NOW and again there appears among the great mass of historical works issuing from the press one that bears the mark of distinguished achievement. The volume under discussion—according to announcement, the first of a trilogy on the subject of the founding of American civilization—falls into this category. It is neither a large book nor one seeking to treat to exhaustion the theme that it presents; in fact, some very important aspects of the latter have been consciously quite neglected, through the necessity, as the author explains, of economizing space. Nevertheless, within some nine well-rounded and meaty chapters, enriched by abundant plate and text illustrations, and a final chapter devoted to summarization and conclusions there is presented a penetrating, withal a fascinating, account of the transition of Old World civilization to the middle North Atlantic American seaboard and its transformation during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

One might have assumed that this European civilization would have been greatly influenced by the presence of the aborigines—

as it was contemporaneously to a considerable extent both in Canada and in Louisiana and profoundly so in Mexico and in the other Spanish provinces to the southward—but Professor Wertenbaker apparently finds no evidence of this. One may wish, in this connection, that he had paused at some place in his treatise to make clear just what were those traits, outside of conservatism, brought by the northern Europeans: the English, the Dutch, the Germans, the Flemings, the Swedes and the Finns, that seem to have precluded a blending of Old World and New World cultures in the region under consideration; for surely the student is here confronted by a phenomenon that calls for more careful analysis and elucidation than up to the present has been bestowed upon it.

Was it because the divergencies between these cultures were in this instance too extreme—a crude, hunter, stone-age culture coming to grips with an advanced, industrialized and land-appropriating culture? Was it, therefore, inevitable that there should be a bitter, uncompromising conflict for survival between the two? Or did not the possibility exist that the two races might have been able to have reached some workable compromise that would have permitted them to settle peacefully side by side each borrowing from the other whatever seemed to possess value and perhaps ultimately to blend as was the case at a later period in the old Southwest? Did not the Indian have something to offer as well as the white man, his woodcraft, for example, in exchange for the other's religion and advanced agricultural and industrial economy? At least the success of the Moravian missions in the late eighteenth century among the Delawares on the Muskingum before these were uprooted by violence in the last phases of the Revolutionary War would suggest that this ideal of mutual toleration and sympathetic coöperation in the attainment of common ends was not impossible of realization during the colonial period and without racial mixing. But what about the standards of value of most of the European groups that came to dwell about the Hudson and the Delaware? To what extent were these compatible with this ideal?

Civilization not only involves cultural patterns that may be easily observed but, what is more important, certain fundamental conceptions, which are responsible for attitudes and consequently for behaviour patterns. These patterns have been the chief object
of interest and description of Professor Wertenbaker in the volume under review. American civilization, he points out, is based upon four leading factors: the transit of certain Old World national civilizations to North America with the arrival of various national or racial groups; the influence of the new environment upon the culture of these groups; the counteracting effects of continued intercourse with, and emigration from, the parent countries; and, finally, the fusion of distinct cultures in "the melting pot." He notes that this resulting civilization displays certain phenomena: the elevation of those who in the Old World were of the lower class to the middle class and a relatively high standard of living in contrast to a relatively low standard for the same groups in Europe. It is also characterized by a prevailing spirit of democracy, of optimism, of idealism, and, yet at the same time, of lawlessness, together with initiative, self-reliance, individualism, resourcefulness, adaptability, and practical-mindedness. He is, however, only concerned in describing the earlier formative phases of this civilization, those phases in evidence while the Europeans of the New World were still politically dependent upon those of the Old World. The general colonial period for purposes of analysis he divides into two rather distinct cultural periods: the deep-water period of the seventeenth century, during which contacts with Europe were most intimate and the influence of these upon social institutions and habits of thought most powerful, and the shallow-water period of the eighteenth century, introduced by the movement of national groups away from the Atlantic seaboard into an ever-growing physical and spiritual isolation from the parent countries. In this process of the conquest of the western wilderness he finds that a new civilization began to take form.

In turning from a consideration of the more general aspects of his subject embodied in a provocative chapter entitled "The Old World in a New Mold," the author first takes up for more specific consideration the transit of Dutch culture. The people of Holland at the period when they undertook the colonization of the New Netherlands were, he finds, "the most far-seeing traders of Europe, the ablest financiers, and the most skilled manufacturers" (p. 32); further, they were "the most industrious, most prosperous, the best educated, the most liberal of Europe" (p. 33), yet they were not a united nation, sacrificing repeatedly
national interests to local, and as a consequence ultimately their
national greatness. In the building of their empire this undertak ing suffered, as it were, from the defects of the merits of
conditions at home; in other words, there were too few im poverished, or otherwise discontented Dutchmen to provide a broad
population basis for the permanency of their efforts at colonization,
with the result that they had to rely too much upon foreign
elements such as the Huguenots, the Flemings, the Walloons, and
the English. Nevertheless, they did succeed in transplanting
Dutch culture to North America, perhaps most strikingly repre sented in the architecture of New Amsterdam and of Beverwyck,
later called Albany; at the same time the Flemings reproduced the
farm houses of Flanders in what is now southern New York and
northeastern New Jersey. The detailed account here presented
of the transplanting and modification of the architecture of Holland
and Flanders is most excellent; particularly illuminating, in this
connection, is that portion relating to the spread of the Lower
Saxon peasant combination house and barn into central and
southern Holland and its reappearance in the great detached barns
still to be found in the region of the Hudson and the Raritan.
Under title of "For Church and Mother Tongue" there follows
an absorbingly interesting account of the ineffectual struggle of
the Dutch, after the fall of the New Netherlands, to preserve not
only the existing constitution of the Dutch Reformed Church, dependent as it was upon Classis of Amsterdam, but also their language.

