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The Historical Society of Pennsylvania

GEORGE LIPPARD, 1846

By S. F. Earl

THE Pennsylvania Magazine OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

George Lippard and His Secret Brotherhood

ON February 9, 1854, a young man named George Lippard died in the city of Philadelphia. If he had lived two more months he would have reached the age of thirty-two. Lippard had earned his living by writing since he was nineteen years old. He was first a reporter on a daily newspaper; then he turned out "romances" or longish stories and serials for the weekly trade; and then he wrote novels which enjoyed a large sale. The *Public Ledger*, on the day after his death, remarked that "He was the author of a number of novels, which have been read probably as extensively as those of any other writer in the country. . . ."¹

Actually, Lippard produced twenty-three separately published books in a career that lasted twelve years. Some were thick tomes and some were mere paper-wrapped pamphlets. He also wrote scores of uncollected stories and "legends," hundreds of columns of news reporting and editorial comment, started a publishing house to print his own books, edited his own weekly paper for more than a year, engaged spiritedly in politics, lectured in most of the eastern states, wrote or collaborated on several plays, and, as the masterwork of his

¹ *Public Ledger*, Feb. 10, 1854. The main facts of Lippard's life are given by Joseph Jackson in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LIV (1930), 131-135, and LIX (1935), 376-391. The only biography is *The Life and Choice Writings of George Lippard* [Anon., by John Bell Bouton] (New York, 1851), cited hereafter as *Life*.

short life, organized and directed a secret society to "espouse the cause of the Masses, and battle against the tyrants of the Social System,—against corrupt Bankers, against Land Monopolists and against all Monied Oppressors."²

This fraternity was founded on a favorite—and unexceptionable—theme of Lippard's, namely, that "GOD HAS GIVEN THE AMERICAN CONTINENT TO THE FREE—THE TOILING MILLIONS OF THE HUMAN RACE—AS THE LAST ALTAR OF THE RIGHTS OF MAN ON THE GLOBE—THE HOME OF THE OPPRESSED, FOREVERMORE!"³ Its officers were named after famous Americans: Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, Wayne, Fulton and Girard. Moving up through its hierarchy there were Chief Washingtons and Exalted Washingtons and one Supreme Washington, who was, of course, Lippard. It was his fond conviction that the Brotherhood of the Union, as he called it, would some day be strong enough to overthrow the capitalist system in the United States—peacefully, if possible, by force and violence, if necessary. This purpose was not concealed, for Lippard had no doubt that revolution was the right of all Americans.

"When Labor has tried all other means in vain—when the Laborer is deprived of Land, of Home, and of the Harvest of his toil—when the Few will not listen to the voice of Justice, nor the Gospel of Nazareth—then we would advise Labor to go to War, in any and in all forms—War with the Rifle, Sword and Knife," he declared in his newspaper. "The War of Labor—waged with pen or sword—is a Holy War!"⁴

Lippard was an orphan who did his growing up during the great depression of 1837 and after. He thought of himself as a child of the masses, and he wrote only for them. His novels are tangled heaps of seductions and catastrophes, plots, murders, rescues and revenge, which he knew would entertain his barely literate readers. Tossed into them at random are large chunks of impudent propaganda. There are caricatures of prominent bankers, popular preachers, and well-known millionaires of his time, riotous attacks on his personal enemies, and exposés of social sore spots. The books are further over-

² *The Quaker City* (weekly newspaper), June 30, 1849, cited hereafter as *QCW* to distinguish it from Lippard's novel of the same name.

³ *Washington and His Generals* (Philadelphia, 1847), 397.

⁴ *QCW*, Sept. 29, 1849. The Brotherhood still exists, but is now called The Brotherhood of America. Its aims have been greatly modified.

loaded by all the trappings of worn-out Gothic romance—villains hooded or cowed, menaced maidens with snow-white bosoms, floating coffins, somnambulists, trap doors, and distant tolling bells.

His most famous novel, *The Quaker City; or, The Monks of Monk-Hall. A Romance of Philadelphia Life, Mystery and Crime*, was written when he was twenty-two. It filled 494 pages and was a publishing phenomenon. It was claimed that it sold more than 60,000 copies in less than a year. Even after Lippard died, it was said to be selling 30,000 copies a year.⁵

He began to write it with a plot from real life. On February 10, 1843, a Philadelphia youth named Singleton Mercer tracked down and killed the seducer of his sister on a ferry bound for Camden. Mercer was acquitted at a sensational trial in New Jersey and returned to the city in triumph. On top of this promising theme Lippard piled all his knowledge—and a great many guesses—about the political, financial, and private life of supposedly sedate Philadelphia. The result was the first American muckraking novel which was widely read and which produced some action.⁶

The Quaker City is interesting for another reason. It is one of the earliest novels to describe with some realism the more raffish aspects of a growing American city: its sidewalk slang and gutter brawls, its oyster cellars and theater galleries, its lounging detectives and gaslit hotels. However, it is almost impossible to read the book through today. Lippard's "style," which even his kindest critic called "wild and chaotic," is shattering to modern taste. The kind of melodrama he put into prose is permissible now only in soap opera. Here, for example, is his explanation of why he wrote *The Quaker City*:

One winter night I was called to the bedside of a dying friend. I found him sitting up in his death-couch, pale and trembling yet unawed by the gathering shadows of the tomb. . . . He was one of those old-fashioned lawyers who delight to bury themselves among their books, who love the law for its theory, and not for its trick and craft and despicable chicanery. . . .

"Death is coming," he said with a calm smile, "but I dread him not. My accounts with God are settled. . . . When I am gone, you will find in

⁵ *Saturday Courier*, Aug. 23, 1845; *Life*, 128.

⁶ I.e., an "anti-seduction" law was passed in New York State, after long agitation and debate. *New York Weekly Tribune*, Mar. 27, 1849.

⁷ *The Quaker City* . . . (Philadelphia, 1845), 3-4. See also *Washington and His Generals*, xvii.

yonder desk, a large packet, inscribed with your name. This packet, contains the records of my experience as a private councillor and a lawyer, for the last thirty years. You are young and friendless, but you have a pen, which will prove your best friend. I bequeath these Papers to you; they may be made serviceable to yourself and to the world—"

In a faint voice, I asked the good old lawyer, concerning the nature of these records.

"They contain a full and terrible development of the Secret Life of Philadelphia. In that packet, you will find, records of crimes, that never came to trial, murders that have never been divulged; there you will discover the results of secret examinations, held by official personages, in relation to atrocities almost too horrible for belief—"

"Then," said I, "Philadelphia is not so pure as it looks?"

"Alas, alas, that I should have to say it," said the old man with an expression of deep sorrow. "But whenever I behold its regular streets and formal look, I think of The Whited Sepulchre, without all purity, within, all rottenness and dead men's bones. Have you the courage, to write a book from these papers?" . . .

I could only take the old man's hand, within my own, and murmur faintly, "I'll try!"

Lippard's case would be a hard one for the loyalty boards of our day to decide. It can be said without reservation that no more patriotic American ever lived. The heroes of our Revolution were not just great men to him; they were demigods. It is due to Lippard that since 1847 Philadelphia's Liberty Bell has been the favorite symbol of the American way of life. In that year he wrote for the *Saturday Courier* a scrap of fiction which he called "The Fourth of July, 1776. A Legend of the Revolution." It began with a scene which found its way quickly into many a schoolbook—the old bell ringer in the tower of the State House, eagerly awaiting a signal from below: "There, among the crowds on the pavement, stood a blue-eyed boy, clapping his tiny hands, while the breeze flowed his flaxen hair all about his face. And then, swelling his little chest, he raised himself on tip-toe, and shouted a single word—RING!"⁸

Lippard was a sincere and vocal Christian, although scornful of most churches and clergymen. He preferred to write his own sermons. He described Jesus Christ as "the Carpenter of Nazareth," and pictured him "in a Mechanic's gaberline," at work in his father's shop: "He is thinking of his brothers in the huts and dens of the cities;

⁸ *Saturday Courier*, Jan. 2, 1847. Henry J. Ford, in "The Liberty Bell," *American Mercury* (June, 1924), traces the later course of the Lippard "legend."

sweltering in rags and misery and disease. O, he is thinking of the Workmen of the World, the Mechanics of the earth, whose dark lot has been ever and yet ever—to dig that others may sleep—to sow that others may reap—to coin their groans and sweat and blood, into gold for the rich man's chest, into purple robes for his form and crowns for his brow."⁹

Lippard worked effectively to rebuild the reputation of Thomas Paine, which took courage in the 1840's. He sought to perform a similar service for Charles Brockden Brown, America's first professional novelist. He wrote one of the first stories about American gangsters and called it (without apologies to Hemingway) "The Killers." He campaigned for free distribution of the public lands under a homestead law, and he was puzzled when James Fenimore Cooper disagreed with him. "If he [Cooper] were a Congressman or a Senator, we might account for his sneer," he wrote. "But as a Novelist, writing for the People, his conduct is inexplicable."¹⁰

With all his headlong and headstrong ways, Lippard was a likeable being. He would break into impromptu song as he strolled about Philadelphia, and he emptied his pockets, even of gold pieces, to beggars in the streets. He wore his hair in long Byronic curls, wrapped his frame in a dark cape or scalloped blue velvet coat, and carried a sword cane or revolving pistol in what he claimed, half-humorously, was self-defense. In announcing his anti-Know-Nothing novel, *The Nazarene*, in 1846, he bid defiance to a host of hypothetical assassins: "From the dirk, or the pistol, or the club, God alone can save me. For these things in the hands of cowards, paid by cowards, strike from dark alleys, stab in the back, and shoot through windows, even as you sit by the light of your fireside candle. But this one consolation I have; *not even the assassin's blow can delay the publication of this Book, for out it must come, out it will come, whether the Author lives or dies.*"¹¹

Lippard became a writer in the first place because he had to write. The urge was born in him, and he was still scribbling on his deathbed.

⁹ *Washington and His Generals*, 405-406.

¹⁰ *QCH*, Apr. 28, 1849.

¹¹ *The Nazarene*; or, *The Last of the Washingtons. A Revelation of Philadelphia*, New York, and *Washington, in the Year 1844* (Philadelphia, 1846), 6. See also *Life*, and J. M. W. Geist, "Recollections of George Lippard," in *Official Souvenir, Brotherhood of the Union* (Philadelphia, 1900).

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His second motive was to make a living for himself and his family. He probably earned from \$3,000 to \$4,000 a year at the peak of his career, which was good pay in the forties.¹² But he saved very little, and he died close to actual poverty. All his books were potboilers in the sense that they were hurried to the press to meet his needs and the causes he embraced.

His third reason for writing was more unusual, but just as compelling as the other two. "I must avenge wrong and defend innocence," he has one of his characters say in *The Quaker City*, and that was always his idea of what an author should do. In 1849, having done some more thinking, he produced the following credo¹³:

LITERATURE merely considered as an ART is a despicable thing. It is only, at least mainly, valuable as a MEANS. . . . The age pulsates with a great Idea, and that Idea is the right of Labor to its fruits, coupled with the reorganization of the social system. Let our authors write of this, speak of it, sing of it, and then we shall have something like a National Literature. . . . A literature which does not work practically, for the advancement of a social reform, or which is too dignified or too good to picture the wrongs of the great mass of humanity, is just good for nothing at all.

This was a forthright statement of what was later called the literature of protest. As applied to the America he knew, Lippard was specific. "The fifty years which will close on the 31st of December [1849], are among the most important known in the calendar of five thousand years," he wrote. "In the discovery and invention of the various kinds of Power and Mechanism, intended to save Labor . . . this Half Century has in truth done a wonderful work. [But] while Steam Engines are each doing the work of hundreds of men, these Men, forgotten by the Law-makers and Discoverers of the world, have been turned loose to work at a pittance—starve, on a crust—and die in a ditch. . . . So far, the great discoveries of the age, have fallen into the hands of the Few, in nine cases out of ten, to the degradation of the Many. Viewed in this light, the inventions of the Half Century have been a curse to Mankind. . . .

"In the next fifty years Great Men will arise, who will do a mightier work than even Watt or Fulton. . . . These great men will discover the means of distributing the blessings of *Labor-saving machinery* among all classes. . . . In the next Half Century the whole race of

¹² *Philadelphia News*, Feb. 1, 1890.

¹³ *QCW*, Feb. 10 and June 2, 1849. Some fifty years later the Russian Tolstoy reached a similar conclusion in his essay *What is Art?*

'Traders in Labor' will disappear. Bankers, *usurpers* of Capital, speculators in labor's sweat and blood, destroyers of women's purity and childhood's hope in the hell of the Factory—These and all like these, by the year 1900 will have gone down to Night."¹⁴

Lippard knew about European Socialism; he read Charles Fourier, and spoke knowingly of Louis Blanc and the poet-reformer Michelet. He admired the humanitarian novels which Eugène Sue and Charles Dickens were writing in France and England. But apparently he never saw the *Communist Manifesto*, and he lived unaware of Karl Marx.¹⁵ There is no reason to believe that he was unduly influenced by any imported thinking. His rebellious temperament was a local product, and it is not hard to find its roots in the events of his early life.

The most decisive of these occurred when he was three or four, and was practically abandoned by his parents. His father (who had once been treasurer of Philadelphia County) was badly injured in a wagon accident, and his mother was tubercular. She died when George was nine. Several years before that both parents moved to downtown Philadelphia and left George in a little stone house in Germantown, with his German-speaking grandfather and two maiden aunts and one or two of his sisters.¹⁶ The atmosphere in this home was religious and sometimes gloomy, if we may judge by a sampler now in the collections of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania. It is signed "Catharine Lippard's work in the year 1825 Germantown" and reads as follows:

And when our clay resigns its breath
And falls to dust in silent death
May the blest spirit soar above
To praise the God of peace and love
Seize mortals seize the transient hour
Improve each moment as it flies
Lives a short summer mans a flower
He dies alas how soon he dies

¹⁴ *QCW*, Dec. 29, 1849.

¹⁵ There was no American publication of the *Manifesto* until the 1870's. Frederick B. Adams, Jr., *Radical Literature in the United States* (Stamford, Conn., 1939), 50, and other information from Mr. Adams. In Lippard's novel *Paul Ardenheim*, published in 1848, the following lines occur (p. 326): "Arise, ye millions of the human race—Arise, ye races and tribes of the Poor!" I make no claim that this inspired the *Internationale* (Paris, 1871) with its familiar opening: "Arise, ye prisoners of starvation! Arise, ye wretched of the earth!"

¹⁶ "A Leaf from Grandfather's Bible," manuscript in archives of the Brotherhood of America, Philadelphia. This was written by Sarah Lippard Bilbrough, George's sister.

Catharine was George's oldest sister, and she died at the age of twenty-seven.

Young George, who wore his hair long in the back-country German fashion, was thought "queer" by his mates in the Concord School, across the road from his home. He liked to play hooky and fish or hunt for birds in the woods along Wissahickon Creek. In 1847, at the height of his success, he returned there to be married by moonlight, on a high rock which figured in some of his stories.¹⁷

In the 1830's his aunts moved to Philadelphia and brought George with them. He was a bright, ambitious, and thoroughly undisciplined boy. A spinster in the church he attended offered to pay for his education as a Methodist minister, and he jumped at the chance. He was sent to an academy at Rhinebeck, New York, to prepare for Wesleyan College. But he lost his temper one day when he saw his clergyman-master eating some appetizing peaches, and giving his pupils none. He ran away and came back to Philadelphia, hoping to get part of his father's small estate, and go to school elsewhere. The hard times of 1837 were on and his aunts could give him no money. At fifteen he was an orphan, and a penniless one at that.¹⁸

His later comments on this state of affairs were bitter in the extreme. "Orphan!" he once defined the word, "Another name for youth, helplessness, and misery! Orphan! A thing to be trodden upon by the oppressors of this world, to be trampled by godly feet, to be crushed by pious hands. . . ."¹⁹ And elsewhere he put into one of his novels this bit of personal history²⁰:

But hold; they tell me that I talk too much of suffering man, and crowd my pages too full of his dumb anguish. Talk all night, if it please you, of still waters and serene skies,—they say it—but never tell us that there are Banks and Churches for the Rich, and only Graves and Gibbets for the Poor.

¹⁷ Lippard always insisted on spelling its name as "Wissahikon." See *Life*, 10, 46; also manuscript notes in Germantown Historical Society. "Geo. Lippard in his *Legends of Washington and His Generals* [sic] has rendered the Wissahickon sacred in my eyes, and I shall make that trip, as well as one to Germantown, soon." Samuel Langhorne Clemens to his brother Orion, Oct. 26, 1853, in A. B. Paine, *Mark Twain. A Biography*, I, 100. Twain was then a seventeen-year-old printer on the *Philadelphia Inquirer*.

¹⁸ *Life*, 19–20; also "A Leaf from Grandfather's Bible." George's father, Daniel B. Lippard, remarried in 1833 and died on Oct. 27, 1837, while constable of the South Ward in Philadelphia. He left sixty shares of stock in the Mechanics and Tradesmens Loan Co., and eleven in the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Co. (then worth \$82 a share) in trust to his sister Mary. Doubtless part of the income was intended to support his son. Will Book for 1837, City Hall, Philadelphia.

¹⁹ *The Quaker City*, 393.

²⁰ *Paul Ardenheim*, 96, 510.

Pardon me, my friends. Be merciful to me, O silken People. For what I speak, I have learned in a bitter school. The world has not been a very soft road, sprinkled with roses, to my feet. . . . The agonies of the damned, are sometimes written in those three syllables—"I AM POOR."

This was overstating the case. Lippard was given another free chance: he was taken into the law office of a family friend, to read books and become a lawyer. But he decamped again and apparently quarreled with his aunts, for he spent some time wandering the streets and sleeping in an abandoned house. Later an artist gave him a corner of his studio to sleep in. This man also introduced him to "Colonel" John S. DuSolle, who had recently started a lively and well-written penny paper in Philadelphia, the *Spirit of the Times*. Lippard was in a deplorable state just then. "His face was thin with hunger; his dress, a collection of rags, lashed together in some places with twine; his whole person the walking image of starvation and despair." His appearance and spirits improved quickly when DuSolle gave him a job and let him write what he pleased.²¹

His reportorial duties involved him at once in two big civic scandals. One concerned the Bank of the United States, which had been reincorporated as a state institution after President Jackson destroyed its national power. In February, 1842, the Bank suspended payments to depositors, while its leading directors, including the great Nicholas Biddle, were under indictment on charges of conspiracy. Lippard covered their hearings and was heartily disgusted when they were exonerated and freed. So was his boss DuSolle, who was a red-hot Locofoco Democrat and hated all banks whatever. As one after another of the remaining Philadelphia banks closed their doors, bringing ruin to thousands, the *Spirit of the Times* exulted. "The Banks are Breaking—Let them Break," it screeched in headlines. "These rotten institutions are smashing and crashing all around us. We are glad of it. Let them break. Those that are good will stand—those that are not, have no right to." Lippard toured the banking section and wrote a series of articles headed "Asmodeus Among the Banks." He saw one "poor widow" who was unable to cash a \$20 note drawn on an institution which was headed by a Sunday School superintendent (whom he named). "God help the poor widow when she gets into the hands of the bank directors," he concluded.²²

²¹ *Life*, 15–16; also "A Leaf from Grandfather's Bible," and *Spirit of the Times*, Feb. 7, 1842, where there is a personal description of Lippard by a fellow reporter.

²² *Spirit of the Times*, Jan. 7 and 15, Feb. 22 and 25, Mar. 18, 19, and 22, 1842.

His other assignment was a legislative inquiry into the building of Girard College. Stephen Girard, the city's richest man, died in 1831 and left \$2,000,000 to build a college entirely for orphans. It was the largest philanthropic bequest in the United States up to then, and attracted world-wide attention. Unfortunately, much of it was in Bank of the United States stock and was lost before the college was built. What saved the college, and the huge Girard Estate itself, was the fact that Girard forbade his executors ever to sell any of his local real estate.

In 1842 the college consisted mostly of a cornerstone laid nine years before. Its directors were eminent and respectable citizens, with Nicholas Biddle as chairman. Girard had stipulated that the college be built of "durable materials," but "avoiding needless ornament, and attending chiefly to the strength, convenience and neatness of the whole." Mr. Biddle, who had a love affair with the Greek Revival, interpreted this to mean a marble temple. The building was finished eventually in 1847 and opened to orphans on January 1, 1848, about sixteen years after Girard left them the money.

All this was being looked into by a visiting committee from Harrisburg while Lippard was a reporter. The hearings provided him with a rich opportunity for satire. One day he reported the following exchange between a witness named Struthers and an upstate legislator named Crabb:

"Mr. Crabb.—Did you say the columns and architects were from a marble quarry in Massachusetts?

"Struthers.—I said the columns and architraves, not architects.

"Crabb.—Why, don't architraves and architects mean the same thing?

"Struthers.—[With a Smile] I think not. Indeed, I should say decidedly not."

The next day when Lippard reached the hearing room he learned that Mr. Crabb had moved to have him expelled, but was voted down by the rest of the committee. Here is how he handled the matter for his newspaper (and remember that he is only nineteen): "Now Mr. Crabb has doubtless said to himself, as well as to his friends, that he expected a 'scoring' in the 'Times' of to-day. We shall disappoint you, Mr. Crabb. You may escape this time, Mr. Crabb. You have your

sphere, and we have ours. Keep off our track, and behave yourself, Mr. Crabb; and where you are not certain in future that architresos [*sic*] and architects are the same thing, why, don't let your conduct prove that the words 'legislator' and 'donkey' are synonymous."²³

In the summer of 1842 Lippard sold his first story to George R. Graham of the *Saturday Evening Post* for \$15. It was called "Philippe de Agramonte," and it was a very Gothic and youthful piece of work. He soon sold the *Post* a longer serial called "Herbert Tracy; or, The Legend of the Black Rangers," supposedly relating some untold history of the battle of Germantown.²⁴

In January, 1843, some friends of his started the *Citizen Soldier*, a weekly paper specializing in fiction and propaganda for allotting more funds to the state's militia. Lippard worked full time for this sheet, turning out editorials, literary and political satires, reviews (of Poe, among others) and news coverage. In July, he wrote for it a short, Italianesque story called "Adrian the Neophyte," which was reprinted in pamphlet form and thus became his first "book."²⁵ In November, he began publishing a long and anonymous serial, "The Ladye Annabel; or, The Doom of the Poisoner." This story, as one of his admirers noted, was "stuffed till it cracks" with shrieking corpses, alchemists' alembics, poisoned goblets and other nightmarish details. But it made a hit and was soon issued as a book. Lippard sent a copy to his friend, Mr. Poe, who was ambiguously impressed²⁶:

. . . Touching the Ladye Annabel . . . You seem to have been in too desperate a hurry to give due attention to details; and thus your style, although generally nervous, is at times somewhat exuberant—but the work, as a whole, will be admitted by all but your personal enemies, to be richly inventive and imaginative—indicative of *genius* in its author. . . .

And as for those personal enemies, I cannot see that you need to put yourself to any especial worry about THEM. . . . I have never yet been

²³ *Ibid.*, Feb. 28 and Mar. 1, 1842. See also Henry W. Arey, *The Girard College and Its Founders* (Philadelphia, 1856).

²⁴ *Saturday Evening Post*, July 9, 1842; *United States Saturday Post* (same publication), Oct. 22, 1842, ff. See also O. W. C. Whinna, "George Lippard," in *Official Souvenir, Brotherhood of the Union*.

²⁵ *Citizen Soldier*, July 26, Aug. 2 and 16, 1843. No copy of Lippard's first "book" has yet come to light. See check list following this article. The only file of the *Citizen Soldier* is in the Bucks County Historical Society, Doylestown, Pa.

²⁶ Herbert Tracy; or, *The Legend of the Black Rangers* (Philadelphia, 1844), 167-168; *Life*, 16.

able to make up my mind whether I regard as the greater compliment, the approbation of a man of honor and talent, or the abuse of an ass or a black-guard. Both are excellent in their way. . . . You have my full permission to publish this letter. . . .

With respect and friendship,
Yours truly,
Edgar A. Poe.

This faint praise from a fastidious critic was welcome enough to Lippard. He was already embroiled in half a dozen literary feuds, some of them growing out of his efforts to serve Poe in the columns of the *Citizen Soldier*. The battles with the critics waxed hotter after *The Quaker City* was published. His former editor, DuSolle, called the book "a disgusting mass of filth" and charged that Lippard wrote it with blackmail in mind. The *Post*, which had printed his first story, began referring to him as "a writer of immoral works."²⁷

Lippard responded in kind, but much of his energy was by now directed toward the great project of his life. During the religious riots in Philadelphia in 1844 (which he watched and reported) he was sure he could detect the workings of a secret organization dedicated to destroying the temporal power of the Catholic Church in America. Such an organization did exist; its members became known as Know-Nothings and were important in national politics. Lippard was not on their side; he denounced their church burning and wrote a novel to expose their machinations. But in the introduction to this book he insisted that a *good* secret society, taking for its rules "the great truths of Christ our Saviour," was just what the country needed. "Such an order," he predicted confidently, "with its branches scattered in every hamlet and town of our land, would sweep Fanaticism from the American Continent."²⁸

In June, 1848, he attended the Industrial Congress, a loose national forum for trade-unions and reform groups, which met that year in Philadelphia. He was chosen to deliver the closing speech, and his words showed that by this time he was a full-fledged reformer himself, with his head well up in the clouds.

"I know," he said, "that the cause must triumph—I know that the day comes when the interests of the Rich and the Poor will be

²⁷ *Spirit of the Times*, Jan. 17, 1845; *United States Saturday Post*, Sept. 5, 1846.
²⁸ *The Nazarene*, 6.

recognised in their true light,—when there shall be left on the surface of this Union no Capitalist to grind dollars from the sweat and blood of the workers, no Speculator to juggle free land from the grasp of unborn generations. . . . We have blazoned upon our banner, LAND REFORM—HOMESTEAD EXEMPTION—THE RIGHTS OF LABOR. Let us, my friends, never forget that holiest word of all, without which all other words are vain—'BROTHERHOOD.' Even while we may differ with regard to details, and hold various opinions as to the method of Progress, let us never, for an instant, cease to gird to our hearts the holy thought of 'BROTHERHOOD.' For it is the consummation of all our hopes—it is the word which the Angels will one day write upon the summer clouds that float calmly over a Regenerated Earth."²⁹

There was a reason for emphasizing "Brotherhood"—Lippard had a specific Brotherhood in mind. It was the one he had begun to organize himself. Its first meeting is said to have been held in 1847 in his home on Sixth Street below Poplar. But he did not begin to promote it on a large scale until 1849. By then he had launched his own newspaper, which was called, like his novel, *The Quaker City*.³⁰ On April 14 he published an editorial which revealed the kind of members he wanted, and the arguments he intended to use:

Men who do *all* the work of the nation—and yet with it all, are always poor! Women who work,—women who labor for the comfort and the luxuries of the rich—and yet are always poor! Listen to a frank and outspoken word. . . .

Why are you always poor? . . . Because there is gliding between you who *produce*, and the *consumer* of that which you produce, an Idle Man, who working never himself, lives by laying a tax upon both the producer and consumer. Not only lives, but riots in wealth, builds his fine mansions, drinks his flavoured wine, and wears his elegant apparel. . . .

How should you get rid of him? Form at once, in every city, town, and hamlet of the United States, associations for your own preservation. Establish stores, governed by these associations, where you may buy the necessities of life,—in other words, *interchange* all the fruits of your labor. . . .

COMBINATION! ASSOCIATION! These are the words of the last Gospel which God has uttered to man. The Combination of labor until labor produces capital. The Association of workers for their own good, until every worker is a capitalist.

²⁹ *The Nineteenth Century* (quarterly), Vol. II, No. 1 (January, 1848), 187, 188.

³⁰ It commenced publication Dec. 30, 1848, and ended early in 1850. The only file, which ends on Dec. 29, 1849, is in The Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Scattered later copies are in the Western Reserve Historical Society and New-York Historical Society.

In the last two sentences Lippard was describing just what the American system promised to do—and has done, with some determined prodding from the big labor unions. In his lifetime, "labor" was a feeble force in America. But it was groping its way, through such primitive organizations as his, toward a position of strength. Lippard's Brotherhood of the Union was the unsung parent of the Noble and Holy Order of the Knights of Labor, which conducted the epoch-making railroad strikes of 1877 and attained great power in the nation.³¹

Lippard could not live to see this. In 1849 he was busily delving into the lore of the Masons, Odd Fellows, Illuminati, Rosicrucians and other mystic orders. In June, he disclosed the name of his Brotherhood for the first time. In July, he boasted that it was the only secret society in the world which had "preserved its purity through the long night of ages. . . . Its mysterious symbols are written alike on the pyramids of Egypt, and in the monuments of Mexico. The Druids . . . beneath the shadows of the oak . . . were Brothers of our Order." In September, he announced that in one week charters had been issued to "circles" of the Brotherhood in Westville and Rowsborough, Ohio; Baltimore, Maryland; Bernadotte, Illinois; Pontiac, Michigan; Noank, Connecticut; and Easton, Ennisville, Spring Garden and Richmond, Pennsylvania. "Any Ten Men," he added, "who combine into a Circle of the Order, and apply for a Charter, can, for a trifling sum, provide themselves with the Regalia, properties, and symbols of the Brotherhood. This Regalia is not merely intended for show; it has a meaning, and a most important meaning. Many persons, who cannot receive ideas through the means of Books, or oral lessons, may be instructed by means of rites and symbols."³²

³¹ The Noble and Holy Order of the Knights of Labor was founded in Philadelphia, Dec. 28, 1869. Its first Grand Master Workman was Uriah S. Stephens, who moved to Philadelphia in 1845, worked as a tailor, knew Lippard and the Brotherhood, and was strongly influenced by them. George E. McNeil, ed., *The Labor Movement: The Problem of To-Day* (New York, 1891), 397-399. "Stephens was less a trade unionist than a humanitarian idealist who sought to unite all workers into a single 'brotherhood.'" Harry J. Carman and others, eds., *The Path I Trod. The Autobiography of Terence V. Powderly* (New York, 1940), 61. See also excerpts from the Knights' secret ritual in the Carman book, 429-443. A leading purpose of the Knights was "to establish co-operative systems, such as will tend to supersede the wage system." McNeil, 508.

³² *BCW*, June 16, July 14, Sept. 29, 1849. Lippard was both a Mason and an Odd Fellow when he died. *Public Ledger*, Feb. 13, 1854.

From this it appears that Lippard expected many of his members would not be able to read or understand spoken words. It was a low estimate of the American workman. But it was not his only mistake. He devoted many months to writing the Brotherhood's ritual, which he described as "the most copious . . . of any secret society in the world . . . not one word or line of [which] but was framed and penned by me." The manuscript was divided among several printers, and the final product was bound into a book of two hundred pages which sold for \$20. Maybe it was worth it, but some of the Brothers did not think so. They thought Lippard was trying to make a fortune by selling them books.³³

Actually, the Brotherhood ruined him financially and almost killed him physically. He neglected his newspaper, which had to suspend. The printer, who was one of the Brothers, took over the copyrights on Lippard's recent writings to pay off his debts. And then his young wife, Rose, whom he adored, came down with the family disease of tuberculosis, and died. Her parents marched into the house and carted off her furniture and clothes before the funeral. Lippard was married less than four years and had two children, both of whom died in infancy.³⁴

Through all this he was constantly being nagged by Brothers, who had paid a few dollars in dues, to tell them just what they could expect in return. A letter he wrote in 1851 gives a pathetic picture of his troubles. It was addressed to a friend in Rhode Island³⁵:

Dear Brother! Your letter from that dark corner of the World, where Capital and Avarice are doing their best to degrade man—Your letter breathes the true soul, and I am glad to feel that Roger Williams Circle 142 is worthy to take her place among the most faithful of the Continent. . . . Your ideas of co-operation are good and practical. I can name to you a sound, honest man who will buy coal for you at Pottsville, and upon reasonable terms. As Capron said in the Providence Mirror the other day, That is the only way to fight these White Slaveholders. Combination! Buy and sell and work for yourselves. Strikes avail not. Go on in the practice of the idea. . . .

³³ Lippard's Address to the Supreme Circle, Brotherhood of the Union, manuscript in the possession of J. Hanley Wilkers, Haddon Heights, N. J. The first page and date are missing, but it was delivered probably in October, 1851.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, and Lippard to George Baker, Aug. 10, 1852, letter owned by Roger Butterfield. See also *Life*, 67. Lippard's children were Mima, who lived nineteen months, and Paul, who lived nine. They and their mother are buried together in Monument Cemetery, Philadelphia.

³⁵ Lippard to William MacFarlane, Mar. 3, 1851, letter in Brotherhood archives.

