

BOOK REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTES

EDITED BY NORMAN B. WILKINSON

The Witness of William Penn. Edited by Frederick B. Tolles and E. Gordon Alderfer. (New York: Macmillan Company, 1957. Pp. 205. \$3.75.)

The year 1957, which marked the 275th anniversary of the founding of Pennsylvania, produced two valuable books about William Penn for the general reader. First, the new biography by Catherine Owens Peare, which was reviewed in PENNSYLVANIA HISTORY in July of last year, and secondly, this volume of selections from the writings of the great colonizer.

William Penn is generally remembered as a man of action, and his reputation does not rest primarily upon his writing. It is frequently forgotten that he published more than 100 books and pamphlets during his lifetime, spent countless hours writing instructions to his colonists, and carried on a very extensive correspondence with Quaker leaders, government officials, and his family and friends. The present editors have made an admirable selection from his extensive works to offer samples of his writings, and to give Penn an opportunity to witness to our generation as he spoke to his own age.

Penn wrote on many subjects. As a leading figure among the Friends, he felt called upon to write for his fellow religionists. He also interpreted Quakerism to the world and frequently defended it against attack. His deep religious faith led him to become involved in a great many issues of the day, and he invariably published his thoughts in regard to these issues. He wrote a number of pamphlets to advance the development of Pennsylvania, prepared proposals for an international organization of Europe and for an inter-colonial organization in America, and published several collections of maxims such as *From Some Fruits of Solitude*.

Much of this material was written under pressure to meet a particular situation, and did not receive the careful consideration which might have clarified some of the more involved and obscure passages. The editors of this new volume point out that when he cited authorities to bolster his arguments, he often incorporated whole passages verbatim into his text instead of digesting what the earlier writers had said, and putting their ideas into his own words. Fortunately for the reader today, the editors have attempted to modernize Penn's spelling and punctuation, and have omitted some of his less felicitous phrases. The words and ideas still belong to Penn, but they have been burnished to make them more appealing to the twentieth-century reader.

This volume is the largest selection from Penn's writings to be printed since 1825. The three parts are entitled: "The Apostolic Christian," "The Christian Statesman," and "The Final Distillation." Included are parts of *The Rise and Progress of the People Called Quakers*, *The People's Ancient and Just Liberties Asserted*, *An Essay Towards the Present and Fu-*

ture Peace of Europe, Some Account of the Province of Pennsylvania, Fruits of a Father's Love, and several other representative selections.

The reviewer would like to let Penn speak for himself. The earliest selection is from a book written while Penn was a prisoner in the Tower of London in 1668 and 1669, and published in the latter year under the title *No Cross, No Crown*. The volume was entirely rewritten and enlarged before it was issued again in 1682. Penn called upon all true Christians to carry the cross of Christ, if they hoped to wear His crown. He vigorously denounced the Restoration society which he saw around him. In criticizing fashions he compared the dress of Biblical figures with that of his contemporaries. He wrote: "What rich embroideries, silks, points, etc., had Abel, Enoch, Noah, and good old Abraham? Did Eve, Sarah, Susanna, Elizabeth, and the Virgin Mary use to curl, powder, patch, paint, wear false locks of strange colors, rich points, trimmings, laced gowns, embroidered petticoats, shoes and slip-slaps laced with silk or silver lace and ruffled like pigeon's feet. . . ?"

In his preface to the First Frame of Government, 1682, Penn wrote: "Governments, like clocks, go from the motion men give them, and as governments are made and moved by men, so by them they are ruined too. . . . Let men be good and the government cannot be bad: if it be ill they will cure it. But if men be bad, let the government be never so good, they will endeavor to warp and spoil it to their turn."

Regarding marriage, in *From Some Fruits of Solitude*, he wrote: "Never marry but for love, but see that thou lovest what is lovely. . . . They that marry for money cannot have the true satisfaction of marriage, the requisite means being wanting. Men are generally more careful of the breed of their horses and dogs than of their children." In a section headed "Rules for Conversation" he said: "Silence is wisdom where speaking is folly, and always safe. . . . If thou thinkest twice before thou speakest once, thou wilt speak twice the better for it." Of religion he wrote: "It is a sad reflection that many men hardly have any religion at all, and most men have none of their own, for that which is the religion of their education and not of their judgment is the religion of another and not theirs. . . . It is a preposterous thing that men can venture their souls where they will not venture their money; for they will take their religion upon trust, but not trust a synod about the goodness of half a crown. They will follow their own judgment when their money is concerned, whatever they do for their souls."

Those who dip into this volume will find rich rewards.

Temple University

EDWIN B. BRONNER

War Comes to Quaker Pennsylvania 1682-1756. By Robert L. D. Davidson. [Temple University Publications.] (New York: Columbia University Press, 1957. Pp. 245. \$5.00.)

Colonial Pennsylvania served as a testing ground for pacifism. Could a policy of non-resistance in external relations safely be followed by the government of a well-to-do state? This was not the only test conducted in Penn's "Holy Experiment," where a measure of democratic government was

also assayed; but it was a part of the experiment that has a peculiar interest for us today, as men and nations look about them for a way to escape atomic warfare.

The experiment in pacifism was well-rounded and complete, covering a period of about seventy-four years (if we accept Dr. Davidson's arbitrary but not unreasonable span of dates). It was fully documented and the records are available. Under these circumstances Dr. Davidson's study was a promising one to undertake, and the resultant book, *War Comes to Quaker Pennsylvania*, is timely and useful.

