BOOK REVIEWS


The third volume of Professor Andrews' The Colonial Period of American History concludes his treatment of The Settlements, and makes possible some assessment of his accomplishment at the end of the first great stage of his undertaking. Here are a total of thirty-eight chapters, some 1200 pages, setting forth the story of English colonization in continental and insular America from the founding of Jamestown to the fall of proprietary government in Carolina in 1727. Since with one or two exceptions the material treated falls within the seventeenth century, one is naturally tempted into comparison with the similar work of Herbert Levi Osgood, published thirty years ago. The older historian chose to observe the planting process from the American shore, largely as a problem of European immigrants being transplanted into a new world. With Andrews, the point of view is imperial, and his concern chiefly with the effects of that tremendous emigration on Great Britain and the larger England then struggling into being. Both writers have found in legal and political institutions, the actions of leaders, and the events of politics the keys to an understanding of seventeenth-century America. Their differences are a matter of focus: one uses a microscope, the other a telescope in reconstructing the New World scene.

To the latter our colonial history attains a world-wide significance as a chapter in the expansion of Britain, an aspect too frequently overlooked by historians in their concentration on a nation being born.

Mr. Andrews opens Volume III with a discussion of the "Western Design and Jamaica," progressing thence to an examination of the beginnings of a conscious commercial and colonial policy as first revealed in 1664 in the British seizure of New Netherland. Chapters follow on New York, New Jersey, the Carolinas, and Pennsylvania, each contributing to his description of the process by which the growing importance of overseas trade led gradually but inevitably to the adoption of a new attitude toward colonial possessions on the part of the Stuart government. Colonization became henceforth a matter of practical business rather than a religious or political enterprise; viewed in this light the proprietary colonies achieve new significance. After 1660 the landed classes, as eager as urban traders in their desire to amass pounds sterling, evinced increased awareness of the financial possibilities in colonial grants, and the overlapping and common interests of men of both groups produced what amounted to "interlocking directorates" in most proprietary ventures in the New World.

Despite the great library of writings on New Netherland-New York, Andrews, serenely sweeping aside the claims of partisans, succeeds in adding new detail. Before this admirable account of "the most extreme feudal grant" ever
made in America, and the judicious assessment of the Leislerian conflict, the question as to why no consideration was accorded the views of F. Wieder on the founding of New Amsterdam sinks to the level of cavilling. In his account of New Jersey Mr. Andrews admits his inability to escape the "muddle of perplexity" awaiting any writer who approaches the unhappy early history of that colony. Yet this exposition of that unfortunate confusion is the most comprehensible the reviewer has yet encountered. "Whatever we may think of proprietary rule in general," Mr. Andrews concludes, "there can be no doubt of the baneful results of the duke's casual and almost haphazard grant of the Jerseys to Berkeley and Carteret, for it benefited no one, not even the proprietors themselves, and brought only trouble, confusion, and discord in its train. The uncertainty of the right of government, the conflict over land titles and quit-rents, the loss of the territory to New York's great injury, the division into two provinces, and the consequent absence of a unified and centralized headship ... the constant change of proprietors, their want of agreement, and their lack of interest for the most part in anything but revenues from the soil—all these things made the thirty-eight years of proprietary rule a time of distraction that checked the normal development of both provinces and left legacies of litigation lasting on indefinitely." The treatment of proprietary rule in the Carolinas combines a study of the feudal nature and English backgrounds of the proprietors with the local and imperial views of McCrady and Crane. The much discussed Fundamental Constitutions are shown to be an "adaptation of English institutions and laws to a great frontier palatinate," many of their provisions already outmoded in the Mother Country, and entirely incapable of enforcement in the New World.

A similar conflict between persistent feudalism and seventeenth-century commercial enterprise characterizes the charter of Pennsylvania. Penn's petition for a strictly feudal grant ran counter to the new theories of the Lords of Trade, and their careful scrutiny of the instrument plus the routine procedure of passing it through the seals explains the delay in issuing the charter which has puzzled many biographers. Andrews can find no evidence that pressure from Charles II, intent upon striking a blow at English Whigs, forced the reluctant Lords to acquiesce. Penn's charter took the usual proprietary form, but with the addition of some clauses consonant with the more advanced views of the Lords of Trade; the instrument was, therefore, a "compromise text, partly medieval and partly modern." Though in effect a feudal lord, William Penn found his prerogatives, in comparison with those of Lord Baltimore or the Duke of York, distinctly hedged.

