

BOOK REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTES

EDITED BY NORMAN B. WILKINSON

Pelts and Palisades: The Story of Fur and the Rivalry for Pelts in Early America. By Nathaniel C. Hale. (Richmond, Va.: The Dietz Press, Inc. Pp. 219. \$4.75.)

To call this a "captivating" book is to draw attention to its color and verve, to the dramatic quality of its material, and to the unconventional interpretation it offers of early exploration and settlement in this country and Canada. The general reader will find here an adventure-packed and eye-opening introduction to the history of early commerce in America. We have reason to thank the author for sorting into a coherent story the scattered and confusing records of the blood-spattered fur trade which individuals, companies, and colonies conducted up and down the American coast in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He has truly brought light to a "Region of Darkness" (as the Mongolians called the source of the white bear skins they showed Marco Polo). Colonel Hale, a graduate of West Point, is adept at holding large bodies of fact in formation while seeing them through complicated maneuvers. He is good at synthesis. That is why *Pelts and Palisades*, though not written primarily for scholars, is valuable. It provides a bird's-eye view of the fur trade and a key to its meaning as the prime agency in securing European beachheads on this continent.

The author's general purpose, as he says, is to show "in narrative form" the effect of the fur trade "on the genesis of America and the westward movement of its people." His particular thesis is that "The Merchants, their factors, and the fur traders, shaped colonial policies. The statesmen only signed the implementing documents." To set his case in perspective, he opens with a glance at the ancient world, in which "man's first true possession was the fur skin of an animal." The story of Jason and the Golden Fleece is introduced as a legend that grew out of "the first organized fur trading voyage in recorded history." Bringing his readers to America, he introduces the Vikings to Greenland and "Vinland," and goes on to show how the fur trade supported the French in Canada, the New Englanders, the Virginians, and the Dutch and Swedes on the Delaware. He follows briefly the development of the Hudson's Bay Company (with a glance at some of its rivals in Canada), and ends with an account of Pennsylvania and Virginia traders crossing the Appalachian Mountains into the Ohio country, where their competition with the French sparked the French and Indian War.

Of course the attempt to compress all this—along with pertinent discussion of the European fur market, the dressing of hides, the making of felt hats out of beaver fur, and answers to the kind of questions most likely

to come into a reader's mind—into 203 pages of text, has forced the author into a somewhat sketchy treatment of his materials. But that has its compensations, since it has required the author to think in terms of grand strategy. He plots the moves made by merchants and governments in England, Europe, and the growing American colonies, to get a share of the lucrative fur trade, using methods not unlike those of English freebooters preying on commerce on the Spanish Main. Episodes such as the attempt of Claiborne (with his plantation in Chesapeake Bay) to drain off "much of the fur trade of the French in Canada," "the war between Virginia and Lord Baltimore," and Puritan dealings with the Indians of New England, make exciting if not always edifying reading.

Compression involves sacrifices. The dubious authenticity of some of the items introduced is hinted at but not explored; and the European traders' counterparts, the Indians, are never brought alive. Room is not made for an adequate discussion of the effects of the fur trade on the native inhabitants. The book is written strictly from the white man's point of view. Sympathy is expressed for the Indian in the plight to which the fur trade reduced him, but there is no investigation of *his* grand strategy in an effort to save himself.

There is no documentation, but a useful bibliography and index are here to help the student.

Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission PAUL A. W. WALLACE

Susquehannock Miscellany. Edited by John Witthoft and W. Fred Kinsey, III. (Harrisburg: The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1959. Pp. 167. \$1.50.)

This is a welcome archaeological and historical study of the Susquehannock Indians, containing nine separate essays by Alfred K. Guthe, William A. Hunter, Charles H. Holzinger, H. Geiger Omwake, Arthur A. Futer, Gerald B. Fenstermaker, and the editors.

I incline to question two of Hunter's observations, recognizing that both issues are still in doubt. He quotes the familiar lines from Captain John Smith, who saw, "many hatchets, peeces of iron, and brasse" in the possession of Susquehannock warriors on Chesapeake Bay. Hunter states, "The goods which the Susquehannocks were trading to other groups in Smith's day probably were obtained from the Dutch, whose trading posts on Delaware Bay date from 1626 and whose traders had visited this coast for some time previously."

Hunter overlooks the fact that Smith's encounter was in 1608, a full year before Hudson discovered Delaware Bay. A boast by the Dutch that their traders were on the Delaware as early as 1598 was made to counter English claims. No record exists of Dutch exploration of the Delaware River prior to Hendricksen's voyage in 1616—eight years after Smith met the Susquehannocks carrying metal weapons, which probably were of French origin, not Dutch.

