The American Revolution, as Dr. David Ramsay noted in 1789, so stimulated "the active powers" of Americans that "a vast expansion of the human mind speedily followed." The necessity to justify, explain, interpret, and propagandize their cause tapped all the literary and artistic resources of the people and produced an outpouring of letters, documents, books, pamphlets, cartoons, broadsides, poems and songs that remind us, if we need the reminder, of the rich intellectual and cultural complex out of which the American Revolution emerged and the new nation was founded. A good portion of this literature—some of it unique—has been preserved in three of the country's oldest and most prominent institutional archives—the Library Company of Philadelphia (1731), the American Philosophical Society (1743), and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (1824). As a bicentennial celebration, the three institutions have mounted a joint exhibition of their holdings and published an accompanying catalog, *A Rising People: The Founding of the United States, 1765 to 1789.*

The authors of this catalog have attempted the difficult task of writing a narrative of the Revolution based solely on documents and letters in the institutions' possession. That they have been able to cover so successfully the most important aspects of the Revolution's political, intellectual, military and constitutional history testifies to the enormously valuable collections in their depositories. As a result, we participate in the furor aroused by the Stamp Act in 1765 and the subsequent Townshend and Tea Acts as if we were Philadelphians living at the time, for most of the documents illustrated here emanated from that city. We witness the battles of Concord and Lexington, Bunker Hill, Montreal, and the Jerseys also from the point of view of Philadelphia observers of events beyond their doors, until finally we approach the writing and signing of the two most important documents of the era and of the country's history, the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, both of which took place in the capital city. Although the focus is, then, Philadelphia, the history presented here is not unduly distorted, albeit there are necessarily some important omissions. It was not, however, the authors' intention to be comprehensive: as Julian Boyd says in his Foreword, they could only present "a modest sampling"; their purpose was to suggest, not to fully examine, the great achievements of a remarkable generation. They succeed in doing so, straightforwardly and succinctly.
What is most interesting in this collection of photographed documents is what they reveal about the literary capacities of Americans of that generation; how, in other words, they serve not only as footnotes to the narrative, but become intrinsically important as cultural artifacts and literary contributions. Together, they constitute the foundations of an American culture. This becomes apparent when one realizes how little the colonists produced in the way of literature up to 1765: no fiction, no plays, a smattering of poetry, some sermons and religious tracts. The emotions aroused by the Stamp Act, however, stirred the colonists into print, forcing them to articulate what they had always taken for granted. They did so, utilizing imagery, metaphors, and symbols commonly shared and understood—those derived from the Bible, Roman history, Shakespeare, Enlightenment philosophers. Thus, while serving polemical or informational purposes, they created a literature ideological in content but literary in mode of expression. They were a "rising people," then, culturally as well as politically. After the Revolution, literature could become professionalized for writers now could find support in the proliferation of publications and publishing media spawned by the necessities of the Revolution. As a result, the new United States was well on its way toward the creation of a national culture.

A Rising People stands as testimony to this great achievement, and for that reason, as well as for its respect for history and its balanced restraint, it will remain a valuable book, to keep and refer to for a long time to come, long after the uncritical patriotic effusions spawned by bicentennial enthusiasm have passed from the scene.

National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution

Lillian B. Miller


The foundation, planning, and growth of Philadelphia have been recorded pictorially in far greater detail than have most other American cities. To concentrate on Philadelphia's early years is rewarding not only because so much of our nation's early political and social life took place there but also because the city affords a look at orderly town planning at its most controlled, and the structures erected comprise a microcosm of our architectural history.

The early materials for this study have been gathered in City of Independence in greater abundance than ever before, and are accompanied by a wealth of anecdote, information, and detail. Martin Snyder is an attorney in Philadelphia, but he is also a notable collector with that combination of enthusiasm and learning characteristic of the best of his kind. He has
attempted to be inclusive; every view or map of Philadelphia, of which
the author is aware, and which was created through 1800 appears in the
book.

One must not confuse *City of Independence* with such compendia as
I. N. Phelps Stokes' *Iconography of Manhattan Island*, conceived as a
catalog to be consulted as one dips into a dictionary or encyclopaedia.
Mr. Snyder evidently intends his reader to start on page 1 and read through
to the end. How else to explain the arrangement of items by type, subject,
and original date (with subsequent states and issues grouped together),
and the presence of only a single index? This is not to say the book cannot
be used as a reference work—it can, and it will—but only to suggest that
certain characteristics of its compilation make it less than ideal for the
purpose.

Mr. Snyder has not been served well by his publishers in several re-
spects. Throughout the book the term "attribution" is used to indicate
the artist, printer, or publisher actually credited on the piece. This is at
variance with the common use of the term to apply to an unsigned work
ascribed with good reason to a particular maker, and it is confusing to
one familiar with other catalogs to confront the word "attributed" in this
unfamiliar meaning. At least once the editors did not catch a footnote
left confusingly in the middle of a page (p. 27), and the book would have
been easier to use if the typography had set out more clearly than it does
the titles of prints, sections of the text, and other functional divisions
throughout.