I have now a strong hope of emerging from the business difficulties which have nearly killed me these last six months. . . . I live for the Order now. My only child was buried today. My wife is in the last stage of consumption. The fact that the Brotherhood *demands* that I should *live*, alone keeps me alive. So you see, Brother, that while I speak words of hope for you, I much need someone to help and console me.

After two years of crushing personal tragedy, Lippard's militancy was waning. The "War with the Rifle, Sword and Knife" was now a matter of buying coal in Pottsville. His idea of co-operative stores was, of course, similar to the system which had been practiced in Rochdale, England, since 1844, and was later taken up by many groups in America. Today it is very big business. But it has never eliminated factories, or the factory system, which Lippard did not understand, and certainly did not appreciate.

In one of his later stories he has George Washington rise from his tomb at Mount Vernon to go on a pilgrimage of nineteenth-century America with an immortal Roman named Adonai. These two travel to Valley Forge where they hear a strange noise and see a strange building.

There, from the gloom of the Valley, uprose a huge edifice, its hundred windows flaming with light. And the sound which they had heard, echoed deep and deafening from the bosom of this edifice. It was the roar of iron machinery, mingled with the noise of a cataract.

"Let us enter," said Adonai, and, descending from the hill, they entered. . . . The sight which they saw held them dumb. Women were imprisoned within that edifice, their cheeks blasted into untimely decay, their eyes vacant with despair. . . . Children were imprisoned there—children who had nothing of the love or beauty of childhood in their leaden eyes. Men were imprisoned there—men whose cramped forms, and faces stamped with stolid endurance, told of a life without hope or object save a crust of bread and a grave. . . .

"It is a prison," said the Arisen Washington.

"It is a sepulchre where they bury the living," said Adonai.

"No," said a pleasant voice, which echoed at their side. "It is neither prison nor sepulchre. It's only a FACTORY."³⁶

Lippard's last four years were spent mostly in the service of the Brotherhood. He was disappointed to find within it the same human

³⁶ *The White Banner* (Philadelphia, 1851), 58-59. Lippard was not aware that President Washington once proposed giving a bounty for starting cotton mills in America. John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington* (Washington, 1939), XXXI, 389.

failings he had noted in the world outside. He had an especially noisy squabble with a Baltimore regalia manufacturer who joined the order to get an exclusive contract for robes. Of another man he wrote gloomily in his diary, "This Brother upon whose head has been lavished the honors of the Order, seems determined to make himself its first Arnold." He drew no salary (although entitled to \$500 a year) and accepted only his traveling expenses, supporting himself meanwhile by occasional writing and lecturing. His reward was the fact that the Brotherhood persisted and grew, in a modest way. Its roster in October, 1852, fills twenty-nine pages in Lippard's handwriting, and lists Brothers from Massachusetts to Florida, Texas, and Iowa.³⁷

He found a group of congenial Brothers in the Cleveland area and spent several summers there. His last book was published in Cincinnati. In December, 1853, he collapsed in the Philadelphia home of Barclay, the publisher. But he continued working on a serial story called "Eleanor; or, Slave Catching in Philadelphia" for the *Sunday Mercury*.³⁸ In January, when the doctor told him he was too sick to write any more, he hid drawing paper in his bed and sketched out a new story in pictures. His death was caused by tuberculosis, which probably had been with him all his life.³⁹

Perhaps his suffering was lightened a little by a paragraph which ran in a Cleveland newspaper just after his last visit there. Noting that "this distinguished author" was traveling in Ohio, the *True Democrat* went on to say: "The leading and great aim of his works has been to aid the feeble and oppressed—to lift up the downtrodden of the world—to breathe hope into the heart of the desponding patriot—to enoble, elevate and bless Humanity."⁴⁰

That much, surely, was true of George Lippard.

Hartwick, N. Y.

ROGER BUTTERFIELD

³⁷ Lippard's diary, various dates, manuscript in Brotherhood archives.

³⁸ *Life*, 73, 119; *Daily Cincinnati Gazette*, Nov. 29, 1853; Philadelphia *Sunday Mercury*, Jan. 29, 1854, ff. *Eleanor* continued for several weeks after Lippard's death. It was an obvious attempt to cash in on the market created by *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

³⁹ *Life*, 123-124.

⁴⁰ *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, Sept. 13, 1853 (quoting *True Democrat*).

A Check List of the Separately Published Works of George Lippard

In Volume LIV of THE PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY, pages 131-154 and 381-383, there is a bibliography of Lippard compiled by the late Joseph Jackson. Since 1930 much new information has come to light, and the check list which follows is intended to bring Jackson's work up to date. It includes only those writings of Lippard's that can be considered books—either bound or in pamphlet form—and arranges them in the order of their earliest editions. Where there is a number given in Lyle H. Wright, *American Fiction, 1774-1850* (San Marino, Calif., 1948), it is given here also. Where no copy has been located, the title is given in brackets. Full descriptions have not been made; in some cases they can be found in Jackson.

1. [Adrian the Neophyte. By George Lippard. . . . Philadelphia: I. R. and A. H. Diller, 1843.]

Title and publisher as given in the Philadelphia *Citizen Soldier*, Aug. 16, 1843, where this book is described as "a tale of some 13 pages, divided into four parts." *Godey's Lady's Book* for October reviewed it and named Lippard as author, and there were other reviews in New York and Philadelphia newspapers. The story first appeared in the *Citizen Soldier*, July 26, under the motto—"A mystérie is the soul."

2. The Battle-Day of Germantown. By George Lippard, Esq. . . . Philadelphia: A. H. Diller, 1843. 34 p. 8vo. Wright 1676.

Dedicated to John Fanning Watson. The story ran as a serial in the *Citizen Soldier*, beginning Oct. 18, 1843. The book was advertised for sale in the same paper, Nov. 22.

3. The Ladye Annabel; or, The Doom of the Poisoner. A Romance by an Unknown Author. . . . Philadelphia: R. G. Berford, 1844. 133 p. 8vo. Wright 1683.

Dedicated to A. Henry Diller. The *Citizen Soldier*, Feb. 14, 1844, states that the book had been out a week and had sold 3,000 copies. Reissued under the following titles:

The Ladye Annabel: A Romance of the Alembic, the Altar, and the Throne. . . . Philadelphia: G. B. Zieber & Co., 1849.

Ladye Annabel, or The Child of Aldarin. . . . T. B. Peterson, 1849.

The Ladye of Albarone: or, The Poison Goblet. . . . T. B. Peterson & Brothers, 1854.

The Mysteries of Florence. . . . T. B. Peterson & Brothers, 1864 and 1876.

4. Herbert Tracy, or The Legend of the Black Rangers. A Romance of the Battle-field of Germantown. By George Lippard. . . . Philadelphia: R. G. Berford, 1844. 168 p. 12mo. Wright 1682.

Dedicated to James Fennimore [sic] Cooper. The 168-page edition contains a "Letter from Mr. Poe" dated Feb. 18, 1844. Berford also issued a 166-page edition from which the letter was omitted. The book was announced as published in the *Citizen Soldier*, Mar. 20.

5. The Quaker City; or, The Monks of Monk Hall. A Romance of Philadelphia Life, Mystery and Crime. [Anon.]. . . . Philadelphia: G. B. Zieber & Co., 1844. 494 p. 8vo. Wright 1689.

Dedicated to Augustine J. H. Duganne. Description from a unique copy in The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

The publishing history of Lippard's most famous book is extremely complicated. The first 314 pages were issued by Zieber in seven separate parts, each with its own paper wrappers. The wrappers carry a title which is somewhat longer than that on the title page. Part 1 of *The Quaker City* was advertised as "just published" in the *Public Ledger*, Oct. 8, 1844. Part 4 was "now complete" on Dec. 8. Parts 5, 6, and 7 were not issued until 1845, and bear that date. To complicate the situation further, there is a "Second Edition" and a "Third Edition" of Part 1, which sold out quickly.

The 314 pages which appeared in parts were set in double-column, and so appear in the finished book. The other 180 pages were set in single column and apparently were not issued separately. A contract between Lippard and Zieber dated Mar. 31, 1845, indicates that Lippard was still writing the book then (manuscript in The Historical Society of Pennsylvania). Before May 5, 1845, however, Lippard himself acquired the copyright and stereotype plates of the entire book and issued a new edition "Published by the Author" with his name on the title page (Wright 1690). This edition was dedicated to Charles Brockden Brown instead of the poet Duganne. Other titles:

Die Quaker-Stadt. . . . Von F. Gerstaker. Leipzig: 1847. 4 vols. Pirated edition, crediting the German translator as author.

Dora Livingstone, The Adulteress of the Quaker City. By George Lippard. . . . London: n.d. Pirated edition.

The Quaker City. A Romance of the Rich and Poor. . . . T. B. Peterson, 1849. This was advertised (*QCW*, Mar. 17, 1849) as "the Twenty-seventh American edition, revised by the Author." The only revision was in the title. Later, the Petersons returned to the original title. Their plates were used for reprints as late as 1900 by Leary, Stuart & Co. (Leary's Book Store).

An anonymous work, *Mysteries and Miseries of Philadelphia.* By A Member of the Pennsylvania Bar (New York: Williams & Co., n.d.), was an imitation, not written by Lippard.

6. *Blanche of Brandywine; or, September the Eleventh, 1777. A Romance, Combining the Poetry, Legend, and History of the Battle of Brandywine.* By George Lippard, Esq. . . . Philadelphia: G. B. Zieber & Co., 1846. 351 p. 8vo. Wright 1678.
- Dedicated to Henry Clay. First issued in parts. The *Saturday Courier*, Aug. 22, 1846, advertised Part 1, and said the work "will be completed in three numbers of 128 pages."
- The book was reissued by the Petersons with the same title as above, and with variations.
7. *The Nazarene; or, The Last of the Washingtons. A Revelation of Philadelphia, New York and Washington in the Year 1844.* By George Lippard. . . . Philadelphia: G. Lippard and Co., 1846. 239 p. 8vo. Wright 1686.
- Dedicated to Stephen Girard. The *Saturday Courier*, Oct. 31, 1846, announced publication "this day" of "Number One of 'The Nazarene,'" and promised "The work will be published in about 24 numbers, a number to be published (without failure) every two weeks. Terms, \$2 in advance, or 12½ cents a number." Only five 48-page numbers were issued. Lippard's publishing venture failed, and the fourth and fifth numbers were published by John A. Bell and Zieber, respectively. There were many complaints from subscribers. In 1850 Lippard was still promising them a second volume "now on the eve of publication" (*QCW*, Feb. 9). This never materialized.
- The Petersons reissued the book in 1854.
8. *Washington and His Generals; or, Legends of the Revolution.* By George Lippard. . . . With A Biographical Sketch of the Author, by Rev. C. Chauncey Burr. Philadelphia: G. B. Zieber & Co., 1847. 538 p. 8vo. Wright 1695.
- Dedicated to Andrew McMakin, editor of the *Saturday Courier*, in which most of these stories first appeared. Issued originally in four parts, with brown paper wrappers, at twenty-five cents each. Part 1 was announced by the *Courier*, Apr. 3, 1847. But the Rev. Joel T. Headley of New York had just beaten Lippard to the market with a book also called *Washington and His Generals*. . . . (*Courier*, Mar. 27). An angry debate over plagiarism ensued. When the Petersons reissued the book they reversed the title and called it: *Legends of the American Revolution, or Washington and His Generals*. . . . and also, *The Legends of the American Revolution "1776"*. . . . etc.
9. *The Rose of Wissahickon; or, The Fourth of July, 1776. A Romance, Embracing the Secret History of the Declaration of Independence.* By George Lippard. . . . Philadelphia: G. B. Zieber & Co., 1847. 70 p. 12mo. Wright 1694.

- Reprint of a story in the *Semi-Annual Pictorial Saturday Courier*, July 4, 1847. In May of this year Lippard married Rose Newman on a rock overlooking Wissahickon Creek in Germantown (*Courier*, June 19).
10. *Legends of Mexico.* By George Lippard. . . . Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson, 1847. 136 p. 8vo. Wright 1684.
- Advertised for sale in *Saturday Courier*, Aug. 14, 1847. These Mexican War stories first appeared in *Scott's Weekly*, a Philadelphia rival of the *Courier* (*Life*, 47). Reissued as:
- Legends of Mexico; or, The Battles of Old Rough and Ready. . . . 'A Little More Grape, Captain Bragg'.* . . . T. B. Peterson, [1848]. Lippard thought the change was in "execrable" taste (*QCW*, Aug. 25, 1849).
- This was the first of Lippard's books to be issued originally by the enterprising Theophilus Beasley Peterson. Later on, Peterson and his brothers acquired the copyrights of most of Lippard's titles and published them in uniform editions in 1864 and 1876.
11. *'Bel of Prairie Eden. A Romance of Mexico.* By George Lippard, Esq. . . . Boston: Hotchkiss & Co., 1848. 88 p. 8vo. Wright 1677.
- Announced in *Saturday Courier*, Mar. 18. This paper-wrapped book was Lippard's first attempt to escape from the Philadelphia publishers, who were gobbling up his copyrights. The experience was not happy. The story of *'Bel* ran first in the weekly Boston paper *Uncle Sam*. When Lippard failed to deliver an installment on time, some one in the Boston office wrote it for him, causing him to cry "Forgery!" (*Boston Daily Bee*, Feb. 15, 1848.)
12. *Paul Ardenheim, The Monk of Wissahickon.* By George Lippard. . . . Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson, 1848. 536 p. 8vo. Wright 1687-1688.
- Dedicated to Harriet Newell Lippard, George's sister. Wright lists printings in Philadelphia and "Wissahickon, Penn.," but these are the same: Lippard's "Prologue" was dated from "Wissahickon, Sept. 25, 1848," which means he wrote it sitting on the banks of his favorite stream just outside the city. (He always insisted on his own spelling of the name.)
- This book was Lippard's closest approach to an autobiographical novel.
13. [The Memoirs of a Preacher, a Revelation of the Church and the Home. By George Lippard. . . . Philadelphia: Jos. Severns and Company, 1849.]
- QCW*, May 12, 1849, announced this was "ready, in a neat volume of 96 pages. . . ." See next item. Severns was the printer of Lippard's newspaper.
14. *The Man with the Mask; A Sequel to The Memoirs of a Preacher, a Revelation of the Church and the Home.* By George Lippard. . . . Philadelphia: Jos. Severns and Company, n.d. [1849]. 106 p. 8vo. Wright 1685.

A continuation of No. 13, announced in the *QCW*, May 12, 1849—"The Memoirs and Sequel together form an elegant volume of 200 pages. . . ."
The story had been running as a serial in Lippard's newspaper since Dec. 30, 1848. It was based on the life of the Rev. J. N. Maffitt, an Elmer Gantry of the time. Reissued as:

Mysteries of the Pulpit; or, A Revelation of the Church and the Home. . . .
Philadelphia: E. E. Barclay, 1851 and 1852. Reprint of No. 13 only.

Memoirs of a Preacher; or, Mysteries of the Pulpit. . . . Peterson & Brothers, 1864. Includes both No. 13 and No. 14.

15. *The Entranced; or, The Wanderer of Eighteen Centuries.* By George Lippard. . . . Philadelphia: Jos. Severns and Company, n.d. [1849]. 92 p. 8vo.

Announced as published in *QCW*, Nov. 3, 1849. Description is from a copy in the author's collection. *The Entranced* began in the quarterly *Nineteenth Century*, January, 1849, under the title *The Iron Door* and continued as a serial in *QCW*.

This volume also contains a reprint of Lippard's first story, *Adrian the Neophyte*, and two articles from the *Nineteenth Century*, "Jesus and The Poor" and "The Heart-Broken," the latter being a tribute to Charles Brockden Brown.

16. *[Washington and His Men. . . .]* By George Lippard. . . . Philadelphia: Jos. Severns and Company, 1849.]

Announced as published in *QCW*, Nov. 3, 1849, with no details. The book was soon reissued as:

Washington and His Men: A New Series of Legends of the Revolution. . . .
New York: Stringer & Townsend, 1850. 184 p. 8vo. Wright 1696. The Petersons issued it as:

Washington and His Men. Being the "Second Series" of the Legends of the American Revolution "1776". . . . 1864.

17. *The Killers. A Narrative of Real Life in Philadelphia.* In which the deeds of the Killers, and the great Riot of election night, October 10, 1849, are minutely described. . . . By a Member of the Philadelphia Bar. Philadelphia: Hankinson and Bartholomew, 1850. 50 p. 8vo.

Description from a unique copy at The Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The riot was an actual event, in which five men were killed and the California House in Moyamensing was burned to the ground. Lippard's fictional account appeared serially in the *QCW*, beginning Dec. 1. He then published it anonymously, and quickly, to get the copyright out of Severns' hands. The

THE KILLERS.

A NARRATIVE

OF

REAL LIFE IN PHILADELPHIA,



In which the deeds of the Killers, and the great Riot of election night, October 10, 1849, are minutely described. Also, the adventures of three notorious individuals, who took part in that Riot, to wit:

CROMWELL D. Z. HICKS, the Leader of the Killers,
DON JORGE, one of the Leaders of the Cuban Expedition, and
"THE BULGINE," the celebrated Negro Desperado of Moyamensing.

BY A MEMBER OF THE PHILADELPHIA BAR.

PHILADELPHIA:
PUBLISHED BY HANKINSON AND BARTHOLOMEW.
1850.

No. 17—A NEWLY IDENTIFIED WORK BY GEORGE LIPPARD

Philadelphia directories list no such publisher as "Hankinson and Bartholomew." The book was reissued as:

The Bank Director's Son, a Real and Intensely Interesting Revelation of City Life, Containing an Authentic Account of the Wonderful Escape of the Beautiful Kate Watson, from a Flaming Building in the City of Philadelphia. By George Lippard. . . . Philadelphia: E. E. Barclay and A. R. Orton, 1851. This contained a number of sensational illustrations.

An imitation by another hand, *Life and Adventures of Charles Anderson Chester, the Notorious Leader of the Philadelphia 'Killers,' who was Murdered, While Engaged in the Destruction of the California House.* . . . [Anon.], also appeared in 1850.

18. *The Empire City; or, New York by Night and Day.* By George Lippard. . . . New York: Stringer & Townsend, 1850. 8vo. Wright 1681.

Wright lists only one copy, having 100 pages. Whether the rest of the book was issued in 1850 is not known. Lippard was still writing installments in February of that year (*QW*, Feb. 9). The novel was complete and in print by 1851, when he refers to it as a book of "about 200 pages" in his address to the Supreme Circle (see footnote 33, above). It was reissued as:

The Empire City; or, New York by Night and Day. Its Aristocracy and Its Dollars. . . . Peterson & Brothers, 1864. This edition has 205 pages.

19. [Secret ritual and degree work of the Brotherhood of the Union. Exact title unknown.]

Probably issued in parts late in 1850 or early in 1851. Lippard referred to the complete work as "The B.G.C." and said it was a book of 200 pages (see article and footnote 33, above). The four different parts, relating to four degrees in the order, were issued separately, and for different prices (manuscript in archives of Brotherhood of America). No copies are known to exist today, according to officials of the order.

A portion of Lippard's manuscript, with illustrations drawn by him, is in the possession of J. Hanley Wilkers, of Haddon Heights, N. J.

20. *Dedication, Festival and Funeral Ceremonies.* [Anon.] N.p., n.d. 16 p. 8vo.

Contains a description of certain Brotherhood ceremonies which were open to the public, and a funeral ode set to the tune of "Old Hundred." The Edgar Allan Poe House in Philadelphia has a copy.

21. *The White Banner.* "Amid the war of sect and party—the strife of hollow creeds and vindictive antagonisms—BROTHERHOOD lifts its WHITE BANNER into light." George Lippard, Editor. . . . Vol. I. Philadel-

phia: George Lippard: Publisher, on Behalf of the Shareholders, 1851. 176 p. 8vo.

Issued as a quarterly, but this was actually a substantial bound book. No other numbers were published. There are 24 pages given to the Constitution of a "Circle" of Lippard's Brotherhood, laws, by-laws, and platform of the Order. The rest is devoted to an expanded version of *The Entranced* (No. 15), now titled *The Pilgrim of Eternity*, some "Legends of Every Day," news, editorials, speeches, and a poem, all by Lippard.

22. *The Midnight Queen; or, Leaves from New-York Life.* By George Lippard. . . . New York: Garrett & Co., 1853. 110 p. 8vo.

Contains three stories: "The Midnight Queen. . .," "The Life of a Man of the World. . .," and "Margaret Dunbar. . .." Lippard was literary editor of the New York *National Democrat* in the fall of 1852 (*Life*, 116).

23. *New York: Its Upper Ten and Lower Million.* By George Lippard. . . . Cincinnati: H. M. Rulison, Queen City Publishing House, 1853. 284 p. 8vo.

The first advertisement, in the Cincinnati *Daily Gazette*, Nov. 29, 1853, lists E. Mendenhall as the publisher of Lippard's last book. But all copies located so far with 1853 on the title page give Rulison as publisher and owner of the copyright.

Copies dated 1854 list both Rulison and Mendenhall as publisher, but only Rulison in the copyright notice. Rulison seems to have been the original publisher, and may have farmed out a certain amount of sales territory to Mendenhall.

The American Revolution as Lese Majesty

BRITISH attempts after 1763 to force the American colonies to conform to a renovated mercantile system called forth a vigorous opposition. Colonial and British views of the nature of this opposition were poles apart: the colonists saw themselves conducting a legal struggle for their constitutional rights; imperial servants regarded American action as criminal.

In 1763 the ministers of George III had at their disposal a body of law admirably designed to protect the state from disloyal action. The origins of the English law of treason were to be found in a statute of the reign of Edward III.¹ Of the seven types of action described as criminal by the ancient statute only two were applicable to the American troubles: compassing the death of the king, and levying war against the king.

For several centuries after 1351 Parliament expanded or contracted the treason law by statute, in most cases temporarily. Continuing threats to the monarchs of the Reformation period showed modification of the law by legislative action to be unsatisfactory. In Elizabeth's time crown lawyers began constructing new treasons by expanding the meaning of the words of the statute of Edward III. Gradually the old statute lost its restrictive influence. Of these judicially constructed treasons, the most important were that words, spoken or written, and conspiracies to levy war could amount to the treason of compassing or imagining the death of the king, and that any attempt to modify public policy by force amounted to treason. Under the latter doctrine any attempt to prevent the application of a statute was not riot, but treason.²

Stuart judges often used these constructive treasons to stamp out resistance, particularly after the Restoration. They pushed to ex-

¹ 25 Edward III, c. 2.

² William S. Holdsworth, *A History of English Law* (London, 1931), VIII, 309-321.

trems the doctrine that words were sufficient overt acts to prove an intent to compass the king's death. The publication of a tract which suggested that the king was accountable to the people brought a treason conviction in 1663.³ Jeffries gave the doctrine of treasonable words ultimate expression in the celebrated case of Algernon Sydney; an unpublished manuscript found on his desk proved to be Sydney's undoing.⁴ The Stuart judges also used the expanded concept of levying war. Only the chief justice dissented when King's Bench ruled that the pulling down of bawdy houses was in fact an act of high treason.⁵

The Revolution of 1688 brought changes in the procedural aspects of the treason law which reflected Englishmen's dislike of the methods of judges like Jeffries and Scroggs.⁶ The Treasons Trials Act of 1696 guaranteed a fair trial by providing that no person could be convicted of treason except on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act; that the accused should have a copy of the indictment and the list of the jury panel before trial; that process of the court should be made available to compel witnesses to attend in behalf of the defense.⁷

The upsetting of the Stuart monarchy brought no reform to the substantive law, although it created the necessity of a dual theory of resistance. In the realm of politics, the great majority of Englishmen accepted the theory of resistance which had produced the new constitutional settlement. John Locke's ideas on revolution became orthodox.⁸ In the area of the criminal law, the older theories of resistance prevailed. The courts preferred the doctrines which had protected the Tudor and Stuart monarchs.

This dualism was illustrated with striking clarity in the affair of Dr. Henry Sacheverell.⁹ The doctor, an Anglican clergyman, preached and published two harangues in which he expanded upon his favorite theme of passive obedience and nonresistance. The Whig ministry

³ Thomas B. Howell, ed., *State Trials* (London, 1809-1828), VI, 513 (*King v. John Twyn*).

⁴ *Ibid.*, IX, 817 (*Algernon Sydney's Case*).

⁵ *Ibid.*, VI, 879 (*King v. Peter Messenger, et al.*).

⁶ C. Grant Robertson, ed., *Select Statutes and Documents to Illustrate English Constitutional History, 1660-1832* (New York, 1904), 140 (note).

⁷ 7 & 8 William III, c. 3.

⁸ G. N. Clarke, *The Later Stuarts, 1660-1714* (Oxford, 1934), 246-247; Basil Williams, *The Whig Supremacy, 1714-1760* (Oxford, 1939), 3.

⁹ Howell, XV, 1.

brought charges of impeachment. The case gave everyone, including the Tories, a chance to go on record in favor of the principles of 1688. A Whig was distinguished from a Tory only by the speed with which he would theoretically draw the weapon of resistance.

While parliamentarians rang the changes on the glory of the late happy revolution, resistance took a more realistic form in the London streets. Many interpreted the impeachment of Sacheverell as an attack on the Church. The doctor's denunciation of the Toleration Act helped set in motion a mob which pulled down several dissenting meetinghouses. The government brought the leading rioters to trial, alleging a levying of war. In charging the jury, the chief justice stated the law precisely as his Stuart and Tudor predecessors had done.¹⁰ At the same moment, in cases arising out of the same circumstances, resistance had been justified in Parliament and called treason by the courts. The constitution had changed, the criminal law had not.

This constructed view of levying war remained alive in the law through the period of the American Revolution. The passage of an effective riot act in 1715 made the frequent use of this constructive treason unnecessary, but the law remained unchanged.¹¹ In 1781 the Earl of Mansfield, lord chief justice, stated the law as it had been understood for two centuries,¹² and in 1795 Parliament placed this area of the law on a statutory basis.¹³

The judges also kept alive that part of the law that accepted many overt acts as evidence of compassing the death of the king. In the 1690's, convictions were obtained on indictments alleging printing and conspiracy as acts showing an intent to compass the king's death.¹⁴ These constructed treasons remained good law through the American crisis.¹⁵

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 519-702 (*Dammaree's Case*, *Queen v. Francis Willis*, *Queen v. George Purchase*). Perhaps the clearest statement of the doctrine of constructive war was made in the charge to the jury in *Dammaree's Case*. *Ibid.*, 607-610.

¹¹ 1 George I, st. 5, c. 5; Mark A. Thomson, *A Constitutional History of England, 1642 to 1801* (London, 1938), 285.

¹² Howell, XXI, 486 (*Case of Lord George Gordon*); see especially Mansfield's charge, *ibid.*, 643-644.

¹³ 36 George III, c. 7.

¹⁴ Howell, XII, 1245 (*King v. William Anderton*); *ibid.*, 738 (*King v. Lord Preston*).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, XXIV, 199 (*King v. Thomas Hardy*). It should be noted that in this case, as in Gordon's case, the jury returned a verdict of innocent, reflecting, perhaps, a dislike of con-

In 1763, then, crown attorneys had at their disposal a body of law which described aggravated riots, conspiracies to levy war, and verbal resistance as treason. The question inevitably came, would they make use of this law to break the back of American resistance?

Resistance to Grenville's new revenue policy first raised the issue of treason in America. New York newspapers united in outspoken criticism of the Stamp Act, and these "Scandalous and Treasonable" writings set government in motion. Cadwallader Colden immediately met his council, to which General Thomas Gage reported that he was greatly disturbed "to see the Public Papers crammed with Treason."¹⁶ Early in November, 1765, opposition to the act passed from the stage of words to action. A great mob spilled into the streets on the night of October 31, returning the next night to threaten Fort George. The immediate crisis passed when the people agreed to permit the stamps to be stored in the city hall. Violence flared again in January when a second shipment of stamps was burned.¹⁷ During the trouble a new governor, Sir Harry Moore, arrived in New York. He showed a conciliatory attitude until new instructions from London awakened him to the fact that duty demanded repression and punishment. Moore advised the council to suppress the treasonable gazettes and to apply to Gage for a force to maintain order.¹⁸

Neither Colden, nor Gage, nor Moore could get any action from the council. The councilors stalled, procrastinated, and in the end did nothing.¹⁹ The inaction of the New York council in the opening scene

structive treason as stated by the judges. *Ibid.*, XXVII, 255 (*Case of Henry & John Sheares*). There had been considerable confusion relative to the doctrine of treasonable words. After the Revolution of 1688, distinctions were made between spoken and written words. Holdsworth, VIII, 316-317. Eighteenth-century commentators did not agree. William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (Oxford, 1778), IV, 79-81; cf. Michael Foster, *Crown Law*, 200. On the whole, the crown preferred to attack verbal resistance with the law of seditious libel. Howell, XIX-XXII, *passim*.

¹⁶ Minutes of the Governor and Council of New York, XXVI, 16, New York State Library, Albany; Clarence E. Carter, ed., *The Correspondence of General Thomas Gage* (New Haven, 1931), I, 68.

¹⁷ *New York Post-Boy*, Nov. 7, 1764, Jan. 9, 1766; Edmund B. O'Callaghan & John R. Brodhead, eds., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (Albany, N. Y., 1853-1887), VII, 771-772; Wilbur C. Abbott, *New York in the American Revolution* (New York, 1929), 53-59.

¹⁸ New York Council Minutes, XXVI, 39-42.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 18-19, 42, 44-45.

of the decade of crisis exhibited one reason why the English law of treason could not be applied effectively. The agencies of provincial government would not regard as criminal resistance which coincided with colonial self-interest. The New York oligarchy that dominated the council had been implicated deeply in the opposition to the Stamp Act.²⁰ The notoriously ill-defined law of treason might easily have involved persons in embarrassingly high places, an event to be avoided at all cost.²¹

One thing is certain. The council had no prejudice against treason proceedings as such. While the city rocked with the Stamp Act controversy, the back country flamed into open revolt as rioters on the great Dutchess estates rose against their landlords. The council repressed this discontent, which threatened their control of the internal economy, with sudden severity. A special commission of oyer and terminer moved in behind the 28th Regiment to try and to convict the leader of the rioters of the treason of levying war.²²

Once made public, the idea that colonial resistance amounted to treason never died. A resolution passed along with the Declaratory Act described the activities in America as "tumults and insurrections."²³ In the debate the lord chancellor noted that the legislature should make laws to promote the common good, but if the legislature violated its trust, the subject still owed obedience to the law. Opposition to law, even bad law, he said, was "at the risk of life and fortune."²⁴ In the same debate, a member of the Lords expressed the opinion that pamphlets like those written by James Otis had in the past "led the people to rebellion."²⁵ The distinction between internal and external taxes was described as "criminal and treasonable,"²⁶ while some regarded John Dickinson's *Letters from a Farmer in*

²⁰ O'Callaghan & Brodhead, VII, 773-774, 810-812; G. D. Scull, ed., *The Montresor Journals*, New-York Historical Society Collections for the year 1881 (New York, 1882), 339, 382; Carter, I, 71-73, 78-79, 81-82.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 78-79.

²² Notes on the July Assize, *King v. William Prendergast* (no pagination), New-York Historical Society; New York Council Minutes, XXVI, 49-57.

²³ William Cobbett, ed., *Parliamentary History of England* (London, 1806-1820), XVI, 161, hereafter cited as *Hansard*.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 170.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 172.

²⁶ *Boundin and Temple Papers*, Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Sixth Series, IX (Boston, 1897), 83.

Pennsylvania as "treasonable and seditious."²⁷ Shelburne thought that the province of New York, by refusing to meet the requisition demanded by the Quartering Act, would be likely "in the talk of the town, to undergo the imputation of rebellion."²⁸ But these random and scattered examples reflect opinion only and not public policy.

The reaction of Massachusetts to the Townshend duties and the remodeling of the customs service²⁹ brought the issue of colonial treason to the attention of high officials in England. Early in November, 1767, the newly appointed commissioners of customs landed in Boston. They soon applied for naval assistance, and the *Romney* was stationed at Boston. On February 11, 1768, the lower house of the Massachusetts legislature drew up a circular letter which invited other colonial assemblies to examine the constitutionality of the late acts of Parliament and to petition for redress of grievance.³⁰ Refusal to rescind the circular letter resulted in the dissolution of the Assembly on June 31, 1768.³¹ Early in August, the Boston merchants entered into a nonimportation agreement.³² On September 22, the selectmen of Boston sent a circular letter to the towns, inviting them to attend a convention. After several desultory exchanges with Governor Francis Bernard, the convention drew up a document reciting their grievances.³³ On September 28, the first regiments that were to garrison Boston arrived from Halifax. Meanwhile, an attempt to collect the duty on wine imported in John Hancock's sloop *Liberty* had led to a riot on June 10, 1768.