Hunter also writes that the presence of two Susquehannocks at the signing of a Dutch deed in 1651 with the Delawares was suggestive, "not of

conquest or dominance, but of friendly and peaceful relations." The journals of de Vries (1633) and Yong (1634) state explicitly that Susquehannock war parties invaded the lower Delaware Valley, burning corn fields and driving the Delawares from their villages. Writing from first-hand observation, both emphasized that the Delawares lived in deathly fear of the Susquehannocks (Minquas). It is likely the Susquehannocks were present, when the 1651 document was formalized, in the role of conquerors, as the Delaware chief Mattahorn implied when he said he and his associates were proprietors by ownership, descent, and "appointment of the Minquas, etc."

Guthe's concise chapter, "Current Trends in the Archaeology of the Northeast," contains nothing relating to the Susquehannocks, but it is a splendid summary of recent archaeological activity by a scientist well versed in his subject.

The essay by Witthoft, "Ancestry of the Susquehannocks" is the book's most valuable contribution. He traces Susquehannock movement from archaeological clues, advancing the theory with flawless logic that their homeland was on the north branch of the Susquehanna. In a southerly migration they invaded the territory of the "Shenks Ferry" people, an unidentified, prehistoric group whose cultural materials have been erroneously attributed to the Susquehannocks. Witthoft's theory contradicts Donald A. Cadzow's interpretations in his *Archaeological Studies of the Susquehannock Indians of Pennsylvania*, published by the Pennsylvania Historical Commission in 1936. The editors kindly say that new data have outmoded Cadzow's assumptions.

Among the European trade objects excavated on Susquehannock sites, the kaolin smoking pipes provide Omwake with material for a highly informative chapter. He attributes these pipes, from their typology, to 17th century Dutch and Swedish traders, a conclusion well supported in history.

Fenstermaker's reminiscences based on 50 years of Indian relic hunting is an old-school-tie contrast with Futer's technical discussion of the excavation of the Strickler site, Kinsey's comprehensive analysis of historic Susquehannock ceramics, and the Witthoft-Kinsey-Holzinger chapter on Susquehannock burials.

Wilmington, Del.

C. A. WESLAGER

The Papers of Benjamin Franklin, Volume I, January 6, 1706 Through December 31, 1734. Edited by Leonard W. Labaree, Whitfield J. Bell, Jr., Helen C. Boatfield, and Helene H. Fineman. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959. Pp. 400. \$7.50.)

As a signer of both the Declaration of Independence and of the Constitution, Benjamin Franklin ranks high among American statesmen. As printer, philosopher, and philanthropist he won world renown. As a diplomat, his personal prestige in Paris won French support for the Revolutionary War and British co-operation in framing the peace treaty which ended it. Pennsylvania, his adopted province, he served in many capacities. He was clerk and member of its legislative assembly, agent in London, and after

his final return to America in old age President of its Supreme Executive Council.

How he learned to use the written word effectively as a means of increasing his influence over human conduct he has described in his well-known *Autobiography*. His literary productions have long been recognized as instructive and amusing. Besides individual publications proceeding from his pen, several collections of his writings were issued during his lifetime. His letters to Peter Collinson on electricity were printed in 1751. Two volumes of *Oeuvres* were published in French by his friend Barbeu Dubourg in 1773. German and Italian versions of his writings also appeared. In England Benjamin Vaughan and Charles Dilly issued collections in 1779 and 1787. More ambitious were the collected writings edited by his grandson William Temple Franklin, published in three volumes (1817-1818); by William Duane, in six volumes (1808-1818); by Jared Sparks, in ten volumes (1836-1840); by John Bigelow in ten volumes (1887-1888); and by Albert H. Smyth in ten volumes (1905-1907).

The present edition, expected to fill forty volumes, will surpass all prior collections both in comprehensiveness of coverage and in thoroughness of editorial methods. It will utilize letters to or from approximately 4,200 correspondents, owned by some 220 institutions and 110 individuals. It was launched in 1954, under the sponsorship of *Life Magazine*, The American Philosophical Society, and Yale University, which was, as Franklin informed its president Ezra Stiles in 1790, "the first learned society that took notice of me and adorned me with its honours."

The first Franklin volume invites comparison with the *Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, fifteen out of over fifty projected volumes of which have now appeared, under the sponsorship of Princeton University and the *New York Times*. Similar editorial practices are followed. These are described in the introduction to the volume, which also recounts the vicissitudes of the manuscripts left by Franklin. A thirty-page genealogy is likewise provided. The type and paper are attractive, and there is an index.

