BOOK REVIEWS


The title of this book refers to Job ben Solomon, or Ayuba Suleiman Diallo, a native of Senegambia in West Africa and a onetime slave on a Maryland plantation who was freed through the interest of English humanitarians and returned to his native continent. The account of Job, as he is called here, is essentially based on two sources, though Grant has followed many other clues: Some Memoirs of the Life of Job, the Son of Solomon, the High Priest of Boonda in Africa (London, 1734), which is an account written by Thomas Bluett on the basis of conversations with Job, and Travels into the Inland Parts of Africa . . . with a particular Account of Job Ben Solomon, who was in England in the Year 1733 and known by the Name of the African (London, 1738), by Francis Moore, who knew Job in Africa.

Because detailed accounts of individual African emigrants are rare, Job's story is valuable, even if he is not, as the author claims, "the only one of those silent millions of whom we have any precise and extended account." Early in 1731 Job came to the Gambia River from his home in the interior on a mission for his father to sell two slaves. For them he received a herd of cattle, but on his return trip the herd was hijacked, Job was robbed of his personal possessions, and he and a servant accompanying him were sold to an English trader. The trader was willing to allow Job to be ransomed, but before the ransom arrived the ship had a full cargo and set sail for the Chesapeake. At Annapolis Job was sold for £45 to a Kent Island tobacco planter named Tolsey (which may be a mistake for Tolson).

The work was hard and Job decided to escape after a white boy mocked him during his Moslem devotions. Job got across the peninsula to the Lower Counties before he was apprehended and thrown into Dover jail when, because he knew no English, he could not explain his wandering. The Dover gaoler's house was a tavern, and through this circumstance Job's identity aroused the curiosity of a tippling lawyer named Thomas Bluett, who soon perceived, by hearing Job say Allah and Mohammed and by noting that he refused wine, that Job was a Moslem. An old slave was found who knew a tongue that Job understood, and through this interpreter Job's story was made known. He was returned to his master, but
now that he was known to be from the upper classes and to be literate he was treated with consideration and allowed to send a letter to his father. The letter, traveling via England, came to the attention of General James Oglethorpe, then deputy governor of the Royal African Company, who had it translated by the Oxford Professor of Arabic and gave his bond for Job's redemption.

When this news came to Maryland, Job was sent to England on the same ship with Bluett, who taught him English. Oglethorpe was in Georgia when Job got to London but other men of fortune became interested in him, purchased his freedom, entertained him, had him presented at court, and finally sent him back to Africa in 1734, though not before Job had arranged for the freedom of the servant taken prisoner with him, who was still held slave in Maryland.

The book belies its title by devoting as much attention to Senegambia, the slave trade, and the English attitude toward slavery as to Job. In part it does so because Job, though a slaveowner himself, became for English abolitionists a legendary example of the fine human qualities to be found among Africans. Whereas the abolitionists sought to profit from Job's reputation, the Royal African Company sought to profit from his connections, hoping through his influence to reach Senegambian gold mines and gum forests that were in a French sphere of influence.

Incidentally, both of Job's biographers, Bluett and Moore, came to America after their encounter with Job. Bluett returned as an Anglican priest and died rector of Christ Church in Dover in 1749. Moore made two trips to Georgia and published an account of his first sojourn there. Their writings on Job have been republished in *Africa Remembered: Narratives by West Africans from the Era of the Slave Trade*, excellently edited by Philip D. Curtin and others (Madison, 1967).

*University of Delaware*  

**John A. Munro**


Professor Gipson is completing his great work on the British Empire, 1748–1776, in the grand style that has characterized its execution. His fourteenth volume contains the fullest bibliography ever compiled of the printed materials for his subject, and he promises a guide to the manuscript sources as the final volume of an enterprise which, if we rightly count the preliminary studies he published more than a half-century ago, spans several revolutions in American historiography. That a man could sustain one task for so long and do it so uniformly well, in a century whose changes and troubles have disoriented and discouraged even the strongest and most single-minded, is a lesson to all of us. That he could find the continuing
support, especially from Mr. Alfred Knopf and Lehigh University, needed to realize a conception which has diverged ever more widely from the contemporary fashion for monographic, microcosmic studies at least suggests that real alternatives still exist within our profession and society. Professor Gipson has not only done his own work, in his own way, but he has also shown that it could be done, given energy, longevity, and determination.

The bibliography contains about six thousand entries arranged by geographical location, then into primary and secondary materials, with the latter further divided into general, local, political, economic, social, biographical, and military categories. Although the author admits in the preface that he has treated cultural history only in passing, many items in that category are found under the rubric of "social" history. One finds the expected coverage of colonies outside the future United States—Ireland, Canada, the West Indies, India, and Africa. The analytical table of contents, a standard feature of the series, is less useful here than it might have been because of the conventional organization of material, nor is its value improved by running heads or any extensive use of cross-references, but the index will assist students who are concerned with a specific reference or question. The works of particular authors are easily located through the index (though not titles of anonymous works), and a select list of major subjects brings together related items inevitably scattered by the regional and categorical divisions; for example, Baptists, boundary disputes, iron industry, mercantilism (but not merchants), Negroes, slavery, Stamp Act (but not taxation), and Tories (in addition to loyalists).

The book bears the Gipson trademark of thoroughness and solidity of judgment, as well as the little surprises that we have come to expect from his interests and efforts: long sections on cartography, compact bibliographical essays on major personages, and an article on India's trade with Britain and the American colonies from the *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* (hitherto unknown to this reviewer). Slips and omissions (no Broadus Mitchell on Hamilton?) are infrequent. The lack of cross-references is compensated for by a permissive attitude toward repetition (the Pargellis-and-Medley bibliography of British history is entered no less than six times). One can imagine other ways of doing the job, but it is hard to imagine doing it very much better. Like the rest of the series, this volume will keep scholars in Gipson's debt for many years.

*University of Michigan*  

JOHN SHY


Isaac Collins never achieved the stature of a Franklin, nor was he as successful as his better-known contemporaries, Mathew Carey or Isaiah
Thomas, but, because Collins was so typical of many printers and publicists of the eighteenth century, Richard Hixson's biography of this Quaker printer deserves attention. Collins' two important achievements, the establishment of the government-supported Whig weekly, the *New Jersey Gazette*, in 1777 and the publication of a definitive edition of the King James Bible in 1791 appropriately fill three of the book's seven chapters. But, even in these chapters, the author reveals disconcerting weaknesses in organization and style. This is particularly evident in chapter III, "Newspaper Publisher," in which the author skips back and forth from the 1770's to the 1750's and from printer to printer in his attempt to sketch the background for the establishment of the *Gazette*. One really loses the thread of the narrative.

Those interested in Collins as printer will not learn a great deal from the book. The dearth of Collins manuscript material has compelled the author to rely heavily upon material with which the specialist is familiar: Brigham, Wroth, and Thomas' *History of Printing*, for example. Even the list of Collins imprints that appears at the end of the text, primarily the work of other hands, is of only limited value since the entries lack bibliographical descriptions, cross references to standard bibliographies, and indications of location. In short, then, this is not a work for the specialist.

Despite the shortcomings, the book has some merits. Although his style is somewhat discursive, Hixson effectively recreates the network of friendships and business and civic associations in which Collins lived and worked. The first two chapters deal with Collins' early years as a printer. Like so many of his artisan contemporaries in eighteenth-century America, Collins did not grow up or receive his training in the town where he finally achieved his measure of success. Born in a small town in Delaware, Collins first was apprenticed to James Adams in Wilmington and completed his term in the shop of William Rind in Williamsburg. In 1767 he moved to Philadelphia where he worked as a journeyman for young William Goddard, publisher of the *Pennsylvania Chronicle*. Then, after a short stint as Joseph Crukshank's partner in Philadelphia, Collins moved to Burlington and finally settled in Trenton in 1778. As Hixson makes quite clear, each of these experiences provided Collins with friendships and associations that were to serve him well in later years, especially in the production and marketing of the 1791 Bible.