From the beginning of the experiment, some Quakers in high places doubted that a modern state, existing as it must in a competitive world society, could embrace pacifism and survive. James Logan held that all government rests ultimately on force. An honest attempt was, nevertheless, made to give pacifism a fair trial in Pennsylvania. The Indians were at first treated fairly, without provocation or threats, and as a consequence for some years after the colony was established, the problem of military defense did not arise. "The infant colony," writes the author, "seemed to be experiencing a foretaste of paradise."

But Pennsylvania had boundaries. There were disputes about them with Maryland, Virginia, and Connecticut. There was rivalry with France for the western fur trade. There were misunderstandings with the Indians, whose conception of land ownership was incomprehensible to the whites. Men could not everywhere agree on what was "just," and there were always some persons ready to risk their lives in pursuit of what they took to be their rights. In consequence, war came unsought to Pennsylvania. The doctrine of pacifism, proclaimed by the Quaker-dominated Assembly, was subjected to the acid test.

It is an engrossing, although disturbing, story which Dr. Davidson presents here. One may regret the many evidences of hasty writing, of careless transcription of documents, of insufficient familiarity with the Indian background, and the failure to bring bibliography up to date. Where Indians are concerned, the book cannot be recommended as a work of reference. Despite these weaknesses it is useful. The author, who is most at home in the field of provincial politics, gives a blow-by-blow account of political battles. There are good brief sketches of the major political figures, such as Benjamin Franklin at the time he organized the Associators. Best of all is the cool but not unsympathetic handling of the Quaker dilemma, the drawing out and clarifying of which gives unity and movement to the work.

On page 25 Dr. Davidson writes, "Notwithstanding a genuine hatred for war which stemmed from his religious convictions, the wealthy Quaker trader in Philadelphia could not dispel his quiet satisfaction over the commerce which brought on the conflict;" and on page 166, as the denouement approaches, "It was only a matter of time before [the Quakers] would have to either abdicate their control of the province or completely retreat from their principles." Skilled in political maneuver and with the aid of a redoubtable if uncertain ally, Benjamin Franklin, they fought a determined delaying action, postponing the choice that events were forcing upon them. The

author shows well their doubts and divisions, their change of tactics from religious persuasion to political compromise, and finally their surrender. In the end, news of the massacre of settlers on Pennsylvania's border, and the sight of angry frontiersmen bringing mutilated bodies to the city, confronted the Quakers with a situation in which a doctrinaire pacifism offered no solution acceptable to the populace. The government faced the alternatives either of adopting proper military measures against the enemy, or submitting the province to civil war. The Scotch-Irish on the border were thoroughly aroused, and were now increasingly conscious of an antagonism against the people of eastern Pennsylvania.

Once the issue was clarified, many of the Quaker members withdrew from the Assembly, unwilling to sacrifice their religious principles by supporting a Pennsylvania army, even though their retirement left the other part of the Holy Experiment—democratic government—to be carried on by the “unenlightened.”

Dr. Lawrence H. Gipson, whom the author quotes appositely in Chapter X, “The End of an Era,” expresses the general truth to which Pennsylvania's experience provided corroborative evidence: “No commonwealth has ever existed that has not been protected by those willing to preserve it with their lives.”

*Pennsylvania Historical
and Museum Commission*

PAUL A. W. WALLACE

The Paxton Papers. Edited by John R. Dunbar. (The Hague: Martinus Nihoff, 1957. Pp. 351. Guilders 24.50.)

Much may be said for this new publication which the editor somewhat venturesomely calls *The Paxton Papers*. It may not add notably to Francis Parkman's estimate, in the second volume of *The Conspiracy of Pontiac*. But it affords readers a truer opportunity of measuring the Paxton Boys' spirit than is available in two other works in which those colorful back country inhabitants have recently appeared: Struthers Burt's *Philadelphia: Holy Experiment*, and Carl Carmer's *The Susquehanna*.

Mr. Dunbar's title is much too general to be exact. Only in the subtitle, “The Pamphlets,” does he become fairly explicit. What he is editing is neither a collection of the papers of a Paxton family nor one accumulated in any Paxton community. Instead he has taken on the task of selecting for study as “Paxton Papers” some twenty-eight contributions on the Paxton Boys by Philadelphia pamphleteers in the year 1764. Had he ranged as far as his all-comprehensive title would logically have permitted, he might have included not only a number of immediately pertinent documents catalogued in the Pennsylvania Public Records Office, and relevant letters printed in the *Colonial Records* or *Pennsylvania Archives*, but also “The Declaration of Lazarus Stewart” as Redmond Conyngham salvaged it for us in *The Lancaster Intelligencer* in the 1840's. He might also have used the most eloquent and forthright of all, the Rev. Mr. John Elder's letters, printed by William Henry Egle in his *History of Dauphin County*, 1883. He might have sought

and found comments written down in 1763-1764 by Moravians, who noted facts but had no notion of then rushing into print.

In investigating the affair of the Paxton Boys any truth-searcher is bound to be handicapped. He will reap full truth from neither Presbyterian nor Quaker, from neither Benjamin Franklin nor Christopher Gymnast. At most, today he can only weigh and consider. Wishing to know what the Paxton Boys did at Conestoga and Lancaster, he might best read the brief letter of Sheriff John Hay of Lancaster County to Governor John Penn on December 27, 1763. Wishing to know what happened when the Paxton Boys assembled on the bank of the Schuylkill River in Germantown, he might best read Parkman. Beyond that, Mr. Dunbar's book has several values for him. It assembles in compact form the pamphleteering of 1764; it illustrates vividly the partisanship of that year; it exhibits everything from the quick burly humor to the neatly polished satire of colonial America's outstanding city, Philadelphia. The verve of a cultivated society, its faculty for argument and wit, is all there, registering itself in energetic efforts to outdo Alexander Pope or Samuel Butler.