It is no longer possible to locate exactly the origins of the idea that the series of events described above was treason. The commissioners of the customs and Bernard described these actions in highly colored terms when they wrote to English officials.³⁴ By midsummer of 1768,

²⁷ George Bancroft, *History of the United States* (Boston, 1848-1874), VI, 148.

²⁸ William S. Taylor and John H. Pringle, eds., *Correspondence of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham* (London, 1839), III, 187.

²⁹ These events are described in Edward Channing, *A History of the United States* (New York, 1905-1925), III, 81-113.

³⁰ Harry A. Cushing, ed., *The Writings of Samuel Adams* (New York, 1904-1908), I, 184-188.

³¹ Alden Bradford, ed., *Massachusetts State Papers* (Boston, 1818), 150.

³² *The Annual Register* (1768), 235.

³³ Thomas Hutchinson, *The History of Massachusetts Bay* (London, 1828), III, 205-212; The Seventy-Six Society, *Massachusetts Papers* (Philadelphia, 1856), 101-105.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 56-57, 63-66, 94-95, 101-105.

high officers of the government were investigating the feasibility of treason trials.³⁵ Aware that local juries would be sympathetic to an accused traitor, they searched for a means of bringing persons suspected of treason to England. The ministry discovered an old statute passed in the reign of Henry VIII. This "act for the trial of treasons committed out of the King's dominions" had made possible the transportation of Irish traitors by providing that any treason committed out of the realm of England might be tried at Westminster before King's Bench or in any English county by special commissioners appointed by the king.³⁶

The idea that the dramatic trial and execution of the leaders of colonial resistance would restore order took root. In September, 1768, Secretary at War William Barrington wrote to Bernard expressing the hope that Boston would be quiet. He thought, however, that no pacification would be possible "unless some legal example be made of persons concern'd in the late violences committed there."³⁷ Early in November, a few weeks before Parliament reconvened, the American secretary, the Viscount Hillsborough, sought the advice of the king's law officers. He sent papers describing affairs in Boston to the attorney general and the solicitor general, William DeGrey and John Dunning, asking them if these actions were criminal. The lawyers replied that trials of Americans in England had to be based on 35 Henry VIII, c. 2. This statute applied only to treason, and they gave their opinion that the actions described in the papers did not amount to treason.³⁸

Rebuffed by the law officers, the ministry turned to Parliament. In opening the second session of the thirteenth Parliament, George III announced from the throne that Massachusetts had proceeded "even to acts of violence, and of resistance to the execution of the law." Boston appeared "to be in a state of disobedience to all law and government."³⁹ Hillsborough then read extracts from the American

³⁵ Bancroft, VI, 178.

³⁶ 35 Henry VIII, c. 2.

³⁷ Edward Channing, ed., *The Barrington-Bernard Correspondence* (Cambridge, Mass., 1902), 166.

³⁸ Bancroft, VI, 230, 233-234; Channing, *History*, III, 98-99. A search in the Public Record Office has failed to uncover Hillsborough's letter or the answer of the law officers. Robert Stevens to author, May 8, 1951. Citations to original documents in the Public Record Office are based on notes taken by Robert Stevens of London, England.

³⁹ *Household*, XVI, 466-470.

papers to the Lords and moved eight resolves condemning the activities in Boston.⁴⁰ Immediately, the Duke of Bedford was on his feet reading an address to the king which assured him that Parliament would stand squarely behind any measures he wished to pursue in America. The address advised the king to make examples of those who had fomented disorder and requested him to instruct Bernard to obtain and transmit to England all information concerning treason or misprision of treason. They desired the governor to send the names of the principal offenders to England so that they might be tried before a special commission as authorized in the statute 35 Henry VIII. The Lords approved the resolutions and address and sent them to the lower house.⁴¹ In Commons the opposition members spoke their piece. The policy recommended by the address, they argued, denied the fundamental right of trial by a jury of the vicinage; it established dual standards of justice, one for Englishmen within the realm, another for those in the colonies. Such a policy would permit a colonial governor to "work off personal and political prejudices." The opposition attacked the statute of Henry VIII and the attempt to drag it out of oblivion, but their argument fell on deaf ears as the resolves and address passed 169 to 65.⁴²

The question remains, why did the ministry propose and pass the Bedford Address, knowing as they did that the law officers did not consider the activities in Boston to be treason? The opposition in Commons came close to the truth when they said that the policy could not be executed and, further, that the ministry had no intention of executing it.⁴³ The supporters of the address showed this to be true when they defended it as a preventive measure and a warning. They "were in hopes that such a seasonable shew of so much vigour and lenity, would operate to bring the people of the colonies to a sense of their duty."⁴⁴

Reactions in America to the ministerial policy were mixed. Gage, who had earlier announced that he considered the action in Boston "a direct rebellion,"⁴⁵ expressed disappointment. He informed Bar-

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 476-479.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 479-480.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 486-492.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 492.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 494.

⁴⁵ William J. Smith, ed., *The Grenville Papers* (London, 1833), IV, 391.

rington that the Bedford Address had surprised many persons who had expected positive orders for the arrest and transportation of the leaders. He thought it ridiculous to expect more conclusive proof from Bernard, for, in the general's opinion, the available evidence was prima-facie proof of the guilt of the Bostonians.⁴⁶ Bernard began to comply with the decrees of the ministry as expressed in the Bedford Address. He gathered evidence against individuals and sent it to England, but refused to go further than this.⁴⁷ In February, Barrington suggested that Bernard bring the leaders to trial: "Five or Six Examples are sufficient; And it is right they should be made in Boston, the Only place where there has been actual Crime."⁴⁸ Bernard knew that such a policy could not be carried out. In a letter to Barrington he expressed the opinion that the policy of the Bedford Address could not be executed unless the home government armed him "with some extraordinary Power."⁴⁹

The colonists, who had long striven to maintain local control of all judicial processes, saw at once the great threat to American liberty in the statute of Henry VIII. The legislature of Virginia protested the attempt to revive the statute as a departure from "the ancient and long established course of proceedings."⁵⁰ The Massachusetts legislature resolved that all treasons committed in the colony should be tried in the provincial courts.⁵¹ An American agent in London concluded that "If a perpetual & satisfactory settlement be intended . . . it appears strange that they shou'd proceed to hang a rod over you, by searching after traitors in order to their transportation and trial here, when there was no treason existing."⁵²

Several years later, events in the colony of Rhode Island gave the ministry an opportunity to test the efficacy of the plan to bring suspected traitors to England for trial.

Seventeen hundred and seventy-two,
In Newport harbor lay a crew,
That played the part of pirates there,
The sons of freedom could not bear.

⁴⁶ Carter, II, 509-510.

⁴⁷ Bancroft, VI, 251.

⁴⁸ Channing, *Barrington-Bernard Correspondence*, 184.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 197.

⁵⁰ Kate M. Rowland, *The Life of George Mason* (New York, 1892), I, 137.

⁵¹ Channing, *Barrington-Bernard Correspondence*, 291.

⁵² Bowdoin and Temple Papers, 132-133.

Fate intervened in the career of Lieutenant William Dudingston and the revenue schooner of which he was master, the *Gaspee*.

Here, on the tenth day of last June,
Betwixt the hours of twelve and one,
Did chase the sloop, called the Hannah,
Of whom, one Lindsay, was commander.
They dogged her up Providence Sound,
And there the rascal got aground.

That night, about half after ten
Some Narragansett Indian men,
Being sixty-four, if I remember,
Which made the stout coxcomb surrender;
And what was best of all their tricks,
They in his breech a ball did fix;
Then set the men upon the land,
And burnt her up, we understand.⁵³

News of the destruction of the *Gaspee* set in motion the great engine of imperial administration. Hillsborough brought the affair to the attention of the cabinet, where the decision was made to ask the law officers for an opinion.⁵⁴ Dunning and DeGrey were gone, the former to the opposition benches in the Commons, the latter to serve North in the legislature. They had been replaced by serviceable men, Edward Thurlow and Alexander Wedderburn. Hillsborough wrote to the lawyers, inquiring whether a statute regulating dockyards and ships applied to the Rhode Island affair. He wanted to know if the offenders could be brought to England for trial.⁵⁵ The law officers answered that the act to which the secretary had alluded applied only to ships in dockyards, but went on to say that the attack was "an Act of High Treason Vizt. of levying War against His Majesty." If the assault had taken place within some county in Rhode Island the offenders could be tried in the colony or be brought to England.⁵⁶

⁵³ John R. Bartlett, ed., *Records of the Colony of Rhode Island* (Providence, R. I., 1856-1865), VII, 191-192.

⁵⁴ Historical Manuscripts Commission (HMC), *Fourteenth Report* (London, 1895), appendix, part ten, 185.

⁵⁵ Correspondence of the secretary of state for the colonies with the attorney and solicitor general, 1772-1781, PRO CO 5/159, 22, Public Record Office, London.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 26, 27.

On August 20, 1772, the cabinet decided to authorize special commissioners to investigate the affair.⁵⁷ The next day the Privy Council ordered the law officers to draft a commission and prepare a proclamation offering pardon to anyone who would act as informer.⁵⁸ The commission ordered three chief justices, Daniel Horsmanden of New York, Frederick Smyth of New Jersey, and Peter Oliver of Massachusetts, and a judge of vice-admiralty, Robert Auchmuty, to try to determine who had been involved in the destruction of the *Gaspee*. The proclamation offered £500 reward for the discovery of any persons concerned in the attack, and £1,000 for revealing who the leaders had been. Anyone implicated in the business who turned informer would receive full pardon and the reward. On August 26 the Privy Council ordered the documents to pass the Great Seal.⁵⁹

As the council acted, the Earl of Dartmouth replaced Hillsborough as secretary of state for the colonies. Since the new secretary was not in London at the time, John Pownall wrote informing him that the affair of the *Gaspee* was of such great importance that he hoped the secretary would return to town before the dispatches were sent. Pownall wrote that the attorney general considered the affair as of "five times the magnitude of the Stamp Act."⁶⁰ Early in September Dartmouth informed Governor Wanton of Rhode Island that a special commission had been appointed to help him get to the bottom of the crime. Under some circumstances, Dartmouth wrote, the action might have been regarded as piracy, but the law officers had given their opinion that the crime was "of a much deeper dye, and is considered in no other light, than as an act of high treason, viz.: levying war against the King." He instructed Wanton to turn over to Admiral John Montagu anyone apprehended so that he might be brought to England for trial.⁶¹

The commissioners sat at Newport early in 1773 and again in the spring of that year. Only one witness volunteered to accuse persons of implication in the affair and his testimony was so confused as to be worthless.⁶² All the power of the agencies of administration had

⁵⁷ HMC, *Fourteenth Report*, appendix, part ten, 88.

⁵⁸ *Acts of the Privy Council of England, Colonial Series* (Hereford, 1908-1912), V, 356-357.

⁵⁹ Proprieties, PRO CO 5/1278, 227-237.

⁶⁰ HMC, *Fourteenth Report*, appendix, part ten, 91.

⁶¹ Bartlett, VII, 103-104.

⁶² The commissioners' report is in *ibid.*, 120 ff.

been brought to bear on a limited object without result. The policy of removing suspected traitors to England for trial was a dismal failure. The *Gaspee* inquiry stands as testimony to colonial solidarity. Even a large reward did not tempt the Rhode Islanders to expose those persons whose participation in the destruction of the *Gaspee* had gained local notoriety.⁶³

After the Boston Tea Party in December, 1773, two main policies relative to treason in America are discernible. One of these policies had as its basis the assumption that responsibility for colonial resistance could be fixed on individual leaders. The ministry might recommend the transportation of suspected traitors to England or direct imperial officers in the colonies to begin proceedings in America. The second policy was of a different sort. The government would describe a political unit or geographic area—a city, colony, or group of colonies—as being in a state of rebellion in order to justify general coercive measures.

News of the destruction of the tea came to Dartmouth late in January, 1774. The cabinet again decided to ask the attorney and solicitor general for an opinion.⁶⁴ The law officers, applying rules of constructive treason, decided that the Bostonians had levied war against the king. Molineux, Denny, Warren, Williams, Church, Young, Hancock, Samuel Adams, the Boston committee of correspondence, the selectmen of the city, the town clerk, and members of the House of Representatives were named as possible traitors. These men might be arrested by local officials and tried in Boston, or be transported to England for trial upon a warrant issued by the secretary of state.⁶⁵

On February 19, Dartmouth laid the American papers and the lawyers' opinion before the Privy Council. The councilors examined persons who had firsthand knowledge of the situation in Boston, but took no action.⁶⁶ By March first, Thurlow and Wedderburn had reconsidered their opinion and retracted at least as much of it as

⁶³ William R. Staples, ed., *The Documentary History of the Destruction of the Gaspee* (Providence, R. I., 1845), 55.

⁶⁴ HMC, *Fourteenth Report*, appendix, part ten, 195; PRO CO 5/169, 16 (Library of Congress transcript). I am indebted to Allan J. McCurry of Butler University for permission to use his copies of these transcripts.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 55.

⁶⁶ *Acts of the Privy Council*, V, 391-392.

applied to the transportation of suspects to England. The explanation of the change of opinion is to be found in a cabinet meeting held sometime late in February. The ministers had their pens in hand ready to sign a warrant authorizing the transportation of specific persons. Two men waited outside Dartmouth's office and questioned Thurlow and Wedderburn as they left the meeting. Asked if the business had been accomplished Thurlow replied, "No, nothing is done. Don't you see . . . that they want to throw the whole responsibility of the business upon the Solicitor General and me; and who would be such damned fools as to risk themselves for such — fellows as these. No if it was George Grenville who was so damned obstinate that he would go to hell with you before he would desert you, there would be some sense in it."⁶⁷ Another witness, John Pownall, said that Mansfield had prevented the signing of the warrant "by urging the other measures," presumably the Coercive Acts.⁶⁸ Mansfield himself said that the warrant had fallen through because Thurlow and Wedderburn reconsidered the evidence and concluded that it was insufficient to warrant transportation and trial.⁶⁹ North expressed a similar view.⁷⁰ Whatever the reason, the ministry abandoned the scheme temporarily.

The arrival in England of an obscure prisoner raised the hopes of the ministry in August, 1774. Gage had arrested Samuel Dyer for encouraging desertion among the king's troops. For a brief time, the ministry thought that Dyer would be able to give the evidence that would warrant the transportation of the Boston leaders. The expectation proved to be groundless because the lawyers gave an opinion that since his testimony would not support a charge of treason the statute of Henry VIII did not apply.⁷¹

Though the lawyers' specifications concerning evidence vitiated any attempt to apply the old statute, the threat of its application remained current for some months. The statute figured in parliamen-

⁶⁷ HMC, *Report on Manuscripts in Various Collections* (London, 1909), VI, 269-270.

⁶⁸ Peter O. Hutchinson, ed., *The Diary and Letters of His Excellency Thomas Hutchinson* (London, 1883, 1886) I, 123.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 219.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 245; Carter, II, 160-161; HMC, *Report on the Manuscripts of the Marquis of Lothian* (London, 1905), 298-299.

⁷¹ Carter, II, 171-172; HMC, *Fifteenth Report*, appendix, part ten, 220; Hutchinson, *Diary*, I, 205, 207.

tary debate early in 1775, to be condemned as an attempt to "bring the Americans over here to butcher them in the King's-bench."⁷² The desire to apply the statute to America was established sufficiently to warrant defense in Samuel Johnson's pamphlet, *Taxation No Tyranny*.⁷³

The ministry continued to press attempts to try persons in America. In April, 1774, Gage became governor of Massachusetts. Dartmouth wrote a long letter covering his formal instructions and enclosed the opinion of Thurlow and Wedderburn that declared the tea party to be an act of treason. The secretary instructed Gage to make further inquiries. If the general-governor thought that it would be possible to obtain a conviction on an indictment he should begin proceedings.⁷⁴ In July Gage reported his progress.⁷⁵ He had tried to gather evidence, "but tho' I hear of many Things against this, and that Person, yet when I descend to particular Points, and want People to stand forth in order to bring Crimes home to Individuals by clear and full Evidence, I am at a Loss." The ministry kept pressure on Gage.⁷⁶

When Dartmouth heard of the Suffolk Resolves and of the opposition to the mandamus councilors, he again asked Thurlow and Wedderburn for an opinion.⁷⁷ The lawyers answered that acts of treason had been committed in Massachusetts.⁷⁸ Additional instructions went out to Gage in January, 1775—the "secret letter" that led to Lexington and Concord.⁷⁹ Dartmouth thought that it would "surely be better that the Conflict should be brought on [now] . . . than in a riper state of Rebellion." As a corollary to military action, the secretary advised the seizure and trial of prominent leaders. He enclosed the lawyers' opinion of December 13, 1774.⁸⁰

Recent scholarship has discredited the idea that the march of April 19 into the Massachusetts countryside had as even a secondary

⁷² *Hansard*, XVIII, 289, 292.

⁷³ *Political Tracts* (London, 1776), 230.

⁷⁴ Carter, II, 160-161.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 359; II, 649.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 171-172.

⁷⁷ HMC, *Eleventh Report* (London, 1887), appendix, part five, 371.

⁷⁸ PRO CO 5/159, 63 (Library of Congress transcript).

⁷⁹ John R. Alden, *General Gage in America* (Baton Rouge, La., 1948), 233-244.

⁸⁰ Carter, II, 181-183.

objective the capture of colonial leaders. It has been pointed out that had Gage desired he could easily have arrested leaders who remained in Boston.⁸¹ This may be true, but it is significant that Gage regarded his instructions on this point as sufficiently explicit to warrant an explanation of why he had not arrested John Hancock and Samuel Adams. Gage told Dartmouth that the "disaffected" received news of the ministerial action before he did. The leaders had fled just in time to escape the trap.⁸² Adams and Hancock went in triumph to the second Continental Congress instead of to prison. Their escape symbolized the attempts to bring men to trial in the colonies. This ministerial policy failed as dismally as the efforts to transport men to England under the statute of Henry VIII.

But George III and his ministers were not to be denied easily. Yet another method of destroying the leaders of the resistance suggested itself during the winter of 1774-1775. The ministry based its policy on the assumption that a few incendiaries were misleading the great mass of Americans. The idea became current that opposition could be quelled by offering a general pardon. The acts of the colonists would be described as treasonable, but at the same time pardon would be offered to all, except the leaders, who surrendered within a limited time and took an oath of allegiance. Threat of condign punishment would thus stop the growth of opposition, and the leaders would be left standing alone to be dispatched with ease.

The cabinet first considered this idea in December, 1774.⁸³ Thurlow and Wedderburn put their stamp of approval on the plan and by February had drafted a proclamation.⁸⁴ The cabinet recommended that Gage be given the power to issue a proclamation pardoning the "rebels." Anyone who had attended the Massachusetts provincial congress or had been involved in the attack on Fort William and Mary would be ineligible for a pardon.⁸⁵ Dartmouth wrote to Gage in April, informing him that he might issue a proclamation.⁸⁶

⁸¹ Aiden, 242-243.

⁸² Carter, I, 422.

⁸³ HMC, *Eleventh Report*, appendix, part five, 371.

⁸⁴ PRO CO 5/159, 65-66, 72-73 (Library of Congress transcripts).

⁸⁵ HMC, *Fourteenth Report*, appendix, part ten, 260, 283.

⁸⁶ Carter, II, 191-192. By this time the ministry had yet another opinion from Thurlow and Wedderburn (Feb. 2, 1775) reciting the acts of the Massachusetts provincial congress to be treason. PRO CO 5/159, 63 (Library of Congress transcript).

By the time Gage received Dartmouth's letter, Lexington and Concord had been fought and the general was besieged in Boston. The general-governor issued his proclamation on June 12, 1775. The preamble stated the ministerial theory of the nature of colonial opposition: "the infatuated multitude, who have long suffered themselves to be conducted by certain well known incendiaries and traitors, in a fatal progression of crimes against the constitutional authority of the State, have at length proceeded to avowed Rebellion."⁸⁷ The document promised pardon to all who would lay down their arms, excepting only Samuel Adams and John Hancock. All who remained with the army around Boston, or who supplied that army, or corresponded with it, were proclaimed "to be Rebels and Traitors, and as such to be treated." The proclamation closed by declaring martial law.

Gage's proclamation signified the end and the failure of the attempt to bring individual leaders to trial. The subsequent growth of the spirit of American independence proved the error of the ministerial theory that the isolation of a few leaders by declaring them to be traitors would put a stop to colonial opposition.

At the same time that it attempted to bring individuals to trial, the ministry unfolded a second plan of action—general coercive measures justified by charges of treason in America. Although none of the Coercive Acts directly branded the New Englanders as traitors, it was clear that only treason would justify such punitive measures. The Boston Port Act spoke of "dangerous commotions and insurrections,"⁸⁸ while the Massachusetts Government Act described provincial leaders proceeding "even to acts of direct resistance to, and defiance of, His Majesty's authority."⁸⁹ Lord North knew that he was opening himself to criticism by using treason to justify his policy. Inevitably, the opposition would ask if there could be treason without traitors, and would demand the punishment of individuals before annihilating the rights of a whole colony. To avoid such criticism North told the Commons that he ardently wished to see the ringleaders brought to justice and that the ministry had ordered prosecutions. His main defense of the Administration of Justice Act

⁸⁷ Peter Force, ed., *American Archives, Fourth Series* (Washington, 1837-1853), II, 258-259.

⁸⁸ 14 George III, c. 19.

⁸⁹ 14 George III, c. 45.

was that royal servants in America could not try individual traitors until the protection the act provided was extended to them.⁹⁰

By the autumn of 1774, the idea that Massachusetts was in a state of rebellion had become common in ministerial circles.⁹¹ The policy of coercion adopted earlier in the year had solidified American resistance and the ministry expected further crises. Determined to press the issue, the king dissolved Parliament while it still had six months to run. The reason for the dissolution, according to North, was that the ministry "might, at the beginning of a Parliament take such measures as we could depend upon a Parliament to prosecute to effect."⁹² In his speech opening the new Parliament, George III referred to the opposition in Massachusetts which had "broke forth in fresh violences of a very criminal nature."⁹³ Early in the session, Parliament debated the English merchants' petition for reconciliation with America, Chatham's provisional act for settling the American troubles, and his motion for withdrawing the troops from Boston. The overwhelming majorities that the ministry enjoyed in both houses drowned conciliation in a flood of contempt. The prevailing attitude found apt expression in the speech of young Lord Stanley, who "expatiated largely on the legislative supremacy and omnipotence of parliament; spoke much of treason, rebellion, coercion, and firmness."⁹⁴

Early in February, 1775, North again put his political machine in motion. He brought in an address to the king on the American troubles and in the process of defending it named the colonies in which there was "a state of actual rebellion." Mansfield, North's counterpart in the upper house, carried the address in the Lords by legal argument proving that the colonies were in a state of rebellion. The address, which declared that "a rebellion actually exists" in Massachusetts, urged the king to adopt a rigorous policy. It passed by large majorities.⁹⁵ Having created the fiction of parliamentary initiative, North brought in the New England Restraining Bill.⁹⁶ He

⁹⁰ *Hansard*, XVII, 1200-1201. The issue of treason at Boston appeared frequently in the debates on the Coercive Acts. *Ibid.*, 1180, 1183, 1188, 1300-1301, 1302.

⁹¹ Hutchinson, *Diary*, I, 265, 293, 297, 306.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 298.

⁹³ *Hansard*, XVIII, 33.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 176.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 222-224.

⁹⁶ 15 George III, c. 10.

justified the bill on the ground that Massachusetts was in rebellion. The system of coercion was now to be extended to all New England, for New Hampshire had caught the treason fever and seized Fort William and Mary.⁹⁷ Dunning, by this time one of the tiny minority who spoke for colonial liberty, accused the ministry of creating the rebellion. Thurlow answered by stating again that the common law upheld the contention that rebellion existed in New England.⁹⁸ Parliament passed the bill and followed it with one interdicting the commerce of the southern colonies.⁹⁹

As yet the ministry had used treason in America only to justify coercive measures and had stopped short of branding the Americans as rebels by any public act. In August, 1775, a royal proclamation of rebellion declared that the North American colonies had "proceeded to open and avowed rebellion, by arraying themselves in a hostile manner, to withstand the execution of the law, and [are] traitorously preparing, ordering and levying war against us." The king ordered all military and civil officers "to bring the traitors to justice." He went on to point out that many persons in England had carried on a "traitorous correspondence" with American rebels. He commanded every subject to aid him in bringing such traitors to trial.¹⁰⁰ Parliament put its stamp of approval on the doctrine announced in the proclamation. The Prohibitory Act, which stopped all American commerce, described the colonies to be in "open rebellion," their actions as "rebellious and treasonable Commotions." The statute authorized the king to appoint commissioners who could extend pardons, presumably of treason, in areas that returned to peace and obedience.¹⁰¹ The system of general coercion was as complete as a legislature could make it.

Events forced the English government to deal again with the problem of individual traitors. The capture of Colonel Ethan Allen during Montgomery's Canadian campaign brought the ministry face to face with a real flesh and blood American rebel. His captor,

⁹⁷ *Hansard*, XVIII, 299.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 300.

⁹⁹ 15 George III, c. 18.

¹⁰⁰ Force, III, 240-241. The part of the proclamation relative to traitorous correspondence was directed against men like *Junius Americanus* (Arthur Lee). HMC, *Fourteenth Report*, appendix, part ten, 348, 349, 373, 379.

¹⁰¹ 16 George III, c. 5.

General Robert Prescott, had promised Allen that he would "grace a halter at Tyburn."¹⁰² Carleton shipped Allen and thirty-three fellow prisoners to England, where, late in December, 1775, they landed at Falmouth. As soldiers led the Americans through throngs of curious folk to their prison at Pendennis Castle,¹⁰³ the ministry pondered the problem posed by Allen. Whatever treatment he received would set precedent. Was he a criminal or a prisoner of war? On December 23, the new American secretary, Lord George Germain, summoned the king's servants to determine Allen's fate. What passed at the meeting is unknown. The law officers attended, but wrote no opinion.¹⁰⁴ The ministers decided to treat Allen as a prisoner of war, and in less than three weeks he was at sea, bound eventually for New York and freedom.¹⁰⁵ Allen later stated that he won his freedom when someone sued out a writ of habeas corpus in the English courts.¹⁰⁶ Such action may well have been taken in collusion with the administration, for it would have furnished them with a way out of an embarrassing situation.

The real reason for the release of Allen was the certain knowledge that Americans would execute British prisoners if he suffered a traitor's death. Washington had impressed this fact upon Gage in August. Information that the British treated prisoners as criminals caused Washington to write to Gage to expect retaliation if he departed from the practices observed by nations at war.¹⁰⁷ Gage answered that the prisoners had received better treatment than they deserved. Britain, "pre-eminent in mercy, [had] outgone common examples, and overlooked the criminal in the captive." He left no doubt as to the status of the prisoners, "whose lives by the law of the land are destined to the cord."¹⁰⁸ Washington answered Gage with an air of finality, announcing that his correspondence with the

¹⁰² Quoted in Allen French, *The First Year of the American Revolution* (Boston, 1934), 424.

¹⁰³ Ethan Allen, *A Narrative of Colonel Ethan Allen's Captivity* (Philadelphia, 1799), 490.

¹⁰⁴ At least none can be found. The order to attend is in PRO CO 5/159, 75.

¹⁰⁵ Apparently, Germain had made up his mind to release the men and merely asked the ministers to approve. HMC, *Report on the Manuscripts of Mrs. Stopford-Sackville* (London, 1904, 1910), I, 24.

¹⁰⁶ Allen, 495.

¹⁰⁷ John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington* (Washington, 1931-1944), III, 416-417.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 418 (note).

general was closed, "perhaps forever."¹⁰⁹ The threat of retaliation stood.

By proclamation and statute the administration had announced its opinion that Americans were traitors. When the course of events prevented immediate trial and execution, Parliament stepped into the breach with a statute which made possible the extended detention of American prisoners by suspending the writ of habeas corpus. The act provided that no judge or justice of the peace could bring an American to trial for treason without permission of the Privy Council. No court could release on bail an American committed for treason. The king was authorized to set aside places for the confinement of American prisoners.¹¹⁰ The obvious purpose of the statute was to make possible the imprisonment of Americans during the pleasure of the ministry. If the war ended in British victory, the trip to Tyburn could be completed. If America made good her claim to independence, the prisoners would be released.

The statute operated as its authors intended in the case of Henry Laurens.¹¹¹ The British captured him at sea as he was on his way to the Netherlands on a diplomatic mission. The magistrates committed him to the Tower of London on a charge of high treason.¹¹² During his long imprisonment the ministry tempted him with a pardon for his treason, which he refused to accept since he regarded himself as a civilian prisoner of war, guilty of no crime. The surrender of Cornwallis made Laurens a likely candidate for an exchange for the general. Yet the administration, refusing to admit that he was in fact a prisoner of war subject to exchange, played the farce out to the last act. On December 31, 1781, they brought him before Mansfield to be released on bail.¹¹³ Aware that posting bond might be interpreted as an admission of guilt, Laurens conditioned the act by saying: "I know not the nature of the obligation which is to be required of me, therefore I think it necessary to make this previous declaration, that I hold myself to be a citizen of the United, free and independent

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 430-431.

¹¹⁰ 17 George III, c. 9, extended by 18 George III, c. 1, and 19 George III, c. 1; *Hansard*, XIX, 3-51.

¹¹¹ David D. Wallace, *The Life of Henry Laurens* (New York, 1915), 362-389.

¹¹² Benjamin F. Stevens, ed., *Facsimiles of Manuscripts in European Archives Relating to America 1778-1783* (London, 1889-1895), documents 920-922.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, documents 986-990.

States of North America, and will not do any act which shall involve me in an acknowledgement of subjection to this realm."¹¹⁴

Ministerial attempts to apply the English law of treason to America failed dismally. Efforts to bring persons to trial in the colonies were frustrated by American unwillingness to participate in the proceedings. The idea of bringing Americans to England for trial aroused colonial hostility because it violated local control of the judicial process, a right for which the colonists had long contended. Fear of retaliation put an emphatic period to all attempts to try individuals. The policy of declaring colonial areas to be in rebellion proved to be not only futile, but disastrous to the empire. The coercive measures which such declarations justified drove the colonies to independence.

The Park School of Buffalo

BRADLEY CHAPIN

¹¹⁴ Henry Laurens, *A Narrative of the Capture of Henry Laurens* (Charleston, S. C., 1857), 13-19.

Rembrandt Peale, "Instigator"

LATE in life, Rembrandt Peale claimed to have "originated" The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. The claim is pompously overreaching, but there is in it a measure of truth, as well as a strange tale of professional-lay relationships in our early art history.

William Dunlap, in 1834, gave the credit for the founding of the Academy to Joseph Hopkinson, to whom, indeed, most of it rightly belongs, and he added that Hopkinson's zeal was inspired by a view of the casts imported from France in 1803 by the New York Academy.¹ Rembrandt Peale was one of the artists who had contributed an autobiographical statement to Dunlap, but in his case the historian quoted only in fragments, which he interspersed with contradiction and unfriendly comment. We can only assume, since nothing was stated or refuted, that Rembrandt had made no mention then of the Academy's origin.

It was in 1846, four years after Joseph Hopkinson's death and forty years after the event, that Rembrandt sent his "inside story" of the Academy's founding to Charles Edwards Lester, who published it in his *Artists of America*, a compilation similar to Dunlap's.²

Returning to America in 1803, I found sufficient occupation in Savannah, Charleston, New-York, and Philadelphia—there being no capital city in America, as New-York is now becoming; but Philadelphia was the city of promise, and I was zealous in the establishment of an Academy of Fine Arts. A Holland merchant, Mr. Lichleightner [*sic*], arrived with a choice little collection of pictures for sale. I purchased some of him, and we became intimate. He offered to build a Gallery, send me pictures to keep it always full, and to share with him equally in the profits. This I agreed to do, if I could not induce Mr. Joseph Hopkinson to co-operate with me in the plan of an Academy. He repeatedly refused, until I assured him that otherwise I should confine my efforts to my individual interest. His influence raised

¹ William Dunlap, *A History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States* (Boston, 1918), II, 106.

² C. Edwards Lester, *The Artists of America* (New York, 1846), 207.

the money, a building was erected, plaster casts imported, which I mended and mounted: Fulton's and other pictures procured, and the exhibition of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts successfully opened.

