

they will have performed a needed service. But all the elements of that early house, and the years, and the land from which these structures grew, contrive for the general reader an almost Arcadian vision of the rugged simplicities of America's past. These doors lead homeward.

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*William Penn's "Holy Experiment": The Founding of Pennsylvania, 1681-1701.* By EDWARD BRONNER. Temple University Publications. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962. Pp. x, 306. \$6.00.)

Dr. Bronner's book is a chronological narrative primarily concerned with significant events involving the religious, social and economic life of the people of Pennsylvania between the years of 1681 and 1701.

It covers the voile of former scantily documented studies of this period with a tightly woven and enduring fabric of impressive research. The pattern is a design of comprehensive and adequate annotations and bibliographical references.

William Penn was a deeply religious man who had intense feelings for Pennsylvania which was his "magnificent province in the New World," and granted to him, he believed, with the approval of God.

His obligation for this sacred trust urged him to develop spiritual guidance and benefits for the people of Pennsylvania by governing his community in a manner befitting the highest Christian morals. To William Penn the "holy experiment" was a community populated by virtuous people who were motivated by an all-pervasive love of God.

He believed that Pennsylvania had a large population of such people, including the Society of Friends, all of whom accepted religious liberty, political freedom and pacifism.

William Penn's solution to all practices or theories was to ask "is it in accordance with the Will of God?" If the answer is "no," it must be discarded, and if "yes" it must be adopted.

For two years William Penn's dream of Utopia materialized to his fullest expectation. As time went on, however, the Quakers continued to practice strict honesty in their dealings with one another, but reneged in paying taxes although they had sufficient money for this purpose. Their plea of not enough money for taxes was only a ruse to perpetuate their excessive desire to pyramid their savings. The "holy

experiment" up to this point had been on trial, but now it was showing a weakness. Further proof was manifest by the behavior of Quaker politicians who were denounced by John Blackwell, Deputy Governor, as unrighteous and hypocritical.

William Penn joined several stock enterprises such as the Free Society of Traders and the Frankfurt Company but without reward because his colonists failed to meet their financial obligations. To make matters worse his Quaker friend, Philip Ford, proved to be unscrupulous, causing further monetary losses.

In 1684 Penn returned to England leaving Council, the executive branch, and Assembly, a group of representatives, to govern his colony. They met infrequently, failed to approve or disapprove many proposals, and in general were ineffective in maintaining ordinary standards of government.

A change in government was inevitable, so William Penn decided to appoint a single Deputy Governor to rule his province. He named John Blackwell to serve in this capacity starting September 18, 1688. Soon various offenses, crimes, misdemeanors, and disorderly episodes followed which were blamed on Thomas Lloyd. An impeachment of Lloyd by Blackwell was ineffectual. Affairs went from bad to worse and on January 1, 1690, Blackwell delivered his farewell address and resigned.

Upon Blackwell's resignation the government reverted to Council under the leadership of Thomas Lloyd. Within three years he was replaced by Governor Fletcher, and Penn's right to govern his colony was stopped very abruptly and control returned to the Crown. The reason for this change was understandable when we study the interim period between Blackwell's retirement and the appointment of Fletcher. This portion of time was replete with political discontent and religious disputes. Again the "holy experiment" area, peopled with Quakers, was revealed to the world as a province of quarrelsome religious fanatics.

On November 24, 1694, William Markham was appointed Deputy Governor. He governed under two different constitutions and two separate commissions. One period in 1696 he functioned without any constitution. During his term of office the government of Pennsylvania was repeatedly accused by the Crown of piracy and engaging in illicit trade.

William Penn resented these accusations and upon arrival in Pennsylvania he immediately made plans to rectify most wrongdoing,

and soon brought about a well-governed province. At the same time he was successful in preventing seizure of Pennsylvania by England.

By 1700 law and order had been restored in the colonies and a firm foundation was laid for future responsible political existence. Also, there was more cooperation among the various colonies to unify the many and diverse procedures of government.

Early in 1700 Pennsylvania was a flourishing community. Ship building was progressing and trade was brisk with England, West Indies and neighboring colonies. "Despite the failure of the 'holy experiment' Pennsylvania was now a great economic success."

In retrospect we may wish to analyze the forces of blame for the failure of the "holy experiment." This is done without assessing their relative importance:

(1) The prolonged absence of William Penn made the failure of the "holy experiment" inevitable because when he was present Pennsylvania affairs in general operated smoothly.

(2) The spiritual uplifting of the harassed Quakers in England was missing in Pennsylvania where they lived in freedom. Dedication to the will of God did not materialize.

(3) The colonists refused to accept responsibilities to contribute their time, energy, thoughts or even money for taxes to insure success of the "holy experiment."

(4) The Quakers were no longer meek, and now motivated by a spirit of independence, it was difficult, almost impossible for them to cooperate with the governing authorities.

(5) The people of the province countenanced illegal trade and piracy. There were also many lawbreakers among them.

(6) External forces, such as imperial demands by England upon the colonists, also contributed to the frustration of the Utopian dream, the "holy experiment."

In spite of the failure of the "holy experiment" there survived in the colonies a rich inheritance of religious tolerance, opposition to war, humane treatment of the Indians and the abolition of capital punishment.

Dr. Bronner's story of the "Holy Experiment" is worthy of widespread interest among Pennsylvanians and students of American history. His appendix, notes, bibliography are abundant in scope and deserving of praise for the highest type of research.

This book, while it is complete with all the essential and interesting details pertaining to William Penn's "Holy Experiment," also

encompasses the vast expanse of related major and minor events associated with the founding of Pennsylvania.

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*Whitehall and the Wilderness, The Middle West in British Colonial Policy, 1760-1775.* By JACK M. SOSIN. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1961. Pp. xvi, 307, bibliography, index, eight maps. \$6.50.)

This volume, here belatedly reviewed, is highly relevant to the broad history of early western Pennsylvania. It fully deserves recognition in the pages of this magazine.

Historiography, or the story of mankind in narrative or expository writing, can be conceived as answers to ordinary interrogative pronouns. What? Where? When? Who? Why? Not only general readers but specialized scholars wish satisfactory answers to such questions. Such questions and answers have many subdivisions. Possibly the comprehensive question "How?" might include the whole of this process.

The author is a newcomer, but under the direction of John D. Barnhart and the survey of Lawrence H. Gipson and Ray A. Billington, his workmanship could not fail to be of the best type.

The main title is self-explanatory but the sub-title is questionable. The words Middle West indicate emphasis rather than definitiveness. Florida, Louisiana and Quebec are geographically outside the Middle West. More than half of the forts mentioned likewise lay outside.

The scholarship of this work can, it seems, be fully guaranteed. The footnotes are extensive though they are mainly references and fall short of what may be called explanatory notes. The bibliography is a virtual guide to materials most of which seem to have been surveyed or consulted by the author. The index is featured by annotated items, but is somewhat selective, particularly in items of place and regional names.

The classification of this volume is easily observed. It is another successful effort to offset the George Bancroft interpretation of the history of the United States. It continues what Frederick Jackson Turner, Clarence W. Alvord, Lawrence H. Gipson and numerous others have undertaken.