In turning from New York to New Jersey, Professor Wertenbaker is obliged first of all to go into reverse, as it were, in order
to push back into New England to present in some detail the background of New Jersey puritanism. It would seem that when he
comes to treat of the same subject in his volume on New England
he will be faced with alternatives each of which will present an
embarrassment: either duplication of subject matter—which the
demand for economy of space that he faces makes undesirable—
or reliance upon reference to the present volume, something even
more undesirable. In light of this situation the reviewer may be
permitted to raise the question: would it not have been more logical
to have presented first of all the volume on the founding of New
England civilization before that on the middle colonies in view
of the great and necessary emphasis upon the transit of the former
into the latter? Waiving this point, it may be said that standing
by themselves the two chapters, "The Puritan of New Jersey"
and "When Calvinist meets Calvinist," leave nothing to be desired;
there is in evidence that breadth of treatment, that sureness of
grasp of essential details, whether dealing with transplanted New
England architecture or town government or the struggle between
New England Congregationalism and Presbyterianism with the
triumph of the latter, that indicates a thorough mastery of the
field. The emphasis, quite rightly, is upon eastern New Jersey.
As to western New Jersey, it is somewhat neglected, outside of
the treatment of Salem county architecture, doubtless for the very
good reason that with its predominant Quaker population during
the colonial period it fell culturally as it did economically within
the orb of Pennsylvania.

The account of the civilization of colonial Pennsylvania, to
which has been accorded almost one-half the space of the volume,
brings up the question as to the justification of allotting sixty-seven
pages to the Quakers, ninety to the Germans, and only the most
fleeting reference to the Ulster Scots, popularly known in Amer-
ican literature as the Scotch-Irish, who, as Professor Wertenbaker
himself points out, were in the eighteenth century "pouring through
the port of Philadelphia." Surely their contribution to the found-
ing of civilization in Pennsylvania was not so negligible, over and
beyond their adherence to Presbyterianism, that they can be almost
ignored. In fact one may ask whether American civilization is
not all in all more deeply indebted to them than to either the
Quakers or the Germans, at least with respect to the molding of
the peculiarly American outlook on life. But the Ulster Scot
played a great rôle during the eighteenth century not only in
Pennsylvania, especially along the frontier, but also in the colonies
to the southward, particularly in Virginia and the Carolinas. It
may, therefore, be assumed that his contributions to American
culture will be duly recognized and stressed in the volume in this
series on the southern colonies.

In considering the politically and socially dominant group in
Pennsylvania, the Society of Friends, Professor Wertenbaker
emphasizes the fact that the control exercised by the Quaker meet-
ing extended to "the thoughts, the lives and education of the mem-
bers" (p. 197), which made for compactness and unity but eventually for "stagnation and isolation," so that at the close of the Seven Years' War they were outnumbered in the province eight to one. He suggests, but not altogether convincingly, that "the Society might have opened a missionary campaign especially on the frontiers which would have expanded their influence indefinitely" (p. 206). The Quakers, as the reviewer visualizes the situation, while well enough adapted to carry out a program of colonization in the "deep-water" area of Pennsylvania and western New Jersey under especially favorable circumstances, seem to have been by reason of their pacifism and doctrine of non-resistance peculiarly unfitted to act dynamically in the more isolated, exposed regions of the frontiers where—in spite of what was previously said of the possibilities latent in an attitude of good will and cooperation in dealing with the Indians—force was unhappily to be the necessary instrument for settling the great international issues arising out of rival claims to the great Ohio Valley and was to determine the eventual character of the civilization of the North American continent. If eighteenth century America rejected Quakerism in favor of the more militant gospels of some of the other sects—as it did in the Virginia piedmont after a most promising development—this doubtless was due, among other reasons, to the growing conviction of men, whether living along the sheltered tide-water or in the danger-infested back country, that the great heart of the continent was calling to them, that a great future awaited them in the West, a future, however, that required of them the display of all those qualities inherent in aggressive pioneering—not only with the ax and the Conestoga wagon but also, when grim necessity demanded it, with the long rifle ready at hand for man as well as beast.