Rembrandt Peale's article, "Exhibitions and Academies," in *The Crayon* of May 9, 1855, touches mostly on Charles Willson Peale's "Columbianum, or American Academy" of 1794, and on his own experiences at the Royal Academy in London. He notes that Joseph Hopkinson had contributed the motto for the Columbianum's exhibition of 1795—" 'Tis not in mortals to command success, but we'll do more—deserve it,"³—and mentions the Pennsylvania Academy only in a querulous afterthought: "Notwithstanding this, it was the only exhibition until the formation of the Pennsylvania Academy in 1805, of which I was the instigator and chief instrument with the loss of much money and time."⁴

A year later we find Rembrandt restating his claim with succinct finality. On December 31, 1856, he wrote as follows to Robert Coulton Davis, a druggist situated on the southeast corner of Sixteenth and Vine Streets in Philadelphia⁵:

Dear Sir

In regard to the Eagle which decorates the corner of your store, I give you the following particulars.

In the year 1805 I originated the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. My father, C. W. Peale, Wm. Rush and myself first arranged the plan of it. It was agreed that each artist should contribute a specimen of his work, to belong to the Academy—and Mr. Rush expressly carved this Eagle, with various Emblematical accompaniments, which were placed on the Frontispiece of the Academy. After the conflagration which destroyed all but the Front Building, on the renovation of the Academy, the Directors very improperly sold Mr. Rush's Eagle, the gratuitous memorial of his membership & his early interest in the establishment. The Eagle was bought by a Stone Cutter, & ignobly placed over the entrance to his yard, whence it was rescued by your better taste and preserved with a Coat of Gold.

Respectfully yours
Rembrandt Peale

³ One of the many lines from Joseph Addison's *Cato*, popular with Americans during the Revolutionary struggle.

⁴ *The Crayon*, I, 290.

⁵ Original owned by The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts.

Aside from its interest as a statement on the Academy and on a hitherto unrecorded work of William Rush, this document offers a nice example of the "certificate" psychology of Rembrandt Peale, that side of his character which Dunlap singled out particularly for derision.⁶ For years, Rembrandt had been pressing the merits of his "porthole" portrait of Washington, a posthumous, idealized likeness, by means of statements signed by Washington's surviving friends. He had become a priest in the cult of Washington-worship and a practitioner of pontification by testimonial. The letter is but one example of how he himself had taken to vesting random and often inaccurate recollections as formal statements. As an authority for the historian, he is as unreliable as it is possible for a completely well-meaning man to be.

It would be natural to suppose that behind the august misstatements of the "venerable Rembrandt Peale . . . the oldest artist of eminence in America,"⁷ there had been an undisciplined and enervant youth, and so it was. The Rembrandt of the Academy's founding was as irresponsible as the Rembrandt of the recollections, but far more charming.

He was a handsome boy. He had been spoiled, as all the Peale children had been. We see his father's conviction that this one of his sons had the truest fire of artistic genius reflected in periods of intensive work, in bursts of soaring enthusiasm, and in the cold agonies of despair and self-doubt. It was for the benefit of the sixteen-year-old Rembrandt that Charles Willson Peale had founded in 1794 the "Columbianum, or American Academy of Painting, Sculpture, Architecture and Engraving," and Rembrandt had been the most earnest and faithful student of its school. It is possible that the founder's paternal motive may have influenced the withdrawal of the artists who did not approve of an academy with so much scholastic emphasis, and may have weakened the interest of those who remained and took part in the exhibition of 1795.

Certainly, Rembrandt was not ready for the introduction to professional practice which his father gave him by inducing Washington to pose in 1795. After that premature start, he joined his brother

⁶ Dunlap, II, 187.

⁷ *The Crayon*, I, 91.

Raphaelle in setting up a museum in Baltimore. In 1798, Rembrandt eloped with the daughter of a family servant. In 1800, he turned up again in Philadelphia as the author of two characteristic poems. One, an ode on *The Beauties of Creation*, was set to music for an affair at his father's museum.⁸ The other was published as a pamphlet under the title *Fashion; or, The Art of Making Breeches. An Heroi-Satiri-Didactic Poem*, and under the pseudonym "Solomon Irony, Esq."⁹ The latter poem is dedicated to the theme, "Life is a pair of Breeches in which mankind are continually fidgeting." It was inspired, its author states, by finding his wife engaged in making him a pair of "small-cloaths, that is, inexpressibles, indispensables, leather-organs, or more vulgarly breeches."¹⁰ . . . Indeed I am inclined to consider this Science, of which my Poem is but a Fragment, as the natural auxilliary to Physiognomy; or rather as its first Rudiments, because capable of being read with a less penetrating eye than the favorite science of Lavater."¹¹ It was at this same time that the young student of nature and of physiognomy cast aside his surname and advertised himself in the papers as "REMBRANDT, PORTRAIT PAINTER."

It was Charles Willson Peale's sensational discovery of two nearly complete skeletons of the American mastodon which brought to Rembrandt a new opportunity to advance himself as an artist. In 1802, one skeleton was opened to public view in Philadelphia, while Rembrandt, who had been an able assistant in the exhumations and reconstruction, sailed for Europe with the other. We may accept most of the account of his stay in London which Rembrandt wrote for Lester and included in his *Crayon* article.¹² He was received with kindly affection by West and enrolled as a student at the Royal Academy. "A trick practiced on Mr. West" brought his expulsion from the Academy, and when, abetted by a group of other students, he hired the Academy's model and set up a class of his own, his project was defeated "from a mean idea of some of the academicians

⁸ C. W. Peale, *Discourse Introductory to a Course of Lectures on the Science of Nature; With Original Music, Composed for, and Sung on, the Occasion* (Philadelphia, 1800).

⁹ The identification of the author was made by the late Albert J. Edmunds, cataloger of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

¹⁰ *Fashion; or, The Art of Making Breeches* . . . , 11 (note).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, iv.

¹² *The Crayon*, I, 290.

that it was a species of opposition to them." The narrative becomes somewhat less credible as it continues.

In 1803, when I was preparing to return to America, Mr. West made up his mind to embark with me, which induced me to remark, that although our country was too young adequately to remunerate him for his great historical works, yet by painting them for *popular exhibition* in our different cities, I thought he might be fully compensated. Mild as was his temper, and pale his complexion, his countenance suddenly became flushed, and he replied—"I will thank you *never* to name that subject again!" His intention of coming to America was abandoned, by the advice of his physicians, who thought that the delicate health of Mrs. West could not survive the shock of the voyage.

Considering Rembrandt's earlier behavior, the master's annoyance seems natural. Distressed by the renewal of war with France, by his unpopularity in England, and by dissensions within the Royal Academy, West may have considered seriously a return to America. Certain it is that Rembrandt brought back such a report to Philadelphia in November, 1803, and that he and his father kept the hope alive.

The next summer saw the Peales in a resurgence from natural history to art. The father, who had hardly touched brush to canvas for six years, was bursting with enthusiasms reborn. He made a studio for Rembrandt in a lower room of Independence Hall, most of which was now occupied by his museum. He sounded out his friends upon the idea of founding a new academy of the fine arts. Their response was enthusiastic. Joseph Hopkinson ventured a guess that he could get enough support from members of the bar alone to carry the project through. Dr. John Redman Coxe was gathering material for a new medical journal in July, 1804, and when the first number appeared in September it carried his own endorsement of the project. That notice, in the "Medical and Philosophical Register" department of the *Philadelphia Medical Museum*, is our clearest statement of what was happening in 1804.¹³

THE FINE ARTS

Mr. Peale is now preparing for the public eye, a number of statues, of the full size, from the antique, such as the Apollo de Belvidere, the fighting and dying Gladiators, the Antinous, &c. We are indebted for these casts to

¹³ *The Philadelphia Medical Museum*, I, 90.

the taste and liberality of Mr. Smith,¹⁴ the brother of William Smith, Esq. of Carolina, who deposits them with Mr. Peale, until they become part of an American Academy of the fine arts. To every lover of these it must be extremely gratifying to know, that several of our citizens, noted for taste, are active in the commencement and foundation of such an Academy, which, under peculiarly favourable circumstances, may render Philadelphia the centre of the arts in our western hemisphere. We are informed by Mr. Rembrandt Peale that this is the sentiment of our celebrated countryman Benjamin West, who has expressed an opinion, of the probability of his coming to assist in this laudable plan, ere he ends his days, in his native state.

Within the warm friendship which united them, Charles Willson Peale and Joseph Hopkinson held quite different ideas as to the exact nature of an art academy. Peale had no other conception of it than as a school, holding annual exhibitions of contemporary work and maintaining a permanent exhibition. To Hopkinson, and even more to those whose financial support he was ready to enlist, it would be a society of predominantly lay membership, its purpose the promotion of the fine arts by exhibiting examples of the best sculpture and painting and by offering prizes and other encouragement to artists. Other such societies already existed for the advancement of various cultural or charitable causes. There can be no doubt that Hopkinson was influenced by the new collection of French casts which Robert R. Livingston had obtained for the New York Academy and which had been an exciting public attraction in that city during the preceding winter. It is clear also that he realized that Philadelphia must do more, must obtain not only casts of the same quality but a permanent home of its own. And his confidence that all this could be accomplished so easily must have been based upon Peale's demonstration, through his now enormously successful museum, that an exhibition, in good taste, could be both an ornament to the town and a self-supporting enterprise. Hopkinson, though greatly interested, deferred to his friend and took no positive action in that summer of 1804.

In December, 1804, the Peales, father and son, journeyed to Washington to paint portraits of the President and other notables. They were riding a bright wave very similar to that which had carried them forward in 1794, culminating again in a portrait that was to introduce the young painter to a wider practice. Rembrandt's

¹⁴ Joseph Allen Smith.

Jefferson is a far more splendid and mature piece than his Washington of ten years earlier. And Rembrandt, too, had matured—a good-looking young man, witty, bright-eyed, eager and persuasive. He was ready to take a place of leadership in this academy business as they rode back to Philadelphia in February, 1805.

It is here that P. G. Lechleitner, the "Holland merchant," enters the story.¹⁵ His part was a brief one, and it is fleetingly described in Charles Willson Peale's contemporary account of the founding of the Academy. From three of Peale's letters we can draw his own immediate view of the events.¹⁶

TO RAPHAELLE PEALE, JUNE 6, 1805

I will now give you another piece of news, viz: we have again begun an attempt to form an Institution for the advancement of the Fine Arts. You may remember to have heard that Mr. Hopkinson had said, that he could get the lawyers to undertake to make a subscription. A Mr. Lithbrener or some such name (a Hollander who has a collection of fine paintings), called on Rembrandt to speak on the subject. They asked me to meet them one evening and after some conversation we proposed to get a meeting of Mr. [Joseph] Hopkinson, Mr. [William] Rawle, Mr. [Joseph] Sansom, Doctr. [John Redman] Cox[e] and Mr. [William] Meredith. I invited them to my house, we had several meetings, and each aided to obtain subscriptions, but Mr. Hopkinson was the most industrious. We have now 1600\$ and expect 2000 will be made up soon, and the subscribers will be called together to form a Constitution. The proposial is to import casts, and begin a gallery of figures and painting beginning with an exhibition—to receive paintings that may be offered for sale, and if sold to take a commission on such sale, thus in the first instance to get some ¼% and afterwards 5 or 7 pr. ct. This is the first part of the plan. Out of this will arise the Academy of drawing from models and afterwards from life.

Rembrandt is preparing a general sketch to be considered at our next meeting so that the whole of the business will be ready cut and dried before the next meeting is called. This you know is a prudent procedure, as large bodies can never do business well. It must always be prepared for them and they will have nothing to do but give their consent and approbation.

TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, JUNE 13, 1805

Some gentlemen have met a few times at my house and planned a design of an Academy for the encouragement of the fine arts in this city. A hand-

¹⁵ The Philadelphia directories first record P. G. Lechleitner, merchant, 107 North Front Street, in 1806, continuing the entry until 1822. From 1818 to 1822 he is listed as "Consul for the Netherlands."

¹⁶ The three letters are in the Library of the American Philosophical Society.

some subscription is already made by very respectable characters, and we hope soon to begin a building for the reception of casts of statues, also for a display of Paintings, by the exhibition of which a revenue may be had to defray the expense of a keeper, who shall be capable to give instruction to the Pupils. Pictures offered for sale will be exhibited for certain periods, if such are deserving public notice, and when sold, a pr. centum on the sale, to help the funds of the Academy. Out of these funds with what shall be thought reasonable for Pupils to pay for the use of the School—the living Model school will be opened at proper seasons. Mr. West is very anxious to have all his designs, the originals of his historical paintings, placed here, which, my son Rembrandt says, is very valuable. He told Rembrandt that he had long contemplated and indeed had preserved his works for this express purpose, but I believe he thinks our Legislature will make appropriations for an establishment for the encouragement of the Fine Arts, and might be induced to purchase paintings as models of colouring, composition, &c. If he knew the constitutions of our country better he would loose all hopes from that quarter.

TO BENJAMIN H. LATROBE, JUNE 21, 1805

I wish you had been here while an association was forming for the advancement of the fine arts. We have upwards of \$2400 subscribed, a constitution formed—President and 12 Directors chosen today, shall probably purchase Bills on tomorrow for the purchase of Plaster figures, which will be sent by a Vessel to sail on Sunday next.

We ought to have a building to put the figures in when they arrive—you know the disadvantage of subjecting them to removals. The Directors by our constitution have the sole management of the funds and directions of the Academy, &c. They are to be elected annually, the only claim the subscribers have on them. I expect that we shall soon make publication of this Institution, therefore I forbear to attempt a further detail.

Here it appears that for all his "general sketch" and "prudent procedure," Rembrandt Peale was by no means controlling the course of events. The idea of buying Lechleitner's paintings (it is not at all impossible that Rembrandt expected a commission from the sale) had been rejected at once. The Academy might exhibit them, and take a commission for itself. The old casts which the Peales had been readying for school use had been rejected as unsuitable for public exhibition, and new ones ordered. Here we seem to have the basis of Rembrandt's "loss of much money and time."¹⁷

The founders of the Academy were proceeding with remarkable dispatch, deliberately avoiding public appeals and any risk of news-

¹⁷ Crayon, I, 290.

paper controversy of the sort that had marked the fevered life of the Columbianum. In July, Dr. Coxe's decorous journal made the "publication of this institution" of which Peale had written.¹⁸

The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts

It affords us great pleasure in being able to state, that a plan long since contemplated, has at length been carried into execution under very favourable auspices, viz. the establishment of an academy of the fine arts in the city of Philadelphia. A liberal subscription has been realized, and directors have been chosen to carry the design into effect, who have forwarded an extensive list for casts from the most celebrated statuary, to Paris, whilst they are now intent on procuring the erection of a handsome building for their reception, which will do honour to our city, and doubtless aid the general designs of the institution.

At a meeting of the members of the association for promoting the fine arts, held in Philadelphia the 21st of June, 1805, the following gentlemen were chosen officers of the institution.

President

George Clymer.

Directors.

William Tilghman,
William Rawle,
John R. Coxe,
Joseph B. M'Kean,
John Dorsey,
William Poyntell,

Joseph Hopkinson,
Thomas C. James,
C. W. Peale,
Moses Levy,
William Meredith,
William Rush.

And at a meeting of the directors, Dr. Glentworth¹⁹ was chosen treasurer, and William S. Biddle, secretary.

At the first meeting of the directors,²⁰ our much esteemed and celebrated countryman, Benjamin West, Esq. was unanimously elected an honorary member of the institution.

On December 26, 1805, the members met again in the Declaration Chamber of Independence Hall, and signed an application for an act of incorporation. This parchment document, still preserved in the archives of the Academy, holds the earliest statement of its aims:

The object of this association is to promote the cultivation of the Fine Arts, in the United States of America, by introducing correct and elegant Copies, from works of the first masters in sculpture and painting and by

¹⁸ Philadelphia Medical Museum, II, 74-75.

¹⁹ Plunkett Fleeson Glentworth.

²⁰ July 1, 1805.

thus facilitating the access to such standards, and also by occasionally conferring moderate but honorable premiums, and otherwise assisting the studies and exciting the efforts of the artists gradually to unfold, enlighten and invigorate the talents of our countrymen.

The signatures give one an interesting cross section of the Philadelphia citizenry of that day, and stand also as evidence of how well Joseph Hopkinson had made good his promise of the support of his fellow lawyers. On May 18, 1870, Horace Binney, then the only surviving signer of the document, wrote to Caleb Cope²¹:

I thank you for a sight of the old parchment of december 1805, which has probably not greeted my eyes since I signed it; but all the circumstances of its preparation & signature, are as fresh to me as of yesterday. Let the Bar of this city be praised for at least some good. The initiating movement of the Academy of the Fine Arts came from the Bar. And I believe the germinating thought—liberally promoted however by some of every profession & calling. Of the 70 who signed the parchment, 41 were lawyers at that day—Lewis²² the oldest, W. Tilghman then President of the Common Pleas, in the next month Chief Justice, the highest in dignity and your humble servant the humblest and least significant member of the Bar.

This one of its founders, certainly, had no recollection of any artist having had a part in the Academy's founding. Hopkinson might have acted in 1804, but seems to have deferred to the founder of the Columbianum. When the Peales came to him in 1805 with their proposal on Lechleitner's paintings, he set in motion the events which followed in such rapid succession, and we find the Peales in the curious position of believing themselves the leaders of a movement that was actually going its own way.

Charles Willson Peale's letters show that to him an "academy" was essentially a school. His fellow directors seem to have granted this point in conversation but to have made it clear that their endowment had been raised implicitly for a building and permanent exhibition. His letter to Jefferson of June 13 mentions a curriculum, tuition fees, a curator-professorship. It would be interesting to know by what authority an artist had actually been appointed to that position. The directors held their first meeting on July 1, and on that day, in a newspaper advertisement regarding the copyright of his

²¹ Original in *The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts*.

²² William Lewis (1751-1815).

American Drawing Magazine, John Eckstein was announcing himself as "late painter and statuary to the King of Prussia, and now professor of Drawing to the Academy of Fine Arts in Philadelphia."²³ Eckstein was then seventy years of age. He had had experience in the academies of London and Berlin, and had come to America in August, 1794, just in time to join Peale's Columbianum group. We can guess that Peale had offered him the appointment. We have no evidence as yet as to whether he actually taught a class.

Gradually, in his gentle way, we find Charles Willson Peale assuming a role of dissent in Academy affairs. He would have preferred Latrobe to John Dorsey as architect of the new building. When he saw Dorsey's plans he predicted that the roof might leak,²⁴ as, indeed, it was to do. The new building was opened in 1806. There was no room in it for a life class, but Peale remained quietly, persistently hopeful. On December 16, 1807, he wrote to Benjamin West: "It is my intention to urge the Directors of our Academy to make additional Rooms the ensuing summer: one for an exhibition room solely for Pictures & another to draw from the living figure, which I hope we may accomplish by this time twelve months. This institution is growing into favor."²⁵

In 1810, the year of Peale's retirement from Philadelphia to his countryseat, the Columbian Society of Artists was organized, largely in protest against the Academy's failure to provide current exhibitions or a school. Society and Academy promptly united in establishing the annual exhibitions of contemporary art which have continued to this day. Rembrandt Peale, the Academy's self-styled "instigator," had taken his father's place as a director, and was also a member of the new Columbian Society.

The Pennsylvania Academy had turned out to be something quite different from what the two most active artists among its founders had conceived. The contribution of the Peales is a more profound and significant one than they themselves realized. Their museums and divers other projects linked them unusually intimately to the great American public. Their influence in the early years held the lay-controlled Academy and the profession together and helped to estab-

²³ *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser*, July 1, 1805.

²⁴ C. W. Peale to Raphaelle Peale, Sept. 7, 1805, *American Philosophical Society*.

²⁵ Manuscript in Library of the American Philosophical Society.

lish a pattern of co-operative action. The familiar experience would have been the complete breaking away of the artists, thus denying the Academy a support necessary to its existence. Instead, there was brought into being a relationship between public and profession that was to grow continually closer in unity and strength, a relationship that is one essential element of the greatness of The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, and a vital force in the continuing progress of American art.

Dickinson College

CHARLES COLEMAN SELLERS

The Diaries of Sidney George Fisher 1843-1844

THIS installment from the Fisher diaries, the seventh to appear in this MAGAZINE, covers a period between November, 1843, and February, 1844. The diarist records his favorable impressions of a trip to Wilkes-Barre, attends several musical events, including a recital by Ole Bull, the celebrated violinist, portrays Horace Binney on his return from Washington after triumphing over Daniel Webster in the Girard Will case and, lastly, comments at length on the career of Nicholas Biddle, who died on February 27, 1844. Fisher, who had never been an admirer of Biddle, nevertheless concludes that the banker had more of the elements of greatness than any other Philadelphian of his day and, Webster excepted, than any other American.

November 19, 1843 Sunday. Weather has been rainy or damp & warm till today when it is again cool & clear. A little business & reading Guizot have occupied my time. On Friday evening a party at Mrs. E. P. F's¹ for Arthur Middleton & his wife. Very handsome, pleasant and *select*. The elite of our society there & no snobs. Fortunately there are yet left a few houses from which vulgar people are excluded. . . .

Spent Friday [*November 24*]² in Wilkesbarre, & on Saturday came homewards as far as Nazareth, on Sunday from Nazareth, thro Bethlehem to Philad. My journey was very pleasant & satisfactory. Saw a country most of which was new to me and transacted my business without difficulty & with prospects of a successful result.³ The only disagreeable part of the journey was from Pottsville to Catawissa. The run to Pottsville is very fine. The scenery varied &

¹ Mrs. Elizabeth Powell Francis Fisher.

² The date of this entry has been torn from the diary.

³ Fisher had gone to Wilkes-Barre to bring an ejectment on the Hazleton Coal Company mortgage. *Diary*, Nov. 16 and 19, 1843.

beautiful, the country well cultivated & the cars sufficiently comfortable. There are one or two views very striking, particularly the bend in the river just before reaching Reading, and indeed all the Schuylkill scenery. Pottsville itself is merely a little village in the gap of the mountains supported wholly by the coal trade & railroad. After a good dinner, left it at 2 o'clock to cross the mountains, and at one o'clock at night, tho the distance is only 28 miles, arrived at Catawissa. The first 12 miles was performed in a comfortable four horse coach with three or four passengers, & tho the pace was slow & the country uninteresting, except that now & then there was a fine view from the side of the mountain, we got on well enough. But at 7 o'clock, I was put into another stage, a mere wagon with a top & curtains that flapped in the wind, with two horses. In this machine I travelled, alone, at a dead walk—about 2 miles an hour—the 16 miles to Catawissa. It was very tedious, and very cold. The weather thro the day had been delightful, but the mountain air at night was keen, there was no exercise at the slow rate I was moving, and tho I was warmly clothed & borrowed a buffalo skin by the way side, I suffered very much and arrived at the tavern half frozen. There I found a glowing coal stove in the bar-room, & when I went to my chamber, rejoiced for the first time in my life over cotton sheets & a featherbed.

A sound sleep restored all my vigour, and the next morning, being told that the stage did not start till 4 o'clock in the afternoon, that it was just such a vehicle as I had travelled in the night before, & that it did not reach Wilkesbarre till breakfast time the next day, I hired a comfortable wagon to take me on. It was driven by the owner, a respectable, intelligent man, and we had a stout, active pair of horses. The distance is about 60 miles. Started at 8½ and arrived about 7 in the evening. Do not remember to have had a more agreeable drive. The weather was favorable, not cold and there were just clouds enough in the sky to throw a chequered shade over the landscape; the road follows the windings of the river all the way and the scenery of the Susquehanna, new to me, is unsurpassed by any I ever looked on. It is wild, varied, picturesque & beautiful. The mountains rise on either hand, steep—craggy, bold & diversified in their forms; sometimes they approach the shore, but generally recede from it for one or two miles, leaving a broad strip of rich, undulating land be-

tween them and the river. This is highly cultivated. The river itself is studded with wooded islands and its banks are lined with groves of fine trees. My companion was very talkative & well acquainted with the country & gave me information about the farms & the people. The land is worth about \$80 in the valley, is well cultivated & inhabited by a substantial German population. This was evident enough in the language, sturdy forms & jolly faces of the people I met, & in the large barns, fine draught horses, & good farming everywhere to be seen. The pride of a German farmer is in his immense barn, rich grain fields & team of large, fat, powerful Conestoga wagon horses. Did not enter the Wyoming Valley till dark and as I left it before daylight, saw but little of its beauties. Was much struck by the view of the river at the ferry, about 9 miles from Wilkes-Barre. It is shut in by an island on one side & by the mountains at one of its many windings on the other, & looks like a clear & limpid lake.

Went to Gilchrist's hotel, a very good one on the river, and after supper sent my letters of introduction with a note to Mr. McClintock,⁴ the lawyer I was recommended to employ. He came round to see me, and I was glad to find him intelligent, gentlemanlike & well informed. Very unlike the specimens of county court lawyers I have heretofore seen. We talked over the business. He said there would be no difficulty in bringing the ejectment, and no practical obstacles, as there are no legal ones, to success. That the juries may be depended on as the population of the valley is very good, composed of Yankees & Germans, and that the judge is a person of character & intelligence. Spent the next morning with him, looking over papers & the records & went to court for a few minutes. The scene there was rather worse than our Common Pleas, which is bad enough. A miserable room, the furniture of the commonest kind, the crowd coarse & dirty looking, the lawyers vulgar & shabby, the Judge, respectable in his appearance & a fine head & face, but sitting with his feet cocked up à l'Americain over the bar, and almost every individual in the room chewing tobacco. Such an incessant spitting I never heard. It was positively nauseating, & I thought that to sit out a long trial in such a place, in the summer, would be a job that would require patience and a good fee to get thro with. The case will probably be tried in August.

⁴ Andrew McClintock (1810-1892). H. C. Bradsby, *History of Luzerne County, Pennsylvania* (Chicago, 1893), 1127-1128.

After leaving McClintock, the business being concluded by my giving him a retainer of \$100, walked about the village and to the top of a hill behind it, which commands a fine view of the valley. A broad stretch of level & undulating ground is seen spread out beneath, with the mountains rising in the distance. It is diversified by masses of heavy wood, by the thickly scattered & substantial homesteads of the thriving farmers and by the river which flows in serpentine windings & forms with its numerous islands a striking & beautiful feature in the scene. The valley is about 18 miles in length & from 3 to 4 miles broad. The land is very rich & well cultivated, being worth \$100 per acre. The hills & mountains abound in coal, iron, stone & timber, whilst a rail-road & a canal afford the means of reaching a market. One can scarcely imagine a spot more favored by nature. The inhabitants for the most part are solid, prosperous farmers, the descendants of German or New England settlers, & are said to be an excellent population. I should judge so from every indication that I saw. An air of abundance, of rude comfort is visible in every direction & no appearance whatever of poverty & destitution. Comfortable stone houses, large barns, rich fields, well-fed domestic animals, & hearty, cheerful, well-clad people, who look as if they had plenty of the good things of life, meet the eye at every turn. Everybody seems well off & improving in his condition. The coal & iron alone would make the place rich & in addition to these they have a fertile soil lying conveniently for improvement. The price of wheat at Wilkesbarre is higher than in Philad.; the demand being greater than the valley can supply, so large a number are occupied by the business connected with coal & iron. Never before fully appreciated the immense resources & present wealth which Penna. possesses in these two articles. This is truly a great state. With such soil & climate & with these inexhaustible mineral treasures, if also blessed with a good government & an intelligent population, what a high pitch of prosperity, what a career of calm, uninterrupted happiness might we expect. . . .

Not wishing to encounter another journey from Catawissa to Pottsville, & willing to vary the scene by going over a country which I had not visited for some years, I determined to come home by the Nazareth route. Left Wilkes Barre at 4 o'clock on Saturday morning, in a good 4 horse coach, with 3 other passengers. Missed the view of

the valley from the mountain, which is celebrated, as we passed it in the dark. Must not omit honorable mention of a breakfast at Mrs. Wagners, 14 miles from Wilkes-Barre, a noted house, one of those clean, small, comfortable inns sometimes yet met with in the country. The long drive & cold mountain air made her neat parlor and glowing coal fire right welcome whilst it imparted a keen relish to the venison steaks, buckwheat cakes & strong hot coffee which covered the nice breakfast table. Mrs. Wagner is a tidy, hale, well-looking Dutch matron, whose goodnatured countenance, clean dress, brisk movements & hearty manner give promise of good housewifery & generous cheer. Venison is very abundant thro that country. It sells for 6 cts pr pound. We had it three times a day at Wilkes Barre and I saw a great many deer in wagons on the road.

The road to Nazareth is tedious. We went slowly, as it is over the mountains. The scenery is monotonous, except when now & then you catch a view over the distant country, which is rare. Noticed but one, from the Pocano, which is remarkable. For the most part you look out on either side on mountains or table land covered with the everlasting yellow pine & scrub oak. There is scarcely any cultivation, except here & there the log hut & little clearing of the forest farmer. On the streams are saw mills, with the cluster of houses which the lumber trade produces & supports, generally well built & comfortable. The few inhabitants seem to live in great plenty, & are much less rough & uncouth than I expected. We got to Nazareth at 7 oclock. The tavern not very good, but bearable & the people very civil & obliging, as indeed I found them everywhere. This & Bethlehem are Moravian settlements, a thriving, industrious, worthy German population. The next morning started at 5. Breakfasted at Bethlehem, 10 miles, at a good house. From this place to town enjoyed the drive very much. The country is beautiful, and the road passes thro a succession of noble farms which filled me with delight. They are certainly the best farms I ever saw. Had no idea there were such in Penna. The fields & fences in beautiful order, the barns magnificent, the houses, always of stone, comfortable, substantial, neat, placed back from the road & generally surrounded by trees & shrubbery. Some of them are handsome residences, exhibiting in their style & in the grounds wealth & taste. The country has vastly improved since I saw it before. Wealth has increased, the old people who made it by

hard work & frugality have disappeared & their habits have gone with them; a new generation has taken their place with more liberal views, more cultivated minds and larger means, the log house has given way to the stone mansion & the garden & little lawn usurp the ground formerly occupied by the barnyard, the pig-stye & the cabbage bed. Nearly all the houses look as if built within the last 8 or 10 years, & it is that long since I passed thro the country. The land is rich, well wooded & watered, & with that undulating surface which a farmer loves. It is not broken by sharp hills, nor is it level, but rises & falls in every direction in long swells, which produce effectual drainage, give great variety to the scenery and ample scope and verge enough for the plough. As you approach the city the farms are of smaller size, the cultivation more complete, the buildings more expensive & in better taste. The country within 6 or 8 miles of Chestnut Hill is much superior to the rest. The circle of improvement, however, around every centre of population and business widens every year, and before very long, if demagogues, mobs and legislatures permit it, will embrace every rich valley & fertile plain in Pennsylvania.

Got home at 7 o'clock, after a very agreeable journey in which I had the enjoyment of seeing a beautiful country, of gaining some new ideas and of five days constant exercise in the open air. I prefer travelling in a stage to rail-road or steam boat. The motion is varied, now jolting, now smooth, now up hill, now down, now fast, now slow. There are more incidents. The change of passengers, of drivers & horses; the stoppings at the country inns, where you see new faces & groups & a thousand indications of the character of the people, all interest & occupy the mind. It affords a far better opportunity to see the country & the scenery, for a rail-road pursues the most level course & instead of mounting hills cuts thro them. A coach is also more social. The journey is enlivened by conversation, and your interest and attention are awakened by the collision of ideas, the varieties of manner & exhibitions of character. You also get information about the country thro which you are passing. In a rail car or on a steam-boat, no one speaks to another. You might as well speak to the people you meet in the street. You go at the same monotonous, rapid pace, & pass thro a country without half seeing it or having the means of acquiring any knowledge of its population. All the pas-

sengers I met were very sociable, civil & obliging, & I was more than once struck with indications of thought & good feeling in persons from whose appearance I should have expected neither. Indeed I was greatly pleased to witness a marked improvement in the manners of the people since I was last in the interior. Every one I met was civil, gracious and obliging without exception; whereas formerly surly tavern keepers, savage drivers, rude clowns were expected of course everywhere. We are certainly improving. It is evident in everything I saw, & the people say so themselves. Those with whom I conversed ascribe it to the diffusion of education by means of the public schools & to the reformation produced by the temperance movement. The old Dutch farmers who opposed the schools because of the taxes to support them, now send their children, to get, as they say, the worth of their money. I was told by every one that where formerly 50 dollars was spent at taverns for liquor, now 50 cts is not taken. I did not see a man intoxicated, or scarcely any one drink anything but water. This was very different a few years ago, as I remember. Then nearly every passenger took a dram whenever the stage stopped & drunken men were seen at every tavern. If education, more refinement, a higher morality can be engrafted on the solid, sterling qualities of the frank, hearty, honest character of our German population, we may do well yet and the evil hour be indefinitely postponed, or placed so far in the future that the dread of it will not cloud the enjoyment of the present.