This volume covers the period from Franklin's birth, January 6, 1706, through December 31, 1734. As the editors state, "Very few personal letters by or to Franklin survive for the first thirty years or so of his life. These were the years when the young man was learning his trade as a printer and developing his place as a journalist and businessman." The material presented is therefore mostly a reproduction of pieces contributed by Franklin to newspapers which he printed, and of the first two issues of Franklin's popular and profitable series of *Poor Richard's Almanacs*. The first of these (that for 1733) is reproduced photographically. The journal of his voyage home from England in 1726, his pamphlet on paper money, and his witty "Apology for Printers" are also included, as well as some business documents. Other interesting items deal with Franklin's moral and religious speculations, including his famed epitaph, and his regulations for the Junto, "a Club for mutual Improvement" formed in 1727.

Of all the projects modeled on Julian P. Boyd's pioneer Jefferson enterprise, and encouraged by the formulation in 1954 of *A National Program for the Publication of Historical Documents*, the Franklin papers will

probably be the most important. They will rank with those of Jefferson and of Adams in historical significance, but will surpass them in human interest because of Franklin's pervasive humor and engaging personality.

Uniontown, Pa.

EDWARD DUMBAULD

Early Tanning and Currying in New Jersey. By Harry B. Weiss and Grace M. Weiss. (Trenton: New Jersey Agricultural Society, 1959. Pp. 74.)

The early industries of New Jersey are falling, one by one, before the genuine interest and enthusiasm of Harry B. and Grace M. Weiss and the New Jersey Agricultural Society. To date, including *Early Tanning and Currying*, six small monographs have appeared covering grist-milling, the making of applejack, charcoal-burning, fulling and woolen manufacture. With style and format largely the same in all, the authors have described techniques—tools and processes—compiled check lists, and presented a variety of statistical data. Unfortunately they have often given too little attention to the economic, social, and technical significance of the industries treated.

Early Tanning and Currying does not vary the earlier formula. They are content to list New Jersey tanneries from 1664 to 1880, but they ignore a succinct statement as to why the leather industry flourished in this area. Similarly, statistical tables list by county the number of tanneries, the number of vats utilized, and the types of leather produced for the years 1794, 1810, 1821, 1830, 1840 and 1850; but no effort is made to interpret the data. Why is it, for instance, that between 1794 and 1840, while tanneries decreased in number, their output increased? Or why does Hunterdon County, a tanning center from 1794 to 1840, dwindle to only two tanneries by 1850? These facts are interesting enough in themselves, but their causes would be much more so.

In less than one hundred pages there are chapters on "Ancient Tanning and Currying," "Some Early Tanners of New Jersey," "Early Tanning Practices," "Tanners' Tools," "Tanbark and Tanbark Mills," "Early Currying Practices," "Currying Tools," "Taxes on Tanneries," "Tanners' Day-books," "Early Tanneries in New Jersey," "Tanners' Supplies . . .," "Diseases of Tanners," and, finally, "Some New Jersey Tanneries and Their Locations." One may conclude that the dangers inherent in covering so much in so little space (except superficially) are too obvious to need a recital.

What of value is gained from this publication? First, it is difficult to find recent material treating the less fashionable trades such as tanning. This alone recommends the work. Second, it provides illustrations of processes and tools that are most useful. Third, it underscores the need for intensive studies of basic industries, state and local. We need studies that transcend local boundaries by treating parochial topics on a comparative basis and linking them to the mainstream of American economic, technical, and industrial experience. For this purpose the Weiss' work falls far short. To be regretted is a bizarre system of footnoting and the omission of a list of physical survivals (if any)—tools, beams, vats, barkmills—related to early tanning and currying in New Jersey. In all, the authors have prepared a useful

handbook of an important early industry. It is not as thorough as several of their earlier publications, particularly *Early Grist and Flouring Mills* (1956), but it should serve to stimulate further investigation and, if so, it will be a considerable contribution.

Smithsonian Institution

PETER C. WELSH

The Americans: The Colonial Experience. By Daniel J. Boorstin. (New York: Random House, 1958. Pp. 434. \$6.00.)

Professor Boorstin has turned up what is to this reviewer a wealth of unexpectedness in the colonial era of our history which will compel a revision of many conceptions of the colonial cultures. His study digs deep into the roots of our heritage as found in the Massachusetts Puritan, the Pennsylvania Quaker, and the Virginia Anglican societies; and in the intellectual, educational, medical, scientific, and literary developments of our pre-national era.

The Puritans, it turns out, were not theologians but were instead interested in what we would today call applied psychology as they pursued their purpose of community building. Thus their sermons avoided the metaphysical and were plainly practical, rather like a lawyer's brief. Consequently the pulpit and not the altar was preeminently the place of honor. There was hardly a public event without a sermon, as illustrated by the "election" sermon. The Puritan's protest was against Anglican practice rather than Anglican doctrine. The scriptures and English law coincided and the Bible was a comprehensive manual of political science.

