the book that is here reviewed represents something that I have been eagerly await- ing for over twenty years.

Lewis Miller’s work presented formidable problems of editing and publication. As I noted in The American Neptune editorial, he would jumble together quite unrelated events of 1825, 1832 and 1837 on a single page. Moreover, the pages of the six volumes of his sketches owned by the Historical Society of York County had been so often rearranged over the years that it was almost impossible to determine their original sequence. As there were something over two thousand sketches, which needed to be reproduced in color, the financial aspects of publication were portentous. Nevertheless the Society persevered. Robert P. Turner, its president and editor of this volume, notes in his foreword: “That a portion of the Miller work is being published now is due to a dedicated and capable committee of volunteers—and to a Board of Trustees with the temerity to authorize an expenditure for the project almost equal to the Society’s annual income. In addition, the people of York subscribed in advance for more than 600 copies of the book and a few York friends subscribed funds to the extent of half
the cost of publication. After this, the only thing remaining for the committee to do was to start work.”

The result is a volume in which 160 pages of Miller’s drawings are well reproduced by color lithography. The selection must have involved head and heart-aches, for almost anything that Miller did is so engaging that an editor would want to include it. More than three-quarters of the choices depict the kaleidoscope of York life; some of the last forty pages show scenes elsewhere, for Miller, although a carpenter, was a passionate traveler. In 1840-41 he made a grand tour of Europe, visiting Virginia, New York, and New England in later years. Thus we have his views of Stirling Castle, the Crystal Palace, Heidelberg, Speyer, Worms, Mainz, Princeton, Bunker Hill Monument, and a military parade in front of the New York City Hall. There is no obvious order to the reproductions, but there hardly could be, for there is no visible order in Miller’s choice of subjects on most pages. Nevertheless as a picture book the work is sheer delight.

The reproductions are preceded by a ten-page introduction on Miller and his work by Dr. Donald A. Shelley, a native of York, now Executive Director of the Henry Ford Museum and Greenfield Village at Dearborn, Michigan, which, incidentally, owns a 56-page album of Miller’s sketches of Central Park, New York, painted in 1864. The pictures are followed by a twenty-two-page index to the events depicted in them, which is as diverting in its way as some of the sketches. It is preceded by this note: “Lewis Miller was prone to misspell. Despite his schooling, he frequently spelled words as pronounced by fellow townspeople, most of whom were English speaking Pennsylvania Germans. The index is accordingly, appealing evidence of these characteristics."

The publication was clearly conceived as a picture book for casual inspection, for at no point are the sources of any of the pictures indicated in detail, either by captions or a list of illustrations. We are told simply that they come from the six volumes owned by the Historical Society of York County that are briefly listed by Dr. Shelley on page xviii of his Introduction. One could wish that in a book involving such effort and expense, a little more editorial work had been done. Nevertheless I am enchanted to have this beginning of the publication of Lewis Miller’s sketches, and am cheered by Mr. Turner’s remark: “Should the public find these efforts to be of interest and derive pleasure therefrom, this book may well be Volume I of a Miller series.” I sincerely hope that other volumes will follow, and suggest that they might be in monochrome rather than color because of the greatly increased number of plates that could be printed for the same cost. This volume gives the reader all he really needs concerning Miller’s use of color. It would be extremely interesting some day to have black-and-white facsimiles, together with reasonable bibliographical description of all of his volumes that are owned at York, as well as of those that are in the New-York Historical Society, the Virginia Historical Society, at Dearborn, and in the collection of the Kain family. The Hi-
BOOK REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTES


Although this volume reprints sixty-eight items of source material spanning a longer period of time than the subject generally covers, it is considerably more limited than its title implies. Virtually all the items included were written by the Radical Republicans or their sympathizers and most of them relate to the place of the Negro in a reconstructed nation. Their subject matter is actually the viewpoint of the Radicals towards the problem of the Negro in the years during and immediately following the Civil War.