Perhaps Hixson is most successful when he deals with Collins as "Merchant and Citizen." That Collins participated in the founding of the Trenton School Company and that he found it expedient to expand his business horizons beyond the book trade is entirely in keeping with the picture of the Quaker merchant sketched by Frederick B. Tolles and Sydney James. One wonders, however, whether these concerns were really Quakerly; Franklin, Carey, Thomas, and many other printers had similar concerns. One wishes that Hixson had dealt with the roles of printer and Quaker somewhat more fully.
There are other disappointments in the book as well. Some of them are minor indeed, but this reviewer was particularly disconcerted by several misleading footnotes. On page 49, for example, Hixson splices together two statements from Thomas' History of Printing making them appear to be one. On several other occasions Hixson refers his readers to sources that only partially support what he is arguing in his text. These lapses are particularly unfortunate since they suggest, together with the book's other weaknesses, that the author was not really concerned with his subject. Surely Collins deserves better.

library company of Philadelphia

peter J. Parker


With the publication of this supplement to Portraits and Miniatures by Charles Willson Peale which appeared in 1952 as Volume 42, Part 1, of the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, Charles Coleman Sellers completes the most valuable and complete documentation we have been given on the work of any American artist. Peale was the portrait painter of the largest city of the colonies, which was also the capital of the Continental Congress and for a time of the United States. His long life, ceaseless energies, and inquiring mind led to an enormous and diversified output. Sellers' catalogue of 1952 contained notes on 1,046 portraits, lifesize and miniature. The present volume contains 153 additions and corrections to that list. But where Sellers' catalogue differs from the ordinary is in its accounts of each sitter's life and of the significance of the portrait in the lives of artist and sitter. Portraits were painted in the eighteenth century, as the author rightly pointed out in the introduction to the first volume, most frequently to mark a significant occasion in the subject's life—marriage, election to office, birth of a first child—or some opportunity in Peale's own career. The accounts of each of these occasions are written with precise knowledge but also with grace and humor, so that they form a remarkably vivid introduction to the men and women of America in Peale's lifetime.

To the catalogue of portraits Sellers has now added a supplementary list, running to 139 numbers representing Peale's multitudinous activities other than portraits. He gives a catalogue of the landscapes; still lifes; subjects from mythology; views of towns and country houses; flags painted for colonial military units; patriotic transparencies erected to celebrate great national occasions; miscellaneous drawings, made for a variety of purposes, of cannon, mastodon bones, dogs, a Franklin stove. There are
accounts of Peale's moving pictures; the painted habitat groups in his museum; his magazine illustrations, panoramas, floats designed for patriotic parades; designs for inventions. There are accounts of his travel sketches made on his journey up the Hudson to excavate the mastodon, his illustrations for publications of the Lewis and Clark and the Long expeditions, his anatomical models. The drawings in letters and sketch books are listed. Finally, there are accounts of Peale's sculpture and engravings. The author has followed the best scholarly practice also by including helpful discussions of doubtful and attributed works.

What is the significance of all this? In his perceptive introduction to the present volume, Sellers makes the point that Peale's career marks the turn from aristocratic patronage of the arts to the support of the mass public. It is a vivid and telling episode in "the vast slow social revolution which began with the discovery of America. Europe, a society of rigid social status, with wealth and power based upon the ownership of land, was suddenly confronted by half a world of wild, rich land, wide open to adventurers." The society of rank and status crumbled slowly, even in America. "The Colonial had thought of art entirely in terms of artist-patron relationships." Peale, with his moving pictures, his patriotic propaganda, his activity as printmaker and illustrator, finally with his Museum, showed that the artist could appeal successfully for support to the public-at-large, a new audience "fervidly patriotic, wonderfully combining moral circumspection with a sense of national youth and power, full of barbarous exuberance, raw and on-the-way, hungry to learn, brightly eager to be amused." Many of the works which illustrate Peale's appeal to this new public, such as his patriotic displays and his museum, disappeared long ago. Herein lies the importance of Sellers' lists and his description of what is known of the things that have long since vanished. They furnish at least a summary notion of Peale's many-sided activities to reach an American public just awakening to cultural life. The role of the newspaper in creating a reading public is well known; and files of newspapers are preserved. The role of the artist-scientist and artist-illustrator who began to create the visual imagery, then in its infancy, which is now so omnipresent in popular culture and mass communication, is more difficult to grasp because so little has been preserved. The thoughtful reader of Sellers' catalogue of Charles Willson Peale's activities other than portraits, will find that a window opens upon a fascinating and important historical phenomenon.

Philadelphia

E. P. Richardson

Ever since this bibliography was first published in 1943 it has been an essential tool for the architectural historian. While the original edition was limited to buildings in the Eastern and Central United States, and reflected the focus of study and research at the time on buildings in that area, the new edition wisely has increased the scope. New material is included on the Gothic Revival and the other revivals as well, and on barns, lighthouses, and covered bridges. Such structures used to be regarded by the scholar as mere auxiliary buildings, unworthy of scholarly study. The fact that they are included indicates the growth and importance of the vernacular tradition in recent years.

Since the first publication of this book, many other changes have occurred in the field of architectural history, particularly in America, and many of the recommendations the author made have been implemented. Most of the earlier scholars were both architectural historians and practicing architects in this country. Now, at last, architectural history and restoration are recognized as separate professions, and some universities have established courses to train and to conduct research in these fields. Centers for the study of restoration and architectural museums are being planned. The National Trust for Historic Preservation has been organized and developed to encourage these studies, as well as the whole field of preservation. Many states have commissions for historic landmarks. These activities would have been undreamed of twenty-five years ago.

In the original edition the introduction included the terms of early American architecture, and it has been reprinted in the new volume. Quite rightly, Professor Roos mentions the seventeenth-century Jacobean, which lasted to about 1725. To call this first period of American architecture medieval, as some other scholars have done, is misleading. While it was a medieval survival, it also bore the detail of a transitional period—that is, of the renaissance. As it was not a survival of purely medieval forms, it will not do to call it medieval.

However, it should be pointed out that the author's description of the Georgian period, as lasting from about 1725 to 1800, is too general. Recent scholarship has proved that there were at least two phases of Georgian architecture before the American Revolution, and in some states there were three. After this event there came the Federal period, dominated by the brothers Adam and their followers. It is not really correct to call the Pompeian decoration of the brothers, as it was expressed in America, Roman Revival. In England a case can be made for such a term, but here it was almost purely decorative. Even B. H. Latrobe, the most brilliant designer in the style in this country, wrote that he did not like Roman architecture, but preferred Greek. Professor Roos warned against the use of the term colonial, applied to anything up to the Greek Revival period. Fortunately, this misuse of the word has by now almost disappeared.

Many of the other excellent recommendations that Professor Roos made have been fulfilled in recent years. Talbot Hamlin's important book on the Greek Revival has appeared; many excellent monographs on a single
building or a complex have been published; excellent geographic studies have been made; and some excellent studies of individual architects have been published, or are in preparation. These include the biographies by Carl Bridenbaugh of Peter Harrison and the volume by Rosamond R. Beirne and John H. Scarff on William Buckland. It is a pleasure to report that the new volume, with its additional entries for the last twenty-five years, is an even more useful tool for the scholar than the original edition.

University of Virginia

FREDERICK D. NICHOLS


Fiske Kimball's Thomas Jefferson, Architect published in 1916 was based primarily upon those Jefferson drawings then in the Massachusetts Historical Society. These manuscripts dealt chiefly with the design and construction of the Monticello house and thus the book, and the reprint, are somewhat limited in their scope in that they fail to cover in any detail the other important Jefferson architectural creations. Nevertheless, Kimball's careful and scholarly treatment of the materials available at the time and his sound conclusions on Jefferson as an architect, projected his book to the commanding position as the tour de force in its field and its author as the onetime authority on Jefferson and architecture.

Kimball begins with a chapter, "Jefferson's Development as an Architect," in which he covers in chronological order the several periods—1769-1784, 1784-1789, and 1789-1826—dealing with the influences which shaped his subsequent career as an architect. He concludes with the chapter "Jefferson's Architectural Influence" which remains today as one of the prime sources on this subject. There is also a bibliography of architectural books found in Jefferson's library. Kimball then sets down the real meat of the work by reproducing 233 Jefferson drawings and related manuscripts and establishing their dates and relation to the construction of Monticello.