The Puritan's treatment of recalcitrant Quakers who came into their midst takes on a new significance here. These Quakers persisted in flagrant defiance of community regulations until Puritan patience and tolerance were worn thin and the Quaker's fanatical desire for martyrdom was satisfied by hanging. The Puritans just wanted to be let alone. The Pennsylvania Quaker's tolerance of the Indians even when they were massacring the frontier settlers was partly due to a curious resemblance between Quaker and Indian religions. The Quakers' pacifism was the main reason for their government's leaving the frontiersmen to the mercy of the savages. But in 1756 when the French and Indian War set the frontier aflame with full-fledged warfare, pacifism became impossible and the Quakers' control of the government in Pennsylvania ended in their abdication, and non-Quakers took over. Because of their pacifism during the Revolution the Quakers were quite plausibly dubbed "Tories."

The Utopian venture in Georgia was the most crack-brained of colonial experiments. Instituted as a charitable crusade to settle imprisoned English debtors in America, not more than a dozen were ever brought to Georgia. Oglethorpe had "the doctrinaire rigidity of a completely 'practical' man." Silk culture was stubbornly persisted in despite overwhelming evidence of its impracticability, and before long Georgia settlers were moving to other colonies.

In the early seventeenth century were the "halcyon days of Virginia democracy," but this was terminated in 1760 by the Virginia statute estab-

lishing the property qualification for voting. By the mid-1700's probably a hundred families controlled the economy and government of the colony. Never did a governing class take its duties more seriously, and no community ever showed a higher talent for government. It is fascinating to read that young George Washington in the House of Burgesses at Williamsburg was running errands for his constituents much like a present-day legislator.

Colonial America demonstrated that knowledge derives from experience rather than from systematic philosophy. Progress was conceived to be a self-evident fact. Monopolistic Oxford and Cambridge remained the fashionable resorts of noblemen's sons, while here the emerging colleges became part of the community and this meant higher education rather than higher learning.

Vocational specialization tended to disappear in the colonies and "the man who could not be a little bit of everything was not qualified to be an American." Abundant land relieved the farmer of any urge to scientific cultivation. The practice of law tended to be unspecialized if not even an avocation. Reading Blackstone made an amateur lawyer, and law and politics tended to fuse.

The practice of medicine was primitive, yet the prevailing theory was true that "any patient who was bled long enough would eventually relax." It is startling to learn that on December 13, 1809, a backwoods Kentucky doctor, with the assistance of his nephew as an apprentice, performed the first ovariectomy in medical history (p. 238). In Europe smallpox was a common childhood disease so that most European adults were immune, hence no such smallpox epidemics broke out there as devastated colonial communities.

Cotton Mather was an early Franklin in the breadth of his interests, and Boorstin bristles with indignation over how historians have maligned Mather. While Franklin's experiments in electricity and Rittenhouse's ventures in astronomy were remarkable, these men had the advantage of ignorance of systematic European science; consequently they freely ventured off the beaten track. Americans, particularly Jefferson, greatly exaggerated their scientific achievements.

The colonists, by their mobility, rapidly reduced English dialects to the American language. By 1806 Noah Webster, the lexicographer, felt "constrained to say that the people of America, in particular the English descendants, speak the most pure English now known in the world" (p. 281). Webster's famous spelling book played its part in this achievement. Americans were becoming a generally literate people with a consequent democratizing effect on American society.

One learns how colonial experience planted securely our traditional aversion to a professional army, and established the custom of sudden mobilizations and demobilizations of armed forces in each of our major wars. The ever-present Indian menace compelled every colonist to be a soldier by avocation. It is no accident that the second amendment to the Constitution guarantees the right to "a well regulated militia." Thus we are still not so very far from being a nation of minutemen.

Frontier America: The Story of the Westward Movement. By Thomas D. Clark. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1959. Pp. 832. \$6.75.)

The word "frontier" as most Americans use and understand it is a word particularly their own. In a somewhat romantic sense it is the term which summarizes, as none other can, their history. The symbol indicates that Americans have a trait which is possibly unique. "Frontier" means a limit, but in the American sense it is not a confining limit, but a limit beyond which exists something exciting to the imagination. The people of the United States ever since the beginning have always used frontiers as stepping stones to something more desirable, something stimulating to new effort and to new achievement.

This idea was made current in 1893 when the nation was celebrating the four-hundredth anniversary of the discovery by Columbus. Frederick J. Turner at the World's Columbian Exposition outlined his theory of American history and set scholars to work to fill out the outline. In the course of time other scholars have challenged various aspects of the thesis and the Turnerians have rallied to defend it. The literature has become tremendous. Clark in his very comprehensive work does not enter the controversy. He is not arguing a theory; he undertakes to describe a process and he does it with amazing and cyclopedic thoroughness. This was a process in which cooperation played as great a part as individualism, in which imitation was a stronger force than originality.