In a fifty-two page introduction the editor lends his support to Fawn Brodie's thesis that as a result of historical myth-making and popular, biased accounts of Reconstruction, the South was able to win in the battle of books what it was unable to achieve militarily. He traces the evolution of Reconstruction historiography as it emerged after 1900 with the Dunning school of revisionism, followed by the "repressible conflict" scholars who worked during the nineteen-twenties and thirties when post-World War I disillusionment was at its height. The conclusions of the Dunning revisionists included evidence of alleged Negro inferiority, widespread political corruption and power-hungry Radicals taking advantage of a helpless southern white population. It was an interpretation which gained a large popular audience in 1929 with the publication of Claude G. Bowers' The Tragic Era: The Revolution After Lincoln. Other scholars (Hyman refers to their work as a "scholarly blitzkreig") added new dimensions to revisionism by emphasizing the irrational behavior of a blundering generation as a cause of a needless war, a de-emphasis on slavery as a factor in the coming of the war, and a rehabilitation of Andrew Johnson whom they pictured as a victim of Radical vindictiveness.

New writers, however, appearing in the historical profession after World War II, have begun the task of re-evaluating Reconstruction. In biographies and specialized studies they have again called attention to the moral issue of slavery and universal political equality, the seeming impossibility of scourging the nation of slavery without war, and the humanitarian principles and positive achievements of the Radical Republicans. To these contributions, all of which he approves, Hyman adds a sense of continuity to the Radical program and carries the beginning of Reconstruction back to the start of the Civil War. An eighteen-page bibliography listing both printed original sources and secondary materials follows Hyman's introduction.

The first selection in the anthology of Radical writings is Ben Wade's Senate speech of March 7, 1860, in which he defended Republican doctrines
from Southern attack, maintained that the true states' rights defenders were Republicans, and suggested colonization as an answer to the Negro problem. The last item in the book is a letter from L. Q. C. Lamar to Clement C. Clay in which Lamar explained why he, a former secessionist, had delivered so warm a eulogy of Charles Sumner in Congress. The letter fittingly illustrates how times had changed and tempers had cooled since the days when Sumner had been considered a martyr to freedom in the North and, in the South, a reprobate who got what he deserved. The source readings are arranged chronologically under such topical headings as “War: The Concentration of Extraordinary Power for Beneficent Purposes—1862,” “Thirty-Five Years of Antislavery Agitation Fittingly Rounded Out,” and “Radicalism Takes the Offensive.” The headings underline the viewpoint of the editor.

The impact of this book is overwhelming. The combination of Hyman's hard-hitting introduction and so rich a selection of source readings, nearly all from the same point of view, gives the reader little opportunity to form any opinion other than that of the editor and his spokesmen in the sources. Yet, on closer examination, there are some serious flaws in the introductory essay as well as in the process of selection used for the anthology. Hyman's assumption that the Civil War revisionists were really practicing a form of “historical sentimentalism,” as Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., labeled it, remains unproved. Nor does Hyman demonstrate that moral issues superseded other issues with the Civil War generation. Some of the Radicals couched their program in moral terms, but seldom are human motives unmixed or so clearly identifiable. At times Hyman comes dangerously close to accepting the Radicals on their own terms and with very little critical judgment. Not all historians are as equally ready to enlist in the cause of their subject matter, nor does an honest attempt at historical objectivity necessarily hide a subsurface racism or indicate an unwillingness to support civil rights for Negroes today.

The major shortcomings of the book are the editor's failure to include source materials giving other points of view than those held by the Radicals, or to include material on matters of great moment other than those involving slavery and race relations. Reconstruction, after all, was a national phenomenon affecting all sections and involving questions of economic as well as racial adjustment to the new nation which was forged in the heat of Civil War battles. A variety of viewpoints would have provided a much more useful book for collateral reading in undergraduate history courses. Despite Hyman's preoccupation with racial questions, Negro sources—except for three selections from Frederick Douglass—are wholly omitted. Yet, in spite of its shortcomings, this is a useful volume. Unlike many anthologies of source readings, most of the selections in this one are lengthy and it makes available much material which hitherto has not been easily located.