But there is here something more than fanatical slayings by austere Presbyterians, something more than the disclaimers of the same by a materialistic Quakerdom. The hardness of a pre-humanitarian century is here. Indeed, the Philadelphia mind of 1764 was all too content to make the slayings of twelve adult Indians, five boys and three little girls at Conestoga and Lancaster into only the occasion for an effervescence of penning. To know pre-Revolutionary Philadelphia and its eighteenth-century spirit, John R. Dunbar's volume of *Paxton Papers* is worth thoughtful perusal.

Camp Hill

HUBERTIS M. CUMMINGS

The Cultural Life of the American Colonies, 1607-1763. By Louis B. Wright. [Henry Steele Commager and Richard B. Morris, eds., *The New American Nation Series.*] (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957. Pp. 292. \$5.00.)

Perhaps it is time to take a second look at the historical "series," such as *The Library of American Biography* and this *New American Nation Series*. The "series" pattern has now become familiar. Distinguished editors suggest a distinguished author, and the publisher then seduces him into writing a book, frequently within an inflexibly uniform number of pages, in too short a period of time to allow for much original research or even extensive synthesis.

Louis B. Wright is, indeed, a distinguished historian, an unusually perceptive social historian, who might well have written an account of the first century and a half of the cultural life of the American colonies, but in this book he has not. What he has done is to write an excellent study of the cultural life of the colonies in the *seventeenth century*. This is the field he knows well, and the earlier fruits of his expert husbandry, *The First Gentlemen of Virginia* and *Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England*, are as fresh and informative in their context here as they were originally. There

is richness, too, in the picture of Puritan New England, for a part of Mr. Wright's thesis is that the Virginia planter and the New England merchant were brothers under the skin, and he has drawn upon the excellent works of Samuel Eliot Morison and Perry Miller to serve as the warp on which to weave his pattern. Were this book limited in scope to a picture of life in early Virginia and New England, it should rank as the best compendium in the field.

To those interested in Pennsylvania history, Mr. Wright's work will come somewhat as a shock. After forty-one pages, dealing chiefly with the seventeenth-century Virginians and New Englanders of note or interest, the statement is made that "Philadelphia in the eighteenth century surpassed Boston and New York as a center of commerce, and near the end of the colonial period, when it had become the second city of the British Empire, it boasted some of the most powerful commercial families in America," which impressive summary is then bulwarked by a mere two pages of supporting material (from Frederick B. Tolles' *Meeting House and Counting House*), somewhat slighting to the implication of the opening sentence. This may be said to be typical of the whole book.

There are warm, human, revealing insights of Cavaliers from the South and Puritans from the North, quoted from diaries and letters, and but few if any similar word-pictures of men from the Middle Colonies. The bits cut out of James Logan's correspondence with Penn, when it was printed in bowdlerized form, might have colored the Quaker drab and given it the kind of life Mr. Wright gives to William Byrd of Virginia, as for instance, Logan's account of the third marriage of the Mayor of Philadelphia to a young lady much his junior whose apron-strings were noticeably high at the wedding.

By dismissing the Quakers as "strict moralists," no indication is given of a renegade William Penn, Jr., who could find opportunities and companions for thoroughly scandalous behavior. The social elegance of a Governor Keith and the growing influence of wordly Anglicans and Quaker-turned-Anglicans are passed over quickly. The Philadelphia Assembly and the musicians whom Dr. Hamilton spoke of—manifestations of a vigorous social life—are not mentioned. The peculiar background of Pennsylvania does not emerge with its years of legislative strife between the Proprietary and politicians representing a diversity of social classes, economic groups, and cultural and religious blocs. Yet, this was the seed ground of the "Philadelphia lawyer"—David Lloyd, James Kinsey, Andrew Hamilton, and John Dickinson—a type not produced in any other colony. We are shown how the development of the North and South created new amalgams of thought and action, which entered the mainstream of American life, but not how there evolved the pragmatic middle-way culture of Pennsylvania, the way of Franklinian compromise which later made the Constitution possible.

To be sure, the development of Pennsylvania occurred in the eighteenth century, by which time Virginia and New England had evolved recognizable patterns of life, and herein lies the great weakness of Mr. Wright's book. It flows smoothly and expansively up to the year 1700, and then trickles on thinly to the stated end of his assigned period.

Nowhere is this more clearly shown than in the chapter on "Books, Libraries, and Learning." Here, in a leisurely fashion, Mr. Wright notes sixteenth- and seventeenth-century titles found in colonial libraries, but fails to enumerate the far more numerous later works which were read by more Americans during the first half of the eighteenth century. No mention is made of the flood of Whig histories which were found almost universally in any collection of books, public or private, worthy of the name; the ubiquitous set of Rapin's *History of England*, and the accounts of the "Revolutions" in Spain, Portugal, Sweden, the Roman Republic, Persia, Morocco and France. The best-sellers of their day, Pope, of course, but also Glover's *Leonidas*, Garth's *Dispensary*, Philips' *Pastorals*, Thomson's *Seasons*, Pomfret's *Poems*, and others, are not mentioned among the literary works which our ancestors read. Newton's *Principia* is nodded to, but not the mass of post-Newtonian scientific books which completely replaced the earlier works on colonial shelves. And, not even a nod was given to those books on gardening and agriculture which were major influences on American, as they had been on English, agriculture—Tull's *Horse-hoeing Husbandry* and the works of Bradley and Ellis. Was there one single *vademecum* found more frequently in colonial America than Miller's *Gardener's Dictionary*?