It is pleasant, however, to contemplate that a successor to Kimball is in the offing in the person of Professor Nichols of the School of Architecture of the University of Virginia. It is Professor Nichols who has prepared the introduction and other pertinent matter for the reprinting of Kimball's treatise. Nichols, of course, does not disturb any of the original text; his own conclusions are to be found chiefly in the Introduction.

Professor Nichols has had a long-time interest in Jefferson and architecture and his contributions to it make him a logical choice for his asso-
ciation with this great book. Indeed, as far back as 1957 he made a detailed study of the Jefferson drawings now in the Massachusetts Historical Society. Many of his notes are found on thirteen leaves (both sides) which are carefully laid in the Monticello copy of Kimball's book; there are also extensive marginalia. Unfortunately, not all of Professor Nichols' conclusions will be found in this new edition; however, many are brought to notice in his Introduction.

For example, his first marginal note as reflected in the Introduction appears on page 74 of the Kimball treatise, opposite a section dealing with "Bremo," the home of General John Hartwell Cocke in Fluvanna County, Virginia. "Not T. J.'s" is all he wrote, but it quickly puts the lie to the tradition that this "most Jeffersonian of houses" came from his pencil. Nichols claims, and with good authority, that it was John Neilson, one of the builders of Monticello, and General Cocke who drew up the plans. He does note that Jefferson did go over the final ones with his friend Cocke.

Likewise Nichols cites those structures which were without question designed by Jefferson. These are "Edgemont" and "Farmington" in Albemarle County, and another "Farmington" in Louisville, Kentucky. It would have been more satisfying if those "supposed" buildings by Jefferson, such as the Stuart House in Staunton and the courthouse in Botetourt County, among many, could have been commented on directly, for it is such attributions that cloud the ever clearing Jeffersonian architectural horizon.

Kimball points out and Nichols quickly agrees that Jefferson did design one church that was actually constructed, the original Christ Episcopal Church in Charlottesville. Most unfortunately, this edifice was razed a number of years ago before there was any idea of preserving such a structure.

Another revelation is the definitive reason for the lack of a grand stairway in Monticello. This Kimball subsequently learned, but too late for it to be incorporated in his work. Nichols quotes the letter by Jefferson in which the latter states that it was for reasons of saving space, i.e., a room on each level, that he omitted a grand stairway. Now properly dispatched are all those delightful chimneyside traditions one so often hears associated with the narrow 24-inch Monticello stairs.

Other new features include a short but authoritative bibliography on Jefferson and the citation of sources or original manuscripts and books not available to Kimball. Perhaps the salient feature, aside from the Introduction, is the reproduction of the drawings by the Meriden Gravure Company. Again this concern has rendered almost magical reproductions, this time from the rather hazy plates in the Kimball edition. These are superb and in many cases will serve as better sources for study than the originals.

Even at a somewhat steep price Kimball's Thomas Jefferson, Architect is now available to all who have need for a copy. With Professor Nichols, additions it remains the tour de force in its field, and will continue so until that architectural volume in The Jefferson Papers is produced. It is an-
other pleasant contemplation to know that this will be edited under the skilful direction of Frederick Doveton Nichols.

*Monticello*  
JAMES A. BEAR, JR.


Fifty-six years after the appearance of his first long historical work, the two-volume *Life and Letters of Harrison Gray Otis*, Professor Morison has reviewed, revised, and republished it in an edition that is more handsome, shorter, and livelier than the original. Some letters have been deleted, political matter has been condensed, bibliographical citations have been omitted, but the social history content has been expanded and new information has been added, as have more than twenty pages of notes on new materials used and on problems of interpretation. The numerous and often very handsome illustrations, sixty-six in all, far more than in the earlier work, include a gallery of portraits of Otis' relations and other associates, along with maps, cartoons, and views of historic buildings.

A leader of the second generation of Federalists, Otis was a figure in American politics from 1796, when he was first elected to Congress, to 1848, the year of his death, when he supported Zachary Taylor for president. In these years he had gained a modest degree of fame as a Massachusetts legislator, a United States Senator, and a Boston mayor, but his greatest renown— or notoriety—arose from the leading position he took in the Hartford Convention. He was chairman of the committee that called the convention, a member of the three committees that did its work, and a delegate sent to carry its report to Washington. A victory won at New Orleans and the peace negotiated at Ghent destroyed any chance that the report could get a favorable hearing, and ever afterwards his association with the convention was a millstone around Otis' neck. Morison sympathizes with Otis, criticizes the connection Republicans drew between the Hartford Convention and treason, and demonstrates that Otis was opposed to secession. Yet New England, according to Morison, had more cause for secession in 1814 than the South had in 1861; therefore Otis and his colleagues were more moderate and more responsible than might have been expected. Morison has no respect for the embargo, which he terms "the greatest failure of any political experiment ever tried in the United States—excepting national prohibition," and he believes "England's cause in 1812, as in 1914 and 1939, was that of the free world."

There is much to interest the social historian in the relations of Otis with his adored wife, their eleven children, and their wide circle of friends in Boston and in the capital cities of Philadelphia and Washington, where
Otis became almost equally distinguished for his polish and grace as an orator and as a figure in society. Otis' business interests receive less attention than his social and political life, but the fact that his fortune was primarily based on real estate speculations, especially in urban development, gives the volume particular value. When only thirty, Otis was a principal partner in the Mount Vernon Proprietors, who bought John Singleton Copley's pasture and turned it into a valuable residential district on the southwestern slope of Beacon Hill. He also promoted the development of South Boston and was largely responsible for the building of the India Wharf and the Exchange Coffee House, then the largest hotel and office building in the country. To some extent Bulfinch's Boston was created by the financial acumen of Harry Otis. He had considerable interests in Maine lands, including the vast Bingham speculation, for which he served as legislative protector, and he was a director of several banks and the proprietor of textile factories and rolling mills.

Among the intriguing items in Morison's bibliographical notes are a reference to a missing diary of Joshua Fisher, Jr., of Philadelphia, and a flat contradiction of a recent article purporting to demonstrate that the Essex Junto was a fiction. Though Morison is a decided partisan of Otis, who was his great-great-grandfather, he is reasonable and reasoning, and in this interesting and instructive biography he deserves particular credit for his attention to such subjects as Federalist party organization, real estate development, and social history before they were popular.

University of Delaware

JOHN A. MUNROE


Both the contributions and the problems of this book would seem to stem from its evolution. The core of the book was the author's dissertation, a study using the territorial governors as a focus to discuss the changing structure and operation of the American territorial system during the nineteenth century. Eblen examined the evolution of the Ordinance from Jefferson's original plans for the western country to Nathan Dane's final version, the modification of the governmental structure as Congress erected subsequent territories, and the relationship of federal authority and local politics. For the book, he provides a descriptive framework of imperial stages.

Professor Eblen presents the first serious appraisal of the legislative history of the Ordinance from Jefferson to Dane since the very long, but quite disorganized introduction by Francis Philbrick to the Laws of Illinois
Territory (1950). In fact, his thirty-five-page chapter is the first extended narrative on this topic since J. A. Barrett’s chronicle published in 1891. Eblen sees more of a gradual evolution between Jefferson’s and Dane’s documents than Philbrick, who based his analysis upon a crude economic interpretation of eastern aristocracy versus western democracy. Yet even in this new account, the class conflict theme lingers, and the republican ideological context is more hinted at than developed.

The bulk of the book is devoted to the changing structure of territorial governments and how they operated in the territories. Again, this is the first narrative, let alone comprehensive analysis, of nineteenth-century developments since Max Farrand’s sketch on the subject in 1896. His thesis argues that local people exercised autonomy despite the centralized authority prescribed by the arbitrary first stage of government. After that stage was eliminated by Congress, the central government still did not intervene in territorial affairs to any extent. Although Eblen criticizes previous writers for concentrating too much on legal structure to the neglect of actual operation, he too falls heir to his criticism. He does try to tell us about local political pressures, but he rarely provides that story in any depth because so little work has been done on this phase of territorial affairs. He suggests, without proving, an interesting class conflict interpretation of intra-territorial politicking.