I regret the lack of a bibliography, setting down in a single sequence
the references to books and articles scattered throughout the text and the
footnotes, and I deplore the strong green tint inexplicably and randomly
printed beneath a number of the monochrome reproductions.

On balance this is a generous and informed book, full of good material
and interesting information. If it is the work of an amateur, rather than
a professional curator or bibliographer, that does not diminish its value
to the profession or its attraction for the general reader. Let us not forget
that the iconography of Philadelphia did not stop in 1800; let us hope that
one day before long we can enjoy a study of the later pictures and maps
at least equal to this one of the earlier period.

The Library of Congress

ALAN FERN

*The Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania in the Time of William Penn. Volume
I, 1680–1700. Compiled by Gail McKnight Beckman. (New York:
Vantage Press, 1976. 250 p. $17.50.)*

Law books, case reports, and other legal compilations have been tra-
ditionally unpopular with the general reader, and these are usually left
to the professional or to the specialized antiquarian. The older the text, the less its appeal, and in a day of grossly inflated prices for all other antiquities, a book of law two or three hundred years old can be bought for a few dollars. Two years ago, the Law Library copy of *Signers of the Constitution* went for $7.50 a volume at public auction; the particular Signer's signature on the title pages alone must have been worth more.

This literary prejudice prevents us, perhaps, from recognizing our colonial laws and case reports as solid mines of information about our early predecessors, whose virtues, vanities, and intolerances are most clearly displayed in the statutes they wrote. Nowhere is there more relevant evidence of what people believed to be of first importance than in the laws they made to govern their own lives.

This newly published compilation of the first statutes of William Penn's government is particularly revealing in this regard. By example, in the royal Charter, we find that one of the declared purposes of the settlement is the conversion of the Indians ("to reduce the Savage Nature by gentle and just manners to the love of Civill Societie and Christian Religion"); and this concern by the Quakers was in fact at once put in effect by two statutes, one to protect the Indians from the evils of liquor, and the other to prohibit overreaching by unscrupulous merchants who "often oppress and abuse them in their way of trading and dealing with them." A different side of the Quaker character, however, is shown in their "Law About Trying and Punishing Negros" which provided for these members of a different race not only a separate trial, but for harsher punishment than white offenders for the same crimes. Of interest too, is the strongly prudish trait revealed by the Quakers, who followed the example of Puritan neighbors in banning cursing, loose speech, drinking of toasts, prizes, stage plays, masques, revels, cards, dice, lotteries, or any other "Vaine and Evill Sports and Games."

Not only is this a fascinating window into Penn's settlement on the Delaware but the book itself has been deliberately rendered in an eminently readable form. The print is large and clear, and seventeenth-century alphabetic peculiarities and abbreviations have been given in modern form, without altering the original text or spelling. The text of the statutes is preceded by a fifty-page historical introduction, which provides a first-rate summary of the colonial system of laws, government, and administration of justice in Pennsylvania. This text should be as helpful to the new student as to the legal historian.

The publication of this statutory compilation completes a project commenced nearly a century ago. Official publication of the provincial statutes was first considered in 1883, and (working in reverse, it would seem) Volume II, covering the years 1700 to 1800, appeared in 1896. Volume I was to remain an unfulfilled promise until this book was undertaken as a project of the American Philosophical Society under the editorial direction of Dr. Beckman and brought to completion this year.
Prior to the appearance of this work, the only compilation of the full text of the early provincial laws was to be found in an 1879 text, with the ponderous title of *Charter to William Penn, and Laws of the Province of Pennsylvania, Passed Between the Years 1682 and 1700, Preceded by the Duke of York’s Laws in Force from the Year 1676 to the Year 1682*. Not only is this work rare and difficult to find, but also it has inaccuracies and omissions which Dr. Beckman’s text has corrected, and this useful replacement has long been overdue. It should be noted that Dr. Beckman’s text does give the Duke of York’s Laws of 1664 which were in effect prior to Penn’s settlement, although the title suggests that statutes only after 1680 are included.

This compilation is such an excellent text that the only criticism that might be made is that we could wish to have more added to it. It would have been helpful to have an index to the statutes (one is provided for the historical introduction) and annotations to the statutes would be useful too. Certain of the provincial laws were disallowed almost immediately by the Privy Council, so that these were virtually never in effect, and these should have been indicated. The Statutory Construction Act of 1972 reaffirms that provincial laws not otherwise abrogated are to remain in effect. It would have been most interesting to have had a note whether any of these oldest provincial statutes are still in force in the Commonwealth. Dr. Beckman’s historical introduction could have pointed out more clearly that all English laws were in force in Pennsylvania until abrogated by the provincial government, so that the mild appearance of the few penal provisions enacted into provincial laws is misleading. By example the harsh English statutes, such as the law of I James I, c. 12, against witchcraft, were in effect in the colony and were being enforced.

None of these trifles detract from the overall quality of this work. This book is a must for libraries; it is a feast for the legal historian; and, for the general reader, a rich source of colonial history and thought.