The iron-maiden of format forced Mr. Wright to skip quickly over the eighteenth century and the Middle Colonies. I have mentioned specifically Pennsylvania, but New York was skimmed in much the same fashion. Furthermore, he virtually ignores, except for newspapers, the not inconsiderable output of the eighteenth-century American presses, surely a most significant factor in the culture of any land. By comparison, the theatre, not nearly so important in the overall life of the colonies, is treated in detail. American painting was not, in the colonial period, qualitatively comparable to the work of European artists, but the productions of American silversmiths were technically and artistically the equal of what could be bought abroad. Yet, seven pages are devoted to painting, and one-half a page to silver. All in all, the fine arts and sciences, generally regarded as prime manifestations of a culture, receive curtailed treatment. Probably Mr. Wright is not to blame for this, for as the book unfolds itself one gets the impression of an increasing tempo, as though the author were being forced to squeeze what was still left to be said into a shrinking number of pages.

In essence, we have here *The First Hundred Years of the Cultural Life of the American Colonies*, and as such it is a work of distinction. Unfortunately, that is somewhat less than the work purports to be.

Library Company of Philadelphia.

EDWIN WOLF, II

The German-Language Press in America. By Carl Wittke. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1957. Pp. 311. \$6.50.)

Albert Bernhardt Faust, in his *The German Element in the United States*, published in 1909 and reprinted in 1927, stated succinctly the role of German journalism in America: "The great function of German journalism in America, viewed historically, has been to prepare the German population for good citizenship. German newspapers have accelerated the process of

assimilation by interesting their foreign-born readers in American politics, history and present conditions. Secondly, they have exerted a concerted influence on their patronage by upholding the German language and increasing their pride in German culture and civilization. The German newspapers are and have been strongly patriotic in all matters concerning national or local politics. They are German or conservative only on questions of language and culture."

Carl Wittke has written 291 pages to express the same thesis. As Faust did, he has stated that he does not attempt to chronicle the individual fortunes of the hundreds of publications involved, but to indicate practical problems faced by the whole German-language press, with greater detail on some of the major newspapers. The limitations of such an undertaking are easy to understand, but what publisher would be interested in a minute description of German journalism in the United States? Nowadays the demand in America is not for carefully documented exhaustive tomes, but for so-called interpretations. Wittke has produced the latter. Nevertheless there is no essentially new note; intellectually the whole book is an expansion of Faust's idea.

I cannot help feeling that this book, which might better have been labelled "Notes and Observations on the German Language Press," may do a disservice to historical scholarship by being regarded as the final word on the subject, something which I am sure Carl Wittke himself does not wish. But to condense the material and get the proper emphasis for his views within the framework which an American publisher would consider, he was forced into an uneven work. Some sections are profuse, others sparse. Some material is, one might say, over-documented for the immediate purpose, other parts meagerly so. "A complete tabulation of German-American publications, even if it were popular to make one, would have little value," says the author in the preface. He states he has also kept footnotes to a minimum, although his use of them is inconsistent.

At times the attempt to condense material which he has considered not too important leads to mis-statements. Thus, on page 220, he describes Thomas Harter, who wrote under the name of "Boonastiel," as one of the "recent promoters of the revival of the old Pennsylvania German dialect." Harter happened to be getting well along in years when Cleveland was President of the United States.

And now, having perhaps spoken too decidedly about what the book is not, I wish to express my satisfaction with what it is. For the public at large it is necessary for such popular books to be published again and again to remind it of the contributions that non-English groups have made to the culture of the United States. For the general historian, too, such books will have to suffice until exhaustive scholarship in German-Americana will be subsidized without fear of its being called dull and unpopular.

To be commended also is that Wittke, in the midst of colorless oversimplification such as "as an editor Börnstein was more moderate than might have been expected and he showed less and less sympathy for some of the radicals of the forty-eighters group," does give us a glimpse of the German

newspaper-men as real men. The following characterization of "Pater" Maximilian Oertel may serve as an example:

The *Katholische Kirchenzeitung* featured controversial argument and its editor debated furiously and wittily on many issues with men like Heinzen, Hassaurek, Molitor, C. F. Walther and the Jewish editor, Dr. Max Lilienthal. Alongside religious poetry of highly spiritual content Oertel published rollicking verse over his pen name Hilarius Jocosus. The constant exchanges between Heinzen's "Pionier" and Oertel's Catholic journal are among the most amusing and interesting in the whole history of American journalism. The battle between the champion of atheism and the defender of Catholic theology was rough and violent, but relieved by flashes of devilish wit on both sides. And one must conclude that each thought his adversary worthy of his steel and found it difficult not to express genuine affection for him. Oertel was a jovial and improvident character; he loved good wine and good company and counted German radicals like August Becker, among his bosom friends.

Overlooking the weasel word "interesting," this passage is an example of Wittke's best. Incidentally, of the group of Oertel's opponents mentioned above, only Heinzen receives treatment nearly as vivid as in this passage. I particularly should welcome more about Hassaurek, that intense crusading Cincinnati editor who, after political and personal disappointments, wrote:

Jüngling, baue nicht auf Volksgunst,
Wandelbar gleicht sie dem Glücke,
Heute hebt sie Dich zum Himmel,
Morgen reißt sie Dich in Stücke.

Alle Herrscher haben Launen,
Ob sie einen Szepter führen,
Oder ob sie mittelst Mehrheit
Demokratisch Dich regieren.