To place all this descriptive material in context, Eblen developed a framework of imperial stages. The First Empire of his title spans the period from 1787 to 1848 when Americans settled the area from the Appalachians to the first tier of states west of the Mississippi. In this “Mississippi Valley Empire,” as he calls it, the United States government chased out the Indians and set up and democratized the basic territorial system. When Wisconsin entered the Union, this First Empire ended, and, during a brief moment, the United States had no organized territories. During the Second Empire, the “Transcontinental,” the system was applied to the Great Plains, Rocky Mountains, and Pacific Slope, but the Third Empire, the “Oceanic” (1890’s–1920’s) saw a reversion to earlier arbitrary government. According to the author, the Fourth Empire, the “Global” one of our time, abandoned even this facade for exploitation. The worth of this frame-work in relation to the author’s story is difficult to see, because the stages of empire, supposedly correlated with stages of economic growth and Indian policy, make no difference in the actual analysis of the changes in territory-making he discusses.

Because of the sad state of scholarship upon the American territorial system, especially during its first three-quarters of a century of existence, this book had to undertake a number of Herculean tasks. No wonder it had to fail at some of them. The book is a definite new starting place for all subsequent research for the further work for which it pleads and which we can hope Mr. Eblen will undertake. The interesting question raised by this book is why, despite its many contributions, does it still possess many of
the organizational problems of its predecessors. Not only does the reader have difficulty in following the particulars of changing structure and operation, but the lengthy substantive footnotes (some cover most of four pages and many three pages) indicate the author's perplexities in making his material clear. What is the nature of this subject that makes neither the usual chronological or topical treatment satisfactory? Perhaps the solution to this problem of continuity and change in the system lies in finding some analytical device that is explanatory at the same time as it will generate the description. Eblen's instinct is sound in looking for such a key, but his imperial stages does not appear to be the solution.

University of Wisconsin

Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr.


Land was an important determinant in the first half century of American history; the present study repeatedly asserts that it was the dominating influence of the nation. What clearly emerges is substantial evidence to support the former; but the author is not convincing in according the status to land. He fails to prove the assertion, in part because he makes little effort to relate his subject to the other prevailing factors of the times. The notable exception is in Jacksonian politics, especially in the spoils system.

Previous studies of public lands, notably the trilogy of Payson J. Treat (1910), Benjamin H. Hibbard (1924), and Roy M. Robbins (1942), were principally derived from congressional debates and published government documents. Treat analyzed the origins and early sales. Robbins used a Frederick Jackson Turner oriented framework.

Rohrbough is closer to Hibbard than to the others. Both are concerned with alienation of public lands. Hibbard was an agricultural economist whose study is a detailed and somewhat technical account of acquisition and the various policies employed in disposition of the public domain throughout its history.

Rohrbough maintains that Treat and Robbins tell only part of the story and that Hibbard investigates but one side of its alienation. To round out, in effect, what Hibbard has done, the author examines the actual processes by which land ownership was conveyed from the Federal Government to its citizens. He is concerned with the administrative apparatus that conducted this business, its adequacy and efficiency. The principal source of information is the voluminous correspondence between district land officers and surveyors general on the one hand and the General Land Office and the Treasury Department on the other.
British regulations and whatever authority that enforced them disappeared with the Revolution. Familiarity with land offices, surveyors general, and administrative boards of commissions, nevertheless, were a heritage from colonial America. The surrender of claims of the seaboard states gave the new nation a vast public domain in trans-Appalachia. Joining the administrative apparatus of the South with the surveying system of New England, Congress evolved its system in the Ordinance of 1785. It took considerable experience under and modification of this ordinance to approximate the insatiable needs and demands of the citizens of the republic. Hamiltonian, Jeffersonian, and Jacksonian philosophies are clearly reflected in this evolution.

With “one of the greatest migrations in history” the land office business achieved unprecedented magnitude in the post-War of 1812 West. Several new states were added, sectional political power became a factor on the national scene, and the land office business furnished the basis for the Cotton Kingdom and for commercial agriculture in the Mississippi Valley.

With new legislation, including gimmicks in relief and pre-emption, the panic of 1819 was only a temporary setback. Even the two dominant characteristics of the land business—uncertainty of its administrators and a parsimonious Congress—could not keep it from flourishing. By the end of the John Quincy Adams administration the concept that the land business was a service to American citizens was replaced by the idea that it was a means of profit. By the panic of 1837 the dramatic surge to the West had filled out the empty portions east of the Mississippi and the frontier thrust was against the Indian barrier farther to the west.

Central to all of this were 375 federal laws which dealt with the public domain. They made the registers and receivers of the district land offices some of the most powerful instruments of government on the frontier. Jackson’s specie circular and the panic of 1837 marked the decline of the land office business. Urbanization and industrialization henceforth were to dominate American life.

Miami University

Dwight L. Smith


Once every decade some one takes on the task of evaluating Jacksonian America. So MacDonald (1907), Channing (1921), Fish (1927), Turner (1935), Schlesinger (1945), and Van Deusen (1959) rendered their verdicts. Edward Pessen, well known for his studies of the labor movement during the Jacksonian era, offers the latest in a distinguished series. Building effectively on previous scholarship, Pessen does not restate the familiar
history, but weaves a perceptive interpretation of American personality and society, of Jacksonian capitalism, and of the new political system. Americans, he says, were crude, ill-informed, and disinterested in principles. American society was far from egalitarian and during the 1830's and 1840's “class lines hardened.” Rejecting the label “Era of the Common Man,” Pessen calls the age of Jackson “an age of materialism and opportunism.”

In interpreting Jacksonian capitalism and politics, Pessen writes consensus history. Inasmuch as real wages stood still during the period, he denies that Jacksonian Democracy benefited the working man. In the struggle over the B.U.S. he considers Biddle economically more correct than Jackson. “The evidence,” says Pessen, “does not bear out earlier notions” that the political parties “were deeply split along ideological lines.” Like Lee Benson, Pessen portrays Democratic leaders as affluent as any Whig. Although accepting the Gatell thesis that wealthy Americans voted Whig, Pessen contends that other classes divided between the two major parties. After pointing out that not many voters supported third parties, Pessen concludes that “few Americans dissented from the Jacksonian consensus.”

As he develops his interpretation, Pessen makes penetrating judgments on Jacksonians and their historians. For all his political reputation, Van Buren in office was less politically shrewd than Jackson. The Dred Scott decision was typical of the Taney court for most of the decisions of that court were less than egalitarian and the court represented a party that was proslavery. Pessen says that one old Jacksonian scholar—Frederick Jackson Turner—had “less to say about American character than is generally thought,” for in his famous essay Turner was describing the influence of the frontier on the American mind, not on the American character. As for the recent quantifiers, Pessen is skeptical that statistics prove why people voted as they did.

One of the most valuable parts of this substantial book is its sophisticated historiography and its long bibliographical essay. Obscure is the historian whose article or monograph on Jacksonian America is not discussed by Professor Pessen either in the text or in the bibliography. No serious student of the era can afford to ignore either.

Some scholars will argue that Pessen rides the consensus thesis too hard. He follows Hammond’s entrepreneurial interpretation too closely and he is unwilling to accept the Bank War as a fight over government regulation or over financial policy. He insists that before 1829 Jacksonian Congressmen had no goal other than that of ousting Adams. Actually, many of those Democrats had a legitimate interest in the tariff, the institution of slavery, and the philosophy of laissez-faire. He uses a list of Federalists who became Democrats to suggest that Federalists divided evenly in the second party system. A number of ex-Federalists did back Jackson in 1828, but many of them became Whigs in the 1830’s. And even for 1828 the evidence is
not conclusive. In New Hampshire, for example, most former Federalist leaders became Adams men.

The recent session on Jacksonian Democracy at the meeting of the Organization of American Historians demonstrated that the consensus school is under attack. Arthur Schlesinger's *Age of Jackson* has become a classic final statement of the progressive interpretation of Jacksonian Democracy. Edward Pessen's *Jacksonian America* may well become a similar classic—the final stand of the consensus school.