*Radnor, Pa.*

Nicholas Sellers


Only six years ago I published in this magazine an essay on the writing of colonial Pennsylvania history in which I failed even to suggest that a book such as Stephanie Grauman Wolf’s *Urban Village* should be written. In my own defense, I will say that the New England demographic studies by Demos, Greven, Lockridge and Zuckerman, some of which showed an interdisciplinary flair, were only then being published. I had yet to see
the demographic work on New Jersey and Pennsylvania by Welles or Lemon's ground-breaking, yet wide-ranging geographical study of southeastern Pennsylvania. But I labored under the illusion, even as I recently finished a book on colonial Pennsylvania, that there was insufficient source material to do for the Quaker province what had been accomplished regarding early Massachusetts. I was wrong.

Drawing on a thorough acquaintanceship with the documents—tax lists, court records (including wills, inventories, accounts), estate papers, church and other institutional records—as well as primary literary material, published and unpublished secondary literature, an understanding of the social sciences (happily unhampered by the jargon that often makes those studies impenetrable), and a creative imagination, Wolf has written a study which is a landmark in the historiography of the middle colonies. While *Urban Village* becomes a part of the scholarly tradition established by the studies already mentioned, it is not bound by those models but ventures into new territory through the breadth of its concern.

The potent effects of heterogeneity and mobility on the Germantown population almost force Wolf to speculate at points. Yet the book does not suffer for lack of discipline but uses “three yardsticks” as a means of giving structure: the movement from rural to urban living; the nature of institutions, “traditional and communal, or associational and legalistic”; and the quality of family life, “nuclear, extended, or somewhere in between.”

The title “urban village” derives from Germantown’s position between rural and urban ways. Neither cosmopolitan nor densely populated nor complexly laid out when compared to Philadelphia, nevertheless it was no traditional hamlet. The population was mixed, movement was constant, and commerce and industry were basic to the economy. Wolf discusses housing and households, land holding and attitudes toward the land, occupations and business life, distribution of wealth, and acculturation (to my surprise and “contrary to long-held opinion, there was little desire to maintain German identity”), making comparisons where they are illuminating and generalizing where possible.

Institutions come under consideration in the context of the community, where Wolf contrasts town government in New England and Pennsylvania—and notes that the “dawn of independence brought only the faintest vitalization of political spirit to Germantown,” while the “attitude toward the law and its courts ... ranged from indifference through suspicion to actual hostility.” Some efforts were made to foster the general welfare. Given these attitudes, it is hardly surprising that “the community was controlled by a fairly complete cross section of its population.” Churches were slow to organize, there was not necessarily a correlation between church membership and social status, and religious quarrels were usually intra rather than intersectarian. In other words, churches played a minor role in community life.
The private lives of the people are less easily penetrated, partly because of the absence of data and (a related factor) partly because the "extreme mobility of the Germantown population makes the generational approach to demography virtually impossible." Still, Wolf believes that it is important to consider how both mobility and heterogeneity affected family development, the answer seeming to lie in the observation that there were wide differences from one family to another which must be explained as individual matters rather than in terms of cultural patterns. The weakness of kinship ties in Germantown, especially in the failure of children to care for aging parents, comes as another jolt to conventional notions about family life, especially since children did not leave home to fill apprenticeships (as in England and New England), and the courts considered parents responsible for the behavior of their children. Erik Erikson has said that psychoanalysts turn all historic events into family affairs, and it may be ventured here that the disjointed, uprooted quality of life in Germantown is at least partially owing to the failure of the younger generation to develop a sense of mutual obligation.

In a book distinguished by good writing, Wolf has given us not only some new versions of old truths, but enough material to fuel our own speculations about the past.

San Francisco State University

JOSEPH E. ILLICK

A Dictionary of Colonial American Printers' Ornaments and Illustrations.

By ELIZABETH CARROLL REILLY. (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1975. xxxvi, 515 p. Illustrations, indexes. $45.00.)

The late Alden P. Johnson, himself a publisher of finely illustrated books, was in his lifetime fascinated by colonial American book decoration. He would, therefore, have been pleased no end with Mrs. Reilly's Dictionary published by the American Antiquarian Society and the Alden Trust as a tribute to him. It will be welcomed especially by students of colonial American and British history, art, and bibliography.

This work is the first truly comprehensive compilation of colonial American book ornamentation and illustration engraved in relief on either metal or wood. It includes a singularly well-informed introduction and more than 2,000 reproductions with identifying source by Evans number, printer, date and location of the copy photographed. The keys to its use rest with a full table of contents and complete indexes of the ornamentation by date and by printer.

In the course of her labors Mrs. Reilly has developed objectivity toward her large area of study, a strong sense of orderliness, a keen eye, and no doubt much patience. She is the first to prove conclusively the striking regional differences in the printers' use of book ornamentation. For the
New Englander pictorial depiction was evidently a needful concomitant to his reading matter. The representations, when not homespun American, reflect the ideas and manner of his British homeland. In the Middle Colonies the decorative and illustrative matter mirror the rich diversity of its settlers' more varied cultural backgrounds. The German readers appear almost as fond of pictorial embellishment as their Yankee counterparts. By comparison, the South has less native printing and meager ornamentation.