_Wilmington College_  
_Larry Gara_

This extensively researched work of local history naturally bears the limitations of that genre. It deals only with those southeastern counties of North Carolina about the Cape Fear and restricts itself to the period immediately after the Civil War. Of necessity, the author does cast some side glances at other times and other areas to place his narrative in a less narrow framework. But one does not approach this book for a grand generalization about Reconstruction as a national or sectional problem. And yet by his treatment of individual men and events, the author does provide some key insights for a proper understanding of a society in a state of crisis.

The excited hopes of the newly emancipated slaves that came with the consciousness of their freedom seemed to portend the possibility that all things could happen, including the creation of a new social order. The presence of a sympathetic Union Commander, General Joseph Roswell Hawley, contributed a sense of reality to those hopes. But soon the picture changed, and drastically. President Johnson removed Hawley and his replacement proved more adaptable to traditional Southern racial views. Then came the Black Codes and that legal legerdemain that would classify the freedmen as “orphans,” since they could not prove their age, and return them as “wards” to the tutelage of their former masters.

With the coming of Congressional Reconstruction, a second chance to thwart the re-imposition of servile status upon the Negro almost reached fulfillment. The colored man organized and showed a degree of political awareness that belies the suffering passivity usually attributed to him. Klan nightriders soon realized that their terror tactics of spooking their erstwhile dependents and physically coercing them would no longer work. The codes had disarmed the Negro, but his means of self-defense were at hand. The fence rails would serve at least as clubs, and the ballots, so long as enfranchisement lasted, could be counted.

Interestingly enough, as Evans points out, some of the leading figures of the Radical party were the mulatto sons of former slaveowners. Educated in the North, and often veterans of the Union armies, they returned to lead their people to draft a new constitution that provided for universal manhood suffrage, a public educational system, penal reform, and popular election of county officials. Thus the reform zeal was high in 1868. But it was soon blasted. Radical politics fell under the control of a manipulating elite “Ring,” and what had once been a crusade for democracy turned into a scramble for place and patronage. Popular leaders were used to mouth the rhetoric of the underprivileged while control was exerted for personal profit. Soon the Conservatives were restored to power, and the dreary story of the Negro’s betrayal began.

Evans’s treatment of the social and economic factors of the period allows the reader to capture the spirit of a traditional agrarian order on the wane. As late as 1866, Cape Fear witnessed one of those grand jousting tournaments complete with champions and challengers from the ranks of local
white worthies. Complications arose, however, when a Negro group was formed to stage similar events. To the local chivalry this perhaps must have seemed the supreme example of insolence on the part of the freedmen, even more than voting.

But there were other forces at work, more significant in the long run than these romantic vestiges. Evans ably shows how both Radicals and Conservatives, transplanted Northerners and Southern natives, joined to pass legislation to support railroad construction and other facets of economic development that would lay the basis of the New South. Not least among the contributions to the South’s march into modernity were men like Seaman A. Knapp who did much to introduce mechanization into southern agriculture, and women like Miss Amy Bradley who instilled a sense of zeal into the movement for public education. Both were from outside the South. Yet overall rose the specter of race. Evans shows how Northerners themselves soon came to accommodate the white South by letting it handle its racial problems in its own way. The central theme of Southern history may indeed have been to keep it a white man’s country. But the North’s acquiescence in the plight of the freedman perhaps indicated that that theme may not be a strictly sectional one.

Evans also deals with those Southern whites loyal to the Union during the war who sometimes joined the Radicals in their attempt to make North Carolina more democratic. Often neglected by historians, their story is a bitter one. Matt Sykes, for example, volunteered to guide the Union forces, only to be cruelly murdered by aristocratic members of the Southern Home Guard, more a vigilante group than an agent to preserve law and order. The criminals were convicted, but “the families that had reigned on the banks of the Cape Fear for more than a hundred years” managed to bribe them to safety. The Dry Pond section of Wilmington with a large Negro population and many working class whites saw a fusion movement develop to provide the bulwark of Republican strength. The conservatives resorted to the time tested device of the gerrymander to thwart its effect, at least temporarily. So Evans culls many like incidents from the manuscripts and local newspapers for this prize-winning work in local history. His appendices also include a county by county description of the Cape Fear region’s physical geography. This book is indeed multum in parvo.