In analyzing the factors that gave to the Quakers, politically entrenched in the Pennsylvania General Assembly, although a minority group, the rather consistent support of the great mass of the enfranchised Germans Professor Wertenbaker sees "little reason to accept the accusation of Governor Thomas that the Quakers held the German vote by their opposition to a militia law..." (p. 219). Yet here again one may raise a question as to whether this accusation can easily be brushed aside in view of existing evidence. It is undeniable that Christopher Saur's Penn-
sylvanische Berichte, the most widely-read and influential periodical circulating among the German-speaking population continued to warn its readers against "a design to enslave them" on the part of the non-Quaker elements in the government, by means of a military service law, whereby they would be liable, were these groups to gain control of the legislature, to "all the miseries they had suffered in Germany, with heavy aggravations." These miseries endured in the fatherland, so strikingly portrayed in the superbly developed chapter entitled "From Rhine to Susquehanna," were painfully vivid in the minds of these simple hearted peasants from the Rhineland as is indicated by a communication inserted in a December, 1754, issue of the Berichte. The thought that their present state might be rendered even more hopeless than their earlier state had been, unless the Quakers were kept in power, must surely have acted as a powerful inducement to see that this calamitous change did not occur.

Turning from these aspects to those relating to the arts and crafts, the two chapters devoted to Pennsylvania architecture entitled "The Quaker Spirit in Brick and Stone" and "Volkskunst" are notable contributions to American cultural history. These not only offer every evidence of a mastery of the literature of the subject but what is more of an intimate first-hand knowledge. Professor Wertenbaker carries the reader on a grand tour, as it were, frequently off the main thoroughfares of England, Germany, Switzerland, western New Jersey and Pennsylvania, to offer proof of the transit and subsequent adaptation of the architectural forms of the Old World. We find Philadelphia pioneering with English Renaissance structures; before the city arose on the Delaware "there stood few if any Renaissance buildings in all the region from Maine to South Carolina" (p. 231). Yet time brings its demands for change and in the later eighteenth century this Renaissance city of the New World turned to the Georgian, with the Carpenters Company, if not leading the way, at least responsible "for the development of a group of architects second to none in the colonies" (p. 246), who produced those stately Georgian mansions with their Doric doorways, their Palladian windows, their graceful dormers and characteristic mantels, many of which still adorn the environs of the city.
In our tour of inspection we are confronted by the fact that to the east of a line drawn from Princeton to Wilmington, but also including Philadelphia and southern New Jersey, is the region of brick, to the west that of stone (p. 236). We are permitted to study the details of homes and public buildings and we notice even the structural differences in the log houses built by Swedes and by Germans in the New World. We go to the wooded highlands of Upper Bavaria or the Black Forest, or to Switzerland to find the ancestors of the great German Pennsylvania barns which differ from the barns of eastern New Jersey and southern New York, the ancestors of which, as was pointed out, are to be found in northern Germany. We discover that the peasant from the Palatinate in building his home in Pennsylvania discarded his old quadrangular Frankish court by separating his home from his barn, stables, pigsty, cider press, and other outbuildings; we enter these homes to see the evidence of the transference of the German peasant art in the highly decorated dower chests, the pottery, the spoon racks and the stove plates, each giving evidence of the love of nature or a reverence for things divine; with surprise we discover that the Germans, although they built numerous churches within the province, produced no distinctive church architecture, doubtless by reason of the fact that the church buildings of their ancestors in the home land were associated with their persecution, with the result that we find “the Mennonites building Quaker meeting houses, the Lutherans, Anglican churches, the Reformed, Presbyterian churches” (p. 320). In bringing to conclusion his survey Professor Wertenbaker declares that “nowhere can the founding of a civilization be studied to greater advantage than in the Middle Colonies” (p. 347), and the reader is almost sure to agree with him in closing the book.

The volume, as was suggested at the beginning of this discussion, is not designed to serve as a guide to all aspects of the founding of civilization in the middle colonies. For example, the structure of the governments, the systems of social control and the evolution of these, such as the criminal codes and correctional agencies; colonial newspapers, the education, the literature, the pastimes, the folklore and the superstitions of the national groups; the religious doctrines and practices of the German pietistic sects; the systems of labor, the land systems, methods of agricultural
economy, transportation, commercial and business agencies and practices, together with other aspects of community life, have been very slightly stressed, if stressed at all. Nevertheless, *The Founding of American Civilization: The Middle Colonies* breaks new ground and is an invaluable aid to the scholar concerned with the culture of colonial America; further, it is a book conceived in the spirit of Professor Wertenbaker's delightful, somewhat informal lectures, one that every cultivated man and woman living within the regions embraced in the survey would delight to read and to possess—once it has been brought to his or her attention. In view of the importance of the contribution that it makes to our understanding of early American life and the variety of illustrative material employed, it is especially to be regretted that the index should be so painfully inadequate. It is hoped that this defect may be remedied in the final volume of the series and also that the scope of the series may be so broadened as to include many of the topics that still call for treatment in a comprehensive survey of the transit of European civilization to our own shores.