A major strength of the work is the orderliness of its material, though on casual examination the arrangement may appear at times chaotic. The large divisions of the engravings into the "decorative" and "illustrative" are clear enough and so are the subdivisions in the "decorative" according to their usual occurrence in the book, i.e. headbands, tailpieces, initials and mortised blocks, then printers' signs, and finally border ornaments. The problem comes with the difficulty the compiler faced in devising completely understandable and accurate labels for groups of illustrations which by their very heterogeneity of subject matter almost defied general description. A user might be hard put at first to visualize whether a particular depiction he is trying to locate would fall within the group labeled "death," "genre design," or "allegory," and to remember always where it occurred once he had found it. Even within a group labeled simply "animals" one should not expect to find all engravings containing animals. Many occur among the "primer alphabet cuts" and those in allegorical scenes drawn from beast fables appear under the title of the book: Guide to the English Tongue. As with any significant reference work that deals with complex material, the user will find careful study of the compiler's logic of organization rewarding.

Unique to this Dictionary are the carefully differentiated reproductions of close to 400 kinds of border ornaments with their multiple occurrences among colonial printers. No one heretofore has lavished so much eye-straining labor on so important an array of minute typecast figures as these. The use bibliographers and art historians can put them to will be invaluable.

The shortcomings of this dictionary result mainly from the dual decisions to limit the study to the examination of books and to be guided principally by the not always accurate Readex Microprint edition of early American imprints. Nos. 17 and 144 are headbands owned by London printers, for instance, not American. No. 218 occurs only in Bradford imprints, never in Franklin's. American printers used many ornaments which are not included in this work because they occur largely in newspapers, magazines, job printing, or paper currency. The sprinkling of those engravings that do appear result from the same printer's eventually using them in a book. The finely wrought Penn Arms, No. 947, for which Mrs. Reilly cites one occurrence in a Hall and Sellers 1775 imprint, is an interesting example. This seal graced the front page of Franklin and Hall's
Pennsylvania Gazette almost every week from 1759 to 1766. By 1775 the words "J. TURNER Sc." had long since been worn away from the base of the engraving.

What is missing, however, should not be allowed to detract from the God's plenty we are given. The book is a handsome one and carefully printed. For the many kinds of specialists waiting to use it, it will soon prove indispensable.

Temple University  
C. William Miller


On March 27-29, 1974, the Carpenters' Company of the City and County of Philadelphia, in dual celebration of its 250th anniversary and the Bicentennial of the First Continental Congress' use of its Hall, sponsored a symposium entitled Building Early America. The papers read on that occasion, skillfully edited by Charles E. Peterson, have now been published in a substantial volume of the same title.

The topic was a fitting one for a celebration of beginnings. For the symposium and the resultant publication were pioneering attempts at examining an old subject in a new way. Scholars have generally approached the architecture of the past through the discipline of art history. They have dealt with the origin of design ideas, forms, and motifs; the work of individual architects and their influence on one another; and the inter-relationship between architecture and the social fabric. The history of architecture, in other words, has been a study of ways, not means.

How man built in the past is a subject of more than antiquarian interest. Full understanding of a building depends on knowledge of the constraints under which it was created. And in practical terms the architect or building conservator charged with the care of an old structure must comprehend the techniques and materials utilized in its construction. Building Early America addresses both these needs. The book is divided, as was the symposium, into two discrete sections, the first subtitled "Building History," the second "Building Preservation."

The articles that comprise the first section approach various facets of the history of American building. Two British visitors examine its roots. J. Mordaunt Crook in "The King's Work: A Thousand Years of British Building" describes the traditional practices that underlay the main-
stream of early American building. R. J. M. Sutherland's article, "Pioneer British Contributions to Structural Iron and Concrete: 1770-1855," is a reminder that American building techniques continued to owe a great deal to British example long after political independence was achieved. In "The Origins of the Carpenters' Company of Philadelphia," Roger W. Moss, Jr. not only pays tribute to the symposium's chief sponsor, but firmly documents the transmittal of British tradition to this side of the Atlantic.

The technical innovations that characterized the first half of the nineteenth century may, in large measure, have originated in Britain and on the Continent. They were embraced, however, with unparalleled enthusiasm in the young United States. The need to develop an enormous territory seems to have created a climate favorable to any method that would speed accomplishment of the task. Some of the most fascinating chapters of *Building Early America* deal with the application of the new technology of the period to such specialized categories of the building trades as masonry, roofing, glazing, heating, lighting and construction machinery. The first section of the book concludes with the history of the construction of the United States Capitol, an activity that spanned the transition from building by hand to building with the help of the machine.