*Phillips Exeter Academy*  
**DONALD B. COLE**

*Lewis Tappan and the Evangelical War Against Slavery.* By *Bertram Wyatt-Brown*. (Cleveland: The Press of Case Western Reserve University, 1969. xxi, 376 p. Frontispiece, bibliographical essay, index. $8.95.)

This book makes an important contribution to the history of American religion and reform in the first half of the nineteenth century. Lewis Tappan and his older brother Arthur were major figures in the antislavery crusade but, with the exception of an unpublished Ph.D. thesis done at Columbia in 1950, have not been the subject of full-scale scholarly attention until the appearance of this work.

Born in Northampton, Massachusetts, in 1788, Lewis was deeply influenced by the Calvinist views of his mother and the Federalist proclivities of New England in general. At the age of fifteen he left home for Boston, where he served an apprenticeship in the dry goods trade and began a long and successful business career. In Boston, too, under the influence of William Ellery Channing, he was temporarily converted to Unitarianism, but he soon returned to orthodox Congregationalism. In 1827 he moved to New York, where he joined his brother Arthur in a prosperous silk-importing company. The two men found enough time not only for their work and their families but also to become deeply immersed in the so-called "benevolent empire," embracing national Bible, tract, Sunday school, missionary, education, and temperance societies. They supported such groups not only financially but through serving as officers. They also founded a "clean" newspaper, the New York *Journal of Commerce*.

About 1830 the two businessmen became interested in the antislavery cause. Arthur paid the fine which released William Lloyd Garrison from the Baltimore jail where he had been imprisoned for libeling a slave trader; he also provided money to help start the *Liberator*. The Tappans, however, brought to this cause a strong religious bent which was in conflict with Garrison's secularism. They were more at home with Charles G. Finney and Theodore Weld than with Garrison. They joined in the founding of the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1833. They started the *Emancipator*
and other antislavery journals. Arthur served as president of the society, and its headquarters was set up in New York. Lewis was particularly active in the publications program. His house was once sacked by an antiabolitionist mob. Although Arthur had been one of the founders of Oberlin, the first coeducational and biracial college, the Tappans could not go along with Garrison’s support of feminism, and the society split into two irreconcilable wings in 1840.

Perhaps the most interesting chapter in the book deals with the *Amistad* captives, a group of slaves who mutinied and took control of their ship in 1839. Landing on the coast of Connecticut, they were lodged in the New Haven jail and became the subject of complicated legal proceedings. Lewis Tappan was instrumental in securing their release and return to Africa as free men.

The brothers’ silk business failed in the Panic of 1837, and Lewis soon founded “The Mercantile Agency,” the nation’s first large-scale credit-rating enterprise, which later became Dun & Bradstreet. For a time he was active in the Liberty Party. He founded the *National Era*, an antislavery paper in Washington which first published *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*. He also founded the American Missionary Association, largely supported by Congregationalists, which is best known for its aid to the education of southern Negroes during and after Reconstruction. Arthur Tappan died in 1865, Lewis in 1873.

The author's attitude toward the reformers is sympathetic but not uncritical. He deals rather even-handedly with the various brands of abolitionists. The book is based on prodigious research in primary sources and is competently written.

*Pennsylvania State University*  
Ira V. Brown

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*Grant Takes Command*. By Bruce Catton. (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1968. vi, 556 p. Maps, bibliography, index. $10.00.)

In this account Grant, the man, dominates the narrative and he has been explained more clearly than in any previous account of his leadership in the war. Grant was honest, forthright, and level headed. He studied the military problems as they arose and, once assured that his solutions were correct, he was undeviating in following through. Grant learned as he went and he became ever more confident of his own estimate of his methods and objectives.

He is presented as unperturbed by heavy losses in the Wilderness, at Spotsylvania, and at Cold Harbor. It is likely, however, that he was concerned by these heavy losses and perhaps, at times, had misgivings as to the correctness of his leadership. Such misgivings are not even suggested by Catton. In any case, Grant knew that his losses would be replaced, with Lee it was otherwise.
Before Chattanooga, Grant evolved a plan to raise the siege of the city. It was decided to gain possession of Lookout Mountain and this was accomplished without much difficulty. Next, Sherman with the Army of the Tennessee was directed to attack the Confederate position guarding The Tunnel, through which passed the Western & Atlantic Railroad running from Chattanooga to Atlanta, and by its capture to sever Bragg's line of supply. Sherman was then to combine with the troops that had taken Lookout Mountain and crush Bragg's army. Thomas was to direct the Army of the Cumberland against the center of the Confederate line stationed on Missionary Ridge and prevent re-enforcements from being sent to oppose Sherman.

Illogically, to Grant, things did not work out. Cleburne's stubborn defense at The Tunnel beat off all attacks by Sherman. Hooker, coming from Lookout Mountain, was long delayed. Finally, Grant ordered Thomas to send the Army of the Cumberland forward to take and occupy the Confederate trenches at the foot of Missionary Ridge to relieve the pressure against Sherman. This was done, but, instead of halting as expected when the trenches had been taken, the men under orders from their unit commanders rushed up the face of the Ridge and routed Bragg's defending troops. Grant did not press the pursuit. Thomas and his Army of the Cumberland had won the fight. Sherman's and Hooker's troops had accomplished little.

In Virginia, Grant faced an adversary who commanded a veteran army with experienced leaders. The going was never easy. Lee's skillful handling of his forces and the use of trenches were part of the problem. At Spotsylvania and at Cold Harbor Grant learned of the added strength that properly constructed and well-manned trenches gave an alert defender; Grant's subordinates failed to capture an almost defenseless Petersburg in June; they failed him again at the Crater in July.

In spite of Lee's stubborn defense, Grant's relentless pressure forced an extension of the southern lines. Finally, Lee was forced to abandon his trenches and retreat, hoping to concentrate his army in the Lynchburg area, where supplies and munitions would be available. A week of open mobile warfare sufficed to force Lee's surrender.

The author gives an interesting account of the relations of Grant with General B. F. Butler; he does not care much for General J. H. Wilson and less for Generals H. W. Halleck and W. F. Smith. In addition to the Official Records, the principal references are to Wilson's Life of Rawlins, Porter's Campaigning with Grant and Badeau's Military History of Grant. There are footnotes, a bibliography, a good index and several inadequate maps. Altogether the author has done a good job and one that effectively and authoritatively completes Grant's military record.

Locust Valley, N. Y. 

Thomas Robson Hay

This volume completes the Civil War Centennial Commission project for a comprehensive bibliography. The method employed in Volume I continues, that is, the Library of Congress author cards for Civil War books are reproduced and up to four lines of critical comment by various editors are appended. The categories of books included in Volume II are General Works; Biographies, Memoirs, and Collected (biographical) Works; The Union—Government and Politics; The Union—Economic and Social Studies; The Union—State and Local Studies; The Confederacy—Government and Politics; The Confederacy—Economic and Social Studies; and The Confederacy—State and Local Studies. Volume II also includes a detailed index to both volumes, which immensely enhances the utility of the work, especially because the assignment of books to the various categories of listings is sometimes eccentric (e.g., Frank H. Taylor’s Philadelphia in the Civil War is not included among state and local studies along with most comparable books but appears in Volume I among Military Aspects—Soldier Life).

The editors repeat that to attain full comprehensiveness would have been impossible; they estimate the existence of 60,000 books, pamphlets, and monographs dealing with the Civil War. Volume I of the present work lists about 2,700 titles, Volume II 2,400 titles, with some slight repetition. Not the least of the virtues of the collection, however, is that it provides a guide to other, often more specialized, bibliographies.