American historians have repeatedly failed to distinguish sufficiently between the newspapers of the Pennsylvania Germans and those of the later immigration. I think Wittke errs in this respect also. Somewhere in the book he states that no group in this country can retain its culture beyond the second generation. But at the time when the German newspapers were still alive among the Pennsylvania Germans, readers, and often the editors, were of the fifth and sixth generations. His taking it for granted, too, that only imported German editors were capable of writing pure German, is exaggerated. The church papers that Reverend S. K. Brobst edited, and the *Boten* of Allentown, edited by Ben Trexler, were widely read and commented favorably upon in German newspapers in America and Europe. The *Weltbote* had a circulation of 19,000 in 1891.

The type font used by the University of Kentucky Press is easy on the eyes. I suppose that the cost of publishing prevented the use of reproductions of typical German American newspapers, a supplement with stylistic examples, or a bibliography for the student. Part of the cost of publication

was borne by the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation and the H. V. Kaltenborn Foundation.

Glenside, Pa.

RALPH CHARLES WOOD

The Prison at Philadelphia, Cherry Hill: The Separate System of Penal Discipline: 1829-1913. By Negley K. Teeters and John D. Shearer. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1957. Pp. 249. \$5.50.)

Professor Teeters and Mr. Shearer have brought together in this volume as much as could be located of the relevant primary source material relating to the projection, establishment, and operation of what in many ways is regarded as the most important penal institution not only in this country but throughout the Western hemisphere. Within the compass of these 249 pages, comprising eight chapters and four appendices, one may read the minutes of meetings of the Pennsylvania Prison Society, the various wardens' journals, the letters of architects and leading citizens, as well as the reflections of prominent Quakers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and their "concern" over the proper moral atmosphere in which the flowers of evil might be stripped of their vile influence.

The complete failure of the Walnut Street Jail to improve the moral character of criminals consigned to its concentrated depravity aroused the social and religious conscience of the leaders of the Society of Friends. The result was a firm resolve and determination to put an end to the organized debauchery which they believed was inherent in the promiscuous association of every kind of reprobate and criminal. From their reflections and deliberations came the Pennsylvania System of imprisonment and penal servitude. Central to any understanding of their philosophy of punishment was the doctrine of contamination. Evil feeds on evil, and grows more evil. Thus to neutralize, minimize, and perchance eliminate such evil, association and contact must be prevented.

The plans for the establishment of the prison at Cherry Hill, drawn by John Haviland, incorporated the principle of separate cellular confinement. If prisoners never saw each other while in prison they could not contaminate each other. If they were prevented from communicating with each other they could not influence each other, could never know each other, and hence could neither conspire nor plot evil deeds or recognize each other after their release, to join hands in carrying out their nefarious schemes. With visits and exhortations and admonitions from persons of high repute and character, in their solitude they could reflect upon their low estate, turn their eyes inward to recognize the enormity of their wrong-doing, and eventually realize that their hope for salvation lay in sincere and lasting penitence which a merciful God would recognize. Perhaps He might save them from the bottomless pit of Hell, where they would surely burn forever, without being consumed, if they continued in their stiff-necked defiance of man and God. In brief, it was believed that if these prisoners could be made to think right they would act right.

This system of imprisonment was adopted in a few states, only to be

abandoned after a brief trial. However, European observers, with the exception of Charles Dickens, found much in the new prison which impressed them favorably. Thus the Pennsylvania System was widely adopted abroad, while in this country only Pennsylvania retained it in its original form until it was formally abolished in 1913. The failure of this philosophy of confinement was probably less due to any inherent defect than to the almost pathological opposition of the Secretary of the Boston Prison Discipline Society (1826-1854), the Reverend Louis Dwight. The real animus behind Dwight's unyielding and crusading zeal to discredit the Pennsylvania System has never been adequately revealed. Suffice it to say that he and he alone persuaded state legislatures to adopt a variant system used by the state prison at Auburn, New York.

The difference between the two systems was more formal than substantive. Auburn imposed silence; so did Cherry Hill. Auburn had separate confinement of selected offenders at all times; so did Cherry Hill. Auburn imposed separate confinement at night and over weekends; Cherry Hill formally imposed separate confinement for the duration of the prisoner's stay in prison. The only difference between the two systems was employment. Auburn worked the prisoners together in silence; Cherry Hill, separately, in their cells. Neither system was basically concerned with reformation *per se*. Both were based on a procedure calculated to induce reflection and regeneration. Both emphasized means, with the conviction that the means or the procedure would automatically and inexorably produce the ends they envisaged. While both emphasized moral character, such character became less important than the ritual which presumably would achieve it.

Out of a welter of forgotten records, the authors have given us a fairly clear view of the trials and travail of wardens, inspectors, prisoners, and that dauntless and dedicated group of reformers without whose efforts we certainly could not have come as far as we have in correctional philosophy. If not failure but low aim be the chief contributor to disgrace, then certainly the failure of the system can hardly dim the achievements of the founders of the New Prison, Cherry Hill, one hundred and twenty-nine years ago.

Finally, we are indebted to the authors for their tireless industry in giving life to the words of public-spirited and distinguished citizens who received nothing for their efforts to alleviate the miseries of the public prisons except perhaps the implicit encomia in this volume of remembrance.

University of Pennsylvania

J. P. SHALLOO

The New-York Historical Society's Dictionary of Artists in America, 1564-1860. By George C. Groce and David H. Wallace. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957. Pp. 759. \$15.00.)

This dictionary is a major work of reference, indispensable for research in the field of American art prior to 1860, and valuable in many ways as a guide and quick reference for American studies in general. Its virtues are those of any good dictionary: conciseness, accuracy, comprehensiveness. On these combined grounds it supersedes all predecessors. Students of American art have been aware of the ironic fact that a German dictionary, Thieme and

Becker's *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, heretofore has been the best source for the identification of obscure figures in their field. The *Dictionary of Artists in America, 1564-1860* now provides us with a better one in the English language.