In these chapters on Pennsylvania the present readers will find the center of their interest. Those familiar with the recent works of Brailsford, Hull, and Dunaway on early Pennsylvania and its proprietor will discover little new material. Mr. Andrews' contributions lie in the summarizing of the views of these scholars, in clarification of the old complex legal problems of charter and boundary disputes, and in the integration of the "Holy Experiment" with the wider field of British expansion and colonization.
A dominant theme in this third volume is the conservatism of seventeenth-century colonizing impulses, giving way, though gradually, under the influence of new conditions. It is nicely illustrated in the internal events of Pennsylvania history. Despite his elaborate laws, Penn's scheme for the government of his colony was quite simple. Far from actually governing, the assembly was merely to "resolve" upon what the governor and council saw fit to propose. Penn's view of the liberties of Englishmen was legal and restricted; "he believed not in the divine right of kings but in the divine right of government"—and certainly not in the divine rights of democracy. His problem was the maintenance of his feudal, proprietary prerogatives, and their reconciliation with the new royal control. In the face of growing racial and religious diversity, and with the royal government under Fletcher in many cases furthering the cause of the assembly in its struggle against the proprietor, this proved clearly impossible, and some measure of popular government inevitably followed. In his examination of this process the author presents a most reasonable interpretation of David Lloyd's opposition to Penn and his governors, which he regards as the prototype of the great eighteenth-century struggle between colonial assemblies and representatives of the crown. But unlike William E. Dodd, who finds the "Struggles for Democracy" motivating the whole history of the Southern Colonies in the seventeenth century, Andrews can discover no democracy in this period. He interprets the phrase "the people" in the sense in which contemporaries understood it.

In these volumes Professor Andrews has treated the legal and institutional aspects of our colonial history in a masterly fashion. Within the limits he has set for himself even the most captious reader can find little to criticize. There are matters, however, with which he does not deal. To many they seem most fundamental to an understanding of colonial history. The present writer has already suggested what a fruitful field remains to be cultivated, and forbears to comment further (Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, LXI. 334). But in the institutional field Mr. Andrews' work may be considered definitive, and should remain a fitting monument to his scholarship and judgment.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Carl Bridenbaugh


Apart, of course, from the English stock perhaps the most influential racial admixture to what is now sometimes called the American nation is Germanic in origin. This is especially true of Pennsylvania where even in our day certain communities have preserved customs and modes of living strangely reminiscent of the Rhineland. In the main however the American influence has always acted the part of the Great Leveller and even the most self-contained of the foreign communities has not succeeded in withstanding its activity. Thus,
whereas formerly the characteristics of different national groups could be observed in loco, in our day first hand observation would lead to little, if anything, unless supplemented by a thorough study of local tradition and literature.

Although not nearly so well covered as the English, the German influence in American life has been studied to good advantage. The German influence on American life and culture—both collectively and as exemplified by the achievement of personalities of national importance—has received on the whole the attention it deserves. Not so, however, the influence of the American scene on the masses of German emigrants who now have completely identified themselves with their new fatherland. That this should be so is natural, for only recently with the development of a new interest in social studies has the common man become an object of study and investigation.

Literature on the German in America is abundant. It is not evenly divided among the various fields of interest but some fields— genealogy and local history, for instance—are covered fairly well. There have also been several attempts at listing these writings for the convenience of the scholar and the general reader. Seidensticker's work is perhaps the most familiar. Somewhat less familiar works are the two lists prepared by the Library of Congress, The German in the United States (1904) and what may be called a supplement to this published in 1929. Together they list about 350 items. A quite comprehensive compilation is A. B. Faust's The German Element in the United States first published in 1909 and reissued with additions in 1927. The Pennsylvania Germans have received attention in H. Catherine Long's Bibliography of the Pennsylvania-Germans (1910) and in Monroe Aurand's The Pennsylvania German Library published at Harrisburg in 1928. While all these works are excellent in that they essay to survey a fertile but hitherto uncharted field, their usefulness to the scholar is seriously handicapped—except in the case of Seidensticker—by their acknowledged characteristic of selectiveness. They are well enough as a first introduction to the field but do not go far beyond arousing an interest for more.