The basic phenomenon on the frontiers was the creation of communities by group action and the re-establishing of institutions already well known in the various places of origin of the migrants, often with very little modification. This process is made particularly clear in the continuing discussion of the transit of political institutions and the making of states. Clark's volume contains a very comprehensive history of the formation of states, their constitutions and their subsidiary units.

The story begins with the Atlantic coast settlements and then carries the succeeding generations of the venturers through their various projects down to the twentieth century. All phases of the process are covered, some in great detail. Clark is particularly strong in his knowledge of the Trans-Allegheny and the Ohio Valley projects. He embraces all forms of institutional transit and the reader literally enters the homes of these people, shares their emotions, their hopes, and their thoughts. It is hard to conceive of a more thorough and understanding history.

The book is beautifully made with maps and illustrations that are unusually well prepared and selected. This should be the last word in general frontier history for some time to come. It is an epic.

University of Pennsylvania

ROY F. NICHOLS

Man of Reason: The Life of Thomas Paine. By Alfred Owen Aldridge. (Philadelphia and New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1959. Pp. 348. \$6.00.)

Of Tom Paine biographies there seems to be no end. The first one, published in his own lifetime, and another, appearing in the year of his death

(1809) were partisan attacks on his character and achievements. Three favorable lives were published in England in 1819 and another in America in 1841. In 1892 came Moncure Daniel Conway's classic two-volume study, based on thorough research in original sources, and a few years later a shorter work by Ellery Sedgwick. In recent decades Mary Agnes Best, Hesketh Pearson, Frank Smith, W. E. Woodward and several others have contributed sympathetic biographies, and Howard Fast has authored an extremely popular fictionalized version of his life, *Citizen Tom Paine*. Now we have a new one, but it is not likely to be the last.

All things considered, Professor Aldridge, a member of the English department at the University of Maryland, has probably written the most useful study so far. *Man of Reason* should prove particularly well suited for collateral reading in college and senior high school history courses. It is scholarly, well organized, readable, and concise.

The broad outlines of Paine's life and the general significances of his famous political and religious writings are, of course, well known, and there is no need to rehearse them here. This volume will not substantially change the modern historian's picture of Paine, but it will throw his life into sharper focus. There is a shortage of factual detail on his career, possibly owing to the absence of any significant collection of his letters and papers. He left little in the way of personal effects, and even his bones disappeared in later years! Nevertheless, after extensive research in English and French libraries and archives as well as those in the United States, Professor Aldridge has managed to come up with some new evidence to correct and expand the record of Paine's revolutionary activities in three countries. He has also provided an exceptionally judicious and well balanced view of Paine's character and place in history.

Relatively little is known of Paine's early life in England, apart from his checkered career as a tax collector, and this part of the story is told briefly. The Pennsylvania phase is given four of the twenty-nine short chapters. It was in Philadelphia that Thomas Paine issued his ringing call for American national independence. One would like to know more about the origin of *Common Sense*, indeed about the roots of Paine's ideas all along the way. As a contribution to intellectual history *Man of Reason* is disappointing; the approach is strictly biographical. The various numbers of *The Crisis* are discussed, and Professor Aldridge has identified several journalistic contributions missed by Paine's previous biographers and editors. He deserves congratulations for literary detective work. Paine's scientific interests, centering around his model iron bridge, and his radical agitation in England provide the material for several chapters. *The Rights of Man* figures prominently in the story; the author seems to accept Paine's own claim that it was not influenced directly by John Locke: "I never read Locke nor ever had the work in my hand. . . ."

A good half of the book deals with Paine's role in the exciting events of the French Revolution. The author's restrained style and judicious tone, however, prevent his taking full advantage of the inherent drama of these events. Professor Aldridge maintains that Paine did not flee from British

authorities in 1792 but left deliberately to take his place in the French National Assembly, which was the only elected office he ever held. His efforts to save Louis XVI from execution and his subsequent imprisonment are discussed in considerable detail; a commonly accepted romantic tale of Paine's miraculous escape from the guillotine is rejected as impossible to authenticate, as are several other "legends" relating to his life. *The Age of Reason* is given one brief chapter. The controversies and misfortunes of Paine's last years in the United States are developed quite effectively.

Tom Paine's character, this book suggests, was full of contradictions. He was "a real humanitarian, but also a great egotist." Although associated with the poor and ragged, he enjoyed substantial income and property much of the time. A champion of abstract principles, he clamored for personal and private reward. The author does not paint a very flattering picture of Paine's personality; indeed, he rather emphasizes the man's personal weaknesses, especially his excessive drinking. He also maintains that Paine's great influence came not just from his journalistic style—he was a master of propaganda techniques—but from the ideas he advocated. While Paine's democratic principles were revolutionary in their day, they have since become "common sense."