A work of this scope necessarily is a collaborative and cumulative one, and acknowledgment is made in it for the contributions of many others than the two principal authors. Major credit, however, must go to Dr. George C. Groce, under whose direction the facilities of the New Jersey Historical Records Survey of the Works Progress Administration were employed in a project which in 1940 produced *1440 Early American Portrait Artists*, essentially a first draft of the present work. Through intervening stages, with the help of other agencies, it expanded until it was brought to completion under the aegis of the New-York Historical Society and its Assistant Editor, David H. Wallace.

It is impressive to read that "the users of the *Dictionary* will have at their fingertips information about seven times as many artists as have been recorded hitherto in a single volume" (the multi-volumed Thieme-Becker *Lexikon* is here excepted). "Between ten and eleven thousand" are listed. Painters, sculptors, engravers, lithographers, miscellaneous craftsmen, professionals and amateurs are included (*not* architects), many of them combed from city directories and census lists, and recorded with or without supplementary data. Full entries consist of a brief biographical summary, documentation, and bibliographic references.

In a readable introductory section the make-up of the *Dictionary* is described, together with some anecdotal commentary on how information was obtained, how curious errors were rectified, and so forth. There, too, the authors point out ways in which the volume might function as a research tool. At the back of the book, following an established practice in recent publications of the New-York Historical Society, there is a 45-page "Key to Sources," listing "all the books (except directories), pamphlets, articles, periodicals, newspapers, and unpublished manuscripts cited as sources in the *Dictionary*."

A second volume that would extend this work into the period after 1860 would be a formidable but highly serviceable undertaking.

The Pennsylvania State University

HAROLD E. DICKSON

The Beekmans of New York In Politics and Commerce, 1647-1877. By Philip L. White. With an introduction by Fenwick Beekman, M.D. (New York: The New-York Historical Society, under a grant from The Beekman Family Association, 1956. Pp. 705. \$10.00.)

The Beekman Mercantile Papers, 1746-1799. Edited by Philip L. White. (New York: The New-York Historical Society. Three volumes, 1956. \$25.00.)

It is a remarkable circumstance when the members of one family play important roles in politics and business over a period of three centuries. Likewise worthy of remark is the fact that this prominent and wealthy

family should not only continue its public services, but preserve its records and publish them in a form which makes them available to scholars and to posterity. The New-York Historical Society, too, is to be congratulated that the Beekman family, which has also played a part in the Society's development, has so wisely chosen the Society as its publisher.

The Beekmans were among the early Dutch settlers of Manhattan, for William Beekman (1623-1707), the progenitor in this country, arrived with Peter Stuyvesant and became involved in the controversies over Dutch rule, the transfer to English control, and the struggle for representative government. Henry Beekman I (1652-1716) was a prominent member of the Assembly from Ulster County who was involved in political relations with the royal governors, though never an extremist. His brother, Dr. Gerardus Beekman (1653-1723), however, was a supporter of Governor Leisler, and as such was convicted of treason, but eventually pardoned, so as to again participate actively in public affairs. He was one of the men charged with care of the Palatines who were sent over by Queen Anne. Henry Beekman II (1688-1776) was active in opposition to Governor Cosby in the faction which supported John Peter Zenger, and he frequently was opposed to the subsequent governors. As supporters of the Dutch Reformed Church, the Beekmans at times took issue with government in matters of religion.

This prominence in government paralleled success in a material way. Lands were acquired up the river, in Ulster and Dutchess counties, and the Beekmans became men of affairs. It was with the coming of Gerard G. Beekman (1719-1797), however, that the mercantile interests of the family became apparent. The flaxseed trade with Ireland, the indigo trade with Carolina, shares in shipping vessels, commissions, marine insurance, and even a form of banking, brought profits and the means for still other ventures. Contacts throughout the North Atlantic provided many opportunities for the rising merchants. The colonial wars brought hazards, but also frequently further opportunities. The merchants backed privateers and advanced sums for government expenditures, generally to their own profit. The interests of the colonial merchants were those of the Beekmans as the Revolution approached and James Beekman (1732-1807), while a solid citizen with many British contacts in trade, warmly endorsed colonial steps for redress of the tax burden and resistance to the ministry. He strictly observed the non-importation acts and became a member of the provincial revolutionary assembly.

In the nineteenth century James W. Beekman (1815-1877) maintained the family tradition of public service. As a prominent citizen of New York, and as a member of the state legislature, he advocated free public education, the establishment and support of parks, hospitals, and other institutions (such as the New-York Historical Society). He opposed corrupt influences in government, but was conservative in his opposition to abolitionists (Seward and even Hamilton Fish), in his support of the Compromise of 1850, and his advocacy of colonization as a solution to slavery. He opposed "Maine law" prohibitionists and was also against the liberalization

of divorce laws. He represented his class in *noblesse oblige* and in a high sense of responsibility for public welfare.

In the history of *The Beekmans of New York*, Dr. White has done a competent job of research, relying upon other sources where the family papers were silent. Although heavily weighted with commercial details, it contains much of general historical importance, and is in itself a contribution to economic history. Appendices supply figures on colonial and Revolutionary trade, and there is a useful "Glossary of Eighteenth Century Trade Terms." There are fine reproductions of many family portraits and a genealogical table of the Beekman family.