The University of Connecticut

VINCENT A. CARRAFIELLO


This is the definitive history of what Frederick Jackson Turner called a “western-type historical society,” the one frequently referred to as the leader or pioneer of all such societies. Soon after the society had been established, the man who was to head and direct its program for more than thirty years took over—the famous Lyman Copeland Draper. His accomplishments lay chiefly in building a great library, together with collecting auto-
graphs, manuscripts, and portraits. His "ingenuity and perseverance resulted in almost sensational accomplishment." Within a few years the society had won national recognition and had come to serve as a model for other Mid-west societies. In spite of the fact that Draper plunged into state politics and, while still executive head of the society, was elected and served as State Superintendent of Public Instruction, on the whole he was successful in winning increasing support from the legislature. When he retired in 1887 the society was firmly established.

Draper chose as his successor Reuben Gold Thwaites, a human dynamo, able administrator and master at public relations, who conducted a broad program of history for all the citizens of the state. It was he who introduced "new concepts of historical society work which were to have the widest influence." Thwaites was not only a scholar, conducting a broad and ambitious program of library-building, manuscript collecting, and publication, but in addition he developed many and varied phases of historical society work—erecting markers, organizing and assisting local groups, developing the state historical museum, and in general, "selling" history to the people.

In 1914 came Milo M. Quaife, a scholar who was not too successful an administrator or public relations man, especially in dealing with the Wisconsin Legislature. Things went from bad to worse until there was a direct clash with a legislator, a joint legislative committee was appointed to investigate the society, and, though Quaife won a technical victory, his usefulness to the society was at an end. Shortly thereafter he resigned and went to head the Burton Collection of the Detroit Public Library, where he had a successful career.

Next in line was Joseph C. Schafer under whom, according to the study under review (which may be a little slanted against Schafer), the society descended to its nadir. He undertook many ventures, including the ambitious but ill-fated Wisconsin Domesday Book, most of which were not successfully carried through. One program after another wilted, the support of group after group was alienated, the Great Depression came on, and the society foundered in an additional depression all its own.

Edward P. Alexander in 1941 brought new life and vigor. In spite of World War II, within a short time the society was back on the road that had been pioneered by Thwaites—a broad program for all the people. Into every phase of that program Alexander breathed new energy and strength. Then, after only four years, he departed for bigger and better-financed programs, largely free from politics, at Colonial Williamsburg.

Clifford L. Lord, co-author of the book, came in 1946 and for more than a decade headed a tremendously successful program. If anything, he actually "out-Thwaited" Thwaites. Growth, increase, bigger appropriations, larger staff, more space, very favorable publicity, commemoration of anniversaries, solutions of many long-vexing problems, rededication—all of this and much more. Dr. Lord writes with restraint, but understandably he is proud of his many significant accomplishments. When he departed in 1958, the society was at the very apogee of success and accomplishment.
During its long history the society has faced many problems. One has been that of space, for constant expansion has brought a need for ever-increasing room and much time and energy have gone into meeting this problem. Second has been the relationship with the University of Wisconsin, involving most of the time joint occupancy of a building, together with dividing the field of library collecting, sharing expenses of building maintenance, and the like. At times the society has seemed in danger of actual absorption by the university, or so some of the society’s loyal supporters have believed, and a watchful eye has been constantly needed. A third problem has been the society’s involvement in politics, which at times has been clearly harmful. While the society’s program has extended into many areas, a noticeable gap until recent years has been in the field of archives, and even today Wisconsin is not one of the nation’s leading states in archival work and accomplishment.

The account is very detailed. For example, page after page is devoted to problems of book-binding at different times, and minute information is supplied regarding the staff—by individual names—throughout most of the period. It is well that the work has been done thoroughly and completely, for it will not need to be done again. The book is “must reading” for administrators and professional staffs of historical societies and agencies. It will give them many ideas as to how they may improve their own programs, and it will serve also to warn them of pitfalls along the way.