December 4, 1843 Had a long talk with [Henry] over my affairs, which are gloomy enough—that is, my income is now so small that I must exert myself to increase it. No great misfortune some would think, but to me a very serious thing. The idea of being obliged to work is horrible. It is to me a change of all the habits & feelings of my mind & life & involves an abandonment of my cherished tastes & the bias of my mind. But the thing is as it is. I cannot safely calculate on more than \$1500 from my property for the next two or three years. I cannot live in my present manner for less than 2000 or 2300. The difference must be made up by work, if work is to be got. I think I can do it, but to be obliged to do it is bitter. So different from my hopes & expectations. I detest business in all its forms, and am unfit to mix in the stir & struggles of the world. Entire freedom & independence are essential to my happiness, and

I have enjoyed both so long that it is difficult to convince myself that they are mine no longer. Yet there are the figures. Arithmetic is a very imperative thing, and at least clears up all doubt. Henry is the best friend & brother in the world, but he does not understand me. Activity is his natural element, he is successful & enjoys his success & his efforts. He cannot conceive why I should dislike or be incapable of the same kind of exertion. His talents are eminently practical, mine, if I have any, speculative. He lives in the external world of reality, I in the inner world of thought.

December 5, 1843 Went up at 5½ to Henry's where Robert Walsh⁵ had been dining. He returned some weeks ago from Rio, where he has spent the last three years as secretary of legation. He likes the place very much and seems happier than I ever saw him. He is full of talk & laughter as usual & expects to return to Rio in Jany.

Went at 9 to a concert given by Madame Cinti Damoureaux & Mons. Artot,⁶ the first an eminent singer & prima donna from Paris, the last a celebrated violinist also from Paris. Was delighted with Madame. Her voice is soft, liquid clear, & exhibits wonderful cultivation. Artot's execution on the violin is also very fine. A love of music has grown up in this country within the last few years, and the artists of Europe find it a profitable field of operations. We have now three celebrated violinists here, just arrived—Artot, Vieuxtemps,⁷ and most famous of all Ole Bull, who has been delighting and astonishing the Parisians and is considered almost equal to Paganini.

December 17, 1843 Since the 5th have been very busy with green bag business, as we call it. It has brought me into Court several times, and I have the satisfaction to think that I conducted it respectably, was successful, and shall get some money for it. I find the three or four cases I have give me a good deal of occupation and that the excitement is rather agreeable than otherwise. I find also that I transact it with ease and confidence in myself. I made the other day before the Court the longest professional speech I have yet made, without even notes, and found that I was without the least

⁵ Robert M. Walsh.

⁶ Mme. Cinti Damoureaux, "prima donna from the Grand Opera of Paris, the Italian Opera, and the Opera Comique," and M. Joseph Artot presented their "Second and Last Grand Vocal and Instrumental Concert" at Musical Fund Hall on Dec. 5, 1843. *United States Gazette*, Dec. 5, 1843.

⁷ Henri Vieuxtemps.

embarrassment and capable of expressing my ideas clearly & fluently. . . . I have always been quite sure that I possessed enough of the faculty of public speaking to make me successful in those duties of the profession where its exercise is required. But I am deficient in legal knowledge and in habits of business. These however I can acquire, since it is necessary that I should do so. . . .

Went on Tuesday to a large dinner at Wilcocks' for the Wadsworths. Very handsome & profuse. Sat next to Mary Waln who is pretty & agreeable & got on very well. Went to hear Ole Bull.⁸ His performance is certainly very wonderful. Never heard such tones from the violin. They are totally free from the scraping which other performers cannot avoid, and resemble the clear whistle of birds, the wailing of winds, the rustling of leaves and the human voice. His execution fills you with amazement. The notes stream as if spontaneously from the instrument in a liquid flow of melody or seem to fly like sparks of fire from the strings. Of course I am not able to appreciate his skill or the difficulties which, without apparent effort, he overcomes, and the mere exhibition of these unaccompanied by music that I can understand, tho it astonished, gave me no very high enjoyment. I should be delighted to hear him play some fine airs from the operas. . . .

Today was invited to a family dinner at Mr. Powell's.⁹ His friend Dr. Thomas from Elk Ridge in Maryland there, a dull man. Powell however is agreeable. He is impulsive, a gentleman, an easy & fluent talker and has seen a great deal of society in Europe of the highest kind. He is living at the Marshall house,¹⁰ which belongs to him, & which as he cannot rent he occupies himself. It is an immense establishment & he does not use a fourth of it. His rooms are very comfortable & handsomely furnished, the dinner excellent & admirably served by French servants. Spent the afternoon agreeably, & afterwards the evening at Henry's. Talked over our affairs. He has made

⁸ Ole Bull, the noted Norwegian violinist, gave his "Farewell Concert" in Musical Fund Hall on Dec. 16, 1843. The *United States Gazette* on Dec. 18 described his concert as "one of the most signal musical triumphs ever achieved in Philadelphia. . . . There is more in Bull's violin than is dreamed of in common philosophy." Earlier in the month, Bull had made several "last appearances" at the Chestnut Street Theater; he was the intermission feature on the night of Dec. 9.

⁹ John Hare Powell.

¹⁰ The Marshall House, at Chestnut and Seventh sts., was formerly a hotel.

this year \$25,000, and is worth now \$60,000. Two years ago he was not worth \$10,000 besides his farm & then had only \$6,000 of active capital to work with. A great result certainly & for which he deserves great credit. He will probably make \$10,000 next year. My fear is that he will become too much absorbed in these things & grow up a mere business man. Fortune is a fine thing, but is dearly purchased by the sacrifice of mental cultivation and the devotion of the whole mind to money getting.

December 29, 1843 On Christmas day, in the morning, paid some visits at houses where I am intimate & where I always go on Christmas. Dined with Henry as I have done on that day since his marriage. The children were in great excitement over their toys of which they had a great number. I sent Em a hobby horse with a side saddle, with which she was delighted. During dinner she sat on it, riding away in high glee, a picture of childish grace. . . . Today went out with Fisher & his wife to a family dinner at 2 o'clock at Wakefield.¹¹ . . . The dinner was good and properly tho simply served, the house is comfortable, the place beautiful and their manners tho plain & quakerlike are cordial, kind & by no means *vulgar*. Far superior in this to those of much of the flashy society in town and for this reason, that the family is, in position, fortune & education, what they have been all their lives & what their fathers were before them. They live on the estate which they *inherited*, & the furniture of the house, plain compared with modern luxury, belonged to those who lived there before them. They are not *parvenues*, & this one thing gives a man qualities which *nothing* else can. I always feel socially superior to a man who is not a gentleman by *birth*, and I never yet saw one who had *risen* to a higher position, whose mind and character as well as his manners did not show the taint of his origin. Early impressions are too powerful to be removed by the influences of after life. "Just as the twig is bent the tree's inclined." I have the satisfaction of knowing that tho my family is now neither so rich nor so influential as it once was, I come on both sides from good blood, and that my ancestors, as far back as the first settlement of the country, have held respectable, some of them eminent positions

¹¹ Fisher was Joshua Francis Fisher, a first cousin of S. G. Fisher's. Wakefield, the estate of William Logan Fisher, S. G. Fisher's uncle, was located at Fisher's Lane on the Germantown Road.

in the best society in their time. This is as much as any one can say here. My maternal ancestors were all of them, including Joshua George, the first of the family who came to the country, and he came in the time of Lord Baltimore, gentlemen of education & fortune. On my father's side, the Logans had for their founder James Logan, the friend & companion of Wm. Penn, his secretary & in his absence his representative. The Fishers also have been for several generations eminent & wealthy merchants & the first who came was described by one of his immediate descendants as a man of "good estate." So that, altho I have no great reason for boasting on the subject, I have a right to consider that "I am a gentleman"—tho a poor one.

January 7, 1844 As to how I have spent the time since I last wrote here—business, reading & society have occupied me as usual. On Saturday Dec: 30, dined with McCall, a large party & handsome dinner. Judge Rogers, Tom Cadwalader of Trenton, John Cadwalader, Peter, the British consul,¹² Henry Gilpin &c &c there. The conversation was animated and at the close the discussion of certain topics rather too warm. The eternal subjects democracy & the influence of American institutions were introduced. I expressed my opinions very freely, as I always do. Jno. Cadwalader & others opposed them. . . . When Peter went, the two Cadwaladers & McCall attacked me for having spoken so openly in censure of the institutions of the country before a foreigner, saying that he would no doubt write home that the feelings of the intelligent portion of the community here were opposed to the Government, that in case of a war this might have an injurious effect &c &c. My reply was that I believed it to be true, that a large proportion of the educated men in the country were opposed to democracy & its influences, considered that all the evil we suffer & none of the good we enjoy were ascribable to it, and that the experiment of self-government had already signally failed in producing any of the higher and more desirable results of civilization. That I was convinced of this not only from my own observation, but that I had heard intelligent foreigners, who had the means of judging from extensive intercourse with the best society in all parts of the country, express the same opinion. That there was a great difference between abusing one's country & discussing the nature and operation of its peculiar form of government, regarding

¹² William Peter (1788-1853) was British Consul in Philadelphia from 1840 to 1853.

these objects of scientific and philosophic observation & argument. That to lament the prevalence of existing evils & to endeavor to ascertain the true causes was not proof of want of patriotism but the reverse, that if such topics could not be introduced & freely discussed in private circles in the presence of enlightened foreigners, much mutual advantage and instruction would thereby be lost, and the freedom, ease, confidence and enjoyment of social intercourse greatly diminished. That foreigners came here to acquire knowledge, that we also might acquire much from them, but that this could only be done by an open & frank expression on both sides of opinions & impressions, and that the only object worthy a rational mind was the discovery of truth on any subject, not the support of any particular system or doctrine. Their notions however were very different. They seemed to regard every foreigner as a spy or an enemy, and I had the satisfaction of bringing them to the point of asserting that in the presence of any one not a "naturalized citizen," it was the duty of an American to defend and praise everything in the country or its institutions or the conduct of the government—or be silent.

February 18, 1844 The ball at Binney's was very pleasant. Not crowded, well lighted & select. Have not enjoyed a party so much this winter. Mr. Binney has just returned from Washington, covered with laurels from his triumphant argument in the great Girard will case.¹³ His speech is said to have been the greatest made in that Court for many years, distinguished for learning, thought & eloquence. He has given up the Courts for a long time, but this case tempted him once more to resume his weapons & he has proved that disuse had not weakened his arm or diminished his skill. His character & talents are certainly very remarkable and his career has been eminently prosperous & successful. But he excites in me no strong admiration. He wants imagination, enthusiasm, soul. There is

¹³ In 1836, five years after Stephen Girard's death, his French relatives brought suit against the City of Philadelphia to have his will set aside. The bulk of Girard's \$6,000,000 estate had been left to the city for the founding of a college for orphaned boys. After the court decided for the city, an appeal was made to the U. S. Supreme Court and was argued in 1844. Daniel Webster represented the suing Girard heirs; Horace Binney, assisting John Sergeant, came out of retirement at the age of sixty-three to represent brilliantly the City of Philadelphia. Chief Justice Joseph Story handed down a unanimous decision upholding Girard's will in a case which attracted nation-wide attention. Binney not only distinguished himself personally, but he both clarified and underlined the significance of the law as it affected charities. C. A. Herrick, *Stephen Girard, Founder* (Philadelphia, 1923), 147-154.

nothing in him allied to genius. His mind is clear, sound, acute, highly trained; his learning extensive and accurate; his character calm, firm, decided, prudent, cautious and cold. He wants impulsiveness, enlarged sympathies, quick feelings. He is haughty, distant, proud. He therefore excites no feeling in others. He is respected and admired, but not loved & he has no friends. He looked very well at the ball however, somewhat broken by age but still eminently handsome and was very gracious & animated. He danced in the last cotillion with much grace & good humor.

February 25, 1844 . . . Lent commenced on Wednesday, which puts a stop to all parties for six weeks, and I am not sorry for it.

February 28, 1844 Last eveng went to a meeting of the Com: appointed by the meeting on the 21st about the public debt, as I am a member of it. Was made secretary. A bill has within a few days been reported to the legislature, providing a very ample scheme of taxation to sustain the faith & credit of the state without selling the public works. They say the chances are in favor of its being passed. Tho this measure may not be all that we would desire, any plan likely to effect the great object of paying the interest should receive the support of all who desire to see the faith of the state redeemed. As I thought that any action which should suggest a remedy different from that contained in this bill might jeopard its passage, I proposed that for the present the committee confine its efforts to the promotion of its enactment, which was agreed to. We resolved that by means of essays in the newspapers we would each endeavor to press upon the legislature and the public the propriety & expediency of this law. Gilpin & Kane,¹⁴ both Democrats, were present, and I was surprised and pleased to see the zeal they exhibited and the willingness they expressed to exert themselves in a project about which I expected to find them lukewarm or indifferent. From the opinions they expressed, both being leading party men, and the statements they made in relation to the feeling in Harrisburgh & among the people, I think the prospect of a settlement of this difficult subject is very encouraging. The Bill reported however proposes very heavy taxation, and whether it will pass—or if passed, whether the taxes can be collected under it—I think very doubtful. Still I cannot help thinking that public opinion will demand that the debt be provided

¹⁴ Henry D. Gilpin and John K. Kane, lawyers.

for, that the credit & character of the state be restored. People are beginning to understand now that the baneful effects of dishonesty, of a public breach of faith, of a state of fraudulent bankruptcy are over-spreading all interests and all business. That property is declining in value, that capital & enterprize are leaving the state, that want of confidence and languor are pervading the community. Efforts will be made, are making, to strengthen and extend the feeling on this subject, and thus to act upon the legislature. So that, should the present bill not pass, other measures will be presented to this or the next legislature to effect the same object. Among these, the sale of the public works and a suspension of the school fund are the most prominent and most hopeful. By these two alone, the sum required to be raised by taxation to pay the interest on the debt would be reduced to one third of its present amt. Should the bill pass, the public would probably require the adoption of these measures hereafter to reduce the burden of taxation.

Yesterday morning Nicholas Biddle died. The event created some sensation, very slight however compared to that which it would have produced a few years ago. There have been few instances of a more complete reverse of fortune. I was never among those who praised him or admired him extravagantly in his prosperity, and I think now that the censure, the abuse, the hatred which accompanied his downfall were quite excessive and unmerited as the fulsome adulation which was offered to him by the whole community during the period of his power.

There was some reason, however, apart from himself, for both. When the Bank was in prosperous & successful action, Mr. Biddle represented the money power of the country; he wielded millions and the influence which they command. He dispensed fortune's favors to thousands of her votaries, immense interests were influenced by his measures & depended on his word, he was the personation of the Almighty Dollar and as such the subject of universal worship. He was also associated with the political feelings of a large & enthusiastic party. The Bank had been the great subject of partizan conflict for years. Mr. Biddle gave its influence to the party opposed to the administration. His name was identified with its struggles, and the manner in which he conducted the contest gained for him the enthusiastic admiration and applause of his party during a period of great

and general excitement. These causes, combined with his personal qualities, his manners, talents, varied accomplishments and the triumphant success which appeared for a long time to attend all his measures, gave him a degree of influence & popularity among the monied & educated classes equalled only by that of Genl. Jackson with the populace. He was the Bank—the board of Directors was a mere form—he governed the Institution absolutely & avowedly and possessed therefor personally all its immense power during a period of wild & unexampled speculation and activity. How he was followed, praised, worshipped, can scarcely be conceived by those who did not witness the scenes in which he was an actor.

I saw but little except that which was exhibited in society. Wherever he appeared there was a sensation and a crowd immediately formed around him. His manner was gracious, smiling, easy, gentlemanlike, a little condescending & exhibited supreme self-satisfaction & elation. His conversation was ready, fluent, elegant & witty. His language was always choice & happy, and without being raised above the conversational tone, without approaching the vile habit of haranguing, flowed in free, sparkling & harmonious periods. His figure was short, round & fat, yet his carriage was erect & not ungraceful and his head and face were stamped with the marks of character and intellect. His features were regular & chiselled, his mouth remarkable for beauty and expression, his eye grey, full and beaming. He wore his hair very long, hanging around his face in silken curls and he was very neat & recherché in his dress.

Whilst he was in the Bank he kept two establishments, always open with a full equipment of furniture, servants, horses, etc., one in town in Spruce St. above 7th and one at Andalusia, his seat on the Delaware near Bristol.¹⁵ His income then was very large & his expenditure lavish.

In the midst of this career of prosperity came the financial embarrassments of the Bank and of the country, speedily followed by the wreck of the institution & as a consequence, by a general destruction of private fortunes & universal prostration of business. The vast operations & extensive connections of the Bank, which in the

¹⁵ Biddle's town house at 715 Spruce St. is now the home of the American Catholic Historical Society. Andalusia, Biddle's country-seat, has remained in the family and is the residence of Charles J. Biddle, Esq.

day of its success had been the cause of Mr. Biddle's power & popularity, now that its downfall carried ruin as extensive as its influence, became the source of the storm of indignation and abuse which was raised against him. He as the sole guide & governor of the Bank had reaped the full harvest of fame & power which its successful management had produced, and he was also held accountable for all the evils & disasters which accompanied its fall. Multitudes were to be found in every part of the country who had been injured directly or remotely by its failure. The nation was covered by the wrecks of fortune and of business, some produced by the Bank, many more by general causes which swept thro the community & with which the Bank had nothing to do, but all were ascribed to Mr. Biddle in the undistinguishing fury of the sufferers and the public. The triumphs of party malignity helped to swell the chorus of obloquy. The great object of democratic hatred had fallen, the "monster" had verified the predictions of its enemies, it had ended in bankruptcy & ruin, its corruptions & abuses were now exposed in open day. The arch enemy of "the party," of "the people," had met with a deserved fate. His true character was now brought to light with all his tricks and intrigues, together with the frauds, speculations, extravagance & luxury of the money mongers and gamblers, the mushroom "aristocracy" with whom he was connected.

These were fruitful topics & a golden opportunity, and demagogues & democratic presses neglected neither. Old associations & the prestige of former reputation & respect lingered for a time among the superior classes, particularly among those who had known Mr. Biddle in social life, tho these were among the greatest sufferers. But investigation of the records of the Bank followed. Extraordinary developments were made. Enormous corruption, extensive frauds, wild & reckless speculation, favoritism, bribery were said to be found on every page. Such reports produced their effects, even upon private circles of which Mr. Biddle had been the delight & ornament, upon the friends & companions of his youth. He was avoided in society, his name was mentioned with contempt & execration, many cut him & refused to speak to him in the street.

Then came the criminal charge, the trial in the public court with all its degrading, and as it was conducted, disgraceful details. The community called loudly for his punishment. He was committed for

trial by Vaux,¹⁶ the recorder, a silly, extravagant, violent radical & *mob pet*, the son of the man whom Mr. Biddle had persecuted, and who gloated over his downfall with all the rapture of gratified revenge. The prosecution was conducted by St. Geo: Campbell & by Brewster.¹⁷ The first, a young man, whose mother's name had been connected with Mr. Biddle's in a manner highly discreditable to herself & as the world thought & thinks not without cause, the last a man perfectly infamous at the bar, a blackguard in every sense, degraded & stained by every vice. He was saved from a trial by jury by either the firmness or the venality of the Court who sustained a technical objection. It was believed at the time that both the judge, Conrad,¹⁸ & the attorney general were bribed. The bad character of each, together with other circumstances, gave great reason to suspect that such was the case. Be that as it may, that the case did not come before a jury was certainly most fortunate for Mr. Biddle and for the community. Nothing like justice could have been had, nothing approaching to a fair trial, in the excited state of the public mind. It would have been a mere piece of Lynch Law. It would also have been a most dangerous precedent to convert a fraudulent breach of trust, if such were committed, into a criminal offence. Besides this, his punishment, had he been guilty even of all the charges made against him, was already sufficiently severe, far more severe than all the penalties of the law could have been to him, far more than they ever are to those to whom they are usually applied. The educated, the refined, the superior spirits of the world are not governed by the terrors of the Law, nor do they find its judgments their true punishment when tempted into crime. Remorse, the stings of conscience, the sense of degradation, loss of reputation, of position, of the respect and esteem of society, of the regard of friends, of hope for the future and regret for the past—these are their fitting punishment, and the securities, next to a sense of honor & virtue, for rectitude of conduct. Mr. Biddle in prison would have been a revolting spectacle, and when the first excitement was over, every one would have felt it such, except the rabble & its tribunes who ever exult over the misfortunes of the eminent.

¹⁶ Richard Vaux (1816-1895), lawyer and penologist.

¹⁷ Francis E. Brewster.

¹⁸ Robert T. Conrad (1810-1858), jurist, journalist, and dramatist.

The superiority of Biddle's character was made evident during these trying scenes. He had always been noted for courage and firmness, for calmness & self-possession. "Calm as a summer morning" became a phrase from having been first applied to him during the excitements of the contest between the Bank & the administration. The serenity & courage which he exhibited during the struggles of his successful ambition did not desert him in the hour of his adversity. He was seen constantly in the streets, with his usual cheerful, easy look & manner, tho he was the object to which every eye was turned, tho he met nothing but cold & altered looks, angry glances, muttered execrations & sometimes actual insult & knew himself the topic of every group. When the Bank stopped payment, and crowds were collected around it, and the public were expecting the mob to attack it every moment, he walked quietly thro the throng with the unconcerned air of a stranger, tho he risked his life by doing so. He nevertheless felt the loss of reputation very deeply. After a time he retired to Andalusia & was seldom seen in town. When the storm had somewhat subsided he endeavored to bring his name favorably before the public by writing, with his usual elegance, several essays on the public debt of Pennsylvania. They attracted but little attention. The community was not yet ready for the calm discussion of the subject, and it was thought to come with a bad grace from one whose own schemes and operations were regarded as the chief cause of the financial difficulties from which the country was suffering.

It is said he looked forward to further efforts of a similar kind, determined if possible to regain something of his lost position and by exerting his talents in the service of the country to wipe away the stains upon his name. But his health gave way. For a year past, the disease of which he died, an affection of the heart I believe, had been gaining ground, aggravated by the mental tortures which he endured. His death had been expected for some weeks, and they say it was one of intense suffering when it came. He felt, it is said, the desertion of his friends, the ingratitude of the many whom he had served & benefitted, the persecution of those who had been his most servile flatterers, who had acted with him and applauded all his schemes, more keenly than the abuse and indignation of the multitude. The persons whom he had most signally befriended, who owed to him their wealth or their escape from ruin & those who had been his

most ready tools & abject flatterers, were loudest in condemnation when the tide turned. One person, Jno. A. Brown, now worth a million, but for the timely aid of Mr. Biddle would have been a bankrupt, has since been his bitterest enemy.

Perhaps the time has not yet arrived when Mr. Biddle can be fairly judged. The misfortunes connected with the Bank are too recent, the feelings excited yet too sensitive to permit a calm & impartial estimate of his conduct. The language however of informed persons has become much more moderate. It is now generally conceded that many of the disasters of the last 3 or 4 years are attributable to general causes, which in a great measure destroyed the Bank itself. That the determined hostility of the government was the origin of that series of events which involved the Bank and all the Banks & all the business of the country in a vortex of speculation & overtrading, the result of which was necessarily embarrassment, confusion & ruin. That most of the unwise & censurable acts of Mr. Biddle grew out of the attempt to obtain a charter from a corrupt and grasping legislature, and that had the institution remained a National Bank, the disastrous scenes which followed the removal of the deposits and the Pennsylvania Charter would have been avoided & it would at this moment have been solvent and safe.

The many charges against him have now settled down to two—the cotton operation & the missing \$400,000, which he was accused of embezzling. As to the first, it failed. Had it been successful, it would have been applauded as a brilliant piece of financeering. It was wrong certainly, strictly considered. But it was done with a good object, it was ingenious in itself, it performed part of the good intended which could have been accomplished in no other manner, and Mr. Biddle's conduct in relation to it admits of a very fair defence. The \$400,000 it is now understood were taken to bribe the legislature, to buy up demagogues & politicians. This is certainly immoral, criminal, but it is a very different thing from embezzlement for private advantage. It was an act growing out of the detestable corruptions of our government. To obtain a state charter for the Bank was regarded as a thing most important to the business of the city & the state. It was perfectly well understood at the time that there was but one way to get it from a democratic legislature. The means to be employed were the common topic in certain circles. No one doubted that money was

used, no one objected to such a mode of operation at the time. If a meeting of stockholders & of merchants had been called & the question had been put whether the legislature should be bought or the charter lost, they would have voted for the bribery by acclamation. But an act has a very different aspect often when viewed at different times & under different circumstances.

Regarded however in its most favorable light the course of the Bank from the time of its contest with the government till its failure was indefensible. It certainly injured the moral tone of the country. By entering the field as a partizan, by using its immense influence in controlling elections, by favoritism to leading public men, by buying up journals, by corrupt influence with legislatures, by encouraging the spirit of speculation, by large & partial loans, it contributed much towards producing the universal embarrassment, the frauds, the degraded tone of public feeling, the excesses of party spirit, the derangement of the currency and the wide-spread distress which covered the country at the period of its fall. How far Mr. Biddle was individually chargeable with these faults & their results it is not easy to determine. He was probably carried away by the general spirit of the community & the irresistible course of events. He had unscrupulous enemies & was obliged to fight with their own weapons. That he acted unwisely, that his imagination was excited by the career of prosperity which he was running, by the adulation which he received, by the power which he acquired & that he was led into visionary schemes of ambition I can well imagine, but without better proof than has been afforded, I cannot believe that he was guilty of any acts of personal dishonesty.

Tho he did not deserve to be called a *great* man, yet he had more of the elements of greatness & of the qualities allied to genius than any other prominent man in this city, or Webster excepted, in this country, now living. His views were expansive & liberal, his intellect clear, comprehensive, acute & highly cultivated, his accomplishments varied and elegant, his taste just & refined. His life was active & fruitful, always seeking & achieving results. But money mongering, financeering, was not his true & congenial sphere. The pitch of his nature was above it, he was too imaginative, too fond of generalizing, too excitable, to give the minute attention to details upon which business depends. Therefore he failed. His schemes were visionary,

not founded on reality, & too grand to be accomplished by even the immense power which he wielded. Had he been more practical, more cold, dry, common place, had his mind been inferior to what it was & without some of its brightest & highest qualities his defeat & discomfiture would not have happened or would have been less signal & disastrous.

As an author, a statesman, or even a lawyer, his talents would have found more congenial employment and his course tho less brilliant perhaps, would have led to better fortunes and to a purer and more durable fame.

John Lewis Reports the Centennial

JOHN LEWIS was an Englishman long resident in New York, where he worked for George Clark, Wholesale Grocers. From time to time he wrote to his brother in England, describing the American scene and reporting signal events. Two letters written in 1876 contain impressions of Philadelphia, a city he apparently never visited—although his son lived there¹—until just before the opening of the centennial year. The first letter describes his entertainment on Christmas and New Year's; the second, begun on August 7 and finished, forty pages later, on August 13, was highlighted, fittingly enough, by an account of a major event in peacetime America—the Centennial Exhibition. Garrulous and digressive John Lewis assuredly was, but he had a keen eye for detail, a shrewd native judgment, and an often pungent manner of expressing himself.²

"I suppose," he wrote to his brother on January 20, "you are fully informed of the progress making by U S to celebrate his 100th birthday. The fun began with the regular Christmas and New Year's festivities being enlarged to a great extent. I went to Phila on Xmas eve & stayed 3 days & was pressed to stay the week out. There was nothing special then but feasting—& I did feast—had to doctor myself when I came home. But one thing calls for special mention, which, as I am writing for my nephew as well as yourself, may interest you, and that is the Christmas trees, originally from Germany and I think first introduced into England by Prince Albert, but an old custom here. Usually the trees are decorated & loaded with sweets, toys &c which are disposed of with great eclat (what's that, Willie?) & the matter ends. Not so in Phila. There all the people

¹ John Lewis's son has been tentatively identified as John A. Lewis, sculptor, who lived at 626 North Sixth St.

² The John Lewis Letters are owned by the Collection of Regional History at Cornell University. The editor has regularized punctuation, silently corrected some misspellings, and made other alterations, wherever the original text would be ambiguous or hard to comprehend.

seem to resolve themselves into children for the occasion. I may first state that the usual arrangement in this country is to have two parlours—be it a large or small house—opening to each other by sliding doors, the front being for state occasions. As *large* & fine a tree as can be accommodated being procured & set up, it is covered with every conceivable shape into which coloured & gilt paper & card can be cut, and . . . little pictures, glass balls, chains, garlands &c, anything to make a gay & imposing display. This being finished is placed mostly in the sliding door way, which allows it to be seen 2 ways. All the light possible is thrown upon it, often by reflectors, the lattice blinds thrown open, & it is open to inspection by passers by, which, as houses in Phila are only a little above the street, is an easy matter. Where the taste & industry of the owner prompts it, other attractions are added as fancy dictates. At one place I visited, an old doctor's, there was a very handsome river steamboat—perfect—3 feet long with about 50 passengers (these last small pictures cut out) all of white, coloured & gilt card. Also a beautiful fire hose carriage.

"When the show commences people go round with or without their children to see them, & frequently knock at the door to be admitted to a closer inspection, which is readily granted. I heard of one house where 75 were admitted in about 2 hours. Riding through the better class streets on the cars, the effect is novel & very fine, as every 2nd or 3rd may be exhibitors. I believe some keep it up 2 or 3 weeks. When all is over the ornaments are put away till next year, for they constantly add to them; they soon get quite a collection. The name or names of children of the family are usually blazoned in some gay way amongst the other ornaments, but it appears to be got up more for the gratification of the older than the young ones. But don't imagine that the young ones go without their candy (all sweets are candy here). The candy stores are amongst the gayest and most prosperous, & the consumption of their wares by *women* & children all the year round is enormous & is often spoken of by writers as a great national failing. If a woman goes out she must not forget a pound or at least ½ a pound of candy for baby—and herself.

"So much for Christmas. I went over one day to see the Centennial buildings—2 quite finished, the other 2 nearly so. But in consequence of the mud I could not go near them all. The land is a reddish yellow

sticky clay & was horrible, but asphalt roads were being made & an immense amount of work being done. The buildings are grand & immense; they cover about 48 acres. I was told that there were 200 buildings going up all directly connected with the exhibition, minor shows of manufacturers, women's products, offices for foreign & home commissioners &c &c. The English one is much admired but I did not go near it. It appears to be the old familiar brick & oak frame house with many gables so common in Shropshire, & the inside is said to be a marvel. Uncle Sam has also a building but there is nothing there yet except a 20-inch bore gun, and that has been carelessly left out of doors as if to tempt some one to steal it. I think the *main* building is about the same size as the London building of 1851, & that was 1800 feet long—only ours is built to stand. . . .

"Taking an excursion ticket I ran over there [*Philadelphia*] again on New Year's eve after closing store, went straight to the house of the Mayor's chief clerk, and found the fun had just commenced & about 20 present, all belonging to the family. . . . the host in wig & gown (also specs) was mounted on a well constructed 'bench' & was engaged in trying a disreputable looking 'blaggard,' Mr. Terence O'Sullivan (my son) for jilting a very prim old maid, & as nearly all the audience were called as witnesses the fun was uproarious. The prosecuting lawyer did not amount to much but defendant's counsel John Mofitt, assistant clerk & a prospective relative, was a hit in his examining of the witnesses, especially when Mrs. Bridget O'Halloran, the widdy of a husband, was called as an expert in matrimonial matters. I never enjoyed anything so much before. The trial lasted nearly 3 hours, concluding with an elaborate address for the defense, counsel quoting from decisions in Buckwheat Versus Muffins and other celebrated cases in support of his argument. . . . The prisoner being found guilty was sentenced to some ridiculous sentence which I forget. We then went down stairs to refresh, on great moulds of Ice Cream of several flavours, Jellies, Cakes, & fruits of various kinds &c &c and it was 2 o'clock before that was finished. The host then donned his wig & gown and mask & insisted on going out & around to mystify the neighbours, so we did not get home till $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3.

"Next day (New Years) we were to go at 4 o'clock to dinner—same company present. We sat down to 2 Turkeys—at least 20-pounders, with all trimmings. After that, gentlemen up stairs, ladies to the

parlour. We smoked & played cards, but hearing a great row downstairs I left as soon as I could, went down, & found that I had missed part of the fun—charades & other games. After that we had nigger minstrelsy &c by my son, Moffitt, & another young man in black faces & appropriate costumes. Black Sal also appeared & danced a jig; she puzzled me, but I afterwards learnt that she was the doctor's wife next door, a romp—nearer 50 than any other age. Moffitt then lined out Old Grimes, very solemnly, and it was as solemnly sung. Mrs. Hatfield then led in Lord Lovell. After that we had a variety of choruses & some good piano playing. Nobody waited to be asked to sing. But what astonished me was the noise—a matter of course there, but in New York it would have been perfectly shocking. Everybody went in for fun, and they had it & nobody the worse. . . . Next day (Sunday) I only attended an early Tea party, given to me as I had to leave for home, and so ended my dissipations.