The Beekman Mercantile Papers, 1740-1799, is a mine of information on colonial and Revolutionary economic affairs, "the largest publication of American commercial correspondence of that period which has yet been made." These three volumes comprise the correspondence of Gerard G. Beekman for 1746-1750 and 1752-1770, James Beekman for 1750-1799, and Gerard W. Beekman's letters to his brother William for 1777-1782. The wide range of the Beekmans' business concerns—the Atlantic seaboard, the Caribbean, the British Isles, the coast of Europe, and the islands of the Atlantic—will make these volumes a required reference for scholars investigating many fields. Pennsylvania historians will note the letters of Gerard W. from Philadelphia in the years 1777-1781.

As in all such publications, the form and editorial practice are worthy of comment, for on these depend the utility of the work. The type and paper are clear and good, and the grouping of letters, chronological under the general heading of the merchant, is logical. There are no explanatory footnotes, or identification of persons, although a 60-page index and the accompanying volume of family history help to supply this lack. Uniformity has been obtained by simple headings: the writer or addressee, place and date. No signatures, salutations, or closings (which indeed would have added much bulk) are included. The preface also informs us that "spelling, punctuation and capitalization follow the original text as closely as possible, although abbreviated words have generally been spelled out where modern usage requires it." Since not all of the vast Beekman collection of accounts, diaries, etc., has been printed, the user should read the preface carefully. Expert assistance in editing and publication has insured a handsome publication which will be a welcome addition to every historical library.

Division of Archives and History
Albany, New York

MILTON W. HAMILTON

The American Lyceum: Town Meeting of the Mind. By Carl Bode. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956. Pp. 275. \$5.00.)

In his interesting and informative study of the American lyceum in the nineteenth century, Professor Bode traces the origin of the lyceum to the mechanics' institute movement in the British Isles, where Dr. George Birkbeck and Lord Brougham supplied the initial impetus and leadership. The first American lyceums conformed to the British pattern in that their

principal purpose originally was to provide practical scientific instruction for workingmen. Like the British movement, the American one utilized lecture-demonstration courses and encouraged the assembling of local libraries of technical books. In America the lyceum movement received its driving force from one man, Josiah Holbrook, who envisaged local societies for mutual instruction, county lyceums, state boards of mutual education, and even a general board embracing the United States. Late in 1826 Holbrook started Millbury Branch Number 1 of the American Lyceum in Millbury, Massachusetts. This was the first of thousands of lyceums to be established throughout the country.

Professor Bode contends that the lyceum as an American social institution began in the 1820's and ended with the Civil War. Although there were societies which either anticipated or paralleled parts of the lyceum as conceived by Holbrook, the lyceum *as a social institution* did not exist anywhere in America before the time of Holbrook's successful organizing efforts. By the time of the Civil War, two of the main features of the lyceum system—adult education and a relatively serious purpose—were declining in importance but were not entirely gone. After the Civil War, when lecturing began to increase again, they disappeared completely, and the emphasis was on entertainment.

In dealing with a wealth of source material on the American lyceum, Professor Bode divides it both chronologically and geographically. Since the first great phase of the lyceum, during which it developed from an institution founded for mutual instruction to one sponsoring random lectures, was succeeded about 1845 by the second phase, during which the lyceum crystallized into the lecture system, he uses that year as the dividing point between the beginning and the end of the movement. Geographically, he treats as units New England, the Middle Atlantic states, the South, the Midwest, and, for the second period, the West. In his discussion of the lyceum in each area during both periods, he first surveys his subject in a general way, taking into consideration social, economic, political, demographic, psychological, and cultural developments, and then presents a more detailed account of the lyceums in the various towns and cities of each of the areas mentioned.

During the early period from 1826 to 1845, the lyceum developed best in New England, and particularly well in such Massachusetts communities as Concord, Salem, and Boston. In the Middle Atlantic states New York was the leader in the lyceum movement, while Delaware was the least favorable of the states for the lyceum. In the South the best years for the lyceum were the 1830's, when it flourished in Virginia and in some of the other states, but after that there was only a flurry of interest which soon changed to apathy. In the Midwest the lyceum was strongest where emigrants from New England were to be found, as in Ohio.

Between 1846 and the beginning of the Civil War, New England maintained its supremacy as the stronghold of the lyceum, challenged perhaps only by New York, which was still the leader in the Middle Atlantic states. In the South the lyceum did not make any gains during this period. In the

Midwest, Ohio continued dominant, and from 1847 to 1857 the lecture system grew better in the Midwest than in any other part of the country. There was increasing interest in the lyceum movement in such outposts of culture as Minnesota, Kansas, and Nebraska, and there was even some form of lyceum life on the West Coast, especially in San Francisco.

According to Professor Bode, Pennsylvania as a whole showed indifference to the lyceum during the first period. The Quakers preferred "other forms of adult education;" the Pennsylvania Germans "waited to be convinced of its cash value;" and the Scotch-Irish "found taming the frontier more necessary and playing politics more stimulating." Nevertheless, the Quakers did support at least a few lyceums, mainly in the Philadelphia area, and Josiah Holbrook, during a visit to Pennsylvania about 1834, won a little support from the Pennsylvania Germans. Lyceums existed in York, Lancaster, Cumberland, Berks, Montgomery, and Bucks counties during this period. Between 1846 and 1861 new lyceums appeared in the state, a very active one in Scranton being notable, and the older ones, such as those in Pittsburgh, Lancaster, and Lewisburg, managed to survive. A fair number of lectures were given in Philadelphia, but not so many as might be expected in a city of Philadelphia's size and intellectual eminence. On the whole, in spite of Pennsylvania's increasing prosperity, "the state straggled far behind New York in its support of the lyceum" during this latter period.