The second section of *Building Early America* deals with the current state-of-the-art of preservation from two points of view. Working restorationists discuss the application of an understanding of past technology to the present care of old buildings, and the training of professionals for the task. Examples are cited from Great Britain, Canada, and the United States. Even where the results may be familiar, as in the case of Independence Hall, the reasons why the restorations were carried out in a particular manner make for interesting reading. So do the accounts of combining old and the most recent technologies to preserve, as well as restore, the fabric of such structures as St. Paul's Cathedral and Thomas Jefferson's Rotunda at the University of Virginia.

The generally lucid text of *Building Early America* is complemented by an ample selection of illustrations. And these are illustrations in the truest sense. Not just pretty pictures, they advance comprehension of a highly visual subject in a manner that would be difficult through words alone.

The book makes no pretense of being a comprehensive study of the origins of one of this country's largest industries. This is a beginning, not an ending. It is hoped that it will engender fresh explorations of American architecture and construction in the same vein, and that the fruits of such scholarship will, in time, find their way into print. Meanwhile, *Building Early America* will serve as a wellspring of ideas and a standard reference for those interested in American buildings and how they were made.

*Princeton, N. J.*

Constance M. Greiff

No one is better equipped to write a biography of Sir William Johnson than Milton Hamilton, who has been at work on the project for many years. Now retired as State Historian of New York, he previously edited several volumes of the published Johnson Papers and has written more than twenty-five articles on Johnson.

The present work is the first half of a projected two-volume biography. A labor of love as well as painstaking scholarship, it is a detailed exposition and defense of Johnson’s activity during a varied and often controversial career, from steward of his uncle Peter Warren’s Mohawk Valley estate, to fur trader and country squire in his own right, to superintendent of Indian affairs, New York provincial councillor, and victorious commander of British colonial troops at Lake George and Niagara. In the process Hamilton acquits his subject of every major public transgression and error of judgment which was alleged against him. In general he makes a convincing case. Johnson’s unorthodox domestic life—his successive unconsacrated marriages to Catherine Weisenberg and Molly Brant, each of whom bore him three children—is set forth with greater accuracy than in any previous biography; but if any aspect of Johnson’s life is slighted it is this part. Hamilton also uncovers more of Johnson’s antecedents and early life in Ireland, demonstrating that he belonged to the gentry there and did not come over as an impoverished immigrant. About half of the book deals with Johnson’s role in the French and Indian War. There is evidence throughout of meticulous research, unearthing new information and modifying previous views.

The publisher hails this as the definitive life of William Johnson. For all of its solid virtues, however, the book is written too much from the viewpoint of Johnson and those who agreed with him. Too many assumptions go unquestioned—the virtue of British expansionism and of invoking Indians to fight Europeans’ wars, for instance. It is essentially a retouched portrait set in a traditional frame. If the book is a good deal more authoritative than James T. Flexner’s Mohawk Baronet (1959), the last preceding biography, it is by no means as easy to read. Hamilton writes clearly and sometimes forcefully, but he inclines too much to lengthy quotations from the sources which are anything but clear and forceful. And for a book necessarily given over so fully to the movements of armies, diplomats, and traders, the absence of any maps is a distinct handicap. The volume is nevertheless a substantial contribution to our knowledge of eighteenth-century America, and the same will surely be true of its sequel, covering the interwar years from 1763 to Johnson’s death in 1774.

University of North Carolina at Greensboro

Allen W. Trelease

Utilizing his 1968 dissertation, Larry Gerlach has produced the most thorough investigation of Revolutionary New Jersey yet published. New Jersey affairs are presented within the context of Anglo-American developments, and Gerlach includes an ongoing review of such well-known occurrences as the passage of the Stamp Act and the Boston Tea Party. However, this work primarily consists of a detailed chronological account of political events in New Jersey from the early 1760s to August 1776, with major attention given to the colonial assembly, council and governor, and to the extra legal apparatus that emerged and ultimately replaced royal government.

Gerlach’s well-documented and reliable narrative of New Jersey political developments constitutes a genuine achievement. The assertion that Quakers were a majority in Burlington County can be disputed and there are a few mistakes in detail, but, in the main, Gerlach’s factual descriptions are authoritative. Other aspects of this work command less admiration. An abundance of mechanical errors proves irritating, particularly in view of this publication’s sale price. Frequently the type is neither clear nor clean and there are simply too many misprints. More importantly, Gerlach is weak in generalization.

Essentially the author holds that since imperial policies endangered no substantive interests in New Jersey a genuine grievance against England never emerged. The province reluctantly inched toward independence because of the influence of other colonies, especially New York and Pennsylvania. Gerlach leans toward a neoconservative understanding of the American Revolution. Social tensions existed but did not shape the protest movement; ideology and principle played lesser roles than pragmatic considerations; a consensus prevailed which was accurately reflected in such bodies as the Provincial Congress; and New Jersey experienced no revolution, but merely “seceded” from the empire.

Gerlach’s interpretive endeavors are sometimes unconvincing, and the reader suspects the author is far from certain of the causes and character of the Revolution in New Jersey. This suspicion partly results from stylistic and conceptual devices that seemingly explain without actually doing so. So many qualifications follow some generalizations as to refute the original contention. Also, Gerlach promotes confusion by seeking a distinction between appearances and realities. Often operating beneath appearances were vague forces labeled “latent” or “potent” or, in one case, as “an unmistakable if unarticulated climate of opinion” (p. 72).