Herr Meynen's work is in all respects a different performance. In the first place, the author is not himself an American and has neither sentimental nor antiquarian interests at stake. He is a scholar primarily interested in the problem of German emigration and the present bibliography was intended first and foremost for his own orientation. The underlying interest is cultural-geographical and so of necessity would include not only the foam but also, we may say, the dregs of mass transplantation. Thus his work of necessity had to include much pertaining to the masses and to social conditions and inter-racial influences in general. In his own words,

The bibliography is not a check list of Pennsylvania-German writings or a collection of all the titles of books written by Pennsylvania-Germans. It is a compilation of printed source material which bears upon the history of that people. It is a bibliography of the German settlements in Colonial North America in general, and especially a compilation of all books and papers which set forth the part belonging to the Pennsylvania-German in the growth and development of American character, institutions and progress.
Meynen's work contains 7858 numbered items. Almost all of these have been examined by the author personally in some seventy libraries both in this country and in Europe, and the work has been accomplished in three years of intensive study made possible by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. The largest number of entries were, naturally enough, gathered in Philadelphia—notably in the libraries of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania and the University of Pennsylvania. Other important libraries investigated include the Library of Congress, the New York Public Library and the various libraries of local historical societies.

The arrangement is classified both by subject and by localities in some 250 sections and divisions. To facilitate quick reference, there are two indexes: one for authors and the other for persons written about. A third index—a register of place names—is the only more or less serious omission in this very excellently executed work. The table of contents, it is true, is in a sense an index of place names but as several subject divisions are locally subdivided and the same localities are thus found in several places of the work, such an index would have been far from superfluous.

As in most works of this type certain omissions are almost a matter of course. In this particular case, theological writings have been omitted as also literature published in the Pennsylvania-German dialect. The same is true of the by no means unextensive fiction which has grown up around the Pennsylvania-German. These omissions, however, subtract little if anything from a work the main intention of which is scientific and cultural. For even as it is, the book is quite bulky in volume and a score or so more pages—not to say a hundred which could be expected—would make it somewhat clumsy to use. In its present inclusiveness and arrangement it may well become a model for like compilations and it is bound to be recognized as a bibliographical tool of first importance by any investigator of German contributions to American culture.

Union Library Catalogue of the
Philadelphia Metropolitan Area

Arthur Berthold

The Saga of American Society. By Dixon Wecter. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937. xvi, 504 p. $4.00.)

The idea of "Society" is a romantic one, a poetic conception of pageantry and fairy tales which has filled the imaginations of countless people. Between Hollywood, which can supply so much more romance, and taxes, which are making large fortunes less likely, the future of "Society" is no longer so assured. Furthermore there is an important distinction to be borne in mind, a distinction between "Society" and aristocracy. The former which is so conditioned by snobbery, extravagance, and careless disregard for sacred obligations has little justification except that it does help to promote an aristocracy "of gentle manners, beautiful speech, and the connoisseurship of gracious living" (p. 5). But it is "Society" that makes the headlines and leaves a recorded history. So in writing the Saga of American Society, the historian must devote most of his time to the spectacular behavior of plutocracy.
In colonial times, relatively few people of gentle birth came to America. In general there were but freemen and indentured servants. But they were used to an exalted rank of society and it was not long before an upper class appeared. Land at first was the distinction but soon a wealthy mercantile class made its bow. In the South, in New England and in the Middle Colonies several series of families were recognized as leaders. Some few of them had English social connections but most of them had made their way up in the new world.

The Revolution curtailed their pretensions somewhat. In a democratic era, aristocracy had to retreat. But a new society was forming. The great wealth possible in the latter half of the nineteenth century produced a plutocracy. With the characteristics and habits of this group, the Saga of American Society is most concerned.

The personalities, the mode of living and the institutions of "Society" are described in great detail. There is much description of fine houses, lavish entertainment, clubs, cliques, and the like. The commanding influence of women is discussed at length. Publicity methods, international marriages, and the patronage of sport and the arts receive racy treatment. The author concludes that "Society" by its sporadic patronage of opera, art, religion and philanthropy hardly justifies itself. Only as it produces higher standards of conduct can it be socially justifiable. "Lacking the simplicity, courage, generosity, and honor of [good breeding], the life of mankind would indeed be poorer" (p. 483).

This book is written by a scholar who has delved deeply into the subject. He writes a very entertaining book which will be read by many Pennsylvanians with interest, for there are numerous references to local Society.

University of Pennsylvania

ROY F. NICHOLS

The Exquisite Siren. The Romance of Peggy Shippen and Major John André.
By E. IRVINE HAINES. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1938. 444 p. $2.50.)