The footnotes and bibliography are combined in essay form and arranged by chapters at the end of the book. There is an index of names. In summary, one may say this is a good book on a familiar subject.

Pennsylvania State University

IRA V. BROWN

Martin Van Buren and the Making of the Democratic Party. By Robert V. Remini. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959. Pp. 271. \$5.00.)

This volume treats the career of Martin Van Buren in New York and national politics from 1820 to 1828. The author states that earlier historians, by pursuing "the more important question of the meaning of Jacksonian Democracy," have "tended to disregard the organizational work involved in the making of the Democratic party." He illuminates the latter topic, the role of Van Buren in the organization of Jackson's followers into a political party.

While reiterating traditional concepts of Van Buren's political philosophy and practical astuteness, the book boldly revises many details of Van Buren's career during the period. Dr. Remini presents Van Buren as a consistent champion of Jeffersonian strict construction, and as the most influential architect of a national political party based upon a return to this principle. Among the more outstanding revisions of particular episodes are these: Van Buren never for a moment relaxed his firm support of Crawford throughout the disputed election of 1824-1825; he did not engineer a tie vote on the Woolens Bill of 1827 which cost Calhoun his northern support, but remained a political supporter of Calhoun right up to the election of 1828; and finally, he worked hard for the passage of the Tariff of 1828 in order to strengthen Jackson by its passage rather than to weaken Adams by its defeat at the hands of New Englanders.

The author writes clearly and forcefully, making firm judgments throughout the text. This provides zestful reading and sharply drives home the main points, but it also sets the little red flags flying. This reviewer wonders whether Van Buren's loud denunciation of federal aid to internal improvements after 1826 (when he had supported such aid in 1823) stemmed wholly from his "further indoctrination with the Jeffersonian philosophy of states' rights," or whether the success of the recently completed Erie Canal may not have had some effect. The canal is not mentioned in this context. Again, Dr. Remini agrees with Van Buren that President Monroe wrecked his party by propitiating Federalists and refusing to "act as a party chieftain." Curiously, Van Buren wanted a dictatorial leader presiding over a highly disciplined and centralized national party, in order to assure a weak, decentralized "Jeffersonian" federal government. This puzzling proposition remains unexplained.

The reader may also wonder why Dr. Remini, after describing Van Buren's firm control of New York under the Albany Regency, finds no natural impulse in a man who carries a state in his pocket to huzza for states' rights, but assigns Van Buren's Jeffersonianism primarily to philosophic contemplation. Finally, in rejecting a canard directed at Van Buren, the author sustains his categorical denial thus: "Men of this era had a simple rule to go by when they wrote their reminiscences fifty and sixty years later: if they could not remember who had made a particular statement, and if it were blatantly political, then the author was necessarily Van Buren." In such cases, the firm judgments do not entirely convince the reader.

Dr. Remini stays so close to the line of Van Buren and New York politics that the completed picture seems a little narrow for his conclusion that Van Buren "alone discharged the tremendous task of basic reorganization" of the Democratic party. The reviewer would like to have learned more of the relationships between Van Buren and Jackson leaders in other states, particularly Pennsylvania, for the Keystonians forged a Jackson party which delivered a two-to-one vote for the "Hero" in 1828, while the New York party very nearly lost to Adams and had to cast a split electoral vote. But this book emphasizes Van Buren's connection with Jacksonian politics in New York and on the floor of Congress, and pays little attention to activities in other states.

The merits of the study far outweigh criticisms of detail. The descriptive elements of the story ring true and add much to our knowledge both of Van Buren and of politics in the 1820's. The bibliography and notes show extensive use of source material and provide sound evidence to uphold both the general theme and the particular revisions. If proof seems inconclusive in some instances, it nonetheless is as good or better than that given by earlier authors in support of different contentions. While Dr. Remini may not quite have succeeded in metamorphosing Van Buren from a "Fox" into a "Lion," he has certainly shown him to be more the "Architect of Democracy" than merely the "Little Magician."

Pennsylvania State University

PHILIP S. KLEIN

My Unwelcome Guests. By Frederick S. Baldi. (Philadelphia and New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1959. Pp. 222. \$3.95.)

The list of books written by American prison wardens is a long and imposing one. The names of Thomas Eddy, Gershom Powers, Gideon Haynes, Zebulon Brockway, Thomas Mott Osborne, Lewis Lawes, and Clinton Duffy come immediately to mind as administrators who have sought to enlighten the public with reflections and recollections growing out of years of practical experience among convicts. To these must now be added Dr. Frederick S. Baldi, whose interesting and well-written volume *My Unwelcome Guests* comes at the end of a long and useful career as a Pennsylvania warden and prison doctor.