Contradictions abound in this book. Gerlach concludes that New Jersey in the 1760s enjoyed “unprecedented stability and prosperity,” but then writes of the “substantial instability” and the “recession” (pp. 40, 41, 45).
The discussion of the quartering issue includes reference to a memorial inquiring: "Whether to have the King's Troops stationed among us in time of Peace is Constitutional. . . ." However, Gerlach insists that "no constitutional objections were raised to the presence of the soldiers" (pp. 74, 78).

Although no one has more industriously combed through the sources, Gerlach cannot always document some of his contentions, such as the point that New Jersey's participation in the protest against England was a response to the influence of neighboring provinces, not to developments pertinent to its own affairs. In many instances this is a well-founded observation, in others only speculation. Thus, Freemasonry "was undoubtedly an important intercolonial connective," although "the nature and magnitude of Masonic activities remain elusive" (p. 29); and "perhaps" the New Jersey Sons of Liberty "were imitating the New York Sons" (p. 129). Indeed, "it is safe to assume that residents of the Jerseys did not pursue a course markedly different from that of their influential neighbors" (p. 153).

The gap between Gerlach's narrative and his conclusions is no fatal flaw. In fact, Prologue to Independence ranks as the most important volume written about eighteenth-century New Jersey in twenty-five years, since it provides serious students of the Revolution as well as the state's local historians with the first book-length study of Jersey politics and government in the decades before 1776.

C. W. Post College

C. W. Post College

Fredrick R. Black


Dr. Nelson is to be praised for writing a scholarly biography of a general whose career is difficult to assess. For Horatio Gates' career embraced success and failure and was surrounded by controversy in his own time and in the assessments made by such historians as George Bancroft and Bernhard Knollenberg.

Little is known of Gates' early years or of his rather undistinguished career as an officer in the British Army. Although it is known that he served with General Edward Braddock in 1755, it is not clear whether he performed well or badly when he participated in combat near Fort Duquesne. It is known, however, that he left the British service in 1769, that he emigrated to America, and that he became an advocate of America's independence from British rule a few years later.

Because of his military experience and his engaging personality, Gates
was appointed a major general in the Continental Army. He played an important role in organizing and training the army, and, in particular, in reorganizing the army which had met defeat in Canada in 1775-1776. Then, at the head of the rejuvenated Northern Army, he had distinguished himself in the successful defense of Albany during General John Burgoyne's invasion of New York. His Fabian tactics proved to be sound and resulted in bringing the opposing army to ruin when it failed to batter its way through his fortifications.

After his victory over Burgoyne, Gates became involved in controversy. He was suspected by Washington of plotting to supplant him as commander-in-chief. In the clash which followed, Washington retained his command and convinced many members of Congress and many officers that Gates had played the role of a base intriguer. Afterwards Gates' career began to go into eclipse and his personality became tinged with bitterness. His friends in Congress gave him a chance to win new laurels in 1780, however, when they appointed him commanding general of the army in the Carolinas. But he disappointed his supporters by departing from his usual cautious tactics by making a hasty advance upon a British force at Camden, South Carolina. The British, led by the enterprising Charles, Lord Cornwallis, promptly attacked his motley force—made up largely of militia—and routed it. Whereupon, following the principle that nothing is more reprehensible than failure, Gates' military reputation withered away.

The General made heroic efforts to reorganize his shattered army after its defeat. But he must have known that he would never be permitted to lead it into battle again. Nor did he do so, for he was relieved a few months after Camden. After that he retired to his home in Virginia and sulked because of adverse criticisms leveled against him by members of Congress and many of his brother officers. He took no part in the Yorktown campaign, but he returned to the army shortly before it was demobilized. By that time he was so bitter about wrongs, real or fancied, which he had suffered at the hands of Congress and Washington that he encouraged hot-headed young officers to threaten to take drastic action against Congress if it failed to comply with their demands for back pay and for half pay after their retirement. Thus Gates, in the closing months of his military career, participated in a plot which bordered upon mutiny.

In assessing Gates' career, the author has avoided any temptation to engage in hero-worshipping or muckraking. He has praised Gates for his accomplishments, but he has admitted that the General made serious tactical errors in the battle of Camden and was guilty of encouraging something close to mutiny at the end of the war. He has maintained, however, and quite convincingly as far as the reviewer is concerned, that Gates was not guilty of plotting to supersede Washington as commander-in-chief.

Northern Arizona University

George W. Kyte

Known to his contemporaries as the “grey-eyed man of destiny,” William Walker (1824–1860) was a Tennessean who devoted himself in the years before the Civil War to leading privately organized military expeditions (or “filibusters”) into the tropics in defiance of United States law. In 1853–1854 he invaded Lower California and Sonora in Mexico, and in 1855 he became involved in a Nicaraguan civil war. He received worldwide attention when he emerged as president of Nicaragua in 1856 following an internal power struggle, and although he was forced out of the country in 1857 he remained a thorn in the side of the United States, Great Britain, and virtually all the Central American countries until his death by a Honduran firing squad in 1860.