In approaching the historical writings of E. Irvine Haines, the reviewer must move warily, because Mr. Haines plays with an ace up his sleeve—he has had access to original letters and documents which have been inaccessible to anyone else. Several years ago, in the New York Times Magazine, he first propounded his startling theory that Peggy Shippen, lovely young wife of Benedict Arnold, had been a British secret agent, important member of an elaborate espionage system, and had, by her own cunning, seduced Arnold from his loyalty to the American cause. Ever since that time, historians have waited expectantly for Mr. Haines to come forth with proof. He has chosen, however, to use his theory as a basis for an historical novel.

It is written in the popular vein, with strong men on both sides of the Revolution yielding to the spell of a beautiful woman. Peggy, a mere chit of a girl in her teens, is the traditional heroine of romance. When her king commands, she steps out of her sheltered life, jaunts about the country on her faithful Cato, fords swollen rivers, strides boldly into lowly taverns, mingles with soldiers. Her pistol is always handy; her "cartridge belt" buckled to her waist. As is
usual in fiction, her beautiful, long hair, so useful when she is playing the
siren, disappears miraculously when she disguises herself as a boy. André fits
the popular conception of a hero, popping up conveniently whenever Peggy
needs him, nobly controlling his passions. Arnold is all that is base and des-
picable. The Revolution appears an exciting time, filled with balls and romps,
intrigues and affairs. One gets the impression that almost every one engaged in
the war was a secret agent on one side or the other. Gates is in the pay of the
British; Aaron Burr is everywhere at once, as head of Washington's secret
service; Mrs. Loring is a loyal American spy.

Mr. Haines has set himself an heroic task. In covering almost the whole
Revolution, it is not surprising that he has let inaccuracies creep in. And in
handling so many characters, it is not remarkable that he has failed to make
any of them stand out as living, breathing people. In fact, Peggy herself emerges,
not as a courageous woman sacrificing all for her king, but a little busy-body,
officiously undertaking missions that might have been better performed by
almost anyone else.

Mr. Haines' underlying theory is tenable. The Sir Henry Clinton Papers,
in the William L. Clements library, reveal that she was cognizant of her
husband's correspondence with the British. For all we know, she may have
been very influential in persuading him to quit the American cause. These
same documents, however, offer strong proof that she did not do it in the way
Mr. Haines has indicated. Granted, that most historical novelists have taken
the liberty of twisting History to fit their stories. But Mr. Haines has occa-
sionally wrung Her neck and thrown Her out the window.

The Clinton Papers reveal, for instance, that the British commander-in-chief
muddled along from year to year, without any plan, and that in the beginning
of the treason correspondence, West Point was not even considered. Yet, in a
solemn conference with Peggy as early as June, 1777, Haines' Clinton entrusts
Peggy with the mission of seducing an American general to get the command
of West Point, so as to betray it to the British. This is particularly interesting
when we remember that at the time West Point was nothing but an unforti-
fied rock. Moreover, in the book, Peggy and Clinton strive for this West Point
goal from 1777 to 1780.

Haines is correct in saying that Major John André was one of the heads of
the British secret service. But he did not gallivant about the country in disguise;
he remained close to headquarters, performing other duties as Clinton's adjutant
general, and let deserters and loyalists do the dangerous work of espionage.
When Sir William Howe was in the chief command, there may have been some
system for gathering intelligence, but we have no indication that it ever became
so elaborate as Haines has pictured it, with numbered operators and established
codes. We know that during Clinton's command, at least, the secret service was
very haphazard, hastily arranged to meet each new emergency.

As for the Arnold treason, on which the curtain was to be raised for the first
time, it remains wrapped in mists. Dates, details, codes, and messengers are,
for the most part, left entirely to the imagination. In short, for those who know
a little history, Mr. Haines has produced an exciting love story, packed with
adventure and intrigue. For those who are familiar with the Revolution,
however, he would have done better to place his story in a country like Montes-
via, with the lovely Countess Olga carrying on her intrigues with that lovable
rogue, Madcap Michael.

_Hollywood, California_  

JANE CLARK

*Lantern Slides* by Mary Cadwalader Jones. (Boston: D. B. Updike, The
Merrymount Press, privately printed, 1937. viii, 129 p.)

"The old Philadelphia into which I was born in the last days of 1850 was
a comfortable place. Our narrow streets were not overcrowded by trams or
motors; halbert-headed railings guarded sunny squares where fat squirrels
hopped in greedy peace, and the people who lived in the red brick houses with
green shutters and white marble doorsteps had time to know their neighbors."