Baldi served for many years as warden of Philadelphia's Moyamensing and Holmesburg prisons. A man of blunt integrity, he knew how to be both tough and at the same time humane in his management of penitentiaries. He terminated his career with two years of capable administration at Rockview, after the debacle of the 1953 riot had ended the Claudy-Cobb regime there. He experienced one insurrection at Holmesburg in 1932, which he quashed speedily and effectively; and he happened to be warden when the only escape in the same prison's history, that of Willie Sutton and his associates, took place in 1947. Otherwise, his institutions ran as smoothly and efficiently as could be asked in a society whose correctional facilities are chronically underfinanced, confronted with widespread public apathy or misunderstanding, and subjected to the sporadic pressures of party politics. The Commonwealth could ill afford to lose his services when he retired to the peace of his Bucks County farm in 1955.

William James once divided philosophers into the tender-minded and the tough-minded. If writers on penology were thus categorized, Baldi would clearly fit into the latter classification. Except in scattered, individual cases he exhibits little sympathy for the thousands of prisoners who have been committed to his care, and he has only a minimal degree of faith in their potential reformability. He subscribes to the view that prisons are meant primarily to confine and to punish. He has nothing but withering scorn for sentimentality, deprecates the work of many social workers and psychologists, favors the expanded use of capital punishment, and argues for increased severity in the treatment of juvenile offenders. He is old-fashioned in his dogged belief in wilful moral perversity, holding that some men are simply mean, and cannot be dealt with on any other basis. Those whose outlook on penology has been shaped by the writings of such men as Harry Elmer Barnes, Thomas Mott Osborne, and Lewis Lawes will find much with which to argue in Baldi's book. Until we possess a volume on prisons by Joseph Ragen, who has for years imposed a stern, no-nonsense discipline upon convicts at Joliet-Stateville in Illinois, *My Unwelcome Guests* will serve very well as an example of a penological philosophy which is hard-bitten and distinctly unsentimental.

Certain sections of the volume in particular are disappointing. The reviewer admits that he is an opponent of the death penalty; nevertheless, cogent arguments on its behalf deserve respectful criticism and attention.

What will surprise many penologists and students of criminal psychology is that Baldi bases much of his case for an expanded use of the electric chair upon what is both historically and statistically one of capital punishment's weakest supports, that of its alleged deterrent effect. Other readers will be critical of the scathing references to "bleeding-hearts" written by an author whose own thinking on the subject is so transparently colored by emotion.

Another aspect of the book which falls below expectations is its treatment of the difficult subject of insanity in its relation to legal responsibility. Baldi states that he began his penal career in large measure because of his desire to learn more about criminal lunacy. His remarks on the connection between a felon's mental condition and his degree of culpability, however, contain little or nothing which is not perfectly compatible with the M'Naghten Rules which were laid down in 1843 and whose validity has been questioned by eminent lawyers and psychologists in state after state. Those who are aware of the role which compulsions may play in the mind of a man who knows quite well that he is committing a reprehensible act, but is nevertheless incapable of refraining from it, will regard some of the contentions advanced in *My Unwelcome Guests* as a bit anachronistic.

Several minor criticisms can also be raised. Readers with a special interest in penology may find it somewhat puzzling to speculate upon the principles of choice and omission which governed the formation of the selected bibliography which Dr. Baldi includes in his book. This bibliography, incidentally, contains an apparent error in attributing to the great penal reformer John Howard a treatise which is undoubtedly the American edition of a work written by the nineteenth-century British author Hepworth Dixon. Finally, it seems rather unfortunate that any book dealing with correctional matters in Pennsylvania should single out a few archaic features of Rockview Penitentiary—valid though the description may be—when the Commonwealth possesses at least two other institutions, Cherry Hill at Philadelphia and the Western Penitentiary at Pittsburgh, which are veritable relics of a bygone penal era. Rockview is actually one of the most modern prisons in the state, and a number of good things can be said about it. Not the least of these is the fact that over the years it has been kept small enough in inmate population to be governed with a respectable degree of efficiency with a normal amount of administrative effort, given competent leadership.

The reviewer's sympathies lie with the psychologists and the social workers, and he can not help but be nettled by some of the aspersions which *My Unwelcome Guests* casts upon them. He would be sorry to see some of Baldi's suggestions used as a blueprint for future action, and he finds himself frequently in sharp disagreement with the hard-bitten sentiments with which the book abounds. So much the better: we need works which stimulate and provoke. This blunt and outspoken volume will provide entertainment for those with only a casual interest in the subject of prisons and opportunity for reflection on the part of readers whose concern with penal problems goes deeper.