North Carolina Department of Archives and History

Christopher Crittenden


Neither war nor natural catastrophes have wrought greater havoc on the American architectural scene than “progress.” Through “progress” we Americans have been brainwashed into trading what is beautiful, attractive, or interesting in the development of our architecture for a stereotyped and shoddy sterility of “clean, functionally uncluttered modernism.” Conformity to the dictates of “progress” have reconciled most of our contemporaries to the acceptance of homes, buildings, and even cities, whose appearance is frequently that of a nauseating blandness, lacking in charm and individuality, and hence devoid of the grace that has pleased man’s esthetic sensibilities throughout the centuries.

The ball, bulldozer, and steam shovel continue their rock and roll gyrations over the debris caused by “progress,” accompanied by a chorus of anguished moanings and shrill protests of “heritage conscious” citizens over their losses. Little do the outraged choristers realize that what happens is, to a great extent, the result of their own apathy and “let-George-do-it” attitude. While they may be proud of their heritage, they do nothing to save it.

Someone has said that the American people can afford everything but
beauty. To this anyone can subscribe who has tried cajoling, admonishing, and pleading for an awareness of our doomed architectural heritage. Anathema to everyone who dares to stand in the path of “progress,” and who projects the thought that the interests of the American people stand above self-interest, immediate monetary gains, ignorance and official foulups!

A ray of light, nay, a burst of sunlight has now broken through that murkiness with the publication of *Landmark Architecture of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania*. While others deplore, post facto, their losses, a dedicated group of Allegheny countians quietly banded together to assess what should be saved from the depredations of developers and road builders. Through a highly descriptive survey of their area architecture they have established a first line of defense against the marauding bulldozers.

Under the auspices of the Pittsburgh History and Landmarks Foundation, and made possible by a grant of $30,000.00 from the A. W. Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust, a thorough exploration was made of the area architecture that merited preservation. Not the least of the merits of the survey was its extension into the architecture of the early twentieth century terminating with the year 1920, a period which, perhaps, saw the end of the rugged individualistic habit that had the client dictating his preferences to the architect or builder. While that period also conformed to the prevailing general tastes, our attention is focused on the highly individualistic approaches evident in many buildings of that era. It is these approaches which give them a distinctive place in the architectural history of America just as the classical and Victorian periods in their individualistic acceptance of taste conformity also deserve distinctive places.

This book is a pioneer attempt, unique as pathfinder for surveying and classifying the architecture of any area. It is hoped that it does not remain unique as the first area survey of such scope. I recommend it strongly for imitation for every area—local, state and even national.

The introduction by Arthur P. Ziegler, Jr., charts effectively the road for similar undertakings; James D. Van Trump's narration of the architectural history of Allegheny County is fascinating in its lucid development. Both are followed by an exemplary descriptive listing of recommended buildings. While preservation is generally understood, in a narrow sense, for buildings of national historical importance, this book in its sentiments brings forth unequivocally that all our heritage and all our history is the culmination of the multitude of major and minor local facets and factors.

There are some minor criticisms of this notable achievement, but minor ones only. While it seems to have been published for professionals, it will be enjoyed by the non-professional student and lover of architecture. They should have been spared the somewhat contrived descriptives, “vernacular” and “eclectic vernacular” as captions. In some instances a better placement of the illustrations would have helped the architecturally less initiated. Knowing the publishing standards of the editors of *Charette*, one must assume that only lack of funds did not permit them a printing job of equal merit. For all this, one is more than compensated by well arranged area maps and
by an excellent index. Particular pleasure is given by an uncommonly extensive and comprehensive bibliography.

Charles E. Armstrong, president of the Landmarks Foundation states: “This book will also be a valuable guide to local planners, government officials, and highway departments in deciding what should or should not be demolished. . . .” One might add local and area patriotic and historical societies. It might have been better to omit highway departments from these recommendations. Why supply them with targets for tomorrow?

*William Penn Memorial Museum*  
*Eric de Jonge*