It remains true that in any work so large there are bound to be inconsistencies and targets for quarrels. Unfortunately, this volume appears to feature somewhat more typographical errors than did Volume I, including the notable blooper of heading the “Biographies” section “Bibliographies” (p. 35). In general, the editors of the eight sections of Volume II have expressed their capsule evaluations more cautiously than did some of the contributors to Volume I; nevertheless, Percy Harold Epler’s biography of Clara Barton turns up as “satisfactory” in one section and “rather superficial” in another. It is incorrect to call the 1952 edition of Grant’s Personal Memoirs, edited by E. B. Long, a condensation. To indulge also in a quibble which has local relevance in that the Andrew A. Humphreys papers are deposited in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, this reviewer must object to Robert W. Johannsen’s comment upon Henry Hollingsworth Humphrey’s biography of General Humphreys: “Humphreys was a dependable but uninspiring division commander in the Army of the Potomac; this biography fits the subject.” Johannsen here ignores the general’s long and important service as chief of staff of the Army of the Potomac, as well as his brief period as a corps commander; and Humphreys
well merits a modern, scholarly biography, for which the papers at 1300 Locust Street would supply an admirable foundation (although anyone undertaking the task will need engineering as well as military expertise).

The editors comment that they expected Volume II to list 3,000 titles, but that the total falls short of that number because governmental and political studies proved to be far less numerous than anticipated. It is striking, too, that of the political works that do appear, so many are wartime pamphlets and sermons and so few are modern studies. Despite historians' apparent overworking of the Civil War era, it is the military field alone that possibly has been overworked, and in political history much remains to be done. Anyone perusing the political section is likely to think of many topics that cry out for further investigation. Much the same thing is true of the sections on economic, social, and local works. Many of the listings in the state and local categories turn out to be more military history, so that state and local political and social studies are especially few; and Pennsylvania and Philadelphia display an exceptional paucity of listings. I stated in my review of Volume I that "the researcher tracking down almost any Civil War topic will almost certainly learn that there exists more in print about it than he imagined or would have been likely to discover without this compendium"; but it is also true that of political, economic, social, and local studies employing the resources of modern scholarship we need still more. Thus the bibliography offers a challenge as well as a record of accomplishment.

Temple University

Russell F. Weigley


Like the Civil War Centennial, the centennial of Reconstruction seems certain to call forth a great flood of works dealing with the stormy post-war era. Within the last few years a considerable number of specialized studies have appeared and, in addition, general histories have been written by men like John Hope Franklin, Kenneth Stampp, and Rembert Patrick. This present volume of Professor Avery Craven is the latest addition to the growing body of literature.

Mr. Craven, of course, needs no introduction to the guild of history. His credentials as a historian of the Old South and the Civil War are both known and respected. As he himself aptly observes in the preface to this study, "I have not thought it necessary to demonstrate the fact that I am acquainted with the manuscript and printed sources." His point of view about the era is really expressed in the subtitle of his work, for he does not view Appomattox as the ending of the Civil War; rather, he regards Re-
construction as the final chapter in the conflict. In his own words, “Until the Negro’s place in American life was fixed, the war was not over” (p. 2). His approach to the entire story is somewhat different in that he devotes his first three chapters to the background and history of the war itself before turning to deal with the aftermath of conflict.

When he reaches the period of Reconstruction, his treatment is more conventional, beginning with presidential reconstruction, the undoing of the President’s program, and the ultimate imposition of the Radical design upon the South. Along the way he turns aside to give some attention to national politics during the era.

It is difficult to say whether Mr. Craven, in his judgment of Reconstruction, should be classed as a traditionalist or a revisionist. He seems, in fact, to fall somewhere in between. His judgment of Andrew Johnson, for example, is the one most commonly accepted among historians today. He pictures the President as “the victim of his own constitutional theory” (p. 100), as a man with “antiquated ideas regarding states’ rights” (p. 180), and as a person with “bad habits of hesitation and indecision” (p. 182). Concerning the black codes, he writes that they were a serious blunder, and then raises the question as to why the South failed so completely to anticipate the northern reaction to the codes. His answer is that neither side understood the other. “One viewed the freedman as a Negro who in the past had required . . . both control and supervision; the other saw him as a man immediately capable of working and voting as a citizen. . . . Both were partly in error, but neither had yet learned the fact” (p. 122).

Concerning Reconstruction as a whole, his view is that it came to an end “through a political deal between southerners willing to yield all the abstract values they had held for the sake of economic gain and northerners willing to drop their abstract values for the advancement of political and economic ends” (p. 304). The result was that “the Negro was forgotten, the carpetbagger repudiated, and Republican control continued at the price demanded by ex-Confederates” (p. 305).

The book is written with the lucidity and grace which the profession has come to expect of Mr. Craven. But does it say anything new? In simple truth, it does not. It is an interesting account of the period, but one that offers insights that are neither new nor different.

University of South Florida

Martin Abbott


A towering figure in the art world today is Andrew Wyeth of Chadds Ford, Pennsylvania. His moody, realistic, superbly executed, and frequently enigmatic paintings for those seeking meaning, are sought after and well
paid for by his admirers who proudly hang them in home, office, gallery and art museum. With his son James, brothers-in-law John McCoy and Peter Hurd, sisters Henriette and Carolyn, and a select coterie of artist friends and students who have worked with him, Wyeth epitomizes a tradition that had its beginnings in the lower Brandywine Valley and has flourished there for nearly a century.

It is the history of this “school” of art that Henry C. Pitz, one of its latter-day practitioners, sets forth in felicitous language enhanced by attractive illustrations in *The Brandywine Tradition*. After an introduction to the geographic and historic setting of the region, and here Mr. Pitz could have been more scrupulous with some of his historical facts, the reader meets Howard Pyle, the Wilmington Quaker who founded the school and whose work, personality, and teaching influenced several generations of illustrators and artists. The greater part of the book is a biography of Pyle as art student and writer and illustrator of articles and books for young people. He discovered his métier illustrating historical themes and adventure stories. His services were sought by major publishers in the 1880’s and 1890’s, and at the peak of his career he became a teacher gathering about him talented, promising young artists at his studio in Wilmington and at his summer school on the Brandywine Battlefield at Chadds Ford.

“A despot, kindly but exacting,” Pyle was a master teacher, frank, fluent, critical, but never demeaning, and something of an actor who enjoyed close rapport with his students. He was a “builder of futures,” asserts the author, who furnishes glimpses of some of the three score or more artists whose careers perpetuated the Pyle tradition and the “Pyle look.”

Pyle and his students were the pictorial spokesmen of American history, impressing upon the nation’s consciousness the archetypes of the buck-skinned frontiersman, the ax-wielding settler, the ragged Revolutionary soldier, the pioneer wife and mother, the plantation aristocrat, and scores of other imaginative symbols. None of the Brandywine artists was a copyist; each had his or her own subject interests and individual techniques and style. Among them were Violet and Thornton Oakley, Stanley Arthurs, Clifford Ashley, Harvey Dunn, Frank Schoonover, Elizabeth Shippen Green, Jessie Wilcox Smith, George Harding, and Newell Conyers Wyeth, progenitor of a talented family.

In a chapter devoted to the elder Wyeth as illustrator and teacher Mr. Pitz offers a definition of the “tradition” that is both environmental and spiritual. The Brandywine Valley worked its spell; its beauty and its history offered a comforting sense of continuity and the materials for the artistry of the creative, imaginative mind, the observant eye, and the talented hand. But it was also a tradition that was “not provincial, not limited to set themes or any regional boundary. It can transfer itself. It can thrive in any place or condition that feeds the spirit and excites the hungry, picture-making eye.” From Pyle to the elder Wyeth and his contemporaries, thence to the present generation of Brandywine artists...
passed this enlargement of vision, a firing of the imagination and a kindling of a creative spark that inspire them to express what they find as pictorial document of the human condition.

Does the Brandywine tradition have a future? Amid the kaleidoscope of shifting fads and follies that mark the contemporary art world there persists a desire among the great mass of people for narrative and illustrative art that records American yearnings and sentiments, its appearances and accomplishments, and a delineation of the simple things by those of probing eye, interpreting mind, and skilled hand. It is not stagnant and repetitive, but a way of seeing and doing vigorously evident in the works of the Wyeths, Hurds, McCoys, of Philip Jamison, Peter Rodgers, Paul Westcott, George Weymouth, Carol Pyle Jones, Edward Shenton and others. Fed by new tributary talents, the mainstream of the Brandywine tradition has refreshed itself for a century and presently shows no lessening of this power of self renewal.