The Hagley Museum, Wilmington, Del.

W. DAVID LEWIS

The University of Pennsylvania Faculty: A Study in American Higher Education. By Richard H. Shryock. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1959. Pp. 259. \$5.00.)

At first blush, a review of this book in a historical journal would appear to be out of place. However, such an assumption is not entirely correct. In effect, Shryock's perceptive analysis of the University of Pennsylvania faculty asks and seeks answers to historical queries like these: what has the state's oldest—and the country's fourth oldest—institution of higher learning accomplished in some two hundred years of growth? Where does it now stand in relation to the hundreds of similar institutions founded later, in some instances much later? Have modern upstarts surpassed this ancient and honorable educational center; or has "Penn"—aided by a long period in which to develop—kept ahead of its newer rivals?

These questions have an important historical significance, hence this review; and they also encompass serious problems faced by the American people, right now. Confronted as Americans are by Soviet education, which has become a kind of feverish religion, can they depend upon some of the oldest and finest universities—especially private ones like "Penn"—to lead the United States in the educational (scientific) race?

Questions like these, among many others, must have been in the minds of the Pennsylvania trustees when they ordered "The Educational Survey" which so far has resulted in three publications. This book is one of them. All are devoted to a self-analysis of the University in order to find out what is good about it (there is plenty), what is bad about it (distressingly much), and how to plan for the future.

Professor Shryock is an ideal person to make this evaluation. He has two degrees from "Penn," he has been a teacher at his *alma mater* and at other great centers of learning, and he is at present Librarian of the American Philosophical Society. Thus he is in a position to know the inside and to state the facts as no outsider would dare to do.

Shryock is not too happy about Pennsylvania's status in the realm of American universities. The reader finds clear and unabashed admissions that the University has not come up to what might be expected of it, in consideration of its long period of growth. That these criticisms are made is perhaps the best recommendation for the book: the diagnosis is honest, statesmanlike, constructive. Anyone knowing Professor Shryock would expect nothing less. The author points out the good things with reasonable pride; he admits weaknesses with honesty. The impression left upon this reader is that the author took neither a carping radical attitude nor a complacent conservative one. He is middle-of-the-road in his estimates, and both sides of a controversy are always given. His personal conclusions are modestly stated.

Shryock feels that the "general reputation of the University" is about the same now as it was thirty or forty years ago. This, he feels, is good; but not good enough. Even if one grants (as he does) that the *Chicago Tribune's* 1957 survey was not scientific, there is a sting in having to state that "Penn" was not in the first ten. Figures on the ratio of graduates who

later won fellowships or doctorates show Haverford first, Yale second, Cornell third; but "Penn" is forty-eighth. The sincerity of Shryock's study is attested to by his willingness to print such a statistic. He writes that in this day and age it is an achievement to keep running fast enough to stay where you are; and yet he concludes—sadly, one thinks—that "there is no occasion for complacency—no reason to 'point with pride'—in view of the failure to improve the University's standing." Honorable exceptions include the School of Medicine, one of the best in the country.

Some of the reasons for "Penn's" static position are lack of leadership for most of the past fifty years, failure of private wealth in Philadelphia to provide adequate financial support, the general conservatism of the Philadelphia environment, among others. Perhaps the most drastic change indicated has to do with faculty inbreeding. The worst example is the Wharton School where about 70 per cent of the doctors received their degrees from Pennsylvania; in the Arts College it is about 55 per cent for faculty members over fifty years of age. Another difficulty is that faculty salaries have been too low to attract and keep the best people.

The University has some great and good aspects, too many even to begin listing here; perhaps they can be summarized by stating that "Penn," in spite of its defects, is one of the great educational centers of the country. There are also numerous good things about the book which would make profitable reading for those interested in subjects like recruitment of faculty, rank and tenure, faculty distribution, appointments and promotions, suspensions and dismissals, salaries and fringe benefits, and retirement. These are recommended to administrators, teachers, and trustees.

An attempt has been made in this review to place "Penn's" status in its historical setting by asking, in substance: What of the University after an existence longer than all colleges in the country save three? Shryock gives the answer at the end of the survey (pp. 258-259). Several sentences will provide the flavor of his thinking:

The future of the University of Pennsylvania is bound up, in its larger aspects, with that of all private, American universities. Within this group, Pennsylvania has successfully maintained its relative position over the past half-century, and much of the credit for this record is due to the faculty—individually and collectively.

This record, creditable though it is, can be and ought to be bettered. . . . Today after two centuries, Pennsylvania just misses rating among the nation's ten strongest universities. It is close enough, nevertheless, to make realistic a determination to attain this superior status—this true excellence—in the reasonably near future.

Susquehanna University

WILLIAM A. RUSS, JR.