So begins Mrs. Jones, and this same charming but bye-gone note runs
through the book, giving us a very pleasing picture of the city of our grand-
parents. The author was indeed born into the purple of Philadelphia's Brahmin
caste, for her father was a Rawle and her mother a Cadwalader—and as if that
were not enough, she was born in the Powel House besides. Her narrative
covers only her childhood and youth, and ends with her wedding trip to Ger-
many in 1870, but her delineation of Philadelphia in the Civil War period
is as vivid as Henry Adams' picture of the Boston of the same day in his
_Education._

Her father, a successful lawyer and legal writer, was left a widower at an
eyear age, and his whole affection was concentrated on his daughter, whom he
must have spoiled thoroughly. Being the constant companion of her father had
its compensations for the girl, none the less, with the result that she saw far
more of living history than did the average Philadelphia girl of the time. She
met Joseph Bonaparte and Prince Yturibide, as well as Thackeray, who dined
often with her father when in Philadelphia in 1855-1856. The great novelist
would sit the child on his knee and draw her funny sketches, which—alas!
were all thrown away. She has much to say about seeing Lord Matsumoto
Sinnojio, the first Japanese envoy to the United States, with whom she got on
famously, while in 1862 she was taken by her father to call on President
Lincoln: "I only noticed that Mr. Lincoln was very tall, that he spoke with
an accent unfamiliar to me, and that his clothes fitted him badly; they were
much too loose and his trousers bagged at the knees."

Another interesting experience came in March, 1865, when she accompanied
her father to Charleston. Her picture of the captive city is very sad, while the
account of raising the Stars and Stripes on Fort Sumter is an interesting example
of Nemesis. Due to wartime conditions she had to return from the South via
Cuba, on a most uncomfortable man-of-war. After the war she "comes out,"
goes to the Assembly, learns the secrets of Philadelphia's wine, Madeira, travels
abroad by the paddle wheel Cunarder *Scotia,* and marries.
There may have been more profound books, but there have been few more delightful. It is in the best sense a prose sonata of "the horse and buggy age." Physically, the book is worthy in every way of the great tradition of the Merrymount Press.

*Benjamin Franklin's Own Story*. His autobiography continued from 1759 to his death in 1790, with a biographical sketch drawn from his writings. By Nathan G. Goodman. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1937. 268 p. $2.50.)

This entirely readable and attractive book adds nothing to the available sources for Franklin's biography, nor is the idea of asking Franklin for his own story a new one. W. C. Bruce, in *Benjamin Franklin Self-revealed* (1917), did much the same thing far more thoroughly, and of course every biographer from Parton (1864) to Fay (1933) has relied upon the rich store of letters for much of his knowledge of Franklin's personality and the facts of his life. The one thing which distinguishes the present volume is its almost complete objectivity. It is not, as the title might imply, a literary *tour de force* in the form of a semi-fictional continuation of the *Autobiography*. The story of the latter years is told quite factually and uncritically, with liberal quotations from Franklin's own letters. Bruce and all other biographers add their own critical interpretations to Franklin's self-revelations; Mr. Goodman's comments are impersonal. The result is an impartial and informative book for the Franklin amateur.

*Swarthmore College*  
Robert E. Spiller


*The First Rebel*. By Neil H. Swanson. (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1937. xv, 393 p. $3.00.)

Caledonia *redivivus*, the terrain of the pioneering Scots and North Irish from the Cumberland Valley to the dingles of Allegheny County, is gradually achieving historiographic and belletristic recognition of its national significance and its local richnesses. Part of this attention is admirably being stimulated by Pittsburgh institutions; part, no less welcome, is ultramontane. Of the latter origin are the two books under discussion.

But with equal regard for Little Buttercup's advice that things are not always what they seem and for the neo-science of semantics, one may remark that a historical novel may be of so pedestrian a groove that there is nothing novel about it, and a historical biography so nearly unhistorical that it is novel. *Black Forest* spans the years from 1754 to 1788. Its focal setting is western Pennsylvania, but its rays extend from Kaskaskia to New Jersey. The two protagonists, father and son, are involved in many historical episodes and meet practically everybody from Daniel Boone (who, surprisingly, is the wagoner who totes the wounded Braddock from the battlefield) to the founders of
Muskingum. Forbes, Washington, et al., make speeches about the portentousness of their respective activities. Andrew Montour gets drunk and takes his clothes off. The Indians make anatomical messes of the Highlanders they capture at Grant's Hill. The Continental Army almost mutinies. Heroine Number One suffers distressingly; the ingénue fares better, but she knows not the secret of her birth. The totality is neither adult Henty nor imitation Ouida nor worthy Minnigerode. The end-papers, a decorative map of the Old Northwest with an inset of the Pennsylvania frontier, are charming.