"On New Year's eve at 12 o'clock we were all called out to listen to the most extraordinary noise ever heard. It had been arranged that at that hour every bell, whistle, or other instrument that would make a noise should be put into requisition. Phila is a *great* Railroad place and has many thousands of workshops—also Churches. The effect was wonderful, not loud, being scattered—rather melancholy, seeming as if some terrible disaster was occurring, such as the sacking of a great city, and the sound of a vast multitude wailing & shrieking at a distance. They welcomed the advent of the centennial year. I believe this was echoed all over the country. There were also illuminations on one or two principal streets & grotesque & masked parties paraded the streets during the day, each with a band. Give me Phila for enjoyment in a plain way—and yet the Quaker element is a very large one."

In August John Lewis was back in Philadelphia. The Centennial Exhibition was at its height, having opened in May, and its marvels were attracting thousands of visitors. After commenting on a variety of topics—the summer heat and American ways of "beating" it, food products and cookery, the cost of ice delivery, potato bugs, Custer's Last Stand and the systematic swindling of the Indians, the Brooklyn suspension bridge then being built, the great underwater blast to clear the Hell Gate channel, and the government telegraph in the West—Lewis described in revealing, if rambling, detail the exhibits

on display in Fairmount Park.³ His English perspective pointed up many features which might well have escaped an American's observation.

"I now come to the great event of year if not of the Century, the great 'Centennial,' and it may be noted that this name is generally applied to the exhibition itself. I suppose you will see occasional accounts of it, but any attempt to give an adequate account of it in a letter, would only end—as Sam Weller said of his brief love letter—in making you wish for more. As there was to be great doings everywhere, I wanted to be in New York & Phila at the same time. The former would be the best, but the latter the most interesting, as the drama was acted out there. So I went on Saturday evening & spent Sunday with the folks, having given all hands notice that I had a big job to do and must not be bothered with any women.

"I started to the grounds at 8 o'clock on Monday, reached them in $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour & worked *very* hard till 5. Next morning, the 4th, I lay off—tired. In the afternoon went visiting. Very hot, and I was chafed & my ankle⁴ shaky—afternoon—walks proposed—so I was led on & on till we got to Independence Hall—4 miles away. We got there about 8, and one of our friends, Magistrate Clark, placed us in Chief of Police office window, to see the procession & hear the immense mass of singers, sing—I forget what, & the doxology, and the new bell ring out at twelve o'clock. Well we waited till after 12 before the procession came along, and then the lights had mostly gone out & many 'bodies' had gone home. The various commissioners, Governors, *Dom Pedro*, of Brazil, &c, however kept in line, partly, perhaps, for the reason that the crowd was too dense to get out of it. I got to bed at 2 o'clock—had hard work to crawl the $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles home. Wednesday I started to the 'Cent' again & staid till 2 o'clock when I had to go and take leave, arriving at NY at 10, thoroughly 'used up.'

"As to the exhibition itself, I hardly know what to say, except that it is of course a great success—as a show and is immense. Besides the five regular buildings there are a great number of auxiliaries.

³ This letter consists of ten folios, six being devoted to miscellaneous topics, four to the Centennial Exhibition.

⁴ Mr. Lewis sprained his ankle severely in January and for eleven days lay abed with his leg raised. While convalescing he wrote the January letter excerpted above.

I do not know that I can do better than follow the course that I took. When I went to the grounds which I may state are enclosed by about 2 miles of high picket fence I paid my 50¢ at one of the numerous gates, and took each building as it came leaving the large ones till last. I enclose a list of prices paid for privileges, some of them pretty stiff. Near the gate was the fine Vienna Bakery, where for 20 cents a cup of properly made coffee & their peculiar bread was served & through glass all the process observed. Some peculiar process makes the bread & biscuit of various forms very spongy & short differing from any other. Next was burial cases, which I was *told* was fine. Next French stained glass for our new Catholic Cathedral. Next Educational, where were school apparatus, maps, books, &c &c &c from various countries. Models of schoolhouses &c. Another showed the Froebel system or Kindergarten for the very young. Then an old 'New England' log house with inmates to match—all old—and mostly historical furniture—veritable old spinning wheels at work & numberless old nic-nacs, a real affair—also the cradle that Perigrine White was rockd in—the first white child born in 'New England.' I may explain that by 'New England' is meant the present states of Vermont, New Hampshire, Maine, Massachusetts, Rhode Island & Connecticut, the real & only yankee land—peopled from the colony of 'pilgrims' who landed in 1620. In the kitchen a crowd was feasting (at 50¢ a head) on real Yankee pork & beans (you ought to try them)—New York supplied a fine article at 15¢.

"Next the 'Womens' building, containing products of womens labour from all parts of the world, silk & other looms &c—but this is a failure as by far the most valuable & interesting of *womens work* is principally shown in machinery hall and in the Main Hall—for instance in watch making, for which there are several large factories in this country, where every part—even the most delicate, are made by fine machines mostly attended by girls, and turning out beautiful work. Next the Japanese bazaar, curiously built and a little garden with Japanese plants and surrounded by a very neat bamboo fence, all very ingeniously made. There was also several of those dwarf trees, that you may have read about—50 or 100 or more years old. Oaks & others, little, crooked, gnarled & yet all healthy, and mostly about 18 to 24 inches each way. In the bazaar, natives in *our* clothes were busy selling all kinds of small ware at good prices. They have

a residence on the ground—a large house of wood, all brought from Japan & whilst it was being erected they were the centre of attraction, from their excellent work & curious tools. There is also a Turkish bazaar (small) but the pavilion is mostly used as a smoking saloon, and it was an amusing sight to see it full of fellows, mostly young, either smoking the long flexible tubed water pipes, or the long chiboucks, both 15¢, 5 feet long, & which they did not know how to handle, & trying to make believe that they were enjoying themselves, while Turkish waiters in costume were bringing eastern drinks (15 cents) & poking up the pipes. There was also a small Jerusalem tent, with olive wood work, all Catholic beads, crosses &c &c sold by sons of the prophet. A tunisian horse hair tent & bazaar, mostly shawls &c.

"Just here was a great 'institution' as a Yank would say, that puzzled me the first day. There was an open pavilion, with a large fountain with about a dozen faucets & cups around it giving the coldest of ice water. I could not make out where it came from with so much force, but next day I came there just as they were filling the tank with ice,—in the ground, where the iron pipe from the water works came, there was sunk a giant iron tank which held several tons of ice (I saw 5 or 6 go in). The water pipe ran into this and from another side a pipe led to the fountain. The ice being all in, the *air tight* cover was put on & the stopcock being turned the full force of water passed through the ice to the fountain. This is a long description, but ice water is a very important & necessary article during the hot weather, and was in fair supply in all parts of the grounds. But the numerous soda water stands in all the buildings did a roaring trade, and so did the German 'lager Bier' sellers—lager Bier is German, a pleasant refreshing real beer, but it is still an unsettled question whether or not it will intoxicate. Plenty of Germans can be found who would swear to drinking all the way up to 50 or 60 glasses a day—5¢ a glass. Of late years, Americans are large consumers.

"Now to the U S Government building. Outside are all sorts of Guns of all sizes up to the 20-in. 'Dahlgren' with a heap of its 1080 lb shot. Also a monitor turret, with 2 15-in. guns mounted, but I cannot conceive how they can work in so small a space. *Inside*, there is every conceivable instrument for scientific murder, fire arms, old and new, shot & shell, whole & sawed in two to show the interior, edged weapons, pikes, torpedoes, models of vessels and other things, cord-

age, figures with all kinds of uniforms from 1800 to the present time, the signal service with all their apparatus for observation, minerals and other products, also on large upright partitions, models of fishes found in our seas—very fine—and all coloured. Amongst other curiosities was what I had hitherto thought a myth—the stump of a tree about 5 feet high and 15 to 18 inches thick that had been cut off by musket balls, at (I think) the battle of the Wilderness. This is authentic. The most interesting thing to me was the lighthouse department. I had often wished to see a 'Fresnel' lens & could never understand why they should be so complicated & so expensive. But I can see it now. The lens is a great lantern (of course this goes inside the real lantern) which a man can—and has to—climb into, composed of a very great number of prisms of various sizes & curves of the finest glass & very heavy, & when the light is burning must multiply it many hundred times. There is also many relics here.

"The building for 'public comfort' is a place of refreshment which you call for, and it is also the only place where one can take their own provision, and if they wish buy Tea or Coffee, large Barber shop, shoeblack, write letters &c &c. The Brewers have a large building but I did not go near it, so have the Dairymen. A Newspaper advertising agent has a house—this is a large business here—they take advertisements for any number, or all the papers in the U. S. and Canada, & save a vast amount of trouble and expense. In this house was a reading room, free, and any paper asked for was brought by attendants—there is probably 20,000 papers published in the U. S.

"One large building contained printing presses, all at work. Several others, sewing machines, of different makes. One rough fancy concern showed Canadian woods—some noble trunks—A great feature of the grounds were the 'state' houses—these were of various sizes, & some of them curiosities in style & ornament, but all built with the same object, to be a sort of headquarters to the people from the various states of the Union, mostly with handsome parlours, Piano &c—and where they could register their names, meet friends or receive letters. Many of them had also specimen products to show. This was especially so of 'Kansas & Colorado,' where were shown wonderful specimens of minerals & agricultural produce, 'Corn' 20 feet high, wheat & other grains of a wonderful growth. But the principal attraction was a collection of wild animals arranged on rocks, from the Buffalo,

down to prairie dogs &c—all or nearly all the wild animals found in those states & all shot by a little woman, a Mrs. Maxwell who attended a photograph stand selling pictures of herself and animals. At all these houses all were welcomed. At 'West Virginia' it was posted up, 'Welcome all, the latch string is always out.'

"The British Com[missione]rs live in one large house, & have 2 others for officers and attendants, no visitors admitted. All 3 houses are built in the old black & white timber & plaster style, but are not good specimens, or rather not elaborate. Spain has a building devoted mostly to plans and models of ports and fortresses & steel manufactures, ancient arms &c. A large building is devoted to Carriages and heating apparatus. In carriages, Russia & Poland make a good show, as of course does France & England, but they are all in strange contrast to the Cobweb make of the U.S. On a lake there were life buoys, boats &c. The eating places or restaurants as we call them are large & fine, but at first they charged so shamefully that they killed the business at the start. There are other buildings of minor importance by the dozen, and of course I cannot remember all, so I now come to the 5 exhibition buildings proper, though they will take less time to describe than the others. I forgot to mention that there is a large P. office department where they do quite a large business.

"First, Horticultural Hall—a very handsome building in the Moorish style—show very poor—palms & tree ferns in plenty, but altogether hardly respectable for a private grounds. Agricultural Hall—an immense building in extent, mostly implements and products directly and indirectly from the soil. There are also great sheds for wheeled vehicles, but I did not go near them. A railroad on the grounds is very convenient, 3 or 4 trains of 5 or 6 cars each are running all the time, stopping at frequent stations and take one round & about the buildings in about 25 minutes for 5¢—distance 3 miles.

"'Memorial' or Art Hall is the only one that is to stand permanently. It is of large size but they have had to build an 'annexe' larger still. There is a very large collection of pictures here, some magnificent mosaics, splendid specimens of Italian inlaid marble work & Sculptured figures. I should like to have a whole day here. I could only afford 2 hours to its great number of rooms. In the centre of one room is 'Washington,' the only plaster figure there. It

dont show very well in so small a space, should be on a high pedestal in the open air.⁵

"And now for the 2 great buildings, but I cannot begin to describe either in detail. If you can think of any kind of machine for any purpose, it was pretty sure to be there & numbers of them at work. I saw one *large* machine making paper, and another printing wall paper. Curious—just as easy to print in 20 colours as in one. The most popular place was near a great sunken tank where pumps & fire Engines were shown. 2 pumps sent up water enough nearly to the roof to supply a great iron tank, whence it fell in a regular river cataract (pumps 100 h p each), but the most amusing were the machines or blowers for mines & other purposes. The force of their wind was tremendous & hats &c were in danger anywhere near them. The 'London Graphic' was printed here, and so was the 'N. Y. Times'—for the latter electrotypes plates left *here* at 4 a. m. & papers were ready when the doors opened at 8. An 8 page paper. Of the multitude of machines I can only mention the centre of attraction. The great Corliss Engine that drives most of the machinery of the building—that's a fraud. There are plenty of larger Engines than that. It is imposing on account of its position and its having double beams and a large fly wheel. This last is certainly all that is said of it, being I think of 70 tons (our ton is 2000 lbs). There is 2 cylinders, each I think 38 in. & the stroke is not long. Now there are plenty of cylinders of 80, 90 and up to 108 in.—which must be of many times the power of the Corliss machine. It is raised on a platform of about 5 feet and except the fly wheel is similar to most of our great steam-boat Engines. A great portion that is above the platform, is below deck in a boat, and so the whole concern appears much larger than it really is. At the foot of Murray St is the landing for 2 of the finest Steamers ever built running to Newport. Their engines have a single cylinder of I should think near 100 inches, which must give vastly more power than the Centennial one.

"In the main hall the articles are so various it is impossible to give even a mention, but taken as a whole the Japanese & Chinese departments are considered the most wonderful, the porcelain & silks especially, while Egypt & other semi-civilized nations show some very

⁵ Oliver W. Larkin describes this figure as "a colossal George Washington riding heavenward on the back of an eagle." *Art and Life in America* (New York, 1949), 242.

beautiful things. Elkingtons of Birmingham have a splendid case of electrotyped goods in classic style. This and a number of other cases have been purchased for art societies. In here is the great Krupp steel gun, mounted up like a monster telescope, wrong end up. I dont think it so heavy as our 20 in. gun, but then it throws a long shot from a rifled bore. Time is short now & I really can not pretend to describe further. This is the longest letter I ever wrote & dont expect to write such another. You must overlook errors, for I have written a little at a time and I could not always keep ideas connected. I sent you a Colorado 'Potato bug' in a paper—most insects are 'bugs' here—I also send a facsimile of some old Colonial money, also Centennial postage stamps. I dont much like letter writing now, but when I begin its not so bad & I think I have done pretty well this time. I present my love to self & wife, also my nephews & hoping you are having a prosperous year I remain your affectionate brother

John Lewis"

Florida State University

WILLIAM RANDEL

A Private Report of General Braddock's Defeat

IN the Huntington Library there is a short family letter by a Virginia burgess to his seventeen-year-old son in England.¹ It tells simply, but dramatically, of the great disaster that befell General Edward Braddock in the Ohio Wilderness in 1755, and expresses John Bolling's natural pride in the conduct of the Virginia militia.

As an owner of tobacco fields and Negro slaves, John Bolling (1700-1757) was a wealthy member of the Virginia aristocracy, an experienced legislator, and a militia colonel. He was active in the preparations that had been made for Braddock during the spring and early summer and was deeply shocked by Braddock's death. Bolling's report of the disaster checks well with most other contemporary

¹ I wish to thank Miss Norma Cuthbert for calling this letter to my attention. The letter is in the Brock Collection in the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif. In transcribing the document, superscript letters have been lowered to the line.

accounts.² Although the losses of men are heavier in his letter than in the official ones, the essential details of the battle are correct. The Virginians suffered great losses and died like brave soldiers while the regulars retreated in wild disorder. A new piece of information is Bolling's account of Braddock's dramatic reaction to the courageous Virginians.

General Braddock was wounded on July 9 and died four days later. In those hours of bitter suffering he apparently remained conscious and continued to direct the retreat of his troops, although his increasing weakness forced him to give up the command on July 13 to Thomas Dunbar.³ What Braddock thought or said during these four days is not completely known.⁴ Bolling's report may well present an accurate description of Braddock's feelings when he saw most of the Virginia militia killed—killed, if we trust George Washington, by the "dastardly behaviour" of the English soldiers who "broke and run as Sheep before the Hounds."⁵ It is interesting that both Bolling and Washington used the same words to describe the valor of the Virginia companies: they "behav'd like Men and died like Soldiers," wrote Washington to Governor Robert Dinwiddie⁶; from Braddock's lips came the words, "you Fight like Men, & will die like Souldiers."

Prior to the disaster Braddock had held a very low opinion of the Virginia militia. In a letter to Robert Napier on June 8, Braddock described his men in these words: "the whole of the Forces are now assembled, making about two thousand Effectives, the greatest part Virginians, very indifferent Men, this Country affording no better; it has cost infinite pains and labour to bring them to any sort of Regularity and Discipline."⁷ Perhaps the surprise of seeing so much courage in the ranks of the Virginians brought forth this new reaction from the dying Braddock. Or, perhaps, the disappointment and

² Stanley Pargellis has published six accounts of the Braddock disaster in his *Military Affairs in North America, 1748-1765* (New York, 1936). The most recent comprehensive description of the disaster is by Lawrence H. Gipson, *The British Empire before the American Revolution*, VI, *The Great War for the Empire* (New York, 1946), 62-98.

³ Dunbar to Napier, July 24, 1755, Pargellis, 111.

⁴ Winthrop Sargent, *The History of an Expedition against Fort Du Quesne, in 1755 . . .* (Philadelphia, 1855), 236-237.

⁵ Washington to Dinwiddie, July 18, 1755, J. C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *Writings of George Washington* (Washington, 1931-1944), I, 149.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Pargellis, 84.

shock of seeing so much cowardice in the ranks of the British regulars prompted his bitterness.

Without doubt, Braddock's final experience climaxed a season of disheartening events which would have driven lesser men mad. Lacking knowledge of the western country, he was required to take ill-trained and fractious troops upon an expedition for which he himself had no prior measure of the hardship involved. Yet this was but the beginning. He lacked Indian auxiliaries, horses, wagons, and reliable contractors, and the road over the mountains was long and steep. One by one these problems were overcome, or set aside, and the deeper into the forested wilds the expedition moved the more eager the men became for battle. Then—the afternoon of July 9, 1755. But let Bolling tell the story.⁸

Virga 13th Augst. 1755

Dear Bob,

I recd two letters from you this Spring, one dated the 14th of last Augst. came to hand abt six weeks ago. You seem very desirous to know how it is with us as to the French & their Indians. I assure you tis very bad. Genl Braddock was intirely defeated & killed the 9th of last Month, he had 1300 Men & the French & their Indians recond abt 3 or 400 hunderd [*sic*]⁹—so much for English Generals skill in bush fighting; tho I mus say Braddock was a Brave Man & realy a great Loss, & he is supos'd to have been killed by his own Men, the English troops run away directly wch made it so severe on the Brave Officers & the Virga Troops who were Cut to pieces; the Poor Genl had 5 horses Killed under him before he was Wounded, & as he lay on the ground He woud cry out my dear Blue's (which was the Colrs the Virginians wore) give em tother Fire, you Fight like Men, & will die like Souldiers; he lived from Wednesday to the Sunday after, & during that time could not bare the sight of a red Coat, whenever one came in his View, he raved imoderately, but when one of the blues, he said he hop'd to live to reward 'em. The English Souldiers, woud have Sufferd that Brave Man to be Scalped by the Indians, had [not]⁹

⁸ For biographical data on father and son, see *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XII (1914), 215-217, 331-333.

⁹ The "not" was inserted in the manuscript by another hand, possibly by some subsequent owner of the manuscript.

the Virgs carryd him off, in doing it, 25 out of 29 were killed. I make not the least doubt but that the Genl woud have beat 'em, had the Enemys been three times his Number, if they had been in an Open Field; And not with standing so many of our Men were killed and wounded there was not 30 of the Enemy seen by our Men, they being conceald like Foxes in the Woods & Bushes & the Generall kept his Men in regular order as Many as woud Stay wth him, who were constantly falling by the Enemys Shot. Every thing was lost, even the Genls Papers. We had Several fine Men killed besides the Genl., in short the Officers were almost all killed & wounded, but our Brave Colo. Washington came off unhurt he had two horses shot under him & Several Bullets thro' his cloths, in short He & one Capt [Robert] Steward came off with great applause. We are at a great loss what to do the French & their Indians are killing some of our Frontiers People very often & we have voted more Money then can be paid by Our People.

I have not had a letter from my Cousin Bolling a good while. I've writ to him twice since I had one from him. I hope he and his good Family are well [:] intend to inclose one to him in this. Yor Mother is better then when I writ to you last & am in hopes she will get quite well. You writ to me for several things some of 'em out of my Power to get, but shall send you some of 'em when I've an opportunity. Birds cant be contrived to you from London neither can I imagine how I coud Contrive you a Monkey if I coud get one, shall be glad to know what you want one for. I hope you'll take care of what you are abt to answer our Expectations in sending you to England & take Care of your Character that there be no Exceptions to it. I thank God I [have] good reasons to hope you will. Our Complements to Good Mrs. Beverley & The Bland not to forget 'em to Mr. Clerk [John Clarke] & the Usher. Our most tender loves & Affections Constantly attend you. I am my Dear Bob

Accqt your Cousin Bolling of
what I've writ to yo abt
Genl Braddock.

Yr Ever afft Father
J Bolling

Whittier College

JOHN A. SCHUTZ

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

THE EDITOR

The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography

In Re Allan Ramsay and An Historical Essay on the English Constitution

With reference to the article on Ramsay which appeared in your October, 1953, issue and to a letter from its author in January, 1954, I should like to present the following tentative solution to the vexing problem of the authorship of this famous tract.

In the Library of the University of Pennsylvania is a copy of the *Essay*, on the flyleaf of which is inscribed the owner's name, J. Bretland, Jr., 1789, and in the same hand, though obviously written at a different period, these lines: "This book was written by Obadiah Hulme of Charterhouse Square, a relation of Dr. Nathaniel Hulme, physician to the Charterhouse. He died 1791." This is followed in a much more recent hand by an entry from Halkett and Laing, III, 52, attributing the book to Allan Ramsay. However, Bretland (1742-1819), a friend and associate of Priestley's, was known to be a studious man and was, moreover, of much the same mind as his famous friend as to political and religious matters. This would mean that, as one of the small circle of early radicals or "real Whigs," as they liked to call themselves, he might well have been interested in the authorship of the tract for the sake of its thesis.

Moreover, his attribution is supported by an entry among the obituaries in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1791 (p. 586)—"Obadiah Hulme of Charterhouse Square, author of *An Historical Essay on the English Constitution* and several other tracts."

The Nathaniel Hulme referred to by Bretland was a well-known doctor and author of several works. He was born in Hulme Thorp, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, near Halifax. Further research may well put Obadiah Hulme also among those reforming Yorkshire men of this period whose activities form one of the most interesting chapters in the story of the early radicals.

Bryn Mawr College

CAROLINE ROBBINS

BOOK REVIEWS

Probing Our Past. By MERLE CURTI. Introduction by ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955. xii, 294 p. Index. \$4.00.)

Though it would be easy to accept this volume as nothing more than an attempt to commemorate Professor Curti's presidency of the American Historical Association by reprinting eleven of his best and least accessible essays, this approach would not lead far along the road to understanding. The essays certainly deserve republication because of their merit and the range of topics with which they deal—historical writing, the dime novel, the frontier theory, nationalism and democracy, the retreat from reason, and the reputation of America overseas. As the leading historian of the American mind, and recipient of his profession's highest honors, Professor Curti is entitled to this special tribute. Ultimately, however, the book is most significant because of its reflection of the author's social faith, and its demonstration of his originality and mastery in his field.

There is an appropriate symbolism in the fact that the volume opens with an analysis of the democratic theme in American historical writing, and closes with a discussion of prospects for future research. The values of democracy and scholarship are not only keys to the book, but keys to the man who wrote it. His passion for democracy and his conviction that it is a never-ending experiment rather than an achieved result make their imprint on every page. Scholarship is essential if the experiment is to go forward. "I believe," he writes, "that we should make room in our outlook for tested knowledge about human nature and social behavior. But if we are wise we shall also provide for the revision of that knowledge—for what we now know, or think we know, is not the last word." As a disciple of James and Dewey, he is tentative and undogmatic, but in his quiet way he refutes the specious claim that relativists have no standards or principles. He rises above the pressures of the times to reassert his abiding faith in the worth and dignity of man, in the power of reason, and in the efficacy of political liberalism. In an age of hate and war he has the courage to stand for understanding, toleration, and peace. As a patriot, as well as an expert on nationalism, he reminds us that the United States has made its most favorable impressions on the world when championing the causes of liberty and material progress.

This is not, however, just a tract for the times. The essays are important for what they reveal about Professor Curti's conception of history, and his technical contributions to the field of intellectual history, in particular. He

views history not as a discipline unto itself, but as a partner of other disciplines, especially the social sciences, in the task of discovering verifiable and useful knowledge about the world in which we live. He has always enriched his own work by borrowing data and insights from other fields. As an intellectual historian, he has established his own tradition, one that embraces both popular thought and the more formal, speculative ideologies. He is equally at home with philosophical treatises and dime novels. Thanks to his concentration on the relationship of ideas to interests, he has made intellectual history a study of ideas in action, rather than a pursuit of abstractions. In respect to the transmission of ideas, he has also demonstrated that American ideals have had considerable influence abroad, that intellectual impulses have not always traveled along a one-way street from the Old World to the New.

These essays are only a sample of Professor Curti's pioneer work, but they provide something for every interest and taste. More important, they speak for the life of the mind, and for the humane values that we honor under the name of democracy.

University of Missouri

IRVIN G. WYLLIE

Rebels and Democrats. The Struggle for Equal Political Rights and Majority Rule during the American Revolution. By ELISHA P. DOUGLASS. (Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1955. xvi, 368 p. Appendices, bibliography, index. \$5.00.)

Rebels and Democrats is a young scholar's thoughtful answer to an invitation delivered when he must have been about two years old. In 1925, Professor John Franklin Jameson called upon historians to join him in considering the American Revolution as a social movement rather than as a series of military and diplomatic maneuvers that added up to a war of political liberation. Elisha P. Douglass of the University of North Carolina, student of Labaree and Griswold at Yale, is the latest of a long line of able historians who have accepted Professor Jameson's invitation in the generous spirit in which it was tendered, for he has concerned himself with the fight for liberty and justice *within* rather than *by* Revolutionary America. More precisely, he has undertaken to describe and evaluate the struggle for political democracy by the disgruntled, disaffected, and disinherited men of 1776. I doubt that the story will have to be told again. Plainly, this is a first-rate piece of work—in organization, style, documentation and insight. I predict confidently that most of Professor Douglass' fellow historians who read this book carefully will make important changes of emphasis and detail in next year's lectures on politics and constitution-making in the Revolutionary period.

Among the services the author performs in the course of this study are:

1. He identifies those groups, most of them "localized, temporary, and unorganized," that challenged the conservative leaders of the Revolution and their notions of good government. At the same time, he calls new attention to the leading figures in these groups, too many of whom have been all but forgotten in our current craze for considering the Revolution as a conservative event. It is a thoroughly pleasant and rewarding experience to be introduced once again to George Sims, Herman Husband, and Thomas Burke of North Carolina; to Rev. Isaac Backus, Rev. Thomas Allen, and Joseph Hawley of Massachusetts; to Timothy Matlack, George Bryan, and James Cannon of Pennsylvania; to the Regulators and the Paxton boys; to the men of Massachusetts who thought very little of the Constitution of 1778 and even less of the Constitution of 1780; and, above all, to the men of the Pennsylvania Convention of 1776 who failed, but failed nobly, in their attempt to have this article inserted in their bill of rights: "An enormous proportion of property invested in a few individuals is dangerous to the rights, and destructive of the common happiness of mankind; and therefore every state hath a right to discourage possession of such property."

2. He makes clear that it was democracy as a pattern of politics, not democracy as a system of values or even as a way of life, that these men and movements sought, and that this democracy—and I would agree with his careful and unassuming definition—was simply the Whiggish constitutionalism of Adams and Jefferson plus "political equality" (which meant the elimination of a "stake-in-society" as both the price of voting and the primary qualification for eligibility to office) and "the rule of the majority" (which meant the elimination of most of those checks and balances the founding fathers held so dear).

3. He gives an extended account of the constitutional struggles in six key colonies: Maryland, South Carolina, and New York, where the transition from colony to state was brought off successfully and, in an important sense, exclusively under the auspices of the conservative Whigs; Massachusetts and North Carolina, where the radical party was strong enough to influence the course of politics and the writing of the new constitution, but not strong enough to take decisive command in either instance; and Pennsylvania, where the campaign for equal political rights and majority rule resulted in the formation of a party that wrote a democratic constitution and dominated the government instituted by it.

4. He accounts satisfactorily for the general lack of success of the radical men and groups within the Revolutionary movement. *Rebels and Democrats*, it should be noted, is not a success story, and one of Professor Douglass' primary tasks is to point to the political, economic, and social reasons for the failure of these early American radicals. The immediate reason for the unique success of the Pennsylvania democrats was their readiness and ability to form a political party. This was a lesson not to be lost on the democrats of the new Republic.

5. Finally, in a balanced and thoroughly mature conclusion, he evaluates the contributions of the democrats and their opponents, and concludes judiciously that the purposes and programs of the conservative Whigs and radical democrats were "complementary to each other." Neither eighteenth-century liberalism, which, not altogether paradoxically, was the conservative faith, nor eighteenth-century democracy was "capable by itself of providing political freedom. Each without the other might have degenerated into tyranny. It was fortunate for the future of the nation that both liberalism and democracy became potent forces during the Revolutionary period." I suspect that Professor Douglass might be willing to add that it was equally fortunate for the future of the nation that our conservative liberals (or liberal conservatives) had their day first. Democracy must be built upon a firm constitutional structure.

There is even more to this fine book: for example, a splendid chapter portraying Thomas Jefferson as a democrat in values but not in politics and constitutionalism; an eloquent description of what Professor Douglass calls the "republic in equipoise," that balanced system of government dedicated alike to the teachings of Sir Isaac Newton and John Locke; and a new appraisal of John Adams' little pamphlet *Thoughts on Government*, an appraisal that amounts to a much deserved boost of this pamphlet's influence and reputation. But the frosting on this substantial cake is still not as thick as it might be. If I may indulge in a hopelessly mixed metaphor, I would inject at least one brassy note into my chorus of praise by questioning seriously the author's casual manner of polishing off five colonies (New Jersey, Delaware, Virginia, Connecticut and Rhode Island) in two pages. Nor are the appendices on Georgia and New Hampshire altogether convincing. I will admit that the real story of Revolutionary democracy is centered in North Carolina, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania, but I will never admit that the debtors of Rhode Island deserve only one sentence in a 350-page book entitled *Rebels and Democrats*.

In conclusion, it should be pointed out that Professor Douglass does not dispute the currently accepted interpretation of the American Revolution as a conservative event in the history of Western man—an interpretation, incidentally, which some people ascribe to writers like Daniel Boorstin, Louis Hartz, and the author of this review, but which was advanced some time ago by writers like Anthony Trollope and, of all people, Friedrich Engels. (And before them there was a man named Burke.) Professor Douglass agrees completely that the conservative Whigs managed to retain control of both military and political events in almost every colony but Pennsylvania. Indeed, he sees Revolutionary democracy as "in large measure a reaction against the pervasive conservatism which characterized the Revolutionary movement as a whole." Yet he does insist that we never forget the strong urges for political democracy within the movement itself. Out of these urges arose the American democracy.

Cornell University

CLINTON ROSSITER

Robert Morris, *Revolutionary Financier. With an Analysis of His Earlier Career*. By CLARENCE L. VER STEEG. (Philadelphia: Printed for the American Historical Association by the University of Pennsylvania Press, 1954. [xiv], 276 p. Bibliography, index. \$5.00.)

Professor Ver Steeg's book, which won the Beveridge Prize, is a great advance over the old biographies by Sumner and Oberholtzer, which until now have been the standard works. Ver Steeg has done a great deal of research, especially in manuscript sources. The general field of public and private finance in this era is exceptionally difficult, and he has performed a singular labor in piecing together and making sense out of the scattered Morris papers of any importance, as well as the correspondence of Morris's principal business connections. As it stands, the book is the only treatment of many phases of Morris's career and the fullest exposition in print of Morris's administration as Superintendent of Finance.

The original impulse behind the present study seems to have been the desire to present Morris as a figure in entrepreneurial history. The author's reliance on mercantile correspondence as source material and his ability to wring meaning out of it are responsible for giving us the best account we have of Morris's commercial dealings and, in the period when Morris was Superintendent of Finance, such of his activities as involved distinctly mercantile affairs—his efforts to supply the army by contracts, his relations with the Bank of North America, his use of personal notes in public business, his negotiation of bills of exchange, and so on.

So far as this account portrays Morris as a businessman of his time, it affords valuable information; however, it lacks dimensions. It leaves out the general scene, affording little impression of the atmosphere of venture and speculation, the scramble of small capitalists to enlarge their capital and cash in on the bonanza opportunities of the war, the rivalries and suspicions of merchants, their brushes with committees of inspection, their contempt of agrarian politics. The author's sources are full of material which might have been used to give the color of life to his account, but he does not impart much of it.