In two sections of his book devoted to various facets of the lyceum, the author treats such subjects as the economics of the movement, and its effect on literature, libraries, and public schools. From the great number of lyceum lecturers the author has wisely selected for brief sketches men who were representative, each in his own way, of many others. For the earlier period, these range from John Briscom, the chemist, to George Combe, the phrenologist. For the later period, the list includes such celebrities as Henry Ward Beecher, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Bayard Taylor, and Ralph Waldo Emerson. As transportation improved and the lecture system grew during the second period, the use of lecture agents developed and the lecturers were trained performers, whether ministers, professors, or writers. The lyceum offered writers in particular a means for making money and trying out their shorter works. As a result, the effect of the lyceum on subject matter, tone, and style can be detected in the works of many writers, who, when they prepared a new series of talks, often sent the old ones (polished and perhaps somewhat revised) off to be published either as essays or chapters in a book.

Among the most important facets of the lyceum was its relationship to the public schools and also to the library movement. As a form of adult education, the lyceum was an ally of public education and helped to create a general atmosphere favorable to the public schools. It sponsored special teacher-training institutes, and it also sponsored the first national convention for the public schools. In the organized efforts to provide the people in America with more library facilities, the lyceum also played an important part. In some instances, as the lyceums declined or died, they left their books to the local library; in others, the lyceums themselves were turned into libraries.

Professor Bode's book is the first full account of this movement on a nationwide scale. One suspects that the author has not found all the material on local lyceums throughout the country, but on the other hand any additional evidence that might be unearthed would not vitally change his general conclusions. He has succeeded in organizing a vast amount of material very well, and he has treated his subject ably. *The American Lyceum* is a real contribution to the cultural history of the United States.

University of Delaware

ERNEST J. MOYNE

Truxtun of the Constellation, the Life of Commodore Thomas Truxtun, U. S. Navy, 1755-1822. By Eugene S. Ferguson. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1956. Pp. 322. \$5.25.)

The history of the American navy in the first forty years from the Revolution through the War of 1812 and the War with Algiers is studded with star performers whose luster has never diminished. Jones and Barry, Perry and Preble are but four in a galaxy whose names have always been household words, men whose brilliant exploits at sea in our early wars earned them immediate and enduring fame.

How strange it is that one whose star shone just as brightly as these, who heard the huzzahs of a grateful populace ring just as long in his ears, should, until now, be so little known to the general public. Even before his life was over in 1822, Thomas Truxtun came to know the bitterness of outliving his renown. To be sure, the Navy in which he served did not forget; a brig that was built in 1842 was named for him, and his name has always had a place in general histories of the United States Navy, and catalogues of American naval prints. By and large, however, he has suffered a popular eclipse so complete that even the correct spelling of his name has been forgotten.

Within the past ten years have occurred two events which will go far to elevate this remarkable man once again to the position he so well deserves. In 1950 the Naval Historical Foundation chose the name Truxtun-Decatur Naval Museum for its newly-opened museum in Washington, located in the carriage house of Stephen Decatur's home on Lafayette Square. And now appears this splendid biography by Mr. Ferguson, a book that will please the general reader and the specialist alike.

Reviewing such a book is difficult because there is nothing of real consequence to which exception can be taken. In a most readable and colorful style the author recounts the facts of Truxtun's life. The bulk of the account is devoted to the period from 1767 to 1802, a thirty-five year stretch during which Truxtun spent far more time afloat than ashore. At twelve he went to sea as a cabin boy, was soon impressed into the Royal Navy, took a wife when he was twenty, and sailed first as a master the same year. During part of the Revolutionary War he was engaged in privateering, and years later recalled that at a dinner in Philadelphia Washington had told him he "had been as a regiment to the United States," because of the badly needed supplies he could furnish. In 1785 he brought Benjamin Franklin and his party home in the *London Packet*, and late that year sailed off in the same

ship, renamed the *Canton*, on the first voyage to China out of the port of Philadelphia.

In 1794 Truxtun accepted a commission as captain in the new United States Navy, the only one of six appointed to that rank who had not held a commission in the Continental Navy. Thereafter he was concerned directly with the building and commissioning of the *Constellation* at Baltimore. In February 1799, during the Naval War with France, Truxtun's *Constellation* defeated and captured *L'Insurgente* in a brilliant fight in the Caribbean. Just one year later *La Vengeance* suffered an equally severe whipping at his hands before escaping after moonset. In those two events Truxtun's career reached its climax. Two years later he resigned from the Navy in pique. Twenty more years remained to him, but his effective career had really drawn to a close.

With complete success Mr. Ferguson presents Truxtun as a historical personage, and describes his writings. He presents him as a naval officer, and a staunch advocate of sound principles which he proved in his brilliant victories. He presents him within the framework of his stirring times and events, yet never loses the focus of his central figure. Moreover, he presents him as a person, with a wife and children, triumphs and disappointments, debts and prosperity, and capacities for both greatness and smallness. All this Mr. Ferguson does with the assurance of a researcher and accomplished writer whose command of his biographical and technical facts, so laboriously collected, is complete. A subject is seldom so fortunate in his biographer.

To publish such a distinguished work in so undistinguished a design and format is regrettable. The illustrations are particularly disappointing in their quality and their choice leaves much to be desired. Excellent contemporary material is available, including the handsome pair of prints of the engagement between the *Constellation* and *L'Insurgente*, published by Edward Savage at Philadelphia within four months after the battle, perhaps the first American aquatints. Other Truxtun material, some of which is unique, could have been represented.

The index, bibliography, and notes are all valuable. In his note on quotations Mr. Ferguson remarks, "My subject's name was often misspelled 'Truxton' in his day, as it its today." To prove the point, he misspells it twice, just three pages from the finish.