American historians have not ignored Walker. William O. Scroggs, Laurance Greene, Albert Z. Carr and others have written biographies of the filibuster. Yet Frederic Rosengarten, Jr. in Frebooters Must Die! proposes to make Walker more than a “lost character in American history,” and indicates in his foreword that he has encountered “new, well-documented data concerning William Walker’s life.” Rosengarten lists an impressive number of repositories consulted in the United States, Central America, and England.

Unfortunately, Rosengarten, rather than providing original perspectives, synthesizes earlier biographies. He apparently uncovered no new manuscript collections to supplement the sparse Walker collections which survived. Rosengarten’s conclusion that Walker’s goal was to be dictator over a Central American slave empire correlates with most prior interpretations. Diplomatic historians will discover no fresh information about how Walker’s activities complicated Anglo-American canal and trade rivalries in Central America. Students of the American sectional crisis will find nothing original about Walker’s impact upon American politics. Further, Rosengarten is insensitive to the involvement of speculators in the Walker movement, though he gives the standard emphasis to Commodore Vanderbilt’s role in Walker’s downfall. The book’s explanations of Walker’s military tactics and strategy are able, but not exceptional. Most sadly, Walker’s personality and mind remain as inscrutable and distant as they were to most of his own acquaintances. Rosengarten devotes only nine pages to the first twenty-five years of a man who only lived to thirty-six. Prior biographers provided more about Walker’s family and early careers in medicine, law, journalism and politics. We still do not really know what prompted Walker to become a filibuster in the first place. There is nothing new on his one known romantic relationship or his attitudes on slavery. Frebooters Must Die! lacks the provocative challenge of Carr’s Freudian
interpretation and the mastery of detail of Scroggs's seminal *Filibusters and Financiers*. The book is also weakened by occasional oversimplifications, such as the assertion that Walker was the "last" American filibuster (page 210) and the implication that a volcanic eruption in Nicaragua was the sole reason Congress chose Panama for an isthmian canal in 1902 (p. 69).

Rosengarten’s main contribution is his collection of illustrations, an incredible 136 of them! Never before has the antebellum filibuster movement so vividly come to life. Its personalities, newspaper headlines, weapons and battles spread out in a panorama which makes the book truly a visual experience. The work is oriented to the general reading public, as might be surmised by the "incredible but true" statement on its jacket, the full quota of colorful anecdotes, and the absence of annotation. Its illustrations, brevity, lucid style, large print, and the importance of the topic make it a wise purchase for public libraries and a candidate for use in undergraduate survey courses. It certainly clarifies how Walker's expeditions coalesced anti-American sentiment in Mexico and Central America, and may do this more effectively than preceding works.

A definitive work on Walker still eludes us, but perhaps there should be a moratorium on biographical efforts unless new source materials are found. There were other filibusters who need study. And historians need to delineate more clearly how filibustering influenced American diplomacy. The origins of American overseas imperialism, public attitudes in the United States toward "law and order," and American racial assumptions also need to be related to the antebellum filibustering movement. Filibustering can even be viewed as an early manifestation of the impact of the closing of the frontier. Rosengarten, however, leaves speculative questions to others. *Freebooters Must Die!* is a limited, but competent, introduction for the general reader to a puzzling, colorful, and important episode in the American experience.

*Purdue University*

ROBERT E. MAY


The photographic record of Philadelphia’s appearance begins with the year 1839 when Joseph Saxton took a daguerrotype from a window of the United States Mint. Owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, this is the earliest surviving American photograph and it is the only one reproduced in *Old Philadelphia in Early Photographs* which is not in the collection of the Free Library. Robert F. Looney, Head of the Free
Library's Print and Picture Department, has made his selection largely from the extraordinary accumulation of Philadelphia views, 8,000 in all, gathered together by Samuel Castner, an antiquarian who died in 1932 and whose collection, which is rich in early photographs, was acquired by the Free Library in 1947.

Through Mr. Looney's large and gratifyingly clear reproductions of these antique photographs, the viewer enjoys an excellent comprehension of what many parts of Philadelphia looked like. Here, suspended in time, not tricked out by a printmaker's fancy, is the real thing, a revelation of a city, largely of brick, preserved by the camera's eye.

The contents of the book are divided into ten geographical divisions, or chapters: Southwark; the Delaware River Front; Society Hill; the Independence Square Area; Market Street, Arch Street and Adjacent Areas; Chestnut Street, Walnut Street and Adjacent Areas; Penn Square; Broad Street; the Schuylkill River Area; and the Centennial Exposition. The cumulative display of residential, commercial, and public buildings, of costumes, forms of transportation, ornamental advertising carvings, and a myriad of other details is most satisfying to behold. This book represents a valuable compendium of information about Philadelphia in former times and is a contribution to the published sources of the city's iconography. It pays merited tribute to the skill of nineteenth-century photographers, of whom John Moran was one of the most notable.