Ver Steeg also seems to lean over backward in minimizing the role that public office played in Morris's career. On the basis of Morris's key position at the head of the Congressional committee of supply, he built up a virtual empire, his partnerships embracing much of Congress' foreign procurement and a share of its domestic purchases as well. One can explain that his position enabled Morris to deal through his own firm and its connections—and, of course, this is true. However, this fact should not imply that empires were built without motive. In an age when business was personal and the reputation and connections of an individual meant everything, an official appointment signified that one represented a great concern, had favors and mayhap inside information to dispense. It opened the way to forming relations with important mercantile houses, and even though one's principal was an insolvent government, it sometimes induced

people to advance credit or offer a daughter in wedlock. The result was by no means always fortuitous, but an official appointment could be the making of a man. It surely had a lot to do with the making of Morris, and although Morris was probably more scrupulous than the general run of merchants, he did not neglect opportunities to advance the interests of his house in the conduct of government business.

Professor Ver Steeg's account of Morris's public career as Superintendent of Finance is based on thorough research in specifically Morris materials, and, in details relative to Morris, it is the fullest and best study in print. It falls short of being completely satisfactory because it does not place Morris's actions in a setting which would display their full significance.

Ver Steeg scarcely mentions politics. Morris's administrative reforms, his promotion of strong government, sound money, and *laissez faire* are discussed without reference to the conservative trend in national affairs, a movement which had a past and was to have a future. No mention is made of the fact that Morris, in spite of a desire to avoid "factional" politics, was nevertheless identified with the conservative side of a bitter and dirty battle going on in Pennsylvania. Morris was also associated with the middle states foes of the "radical" Lee-Adams coalition that dominated Congress in the first years of the Revolution. These circumstances can hardly be excluded from a review of his term as financier.

Again, the discussion of Morris's pet scheme, the Bank of North America, is good on the fiscal uses of the bank, but virtually nothing is made of the fact that Morris hoped by means of it to supplant state paper money with bank notes as a national circulating medium. No particular emphasis is given to Morris's idea, repeatedly expressed, that the bank would prove an instrument of political centralization by involving the fortunes of moneyed men in an institution connected with the central government. These points are historically significant.

The most crucial failure of emphasis is the inadequate portrayal of Morris's great fight to secure the adoption of the Federal impost, a 5% duty on imports which Congress asked of the states in 1781 and 1783. It was to be a Federal tax, and the income from it applied to the Federal debt. Actually, the Federal debt itself was in some measure the creation of Morris's regime. Ver Steeg neglects this point, but had other policies prevailed, the debt would probably have been parceled out among the states; however, Morris and a conservative Congress succeeded in enlarging it and appropriating it to the Federal government. It was a "bond of union," which justified the request for Federal taxes and, if funded by this means, promised to bind the propertied classes of the nation to the central government. The request for a Federal impost entailed an amendment to the Articles of Confederation, which would have endowed Congress with a limited power of taxation, a power which Morris and his supporters expected eventually to make unlimited. As the disposition of the taxing power was the source of Congress' weakness and the main prop to state sover-

eignty, the adoption of the impost would have initiated a constitutional revolution or at least an evolutionary progress toward national government. Morris exhausted his force in pursuit of this goal. Ver Steeg sees some of this, but he does not illuminate it.

This study of Morris's administration as Superintendent of Finance, which omits vital reference to the forces which he represented, actually understates Morris's role in history. He was the head and guiding spirit of the first general movement toward constitutional reform. Although the movement failed in his hands, the measures he had taken were predicated on the existence of an effective central government, and they pretty well committed the country to a revision of the Articles of Confederation.

University of Maryland

E. JAMES FERGUSON

Benjamin Franklin and a Rising People. By VERNER W. CRANE. [The Library of American Biography.] (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1954. xii, 219 p. Bibliography, index. \$3.00.)

This brilliant little book is not the kind of biography readers might expect, nor could it very well be made to conform to the orthodox chronological narrative within the space limitations. The author has been posed the difficult problem of presenting an extraordinarily long life, and a remarkably full and active one, within the compass of two hundred pages. He has had to deal with the added complication that thirty years of that career were spent in the public service and were closely bound up with an empire in process of disruption and with the destinies of a rising people. These thirty years call for chronological treatment, and this necessity imposes a pattern on the book. Professor Crane has solved the problem by treating the first forty-five years of Franklin's life as the story of his mental and moral growth. Though the author does not bind himself strictly to chronology, he finds even in this formative period that Franklin's development follows a rough time sequence—first as a student of human conduct with a "bold and arduous project of arriving at moral perfection," and later as a scientist, a natural philosopher, in the felicitous phrase of his day.

Thus when, at forty-five, Franklin entered his active career in politics, he had already laid solid foundations for his life of public service. A master of the printing craft, he so remained until old age, setting up a small press at Passy during the American Revolution to get out propaganda pieces for his country. But his craft had always been the means to an end, and he retired from its active pursuit at forty-five with a competence. Franklin's greater work as a scientist receives ample treatment in the chapter, "Natural Philosopher." And it was astonishing. Without the elaborate paraphernalia of the modern laboratory, he carried on studies in electricity that won him the Copley medal from the Royal Society, a royal letter of thanks from Louis XV, and the title Doctor of Laws from St. Andrews, Edinburgh. The

resulting fame he later typically turned to practical advantage during his European missions. Though his actual systematic investigations were limited to physics—principally electricity—his interests extended to other fields, and his encouragement stimulated the work of scientists in other branches.

The picture of Franklin drawing fire from the heavens is commonplace in schoolbooks. Undoubtedly, Franklin the politician and colonial agent, Franklin the diplomat and statesman weigh more heavily in the scales of history. And to these years of his life (1751–1788) that comprehend these activities Professor Crane devotes almost three quarters of his book.

From the Albany Congress through the Federal constitutional convention thirty-three years later, Professor Crane shows Franklin the public figure concerned with the security and liberty of the seaboard colonies (later, the commonwealths). Franklin's Albany Plan was union for defense, security through association within the empire. Thus, he grappled early with the federal problem. A few years later, the reforming ministries by their efforts at centralization threatened the liberty of colonials in the name of security. At the time of the Stamp Act Franklin for a moment tottered—"Retreat and Recovery"—but regained his balance. From that time on, his path was straight. He fought for decentralization in the empire—"Liberty and Empire"—and followed the pathway to independence. In the crisis of separating from the empire, Franklin resorted to his federal scheme, which he advocated until final implementation in the Constitution of 1787.

This volume meets the need for a brief, penetrating statement on Franklin. Fair and critical—Franklin is never idealized—it is clearly written and focuses on the principal contributions of Franklin to a dynamic period in America. A brief incisive introduction by Professor Handlin, editor of the Library of American Biography, and Professor Crane's note on recent Frankliniana add to the attractive features of this delightful book.

Vanderbilt University

AUBREY C. LAND

Gilbert Stuart. A Great Life in Brief. By JAMES THOMAS FLENNER. [Great Lives in Brief Series.] (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955. Dail, 197, x p. Bibliography, index. \$2.50.)

This latest addition to the publisher's popular series of Great Lives in Brief is a republication of the author's sketch of Gilbert Stuart included in his *America's Old Masters* of 1939. The text has been revised and expanded. There are, however, no illustrations, a serious omission indeed in a biography of an artist. In compensation, there is only the familiarity to all of us of so much of Stuart's work, and the fact that Mr. Flexner's vivid and delightful style can bring the visual image as close to us as is possible in words.

Mr. Flexner's estimate of Stuart's art is that of mature and modern scholarship, and supplies clear definition of what earlier writers had been content to leave within the mystery of "genius." His evaluation shows how Stuart heralded the impressionist movement of a later day by his rejection of the line-contained style of his own time, and his development of one based upon light and color—and with what originality and freedom he readapted such of the traditional modes as he chose to use. On the character of the painter himself this biography is perhaps a shade too gentle. Stuart's undoubted genius has always tended to excuse his rascality and to give a certain authority to his word. One must face the fact that this great painter's statements about himself are among the least reliable sources of information. Mr. Flexner wisely casts some doubt on Stuart's declaration that he destroyed, as unsatisfactory, the original of his splendid "Vaughan type" Washington. He should certainly have presented with greater skepticism Stuart's anecdote about Winstanley in which he accuses the other painter of fraud and effrontery so blatant that, if true, it could hardly have escaped the notice of others. Fraud and effrontery were ingrained in the character of America's most brilliant portraitist, and that fact is not obscured in this lively account of his life.

Dickinson College

CHARLES COLEMAN SELLERS

Jeffersonian America. Notes on the United States of America Collected in the Years 1805–6–7 and 11–12 by Sir Augustus John Foster, Bart. Edited with an Introduction by RICHARD BEALE DAVIS. (San Marino, Calif.: The Huntington Library, 1954. xx, 356 p. Frontispiece, index. \$6.00.)

On December 4, 1804, a twenty-five-year-old diplomat named Augustus John Foster landed at Norfolk, Virginia, on his way to take up his duties as secretary of the British legation at Washington. Foster was connected with several of the great Whig families; he had been educated at Oxford and Weimar, had traveled in northern and eastern Europe; and as a sportsman, gourmet, and dabbler in ornithology, horticulture, and belles-lettres, he had developed highly sophisticated tastes. Despite all this, and also despite the violent anti-Americanism of his chief, Robert Merry, young Foster became an interested and sympathetic observer of Jeffersonian America during his first three-year stay here. A second sojourn, as British minister during 1811–1812, gave him an opportunity to enlarge his knowledge and his jottings on life in the United States. Surprisingly, his second mission seems only to have confirmed his early favorable impressions, though that mission was ended by the American declaration of war on Great Britain in June, 1812.

In the long years of his diplomatic service thereafter, Foster worked over his American diaries from time to time with a view to publishing them as a counterweight to the hostile and usually superficial travel accounts written by later English visitors to the United States. All that actually was pub-

lished, however, was some forty pages of excerpts in the *Quarterly Review* for June, 1841—excerpts that furnished some of the most colorful bits of descriptive matter in Henry Adams' chapters on life in Washington during Jefferson's presidency. Portions of Foster's original diaries and a couple of successive revisions of his manuscript have survived and are divided between the Huntington Library and the Library of Congress. The latest revision (in the Library of Congress) has now been printed by Mr. Davis, with the excision of a very little irrelevant material and the addition of everything pertinent from the earlier Huntington text and Foster's original notes.

The results thoroughly justify the editor's labors. The section on life in the national capital is much the longest in the book and will take its place at once as a classic description of early republican leaders and manners. Foster never understood the true sources of Jefferson's political power, and he deplored the President's yarn stockings and down-at-heel slippers, but he could share and applaud Jefferson's philanthropic views on the "Wild Natives of the West." Being, like Jefferson himself, an amateur ethnologist, the diplomat interviewed members of the several deputations of chiefs who came to Washington and recorded much about them that would otherwise have been lost; and he also saw to it that their portraits were painted.

Diplomacy being a leisurely profession in those days, Foster traveled south into Virginia, west as far as Harper's Ferry, and through all the northern states as far as Massachusetts. His impressions of Virginia were extremely mixed. He liked the society of the "gentlemen Jacobins" of the great plantations, but abhorred their politics. His account of Jefferson's domestic regimen at Monticello is one of the most vivid, and presumably most accurate, of many such available. Since he spent the whole summer of 1806 at Lancaster and that of 1811 at the Penn estate called "Solitude" (on the site of the present Philadelphia Zoo), Foster devotes more space to Pennsylvania than to any other state. Lancaster seemed to him remarkable for the social harmony among the inhabitants, despite their heterogeneous religious and national backgrounds. At the same time, he thought the natural defects of democratic society appeared at their worst here and elsewhere in Pennsylvania. "A German who has just arrived fresh and set free from serving barons or counts is like a great cart horse turned loose upon a plain, kicking and snorting in all directions. They revel in their new state and appear to be delighted with rolling about in the mire of democracy." The Irish (or Scotch-Irish) were, if possible, still more intractable, Foster believed; his close-range view of Pennsylvania congressmen at social gatherings in Washington bred in him a prejudice which, though humorously expressed, went deep.

New England was another matter. In Connecticut Foster felt almost wholly at home, for here "order, good breeding and a strict attention to religious duties" prevailed. Massachusetts fell only a little below this high standard, and the Federalist merchants of Boston were wonderfully hos-

pitable. Only in Rhode Island did Foster suffer the indignity of having the stage driver sit down at table with him in the taverns where they stopped.

Everyone who dips into these lively and engaging notes on the young United States will find much to savor and many a phrase and anecdote worth remembering and quoting. The work of the editor is on the whole very satisfactory; it is especially commendable for its restraint, which allows the reader to enjoy what Foster wrote without editorial interference.

Massachusetts Historical Society

L. H. BUTTERFIELD

Federalist Delaware, 1775-1815. By JOHN A. MUNROE. [University of Delaware Monograph Series, Number 6.] (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1954. xvi, 286 p. Map, appendix, bibliography, index. \$5.00.)

The author of this study gives us a political narrative, as we might expect from the title, but he gives us much more, for he considers politics in context with social, cultural, and economic conditions.

The story falls into three main divisions. Part I presents a description of the people, towns, farms, mills, roads, money, churches and schools in the 1770's, and then takes up the political story from 1765 to 1787. Part II continues the social, economic, and cultural developments to the end of the century. In this period, a mild humanitarianism appears as an afterglow of Revolutionary liberal thought. In Part III, which completes the narrative to 1815, politics emerges as the prevailing theme, while the economic and social factors are developed only as they serve to explain the political story.

Federalist control of Delaware rested on the dual nature of the state. Two distinct regions had developed: the Democratic industrial-commercial North with its center at Wilmington and its roots among the Presbyterians, the Scotch-Irish, and some manufacturers; and the Federalist agrarian South (Kent and Sussex counties) with its predominant English stock, landed gentry, and relative isolation. The regional division, however, does not explain why the Federalists continued to dominate Delaware when that party was declining in other states. The author finds the answer in astute politics. He states his idea succinctly in these words (p. 259): "By rooting itself in the dominant agrarian culture of Delaware, by following a policy of moderation which suited the prevalent conservatism, by wisely restraining its overly zealous partisans, by yielding on a bank bill, a canal bill, a road bill to encourage its minority following in New Castle [County], by shrewd leadership which correctly gauged and represented the Delaware climate of opinion, Federalism had not only entrenched itself in Delaware's past history, but was prepared to direct the state's destinies for another decade and more."

This volume will remind students of Pennsylvania history of the ties between the two states. New Castle County was a virtual economic de-

pendency of southeastern Pennsylvania. Chester and Lancaster county farmers sent their wheat to the mills on the lower Brandywine, and from there the flour was shipped to Philadelphia for sale. The Delaware River furnished a natural water route from Wilmington and New Castle to Philadelphia, while on land all roads seemed to lead to the same destination. Philadelphia newspapers circulated so widely in the smaller state that for a time the Delaware Assembly placed its official notices in them. Individuals moved easily across the boundary. John Dickinson and Thomas McKean divided their careers between the two states. James Adams left Philadelphia to set up the first printing press in Delaware; Thomas and Joshua Gilpin, two merchants of the Quaker City, established the first paper mill on the Brandywine. The Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture attracted eight members from Delaware. If the cultural ties between the two states weakened after the end of the eighteenth century, the economic ties held fast.

This book is a welcome contribution to the increasing number of serious studies of state history. The author has made effective use of the materials at hand, ranging from secondary works to numerous manuscript sources. The style is readable, the use of quotations adds flavor to the narrative, and the summaries at convenient way stations are helpful. In this reader's opinion, the author is at his best in Part III where he uses the economic and social data to explain his theme of Federalist domination. Parts I and II, on the other hand, do not seem to achieve the same unity and integration, which might well be due to the fragmentary nature of the available sources on the earlier part of the story. This becomes a minor criticism when we consider the rich variety and clear presentation of the whole narrative.

Drew University

ROBERT L. BRUNHOUSE

The Federalism of James A. Bayard. By MORTON BORDEN. [Columbia Studies in the Social Sciences, No. 584.] (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955. [viii], 256 p. Bibliography, index. \$4.00.)

Coming on the heels of Munroe's *Federalist Delaware, 1775-1815*, this book is a political biography of the state's leading public figure in the post-Revolutionary generation and "the progenitor of Delaware's most famous political family," which, as the author observes, "has remained active in national affairs to the present day."

What the Adamses were to Massachusetts, the Bayards have been to Delaware. It is interesting to find that James A. Bayard and John Q. Adams, both born in 1767, were colleagues in the Senate, and although both were moderate Federalists, they irritated each other to the point of personal obnoxiousness. At the time, Bayard was the more prominent of the two, with oratorical gifts which Adams could not hope to match. Both were on

the peace commission which ended the War of 1812, but Bayard returned from Ghent a dying man, while Adams lived to be eighty and President of the United States.

Bayard came to Delaware from Philadelphia in 1787 to begin the practice of law. By the end of ten years, he had done well in his profession, had married the daughter of rich Federalist Governor Bassett, and was back in Philadelphia again as Delaware's lone member of the House of Representatives, where he served with distinction, speaking often and well for the Federalist program of legislation during the first Adams administration. The high point of his six years in the House came in the election contest of 1801 when he threw Delaware's vote to Jefferson, making him President instead of Burr. In Borden's careful reappraisal of this famous episode all three of the principals come out rather well. Borden thinks Jefferson made no promises to Bayard, but their go-between, Samuel Smith, allowed Bayard to believe that he did. Bayard, like most of the Federalists, preferred Burr to Jefferson; but Burr, to his credit, would not turn Federalist to secure the Presidency for himself. Die-hard Federalists wished to prolong the deadlock beyond March 4, but Bayard would not go that far. Fearing for the safety of the country without a constitutional President, he reluctantly switched his state's vote to Jefferson, thus breaking the tie.

Bayard's eight years in the Senate, 1805-1813, were a frustrating experience. No amount of reasoning or eloquence from the Federalist minority could stop the Republican steam roller. Bayard, though as active in the Senate as he had been in the House, finally lapsed into silence, and got into the habit of not appearing in Washington until several weeks after the beginning of each session. On the last two years of Bayard's life, his appointment by Madison as minister to Russia in 1813 in response to the Czar's offer to mediate for peace, and Bayard's subsequent service on the commission which drew up the Treaty of Ghent, Borden goes fully into the circumstances of Bayard's original appointment, but omits the negotiations themselves, since he has "nothing fundamentally new" to add to this well-known story.

Our over-all impression of Bayard from this book is that he was a thoroughgoing Federalist, but at the same time a staunch nationalist. Unlike the Essex Junto of New England, his political partisanship always stopped short of disunion. He invites comparison with his contemporary, John Quincy Adams, and one wonders whether Bayard's public career, had it not been cut short by the Grim Reaper, might not have been equally brilliant.

Dr. Borden writes well and keeps his narrative moving without encumbering it with unessential detail. It is based on an apparently exhaustive study of contemporary material, much of it unpublished. His documentation is hard to follow, since the footnotes are at the end of the book. Is this necessary?

University of Delaware

H. CLAY REED

Practitioner in Physick. A Biography of Abraham Wagner, 1717-1763. By ANDREW S. BERKY. (Pennsburg, Pa.: The Schwenkfelder Library, 1954. xii, 175 p. Illustrations, appendix, index. \$3.50.)

In addition to the pleasure given the reviewer, this book also led him to an enjoyable visit to the Schwenkfelder Library. Housed in an attractive modern building, this library contains a store of books and manuscripts relating chiefly to the period of the Reformation and to the culture which flowed from it to settle in the red hills of Pennsylvania. A fair portion of this collection came from the outstanding library of Samuel W. Pennypacker. From this source Berky has drawn material for several studies and for *Practitioner in Physick*.

Abraham Wagner was a happy choice for a biography; he would have remained unknown unless thus resurrected. His life story must be similar to that of many unsung worthies of that interesting epoch when the individual was apt to have more varied interests compared to the specialization of today. Berky traces three main threads in Wagner's intellectual life. His family background and his upbringing inevitably supplied the first, making him a pietist. The second, not far removed in those days, was his training and his practice of "physick"; the third, his avocation as a poet.

The Wagners were members of the small but vital sect conforming to the doctrine of Caspar von Schwenkfeld. Harassed and persecuted, they moved from Lower Silesia to Saxony and again in 1737 to the New World. At this time Abraham was twenty years of age, old enough to have been molded by the part religious intolerance played in his life. Although a sincere pietist, he was a liberal thinker and found it difficult to find complete accord in any of the many denominations existing in Pennsylvania in the first half of the eighteenth century. Like many of his associates, theology was for him a chief preoccupation. The pages devoted to this phase of the life of the German settlers give a clear picture of their spiritual earnestness.

Even as a boy Abraham knew that he was destined to become a physician; this was fortunate, for in those times the prospective doctor entered at the age of twelve or thirteen into a lengthy period of apprenticeship. He had a quick mind, handling at an early age a program of education startling in comparison with today's schedule. The details of his medical training are not available, but Berky feels it is safe to assume that by the time Abraham reached America he was a full-fledged "practitioner of physick."

The section of the volume dealing with Wagner as a practitioner gives an excellent description of the state of medical knowledge and practice of his time. Fatal epidemics of unknown cause, routine and excessive blood-lettings, treatment with bezoar powders made from gall stones from cows and goats illustrate the situation. Wagner, however, seems to have differed from his fellow practitioners in placing less emphasis on philosophical casuistries, more on an attempt at experimentation and in asking "why" concerning matters then unknown. Decades before bloodletting reached its

ultimate excesses in the hands of Rush, Wagner had a sound skepticism about much bleeding, feeling that the first venesections removed the best blood. He echoed the Hippocratic oath by referring patients with broken limbs to an "intelligent surgeon." In many ways Wagner's medical thinking was ahead of the times, but his practice had to jog along with the means at hand. He drew up his own classification of diseases and recorded in 1740 in a small volume the remedies he employed in his practice. Berky quotes some fifteen pages of these—some safe and sane, some amazing, such as frog-spawn plaster for burns. It makes interesting reading, and one must not forget the date.

The claim that Abraham Wagner was a poet must depend on the meaning one gives the word. Certainly, he wrote much verse, all composed to the rhythm of a popular church tune. His verse, perhaps, served as an escape from the sternness of the pietist and the futility of the physician of those days. He seems to have been more of a hymn writer than a poet, but we may forgive the author for the sake of the alliteration.

Abraham Wagner emerges as a man deserving the immortality of a biography: a conscientious individual of deep religious character, a thinking physician in a time when acceptance of tradition was the rule, a charitable person who bequeathed to the distant Pennsylvania Hospital the sum of twenty pounds, and his residuary estate to four friends to be distributed in charity. The meticulous honesty with which they carried out his wishes is a high token of the character of those whom he had as friends.

This volume accomplishes the purpose of a biography; it gives us a picture of an individual, the factors which formed him, and the times in which he lived. It is readable and interesting; it illuminates the period when the Schwenkfelder group was contributing much to progress in Pennsylvania. But it is perhaps most valuable to one studying the early days of medicine in this country.

The format and binding are attractive; the five illustrations are reproductions of manuscript pages. The book can be recommended, and so can a visit to the Schwenkfelder Library, whose Director is to be congratulated on this publication. It is to be hoped that further exhumations will follow.

Ithan

O. H. PERRY PEPPER

Amishland. By KIEHL and CHRISTIAN NEWSWANGER. (New York: Hastings House, 1954. 128 p. Illustrations. \$5.00.)

Kiehl Newswanger and his son Christian, noted for their exhibits of Amish drawings and paintings in museums and at national and regional art exhibitions, have now turned to an altogether different combination of skills, namely, literary interpretation and communication.

With their farm-studio right in Amish country just east of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, they have had prolonged informal associations with their

Amish neighbors, a primary requisite for knowing Amishways. As their Swiss name would suggest, they are descendants of Mennonite immigrants in the early eighteenth century, although they themselves were never Mennonite members. Both have studied art in several famous art centers abroad.

The text, consisting of a series of forty-three descriptions, was written by the junior author. Written in the first person with genuine human intimacy, these impressionistic descriptions reflect high reader interest and touch on a very wide range of customs and folkways. Some of the more interesting ones are Yonnie Lapp School Boy, Amish Carpenters, In The Tobacco Stripping Room, Corn Cutting at Snake Hill, Threshing, Peach Picking, The New Baby, Shopping in New Holland, The Fire, Amishmen Go Abroad, Home From Church. There is absolutely no doubt about the son's ability to communicate on the level of his Amish neighbors.

These descriptions reflect insights into Amish naturalness, kindness, and enjoyments, and appreciation on the part of the author. Such qualities never come from the labor of secondary library research, but only through the sense of feeling and by human experience as the young author has demonstrated. It is refreshing to read firsthand impressions from a participant who has observed the Amish over a period of several years.

There are several minor errors of fact which might have been corrected had the publisher given the manuscript to a Mennonite historian for checking. The English text is (intentionally?) "Dutchy" at places, and the dialect spellings are somewhat labored. These, in the final analysis, doubtless were decisions of the publisher.

The text is generously illustrated with simple line drawings, crayon and soft-pencil portraits of Amish persons. The drawings quite accurately represent the material traits of Amish culture of the area, such as dress, farm equipment, and group activities.

The Newswangers have attempted "to express the 'inner spirit' of the Amish . . . to interpret the Amish in a form that is visually related to their actual philosophy of life." In doing so, they have deliberately avoided naturalistic portraits and turned to early primitive portrait tradition. But have they succeeded in expressing "the essence of Amish philosophy . . ."? The line drawings are pleasing. While the style of the portraits is well adapted to plainness, simplicity, and Biblical austerity, it does not communicate the inner spirit of the majority of the Amish I know. Instead of the self-assured people I know them to be, the portraits to me represent the Amish as timid Milquetoasts, or a kind of dour, downcast, and characterless people.

The horizontal lines running through quite a number of the portraits are apparently defects which resulted from folding or in mailing the original illustrations.

Scottdale

JOHN A. HOSTETLER

The Susquehanna. By CARL CARMER. [Rivers of America Series.] (New York: Rinehart & Co., Inc., 1955. xiv, 493 p. Map, illustrations, bibliography, index. \$5.00.)

At the front of Mr. Carmer's book is a map on which it may be observed that Yellow Breeches Creek has lost its garment but retained its hue; and the text which follows, though it too may omit some matters, is full of color. The Susquehanna drains an extensive area rich in history; but the fact that the currents of that history have more often crossed than followed the river's courses makes for variety rather than historical unity. Taking full advantage of this, the present writer has not attempted a history of the Susquehanna, as Richmond E. Myers did in *The Long Crooked River*, but gives us a chronological procession of vivid stories.

Captain John Smith's firsthand narrative introduces us to the lower portion of the Susquehanna; and the less satisfactory account of Brulé's adventures, as interpreted by later writers, to the upper reaches. Virginia and Maryland adventurers, Indian chiefs, Pennymites and Yankees, politicians, English idealists, French refugees, rivermen, rebels, and Molly Maguires pass in colorful review. Major events may be by-passed for picturesque details; thus, the direct impact of the Civil War upon the valley is briefly dismissed to make room for the story of the "Fishing Creek Confederacy"; and a collection of local happenings and folk tales makes up another chapter.

Following these, the final chapter takes us on a 144-page trip "Down the River" from the New York source of the North Branch to the Maryland outlet, with a side trip down the West Branch.

The style, as Mr. Carmer's readers would expect, is vivid and readable. One lapse of continuity and grammar (pp. 149-150) seems the result of accidental displacement of text. Despite a sprinkling of errors, the book is a fine collection of stories, an enjoyable sampling of the riches of the region, to be read, as it was written, for pleasure. Reference to Towanda as seven hundred feet above the river (p. 384) and to Azilum as upstream from Philadelphia (pp. 231-232) should mislead no one; and the same may be true of other errors: Governor Gordon's name was Patrick, not James (p. 64); Fort Necessity was not in Ohio (p. 93); General Early did not march north from Wrightsville (p. 297); Clapham was a full colonel, and "Colonel" Benjamin Franklin held no military commission when he organized the defenses of Northampton County (p. 407); "Fenables" seems to be a misreading of Fencibles (p. 424); the John Harris house was stockaded in 1756 (p. 429). The story of Teedyuscung, based upon Anthony Wallace's biography of the Indian leader, is not only very effectively written, but historically rewarding as well; the account of the first steamboats on the river (pp. 290-291), on the other hand, reflects inaccurate sources.

The bibliography is divided into books, periodicals, and other secondary sources. Under books, a history appears on one page as the work of David

Craft, on another as that of David Kraft. The periodicals section includes three state guides combined into a single title; *Pennsylvania History* appears minus its title and the editor's first name; and one misses Ralph Gray's "Down the Susquehanna by Canoe" (*National Geographic*, July, 1950). Under "other secondary sources," the Pennsylvania State Archives has for six years been the Division of Public Records, headed by Henry H. Eddy.

The Susquehanna is the forty-eighth volume of the Rivers of America Series, of which Mr. Carner is editor. Attractively illustrated with drawings by Straw Wegenroth, it is dedicated to Elsie Murray, well-known contributor to the folklore and history of Azilum and Tioga Point.

Easton

WILLIAM A. HUNTER

The Pennsylvania and New York Frontier. History of from 1720 to the Close of the Revolution. By WINSTON BARTON. (Philadelphia: George S. MacManus Company, 1954. vi, 237 p. Bibliography, index. \$4.00.)

There is good reason for the conception of the New York-Pennsylvania frontier in colonial and Revolutionary times. Provincial lines were not barriers to the frontiersmen, and geography made the frontier a region of its own. Furthermore, the domination of the Six Nations Confederacy over the other Indian tribes tied Pennsylvania to the New York frontier. Finally, the centralization of the management of Indian affairs in the hands of a northern superintendent, Sir William Johnson, after 1756, gave some unity to British policy and more direction to colonial procedures. This unity, however, was severely disrupted on the eve of the Revolution. It was not until the Sullivan-Clinton campaign of 1779 that Washington and Congress adopted a positive campaign for the relief of the frontier, and for securing a claim to the western country.

This slim volume essays to treat the story of this frontier from 1720 to the end of the Revolution. This is an extremely large assignment, but it might have been done in general terms, with broad strokes on a wide canvas. To do so would require a nice discrimination between major events and those of minor importance, a careful weighing of policies, campaigns, Indian claims, the westward movement, and the conflict of civilization with primitive peoples. But the author has not made this attempt. Instead, he has seen the frontier as a succession of episodes, with emphasis on Indian raids and captivities, battles, and the personal records of pioneers. He is fascinated by what happened to this or that settlement, and he is particularly absorbed in the Wyoming Valley and its history. Thus he has not been able to see the woods for the trees.

This is the older concept of frontier history, and suggests comparison with Halsey's *Old New York Frontier*, Simms's *Border Wars*, and W. L. Stone's biographies and chronicles. In fact, the author relies heavily on older writers such as Bancroft, Lossing, and Simms, on the local histories

of Wilkes-Barre, and to some extent on the published documents. While modern studies are in some instances listed, his view of Conrad Weiser is that of Walton rather than of Paul Wallace; he refers to Walter Butler as a demon (after Simms and R. W. Chambers) instead of accepting the revision of Swiggett; and his hostile view of Sir William Johnson repeats the errors and prejudices of early biographers.

The short chapters give no indication of the relative importance of their subjects. Frances Slocum, an Indian captive, receives more attention than the Treaty of Fort Stanwix. And the effort to retell the campaigns of Burgoyne, Sullivan, and others in brief compass could not be satisfactory.

Hence, one does not look for accuracy in details. Careless proofreading and capricious punctuation in some instances impair the author's meaning. There is an index, and an inadequate bibliography.

Albany, N. Y.

MILTON W. HAMILTON

Knickerbocker Birthday. A Sesqui-Centennial History of The New-York Historical Society, 1804-1954. By R. W. G. VAIL. (New York: The New-York Historical Society, 1954. xx, 547 p. Illustrations, appendices, index. \$6.00.)

R. W. G. Vail, the Director of the New-York Historical Society, has written with learning and imagination this history of the Society to mark its 150th anniversary. Founded on November 20, 1804, this institution is second in age only to the Massachusetts Historical Society and is but twenty years older than The Historical Society of Pennsylvania. One of the greatest of American learned bodies, it has contributed steadily to our knowledge of America's past both through its publications and through making available to visitors its important holdings of manuscript and printed materials, its art collection and museum objects. Since the first volume of *Collections* appeared late in 1811, it has published more than six hundred volumes and pamphlets, a truly impressive record.