Hagley Museum

NORMAN B. WILKINSON

Research in Archives: The Use of Unpublished Primary Sources. By PHILIP C. BROOKS (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969. xi, 127 p. Selected bibliography, index. $5.75.)

This readable little volume, a manual for the researcher rather than for the archivist or curator of manuscripts, is directed primarily toward the young scholar, but many an older professional can read it with profit, if he will then mend his ways. As historian, long-time archivist in the National Archives, and during the past decade director of the Truman Library, Dr. Brooks analyzes problems and elucidates methods from his experience as both user and administrator of records. Therefore he begins by defining archives, explaining their nature, and pointing out the kinship between “official records” and “personal papers.” In seeking the sources the historian is well advised to study the printed works first, with an enquiring mind about authors and editors and the origin of the documents. With intelligent clues to the sources of his subject and their location he will know, in part at least, what he may expect to find in a particular repository and hopefully he will develop an appreciation for the life history of the documents as a means of enriching his research. Pertinent indeed is the Spanish proverb which Dr. Brooks quotes on the first page: “... a man must carry knowledge with him if he would bring home knowledge.”

As the researcher should prepare himself for intelligent inquiry before he enters the archives, so the archivist must have knowledge of the records in his custody essential to the preparation of useful finding aids. He ought to be well informed also about collateral records elsewhere that make his own more meaningful. The archivist’s responsibility concerning limitations
on accessibility and use constitutes a separate chapter. Such restriction
becomes a delicate matter at times, especially with respect to public
records and the democratic principle expressed in "the people's right to
know." Perhaps the liberality that generally prevails toward accessibility
and use in American institutions, public and private, has intensified the
scholar's criticism of such limitations as exist; but Dr. Brook's well-
balanced exposition will enlighten the researcher and give him pause for
thought in answering the question, seldom considered by the scholar:
Why are documents created?

Chapters 5-7 are concerned with the use of "modern" records, i.e., of
the twentieth century, especially during the past forty years marked by
"papyrology." This is the era of paperwork, of geometric increase in volume
of records, ease of duplication, complexity of filing, and the new technology
of automation affecting both the creation of records and their use. How
can the scholar best take advantage of new techniques? Can the photo-
graphing of documents on a large scale become a substitute for note taking?
Chapter 6 on historical criticism, with special application to modern records,
deals helpfully with basic considerations governing the scholar, whatever
the period of his research. Finally, the author provides perceptive com-
ments on records management, duplication of sources, microfilm publica-
tion, oral history, and historical analysis by quantification.

Here, then, is a very useful book that the young scholar should read and
apply to his historical research. It should be among the required reading
of every course on historical method. Although it was not designed for the
archivist, he may also learn something from it as well as take satisfaction
from its professional support.

Institute of Early American History and Culture  LESTER J. CAPPON

_The Cousin Jacks: The Cornish in America._ By A. L. ROWSE. (New York:
Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969. xii, 451 p. Appendix, index. $8.95.)

The title indicates the author's intentions in regard to the contents of
this book, and, indeed, if one approaches it with the hope of learning some-
thing of the Cornish background he will be disappointed. Dr. Rowse, with
the gift for idiosyncratic ideas and expression for which he is well known,
has approached his story well within the framework of the known history
of the original colonial settlements. Largely on the evidence of surnames,
he speaks of the coming, early and late, of the Cornishmen to this continent,
but his mention of them in Mexico and Canada is not extensive.

Dr. Rowse's typical treatment is the citation of biographies of more or
less prominent persons of Cornish origin, in the historical context of a given
locality. Thus he speaks of the origin of settlement of, let us say, a mining
area in Michigan and in a few deft paragraphs prepares the scene for the
advent of the Cornish. He then selects some salient Cornish personalities
for more detailed treatment, and tells of their contributions to the community. This method of treatment is repeated throughout the book. Dr. Rowe’s continuing enumeration of the occurrences of Cornish surnames, as culled from the telephone books of cities throughout the country, is excessively boring. In one minor respect this method of determining the existence of Cornish surnames has probably misled the author. At least in the South, numerous bearers of these names are apt to be black men whose ancestors assumed the names from their masters, or for other reasons.

Dr. Rowe’s liking and admiration for his fellow Cornishmen and their adventures in this country is equalled by his disrelish for the Puritans and their New England commonwealth. It is clear that he feels that the Cornish that settled there did so either by mistake, or through malevolent fate, and he hurries on to more congenial areas. As in all treatments of early ethnic groups, the evidence of surname occurrence in surviving records is heavily relied on; unlikely many other writers, however, Dr. Rowe continually emphasizes the ambiguity of such names as Rowe, Hicks, Pearce and many others which are found in areas of Cornish settlement.

Dr. Rowe frequently mentions that one of his intentions is to stimulate interest in his subject, and perhaps to inspire the writing of biographical studies of certain subjects who have hitherto been neglected. Certainly the aim is to be applauded. His style often produced dangling lures which are sometimes difficult to resist taking. Thus, he wonders whether the early Virginia surname of Beheathland was a deformation of the name Behenna found in later records. This seems unlikely, as Beheathland marriages into the Bernard, Dade, Massey and other related families of Westmoreland and King William Counties, Virginia, produced generations of unfortunate ladies bearing Beheathland as a given name, and the spelling was strictly maintained until very recent times. Again, in speaking of the nefarious Colonel John Coode of Maryland, Dr. Rowe speculated on what condition the Cooeds continue today. If, as seems likely, but which is impossible to prove because of destruction of records, the Colonel was the ancestor of the present Coade family, the answer is that they prospered, married into prominent Maryland and Philadelphia families, and are fondly remembered in St. Mary’s County, Maryland, the scene of the Colonels’ peculations, where they lived respected for three hundred years.

But the larger scenes of Cornish contributions lay to the westward. It was with the mineral industries there that we find Cornish names largely linked. And it is there that the remnants of Cornish folk culture linger still in this country. Dr. Rowe has not only visited many of the areas of which he treats, he has also depended on interview and personal knowledge for the facts he gives. Not for him the mug-book and the vanity publication; but, on the other hand, references of a first-rate order are not neglected. Although this book will never be an indispensable tool in any library, it will be acceptable to all, and a gateway to many.

Historical Society of Pennsylvania  
John D. Kilbourne

Man chooses to relate to his environment in many ways. Apathy or exploitation are two of the most common responses. The ugly results of indifference are seen throughout our country as our past architectural achievements are neglected or destroyed, our landscape disfigured, and our vital amenities abused. Attempts to change this attitude tend to be sporadic, limited in scope, and generally insufficient to meet the acute needs.

The publication of *Design Resources of Doylestown* represents an imaginative step toward reversing this pattern. The Borough Planning Commission engaged the Bucks County Planning Commission to prepare a report about the community which aims to overcome insensitivity through developing an appreciation of those qualities which contribute to Doylestown’s unique identity.

Although dominate elements such as a significant structure or a spacious park may enhance the environment, the aesthetic appearance of the total community derives from a subtle blending of many factors. For this reason, the findings in this report are based on a systematic study undertaken to identify and catalog those varied aspects of Doylestown which, when combined, create its character.

The historical development of the town is summarized because the imprint of the past is still visible today. Many of the inventoried resources are part of an inherited collection dating back to early times. But the tempo of change has been slow in Doylestown and each period has left a legacy. Architectural examples, utilitarian objects, street facades, planting designs, landmarks, open spaces, historical and social activity sites, and signs are some of the material included in the research.

The purpose of this study was admirable: an appeal for appreciation spoken to the public in nonscholarly language. The publication is lavishly illustrated with sketches and photographs. *Design Resources of Doylestown* is a comprehensible layman’s guide to seeing the environment. The strengths of inclusiveness, however, are also its weaknesses. By concentrating on a wide range of classifications, the contributions of each resource are not thoroughly investigated. Examples within each category are too limited. The report would also benefit from a sharp, focused conclusion, indicating possible methods for preserving Doylestown’s resources and making complementary additions.