Paragraph-length captions describe each scene, many of them perceptive and full of obscure data. Unfortunately, their authoritativeness is marred by a too frequent incidence of confusion. For example, in dealing with the Philadelphia Contributionship (p. 21), and calling it the first fire insurance company in America which it was not, it is misleading to give its founding date (1752) and then to state that it is still in its original building (a structure built in 1836). Another misleading caption is the one on St. Peter's (p. 48)—the picture shows the Church with its dominating tower and spire—in which the reader is informed that the completion date of the Church was 1761, although tower and spire were not added until 1842. And how could Samuel Powel, identified as the future mayor (p. 43), have given the land to a meetinghouse in 1753 when little Samuel was but fourteen years of age and his father still living? Are we really to believe that Lemon Hill is in West Philadelphia (p. 189)? As for errors, the Philadelphia Bank building (p. 123) was erected in 1837, not 1856, and the rest of the caption dealing with the Second Bank of the United States is downright unsatisfactory; the University of Pennsylvania (p. 134) moved to 9th and Chestnut in 1802, not 1829; and a long-held tradition, endorsed by William Penn himself in 1683, that John Key was, in Penn's words, "then an Infant being the first born in the said city of Philadelphia," gives way without comment to a rival claim that the first born was Edward Drinker (p. 145).

Barring an unqualified endorsement of the captions, high praise is
deserved for an attractively designed volume of fascinating pictures. Mr. Looney has shown what can be produced from an important collection. Perhaps his enterprise may stimulate the custodians of similar collections at the Library Company of Philadelphia and at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania to make a like effort to broaden the available photographic record of early Philadelphia.

Not least of the attractions of *Old Philadelphia in Early Photographs* is its low price. At six dollars this book is indeed a bargain.

*Historical Society of Pennsylvania*  
*Nicholas B. Wainwright*


On April 14, 1775, a small group of Philadelphia Quakers got together at the Sun Tavern and formed the Society for the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage. Its purpose was to prevent the kidnapping of blacks for sale into slavery. Only four meetings were held in 1775, and after that year it appears not to have met again until 1784, but a committee carried on its work during "the national commotions" taking place in the intervening period. In 1787 the Society adopted a constitution and assumed a new name—The Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, for the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage, and for Improving the Condition of the African Race, more commonly known simply as the Pennsylvania Abolition Society. It was the first American antislavery society, possibly the first in the world, and unlike other similar organizations it is still in existence to this day.

Franklin served as its president from 1787 to 1790, and Dr. Benjamin Rush filled this position from 1803 to 1813. During the early national period the Society dominated the American antislavery movement and was the focal point for the American Convention of Abolition Societies, which held annual meetings beginning in 1794. At the national level the Pennsylvania Abolition Society petitioned Congress from time to time to do what it could to end the slave trade and slavery in America. Such a memorial in 1790 precipitated an angry debate in the first Congress. At the state level it undertook to help in the enforcement of the Pennsylvania emancipation legislation of 1780 and 1788. At the local level it helped slaves to purchase their freedom and free Negroes to preserve their freedom. It undertook to make sure that freedmen would not become public charges, providing them with schools and helping them to find employment. It collected information and published reports on the condition of Phila-
delphia blacks from time to time. Its tone was less strident than that of the Garrisonian organizations formed in the 1830s, and during that decade it lost its national pre-eminence to the American Anti-Slavery Society and its numerous affiliates, such as the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society which was founded in 1837. The Abolition Society continued its work in a quiet way, however, and during the next century concentrated its efforts on improving education for blacks. In recent years it has used the annual revenues from its modest endowment to provide scholarships for black students.

During the past two centuries this venerable organization has built up a vast collection of manuscript records, now housed at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Several years ago Scholarly Resources, Inc. of Wilmington, Delaware, made available five reels of microfilm from the Abolition Society's records, but this included only a small portion of the total collection. With the financial support of the Abolition Society and the facilities of the Historical Society, Jeffrey Nordlinger Bumbrey has put these records in better order, has overseen the microfilming of them, and has written an excellent guide to their contents. The entire collection now comes to thirty-two reels—ten reels of minutes and reports, five reels of correspondence, four reels of financial papers, five reels containing legal records (manumissions, indentures, etc. which may be of interest to genealogists), and eight reels of miscellaneous materials, including records of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society (1837 to 1870), the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society (1833 to 1870), and other Philadelphia-based antislavery organizations.

The microfilming has been done in accordance with guidelines established by the National Historical Publications Commission, using a reduction ratio of 15 to 1. From 750 to 1,000 individual images are reproduced on each reel. The well-prepared Guide includes a brief history of the Society, a history of the collection itself, and a fairly detailed indication of the contents of each reel. The entire set of film may be purchased from the Historical Society for $550; individual reels may be ordered for $20 each. The Abolition Society and the Historical Society deserve congratulations and thanks for making this remarkable collection of manuscripts available to scholars in a form suitable for use in their home libraries.

The Pennsylvania State University

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