Opening his account with a delightfully ingenious chapter on John Pintard's organizational meeting, Dr. Vail continues in three succeeding chapters to trace the growth of the institution against a backdrop of national developments. Brief sketches are given of each president of the Society and an assessment made of the progress or lack of progress during his regime. The more important acquisitions of books, manuscripts, paintings, and so forth, are recorded, and interesting side lights thrown on the collecting practices of the early curators. As was the case with many of these pioneer groups, an attempt was made to collect on a very broad scale, and such art objects as the Lenox Collection of Nineveh Sculptures and the "three large mummies of the Sacred Bull, Apis" were acquired. With the founding of more suitable institutions, some of these white elephants were disposed of either by sale or by permanent loan. Opportunities were missed—and what

organization has not mislaid them?—and key pieces of Americana were allowed to go elsewhere at such great book sales as that of the George Brinley Library. It might be noticed here that the author's statement that "our Society was the first agency in America to collect the history of the nation" (p. 96) is open to question. The Act of Incorporation (1794) of the Massachusetts Historical Society expresses a similar aim. In the two last chapters there is an account of some of the Society's more distinguished members and an entertaining description of the many anniversary dinners and celebrations which it sponsored. These with two of the earlier chapters have been printed separately in the January-October, 1954, issues of *The New-York Historical Society Quarterly*. This method of organization does result in some repetition.

The Society's solid position today makes it difficult to believe that for many years its continued existence was in doubt. In 1827 it was so heavily in debt that it was forced to put its library on the block. Fortunately, the sale was avoided by a grant from the New York legislature. It did not have a building of its own until 1857 and only moved to its present location in 1908. Internal differences threatened at times to split the membership, but these were peaceably resolved. Perhaps the gravest threat was that made by a very determined woman, Mrs. John King Van Rensselaer, who attempted to take over the direction of the organization in 1917. After a running fight of several years, she was finally squelched. It is fitting to record that the Thompson bequest of \$4,633,915.92, which was so greatly to enlarge the Society's activities, came after the death of Miss Mary Gardiner Thompson in 1935.

The usefulness of the volume is increased greatly by appendices containing some of the fundamental documents of the Society, such as the constitution and by-laws, also lists of officers and a selected list of its publications. There is a detailed index, which suffers from careless proofreading, and some one hundred eighty illustrations. A fine book and one that will serve the needs of a variety of readers.

Massachusetts Historical Society

STEPHEN T. RILEY

Making Democracy a Reality: Jefferson, Jackson, and Polk. By CLAUDE G. BOWERS. (Memphis, Tenn.: Memphis State College Press, 1954. xii, 170 p. \$3.75.)

The democratic concept of society, Mr. Bowers writes in the opening sentences of this book, "is being challenged on two fronts. On the one there are the communists and on the other the fascists, and these two are as one in their common purpose to exterminate democracy . . . and to make men a mere cog in the machine of a police state." For this reason, he continues,

there is need "to review and reappraise the democratic or the American way of life, and for the generality of people to familiarize themselves with the processes and struggles through which we established the governmental system and adopted the philosophy through which we have made phenomenal progress and become the most powerful nation on the earth in which men are free."

There can be no quarrel with these assertions, but, in the lectures that follow them, Mr. Bowers portrays a strange and unfamiliar variety of democracy and freedom. Andrew Jackson is his central figure, and of him, the author says that his "conception of party leadership is well defined. He thought of a political party as an army, munitioned with elemental principles, fighting for policies in conformity with those principles. He insisted on a party organization reaching down from the commander-in-chief to the most insignificant private in the most obscure hamlet and all undeviatingly following the program handed down from the leader."

This avowal of belief in the *Führer* principle is not an accident of phrasing. Democracy came to America, he says, not from the desire of the people for freedom, but "only after a prolonged and bitter struggle and when a leader worthy of the democratic cause appeared upon the scene in Thomas Jefferson." And of James K. Polk, Mr. Bowers writes in one place that "thus with unerring judgment, he led the forces of the Jackson administration, and his leadership was acclaimed by the Jacksonians throughout the nation"; and in another that "the record proves that the nation owes an enormous debt of gratitude to Polk and the brilliant success of his administration, which in four years solved grave problems that had baffled his predecessors."

Fortunately for the United States, Mr. Bowers' interpretation of its past is not entirely accurate, and its people have never been willing to accept its leaders as paragons of virtue to be followed blindfolded. Nor have these people been willing to accept orders and obey them undeviatingly, and if someone has expected them to be grateful he has always been disappointed. This is not to deny that Mr. Bowers' heroes were courageous, honest, and loyal citizens and public officers. They were, but, in spite of Mr. Bowers' belief, so were most of their opponents.

It is in his discussion of the motives, policies, and characters of the men who dared oppose Jefferson, Jackson, and Polk that Mr. Bowers is least trustworthy. In one brief section of four pages on Nicholas Biddle and the Bank of the United States, there are twenty-four misstatements or misinterpretations of fact. And he concludes this section with the statement that "the issue was then crystal clear. . . . Should the economic rights of the common man give way to the domination of money? Should the democracy which triumphed under Jefferson end after thirty years to the Hamiltonian concept of society that Jefferson had crushed." Certainly, no one, not even Mr. Bowers, can examine the subsequent history of the United States and find that the influence of wealth was lessened by Jack-

son's financial policies or that the opportunity for speculative enrichment at the expense of the poor was decreased.

When Jackson became President on March 4, 1829, the American currency was elastic, uniform, and completely adequate for the needs of a prosperous and expanding economy. The Bank of the United States was the balance wheel of a complex but effective financial and credit system which was useful to every group in the country. When Jackson left office, this system was wrecked. The only accomplishment of his reform movement was the elimination of the one financial institution in the country which, prior to the Federal Reserve System, had public responsibilities equivalent to its great powers. The private banks and the general economy were left without controls, guidance, or support, subject to the unrestrained effects of the laws of trade, speculative manipulation, and foreign pressures.

The resulting destruction of values in the depression of the early 1840's and the speculative excesses which characterized the rest of the century, were attributable to Jefferson, Jackson, and Polk and the weakness of government they advocated. Hamilton and his followers had insisted that men, unrestrained by government, would turn upon each other, and the anarchy of the latter part of the nineteenth century proved them to be the truer prophets. Individual freedom was destroyed in many places by the unrestricted power of private tyrannies established by ruthless men and corporations. Only the speculators and a relatively few men of great wealth profited as the economy moved through an unrestrained cycle of boom and bust to the financial ruin of most farmers, merchants, local bankers, manufacturers, and transportation companies. Violence became the accustomed mode of settling disputes over land and water in the West, white supremacy in the South, the right of labor to organize, and between rival corporations. And when the nation, in an effort to remedy these abuses, turned back to the past, it was not to the laissez-faire doctrines of Mr. Bowers' heroes, but to those measures of governmental restraint advocated by Hamilton.

Mr. Bowers has based his lectures on the assumption, which has been accepted by too many historians, that the American society, rather than being interrelated and interdependent, is divided into groups with separate and conflicting interests, and that a policy which enriches some must impoverish others. He does not admit what was proved under Hamilton in the last part of the eighteenth century and reconfirmed in the middle of the twentieth, that if you increase the wages of workers and the income of farmers, you will increase the economic prosperity of all. And conversely, that you cannot destroy the profits and prosperity of the merchants, bankers, and manufacturers without causing depression and unemployment. To him, as to Jefferson, Jackson, and Polk, whenever one man is richer than another, if the riches came from anything but farming, then they have been gained unfairly. It is time for such ideas to be abandoned.

Tulane University

THOMAS P. GOVAN

The Reputation of the American Businessman. By SIGMUND DIAMOND. [Studies in Entrepreneurial History.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1955. [xii], 209 p. Index. \$4.00.)

This is an ingenious and illuminating enterprise. Mr. Diamond has sought to ascertain what public opinion thought about certain rich men at the time of their deaths. For his purpose he has used sermons, eulogies, biographies timed to the decease of his subject, and periodical and newspaper articles. Only those who have examined the documentation of his original thesis can have a just idea of the extent and dispersion of the newspaper sources he has sampled; it is enough to note that for each of his six businessmen he found material in at least one hundred newspapers.

Mr. Diamond might have presented his material by making categories and arranging some thousands of lineal inches of print under them; instead, he has chosen the qualitative way of quotation. The decision was wise, for it gives the flavor of evaluation and thus adds to reader interest. This is not to say that all parts of the volume are of equal interest. On this count the chapters on Girard, Astor, and Vanderbilt are inferior to those on Morgan, Rockefeller, and Ford. Perhaps the availability of labor union and proletarian comments in the case of the latter three gives an agreeable and decisive clash of opinion. On the whole, the chapter on Morgan is the best of the lot, for his career presented the greatest challenge to stereotyped evaluation. Throughout, Mr. Diamond's narrative confirms and elaborates the myth of the self-made man, treated recently in another volume by I. G. Wyllie. Mr. Diamond, however, has judiciously refused to follow the will-o'-the-wisp of deciding whether his epitaph examples accord with reality. Only in his notes does he embark on factual clarification and reveal his own slant.

This is not to say that Mr. Diamond is not in a position to analyze and generalize, for he does both within the system of ideas he is dealing with. Geographically, his wide-flung net of sampling has discovered little variation in opinion; the sectional influence was apparently negligible. Chronologically, he detects an evolution in the myth and symbolism surrounding the businessman. In the early nineteenth century, individual qualities and effort explained business success; in the twentieth century, the business system—identified with capitalism or free enterprise—is used to explain the success of the businessman. "Only in America," runs the repeated phrase, were such opportunity and such unlimited achievement possible. The attack on the businessman thus became an attack on America. On the whole, this thesis is soundly documented. One aspect of the subject, perhaps a subsidiary one, is comparatively untouched. These estimates reveal as much about editors and eulogists, and perhaps about American democracy, as they reveal about rich men. In this context the evolution here set forth is creditable in its increasing sophistication: wealth is the result not only of individual but of social activity. At this point the good seems to stop. From those on Girard to those on Ford, the judgments, here collected, are uni-

formly cocksure, tasteless in expressing both malice and praise, cruelly unjust or stupidly unctuous, and, most of all, extremely arrogant. Admirers or detractors hesitated not a second in deciding whether their heroes went to heaven or their villains to hell. In a more humble age these were matters presumably left to God's decision or, at the very least, postponed to judgment day. Viewed by standards of intellectual poise, impartiality, and understanding, the record here set forth is disheartening. Perhaps that is why one closes this interesting book with a sigh.

Bowdoin College

EDWARD C. KIRKLAND

The Self-Made Man in America. The Myth of Rags to Riches. By IRVIN G. WYLLIE. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1954. x, 210 p. Illustrations, index. \$4.00.)

For more than two hundred years, the ideas of American political, educational, and religious leaders have been studied. In political thought, particularly, scholars have reached a high level of understanding regarding the representative character of certain ideas—who held them, when and how far they spread. In contrast, the thinking of businessmen, the remaining and most numerically important part of the social elite, is largely unexplored territory.

Mr. Wyllie examines one of the stereotypes of nineteenth-century business thought, the idea of the self-made man. Books, articles, and sermons on how to succeed in business and on the virtue of success began to appear in quantity in the 1840's. The main elements of the argument appear to have changed little over the next fifty years. God was seen as directly interested in the process. He approved of care in selecting a calling, of self-help, of frugality and plain living, and of strict attention to business. While this sounds like Calvinism, the grim doctrine of predestination faded into the background, and God's grace was seen as a reward for proper attention to business.

The public champions of this ideology were largely ministers and professional writers. Relatively few active businessmen expressed such views publicly. Those who did, like Carnegie, Cooper, or Drew, were likely to be too eccentric, too rich, or too successful to be regarded as representative of ordinary American businessmen. Thus the extent of business acceptance of the self-help doctrines has to be inferred, largely from the absence of opposite views.

Scholars attempting to analyze business opinion are always likely to be misled by the few but articulate leaders of big business. Although big bureaucratic companies were numerous only in transportation and some lines

of industry, the chance to be a self-made man is pictured as substantially diminished by 1900. Statistically, the number of avenues of opportunity blocked by the social or educational demands of big management were relatively few. The great majority of American businessmen in 1900, or 1955, were, and are, engaged in small or medium sized business. And the business system as a whole has steadily grown in relation to the size of the total population.

In a similar vein, success is discussed in terms of becoming a multi-millionaire, whereas satisfactory success to most American businessmen of 1900 may have meant connection with a secure, going concern and enough saved to ensure a comfortable income. The thousands of men with spacious homes and several servants were successes in their own communities. Seen in these terms, the opportunities for success were greater in 1900 than in 1850.

More important than the presumed closing down of opportunity in altering the doctrine of self-help would appear to be new secular approaches to the elements making for success. By the end of the century, Mr. Wyllie notes, evolutionary theory with its emphasis on inevitable progress through natural law, and specialized education with its insistence on training rather than virtue were superseding the older moralistic, self-help formula. The growing emphasis on training was undoubtedly a reaction to more complex technology and systems of management, but it was also a sign of the increasing number of Americans who had such education. In spite of rival philosophies and the vigorous attacks of progressives, muckrakers, and other critics, the old formula continued to have its proponents in the depression of the 1930's.

Mr. Wyllie attacks the view advanced in Hofstadter's *Social Darwinism* that the evolutionary philosophy of the survival of the fittest as written by Herbert Spencer and preached by Fiske and Youmans spread rapidly in the seventies and eighties. The self-help doctrine, as illustrated in many popular books and as taught in business colleges, is seen as still dominant in business attitudes. Too little systematic analysis of business opinion has been carried out to support either contention. Among railroad leaders, at least, both views were present, and not generally regarded as in conflict.

The fact that the ideology of the self-made man has to be seen in relation to a changing culture would make more chronological ordering desirable in the present book. Explanatory rather than provocative chapter titles would also help.

But when a young and able scholar such as Irvin G. Wyllie is willing to plunge into the uncharted wilderness of business ideas he should be cheered rather than criticised, and my comments are chiefly designed to indicate the large amount of investigation necessary to give the analysis of business thought the form and clarity of the history of political thought.

University of Pennsylvania

THOMAS C. COCHRAN

The Battle Cry of Freedom. The New England Emigrant Aid Company in the Kansas Crusade. By SAMUEL A. JOHNSON. (Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 1954. [xii], 357 p. Illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. \$5.00.)

This is the definitive study of the famous New England Emigrant Aid Company, which did so much to stir the North to the defense of Kansas and Free Soil; it seems unlikely that future need will make another retelling of this particular story desirable. Professor Johnson has used intensively the "papers and effects" of the Company itself, and much else, both printed and unprinted, which bears upon the subject. There can be little doubt that he has presented us with an accurate tale, seen as judiciously as care and awareness of issues can permit.

Cool-headedness and impartiality are essential to the telling of a movement which attracted so much partisan attention. Was Eli Thayer, evangelist of emigration, an ardent abolitionist, or an opportunist? It would seem that he was something of both. Was the Company a speculative enterprise, or was it dedicated to human freedom? Professor Johnson sees its directors, headed by Amos A. Lawrence, without veils, as conservative businessmen, most of whom also hoped that their company would pay a profit, but whose first consideration was that Kansas be rescued from slavery. But did the Company obtrude upon that territory, interfere with its natural political development; did it subsidize Free State men to go to Kansas merely to vote Free State and depart? Professor Johnson finds "not one shred of valid evidence" to this effect. The Company advertised Kansas as a proper home for Northerners, it organized, arranged, encouraged. Thanks to careless and overeager agents, it did not always present an accurate statement of conditions in Kansas, its money was not always disbursed in the business-like manner which was calculated to protect it from proslavery and political criticism. It did raise temporary huts for early settlers, and it bought, built, and aided the building of hotels and mills and other appurtenances of settlement in Kansas. It took the lead in organizing the Free State forces against aggressive and determined proslavery elements during critical periods in 1855 and 1856 when it became necessary to meet their increased efforts to halt the Free Soilers. How savage was the resultant war? Professor Johnson entitles one of his chapters "Bleeding Kansas," but the words are in quotation marks, and he takes pains to see the quarrels, fights, and deaths in perspective. "[It] was petty warfare indeed; but judged by its consequences, it was far more important than many a conflict waged on a much grander scale" (p. 181). By the spring of 1857, Free Soil emigrants were coming on their own, and in numbers which slavery partisans could not match. The Emigrant Aid Company, which had publicized the need for Northern settlers and had helped their advance columns to drive stakes into the territory, was no longer needed. It continued its career, largely for speculative purposes, but its mission—which had included the

building of the Republican Party—had been completed. "The Kansas crusade was ended."

What emerges, then, is a lucid narrative of combined motives and mixed accomplishment, particularly in connection with some of the agents of the Company and co-operating personalities. At times, the tale is somewhat less than enthralling, as when Professor Johnson details the story of the Company's organization, its financial arrangements, and its business operations. In the end, one is pleased to observe that he has avoided the confusions which the Kansas chronicle holds for the unwary. His book contrasts instructively with another recent book on the general subject by Alice Nichols, published, this time without quotation marks, under the title *Bleeding Kansas*. This author read widely in secondary sources, and caught some of the fire of newspaper accounts of events, as well as a sense of the drama which Kansas symbolized. Alas, she was too quick to take asseverations for facts, and to find drama if it was anywhere suggested. Some of her passages are arresting and evocative, but their significance cannot be trusted. One is always happy to point to a proper mating of style and substance; but, in history, the first consideration must always be substance. Miss Nichols' book is expendable; Professor Johnson's is a permanent addition to the history of the antislavery crusade.

Antioch College

LOUIS FILLER

Lincoln and the Party Divided. By WILLIAM FRANK ZORNOW. (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954. xii, 264 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$4.00.)

Many elections past and present attest to the fact that national political campaigns in the United States are not always among the glories of the democracy. The contest of 1864 stands even yet as a shudder-provoking example of the depths that politics can plumb. Perversely enough, the often demonstrated rule seems to be that the more serious the crisis, the more blatant the crusade.

Professor Zornow in *Lincoln and the Party Divided* has presented in all-too-limited a compass the tangled web of jealousies, personal ambitions, and burning hostilities, open and covert, that flared over the North with the beginning of the search for a Presidential candidate as Lincoln entered the last year of his first administration. Among the basic issues were the preservation of the Union, the defense of civil rights, the abolition of slavery, and, strange to say, the unseating of a President unbelievably hated, on the surface at least, by the leaders in his own party. The bulwark of opposition to Lincoln's nomination was the radicals, or "Unconditionals," as the author chooses to designate them; the heart of the Lincoln strength was the common people.

The vagaries of the bitter quest for someone who could unhorse Lincoln are related with directness by Professor Zornow. But the strivings of Salmon P. Chase to stir a pudding that would "not rise," the eager—and persistent—push of Ben Butler to hoist himself to glory, and the always obvious willingness of "romantic" John C. Frémont to lead a cause are not ingredients of a thrilling story, whatever the skill of the author. Factional successes and attempted political bargains only deepened the dissensions. Even the eventual nomination of Lincoln was marred by the fact that there were those who soon began a movement to nullify that action.

The campaign was no less uninspiring than the nominations. There were basic policies to be determined and perplexing problems to be solved, and yet those who conducted the campaign did indeed, as one writer at the time put it, hurl their "oratory, elocution, rhetoric, declamation, and eloquence . . . into the troubled air." But in spite of the horde of individuals who harassed the voters and dumped prodigious quantities of political literature into their laps, no real issues were developed and no fundamental principles were discussed. With a critical war to win, the Union party, uncertain, divided, and not devoid of questionable elements itself, chose to appeal to the electorate for support on the basis that the Democrats were traitors. And so in November, the people went to the polls with nothing to vote *for* and with no clear evidence of what they were voting *against*. The furloughing of thousands of soldiers at election time was, says the author, not decisive. The faith of rural and small-town folks brought Lincoln's hard-won victory.

Professor Zornow, while he has made liberal use of the papers of leading figures in the political drama of 1864, has in his story presented no great amount of new material. He has, however, corrected some errors of the past and made some fresh interpretations that will be generally accepted. He is firmly convinced that the election, whatever the outcome, could have had little effect on the war, for by March 4, 1865, the momentous struggle had reached the point where no individual, even in the Presidency, could stay the course of events. Politically, he points out, the election marked the beginning of a long-time dominance of the Republican Party—although at the moment nobody but the Democrats admitted that there was a Republican Party.

The book is a good one; to this reviewer, at least, the chief criticism is that it is only a brief general survey of the major factors involved in the election of 1864 and not, as the title suggests, a critical study of the forces and developments that temporarily disrupted the Republican organization and returned Lincoln to the White House as the representative of a party that had no unity, no place in the hearts of the people, and no hope for permanence. The index is satisfactory, and there are few typographical errors.

Temple University

JAMES A. BARNES

Bull Run Remembers. . . . The History, Traditions and Landmarks of the Manassas (Bull Run) Campaigns before Washington, 1861-1862. By JOSEPH MILLS HANSON. (Manassas, Va.: National Capitol Publishers, Inc., 1953. x, 194 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$2.75; paper, \$1.90.)

In *Bull Run Remembers*, Mr. Hanson, a former superintendent of the Manassas National Battlefield Park, has produced a volume in which are revealed in chronological order the various military events which occurred in the vicinity of Manassas, Virginia, during the Civil War, including a very interesting and little-known description of what today would be called "amphibious operations" along the Potomac River. The book is divided in sections starting with the First Bull Run (or First Manassas) in July, 1861, then the interlude to August, 1862, with the Second Bull Run (or Second Manassas, as you may prefer); various tables give the make-up of the armies, the losses, and so forth, and, finally, there are several unrelated sections on incidents and stories of events at Manassas, and a list of landmarks and historical monuments and markers.

In no other battles of the Civil War, Mr. Hanson points out, were there so many similar features and so many dissimilar and contradictory events, which confuse not only the tyro on the details of these battles, but the expert as well.

Just to start the confusion, at the First Bull Run the Union army was called the Army of Northeastern Virginia and the Confederate army, the Army of the Potomac. Then, the two battles were fought over the same territory, so that on the "Henry House Hill," for example, one has to remember which battle he is talking about to recall events at this historic spot. In both battles, superior leadership on the part of the Confederates brought overwhelming victory, and in each case a numerically superior Union (or Federal) army fell back on Washington in utter confusion. It is a safe assumption that almost any army commanded by Lee and Jackson could beat any army commanded by Pope, as happened at Second Manassas. Again, at First Bull Run, Joseph E. Johnston, Beauregard, and Jackson were opposing the unfortunate McDowell and the Division Commanders, all second-rate or worse, in his makeshift army.

The extraordinary story of Wilmer McLean, a farmer near Blackburn's Ford, who had the Civil War break out, so to speak, in his front yard at Bull Run, and then moved way down to Appomattox only to have the war end in his front parlor with Lee's surrender, is probably one of the most astonishing coincidences in history. "On the morning of April 9th, 1865," says Hanson, "while walking down the village street in Appomattox, [McLean] was accosted by two horsemen, one in the uniform of a Union officer, the other in Confederate gray. They asked him to conduct them to a house where they might find a room large enough for the holding of a con-

ference." So, all unwitting as to what great historical event his parlor would witness, McLean set the stage for the scene that ended a war whose opening guns had wrecked his kitchen near Manassas three and a half years before.

A story of the lost "Panorama of the Second Battle of Bull Run" painted by Kowalsky in 1888 is included, and two small segment pictures from this are reproduced. The massive painting itself disappeared after being shown in Washington and elsewhere and has never been located since; perhaps it went back to France with Kowalsky and was destroyed there.

One of the most interesting quotations in this book is a nineteen-line summary of the first battle of Bull Run used at the U. S. Military Academy for the instruction of the Cadets. Here in about one hundred and fifty words is a perfect picture from a military angle of two untrained mobs fighting each other; it was a tossup which would give way first. As it happened, Confederate reinforcements arrived just in time to hearten their retreating troops, who returned to overwhelm their equally exhausted opponents; no pursuit was attempted by the untrained Southerners.

Bull Run Remembers contains quite a few illustrations of houses, landmarks, and scenes famous in both battles, a selected bibliography, and a good index, and is a most useful book to have along should one desire to visit Manassas and take time to investigate these battles and their impact on the Civil War and American history. Recommended as a valuable addition to a Civil War library or as a guidebook for that field of battle.

Paoli

KENT PACKARD

Rebel Rose. Life of Rose O'Neal Greenhow, Confederate Spy. By ISHBEL ROSS. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1954. xiv, 294 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$4.00.)

Confederate Agent: A Discovery in History. By JAMES D. HORAN. (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1954. xxvi, 326 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$5.00.)

Espionage during Civil War days was a crude, individualistic performance compared with the highly organized and widespread methods now employed. The spies were essentially amateurs, and there was no organized fifth column. The penalty for detection and arrest was apt to be much less severe than is at present the case.

"Rebel Rose," Mrs. Rose O'Neal Greenhow, was a cultured, much traveled, and well-connected woman, who, previous to the Civil War, had lived much of the time in Washington where she had established friendly contacts with most of the important and influential men. Some of them called her their "Wild Rose" and gave her access to and knowledge of many "secrets" of government. When war came, Mrs. Greenhow, strong in her support of the Southern cause, was able to obtain information concerning

military plans and troop movements that she constantly relayed to the Confederate authorities. Some of the information was useful, but much of it had no more value than gossip.

Mrs. Greenhow's most valuable contribution to the Southern cause was the information she was able to send to Richmond concerning the planned movements of the Union troops to the field of the First Bull Run. Long under suspicion, she was arrested on August 23, 1861, placed under house arrest and later transferred to the Old Capitol Prison. She was finally brought to trial in March, 1862, and sentenced to be banished to the Confederate capital at Richmond where she went in June, 1862.

For the next year she was more or less a quiet observer of events in Richmond and passed the time composing a book on her arrest and imprisonment in Washington. Early in August, 1863, it was arranged for her to run the blockade to England where she expected to get her book published, in the meantime doing what she could to arouse sympathy and secure help for the Southern cause. After a year in England and France, she sailed on her return to Richmond heavily weighed down with two thousand dollars in gold carried in a belt or sewed into her clothing. The blockade runner on which she sailed ran aground in entering Wilmington, North Carolina, harbor. Impatient at the delay, Mrs. Greenhow insisted on going ashore in a heavy sea in a small boat. The boat capsized and the "Rebel Rose," weighed down by the gold which she carried, was lost in the rushing sea. All others in the boat were saved.

Miss Ross has written an interesting account of Mrs. Greenhow's life, based on published materials and to some extent on contemporary newspapers. There are a few minor errors.

Confederate Agent, largely an account of the Confederate career of Captain Thomas H. Hines of Kentucky, is a more original and thorough book, based on much unpublished and hitherto unused manuscript material. After several years of service with Morgan's cavalry, Hines, with others, was taken prisoner, helped to engineer a spectacular escape from the Ohio penitentiary in Columbus, and early in February, 1864, appeared in Richmond. He proposed a plan to create a revolution in the "Northwest" with the aid of the Copperheads in that region to free Confederate soldiers in Northern prison camps and to gain control of several of the large cities in the area. Because of his prior contact and experience with the Copperheads, Hines was chosen as "the logical man to lead the military command of such a project," and was thereafter the dynamic head and leader of the attempt to create a revolution in the states north of the Ohio River.

Confederate Agent is a detailed account of Hines's efforts, which, in general, failed for lack of sufficient resources and because the Copperhead leaders drew back at the critical moments when wholehearted and effective co-operation might have achieved some measure of success. Instead, about all that Hines really achieved was to become a nuisance rather than a dangerous and effective weapon. Attempts at revolution in Indiana, in Illinois,

and in Ohio, bank raids in Vermont, and attempts to burn New York, Chicago, and other Northern cities all failed—and then the war ended.

A short chapter (pp. 107–112) is given to the abortive meeting of the Confederate Commissioners with Horace Greeley at Niagara Falls late in 1864. In this account, James P. Holcombe (not Holcomb) is the principal character. For some reason, unnecessary mystery is attached to Holcombe's activities and ultimate fate. Holcombe, at Halifax, boarded the blockade runner bearing Mrs. Greenhow to Wilmington, North Carolina. The author insists that Holcombe left Niagara Falls en route to London and cannot understand why he should have boarded a vessel bound for a Southern port. In his report to Secretary of State Judah P. Benjamin, Holcombe makes no mention of any plan to go to London. This letter was included in the Pickett Papers sold to the United States Government in 1872 and, at the time, was widely published in the newspapers.

Confederate Agent is essentially a bringing-up-to-date of "The Northwest Conspiracy," signed by Hines, but written by one of his associates, Captain John B. Castleman, and published in *The Southern Biouac* in 1886–1887. At the time, many persons involved in the so-called "Conspiracy" were still living, and Castleman was reluctant to criticize. Consequently, he told only half the story, leaving out mention of names and acts that might have given offense.

The author has done extensive research both in published and unpublished materials, some of the latter never before used. He seems not to have consulted only the Pickett Papers. He has made an interesting and valuable contribution to the "hidden" history of the Civil War. Both these books are well illustrated, both have useful bibliographies, and each has an index.

Locust Valley, N. Y.

THOMAS ROBSON HAY

The Solitary Singer. A Critical Biography of Walt Whitman. By GAY WILSON ALLEN. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1955. xviii, 614 p. Illustrations, appendices, index. \$8.00.)

Professor Gay Wilson Allen, of New York University, has given us in his *The Solitary Singer. A Critical Biography of Walt Whitman* the most comprehensive and exhaustive work on the poet that has thus far appeared. It is, as the title indicates, not only a biography, but a critical examination of the subject's poetry and prose.

Allen has so carefully tracked down the path and career of Whitman from his birth on May 31, 1819, at West Hills, Long Island, to his death in Camden on March 27, 1892, that we know almost every place where he had been, and everything that he did, wrote, and said. The book is thoroughly documented, does not read like a chronology; in fact, it holds the reader with

breathless interest, and pages of facts are relieved by pages of critical insight. Allen has profited, and so acknowledges, by Whitman's early newspaper work resurrected by Emory and Holloway, and especially by access to the material accumulated by the late Clifton J. Furness, who never completed his own intended work and whom Allen (perhaps a little ungraciously) calls "one of the most tragic failures I have known among scholars." Furness did publish a valuable work in connection with Whitman, *Walt Whitman's Workshop*, to which Allen's notes show he is indebted.

Most of the essential facts of Whitman's life have become familiar by this time. It is a far cry from the adverse view held of him, with few exceptions, in his lifetime and even for a couple of decades after his death, to the adulation and even reverence that have since been his lot. Those who in the past wanted to be generous found one bright spot in his life, the period when he acted as a voluntary nurse to soldiers wounded in the Civil War, and they commended one poem of his, "Captain, My Captain," not only because it was a tribute to Lincoln, but because in form it had an approach to regular meter, somewhat different from the irregular rhythms of his other poems. The value of Allen's book is that it is sympathetic, without being adulatory. The best tribute to be paid to it is to declare that here is *the* book to read about Whitman for a verbal portrait of the man, for insight into his mind as a thinker and his soul as a poet. It analyzes the *Leaves of Grass* poem by poem, and devotes space to the neglected *Prose Works*.

It is not to be wondered at that a work abounding in so many facts should have inaccuracies; some, however, are inexcusable. It was not a Senator from South Carolina who beat Charles Sumner with a cane, but a Congressman (Brooks). Had 10,000 been killed and wounded in the draft riots in New York in 1863, it would have been a massacre, not a riot; probably 1,000 were killed. Allen has also misquoted sources, as when he assumes that Whitman was angry because he was not selected to read the opening poem at the Centennial instead of Bayard Taylor, and that he therefore visited the Exhibition only once. Whittier, not Taylor, delivered the opening poem, and Whitman visited the Exhibition many times. The reviewer has noted at least a score of such errors, which it is hoped will be corrected in a new edition.

The chief fault of the book is that the word "perhaps" and other similar terms are constantly used. There must be nearly fifty in the first chapter of thirty-eight pages alone. Not that Allen makes many bad guesses, but these "perhappes" create in the reader a feeling of uneasiness as to whether the author is always sure of what he is saying. There are, of course, matters on which there is controversy. Allen underplays the role that women occupied in the poet's life. He does not believe that Whitman, although not married, had children, as Whitman himself admitted on several occasions; he does not concede that the poet entertained homoerotic feelings. There is also what has been called some "small beer" in the book; the poet's relatives are given too much space.

Allen's literary judgment on the whole is very sound, but he has done obeisance to the "new criticism" with its identification of literary criticism as a quest and imaginary interpretation of "images," "symbols," and "myths."

Withal, this is still a monumental biography of a great poet by a masterly writer.

Philadelphia

ALBERT MORDELL

NOTICE

The Pennsylvania Society of the Colonial Dames of America is searching for letters of Hannah Penn, wife of William Penn, and letters to her or about her. The Committee wants photostats only, not originals. Please communicate with the Secretary, 1630 Latimer Street, Philadelphia.

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