Hopefully, *Design Resources of Doylestown* is a beginning step. It is a direct challenge to the town to respect its environment. It could be an inspiration for other communities to launch similar studies.

Philadelphia

Nancy Hubby
This slender book is a delightful and informative introduction to the pleasures and pitfalls of biographical writing. No contemporary practitioner of this demanding craft is a better qualified guide than Mrs. Bowen, the author of seven biographies, including *Yankee from Olympus: Justice Holmes and His Family; John Adams and the American Revolution; The Lion and the Throne: The Life and Times of Sir Edward Coke,* as well as other historical studies (most recently, *Miracle at Philadelphia*). She not only draws illustrations from these books but from those of other writers whose work she greatly admires—notably, Garret Mattingly, Elizabeth Jenkins, Lord David Cecil, Hilda F. M. Prescott, and André Maurois. Her greatest admiration, if measured by the frequency of the examples drawn from the book, is for Mattingly's *The Armada,* an example of historical scholarship at its finest.

*Biography: The Craft and the Calling* was inspired by the questions on writing techniques which usually followed Mrs. Bowen's public lectures on history and biographies. "After years of such questions," she writes, "it seemed expedient to go further and answer them once and for all in a book." Accordingly, this work is "wholly concerned with how a writer puts a book together, the problem of setting it on paper, economically, vividly, with clarity and narrative continuity." It consists of fifteen short chapters a sampling of whose titles suggests the book's scope—"Plotting the biography"; "The shape of a biography"; "The opening scene"; "The end scene . . ."; "What the reader must know"; "How men looked . . ."; "How men spoke . . ."; "Techniques of revealing the hero's thought." It is in chapters like these last three that Mrs. Bowen excels, doubtless because she is herself such a superb master of the techniques she describes. Less rewarding are her chapters on such aspects of biographical writing as "translations, citations and footnotes," and "Prefaces." This no doubt is because such information, readily available in many guides and handbooks, is already familiar to historians and the general reader alike. The least satisfactory chapter of the book is the last in which Mrs. Bowen presents "certain confessions of the great and the near great, from Serov and Moscheles, musicians, to several Presidents of the United States—and Francis Bacon." Its major shortcoming is candidly and tersely described by the author herself. Since "there was no feasible way to classify the quotations," she writes, "I have simply strung them along as the text developed."

Despite her concern with biographical technique, with ways and means of expression, Mrs. Bowen (unlike the promoters of correspondence courses who promise the acquisition of originality and creativity in a few easy lessons) is well aware that the writing of biography is something more than a matter "of conscious contrivance and planning," not merely a result "of knowing all the tricks." Inspiration and talent, she insists, are as essential
as industry and techniques. One is also entitled to the suspicion, modestly unvoiced by Mrs. Bowen, that no amount of instruction can impart the perception and skill which have gone into the creation of her own books or teach the techniques which she rightly regards as indispensable for the biographer who wishes to command a large popular audience. Such a writer, she says, "must move into the realm of feeling, of men and women and their emotions. Through historical evidence, fortified and animated by his own experience of living, he must pick these people up bodily from his dry pages, turn them over in his hand, stare at them long and searchingly." Talented writers, professional as well as amateur, will read with interest and profit a description of the techniques by which one master craftsman accomplishes this exacting task.

Lafayette College

Jacob E. Cooke


Not long ago, a friend of mine saw me busily reading the twelfth volume of the Labaree edition of the Papers of Benjamin Franklin. "How on earth can you read all that dreary stuff?" he asked me. "It must be frightfully dull." "Easy," I replied, "it's fun." He didn't believe me, I am sure, but it has been true of every volume so far printed and it bids fair to be true of all the volumes to come.

Like the previous volumes, this one includes all the extant papers produced by Franklin and his correspondents during a single period—this time the year 1765. It was an important year in the life of Benjamin Franklin and of America. It was the year of the Stamp Act, a year in which Franklin, after unwisely proposing the name of a friend to be a stamp distributer in Pennsylvania, carried on in England, where he was colonial Agent, a steady campaign to secure the repeal of the act. While he was living on Craven Street in London, he received letters from friends in America, who included literate people like Ezra Stiles, Isaac Norris, Joseph Galloway, and Cadwallader Colden, and also from nearly illiterate ones like Deborah Franklin, his wife. He also had letters from Englishmen like Peter Collinson and Lord Kames and from continental Europeans like Conte Giovanni Baptista Caraburi of Turin and Heinrich Ehrenfried Luther of Frankfort. The letters he received from these people and from many less well known are interesting, almost as interesting as those he wrote in reply.

For instance, in May of 1765, in writing to John Canton a fellow electrician, he took the time to set down a number of magic circles and squares, using ink of four colors to identify four different sets of circles in one espe-
cially complicated figure (pp. 146–149). After the announcement of the stamp tax, he worked out a system of supplying the American colonies with a paper currency and at the same time providing the Crown with revenue (pp. 47–60). While he was in England as Pennsylvania’s Agent, Deborah Franklin wrote several letters to him, describing in detail their new house on Market Street: in “the room we Cale yours,” he was told, “thair is in it your Deske the armonekey maid like a Deske a large Cheste with all the writeings that was in your room down stairs the box of glases for musick and for the Elicktresatency and all your close and the pickters as I donte drive nailes lest it shold not be write. . . . O my Child there is graite odes [odds] between a mans being at home and a broad as everey bodey is a fraid thay shall doe wrong so everey thing is lefte undun” (pp. 292–299).

Franklin was never a man who could be limited to one interest or who could restrict himself to corresponding with one individual in a colony. Already he was beginning to be well known over the colonies: he received letters from friends not only in Philadelphia but also in Burlington and Woodbridge, New Jersey, in New York, in New Haven, in Newport, in Boston, in Wilmington, North Carolina, among other places. He both received and wrote letters on many subjects—on his efforts in England to get the Stamp Act repealed, on magic circles, on Mather Byles of Boston, whom he recommended for an honorary degree from the University of Edinburgh, on the efforts of John Morgan to establish a medical school at Philadelphia. The Franklin of Volume 12 is already a “citizen of the world” and a “man of many talents.” He was also a mature American and an incipient internationalist.

Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College

Frederick B. Tolles

A Guide to the Manuscript Collection, Morristown National Historical Park. (A Microfilm Project Sponsored by the National Historical Publications Commission.) Bruce W. Stewart and Hans Mayer, Project Editors. (Morristown, N. J.: Morristown National Historical Park, 1968. 69 rolls and pamphlet guide. $10.00 a reel; $600.00 the set.)

The Morristown National Historical Park owns a most important collection of Revolutionary War materials. While these came from many sources, the largest donation was the bequest of the late Lloyd W Smith. In all there are some 17,500 manuscripts with virtually every prominent figure in the Revolutionary period represented. The collection is especially rich in items relating to Washington. Although its concentration on the Revolution is outstanding, other periods are also represented. About ten per cent of the accumulation is devoted to the sixteenth and seventeenth
centuries, approximately forty per cent to the eighteenth and another forty to the nineteenth century, with the remainder in the twentieth.

The Guide devotes 125 pages to alphabetical lists of correspondents and recipients, a truly impressive "Who's Who" of the past and a helpful research instrument.


This volume marks the 185th anniversary of the Diocese. Written by Dr. Twelves, who stresses that he is not a professional historian, it summarizes in a paragraph or two the vital historical facts of the various parishes after first developing the history of the Diocese itself under the administrations of its various bishops. Space is also devoted to "Institutions and Organizations of the Diocese," "Famous Leaders of the Diocese," "Pennsylvania Mother of Bishops," "A Missionary Diocese," "Church Burial Yards," and "Anecdotes and Curious Happenings."

**Erratum**

Milton M. Klein has brought to our attention an error in his review of Ray W. Irwin's *Daniel D. Tompkins*, published in our July, 1969, issue on pages 436-437. In his first paragraph he referred to Tompkins as Madison's Vice-President, and in his last paragraph to Tompkins as a member of the Madison Administration. Dr. Klein's correction of Monroe for Madison reached us after the July issue had been printed.