Lest the reviewer seem of unwonted acerbity, a quotation is in order. This will do (p. 147-48):

"But without seeing himself in Mrs. Whatername's big mirror, Patrick thought that he probably looked very ganty, and he wanted to, for this was a very grand occasion. Swearing in the new Justices of the District of West Augusta. Justices of the Peace; Justices of the County Court in Chancery; Justices of the Court of Oyer and Terminer. The first Court ever held in Pittsburgh. You ought to call it Fort Dunmore, but nobody did except in documents. The first court ever held west of the mountains; for the Pennsylvania people had not yet held one at their rival county seat of Hannastown. Here they came. . . . Take off your hat? Yes. Drummers, and the Sheriff with drawn sword, and the Justices in wigs and scarlet robes. There was George Croghan, the Presiding Judge; and you shouldn't laugh, but he looked very comical in his big wig. . . ."

The rape of the English language is not so comical. Mr. Minnigerode has made copious notes from Hanna, Volwiler, Alvord, Ambler, and Hulbert, and jotted down some paragraphs of information alternately with some paragraphs of impressionistic writing. There seems to have been small zest in the task. The contribution to the literature of frontier Pennsylvania setting is negligible. Mr. Neil H. Swanson's The Judas Tree remains, if only by default, the best of its sort.

Mr. Swanson's The First Rebel is not so easily labeled or commended. It can hardly be called historical fiction; the subtitle includes the phrase "True Narrative," and the one hundred and twenty-six words, in eleven fonts, on the title-page seem calculated to frighten the lighter-minded readers who found The Judas Tree pleasant. A claim that it is history raises queries. Its place may be rather with the "intuitive" biographies which flourished in the Strachey spray of a few years ago, a dilation of printed records by miraculous empathy with the tickings of the subject's mind.

This book is the story of James Smith, born in 1737 on the outermost fringe of the Pennsylvania frontier, the Conococheague valley; Indian captive from July, 1755, until April, 1760, and voluntary prisoner of the French for a few months thereafter; author of a semi-classic among frontier relations, An Account of the Remarkable Occurrences. . . . The narrative of the captivity is brilliantly paraphrased in the earlier chapters of The First Rebel—stout adventure stuff deserving of Allan Nevins's comment, "so spiritedly done as to better the original."

Returned to the Conococheague, Smith built a cabin, hunted, raised corn,
wived; was jolted by the Indian outbreaks of 1763 into leadership of an "army" of fifty frontiersmen, and in 1764 was an ensign in the Pennsylvania line. After this point in Smith's career Mr. Swanson slackens his auctorial gait for an expansive treatment of his hero as "the First Rebel"—leader of a destructive attack (March 6, 1765) upon a train of Indian goods bound for Fort Pitt; besieger of Fort Loudon after the commandant there had arrested eight of Smith's fellows; organizer of a vigilante "government" with two hundred Conococheague riflemen controlling traffic on the Forbes Road; flogger of teamsters; leader of a second attack on Fort Loudon which forced the British regulars to evacuate the post; and (September 10, 1769) in the van of a mad, successful storming of Fort Bedford. These are striking events, the raison d'être of Mr. Swanson's book. "My intention," as stated in the Foreword (which is curiously dated from Fort Loudon, June 1, 1937), "was to present a forgotten sequence of dramatic events which I believed would be as surprising and interesting to others as it was to me."

Past Smith's trial for murder and acquittal, the record is scant; and the book fades into a quick, affectionate ending. There follows an Appendix, 67 pages of "certified copies of the documents on which the story is based." No source for any of these documents is given, but their location is not as archival as this reticence might suggest. They are merely reprinted from the Pennsylvania Colonial Records, vol. IX, and the Pennsylvania Archives, 1st ser., vol. IV.—volumes which have been easily accessible to students for almost a hundred years. Unprinted manuscripts in the Bouquet Papers and elsewhere were apparently not consulted.

Many readers and reviewers have been identically careless in assuming the author's intent was to present the Conococheague insurgents as the "first rebels" of the American Revolution. The title-page speaks of "The Pennsylvania Rebellion, in which backwoodsmen fought the famous Black Watch, besieged a British fort . . . forced its evacuation Ten Years Before Lexington." The Foreword cites "the causes of the frontier rebellion which foreshadowed the Revolution" as essentially "man against money . . . human rights against property rights. . . . Their own local magistrates led them in insurrection to defend their civil liberties and their security." Chapter I is a dramatic picture, wrenched from its chronological place, of the derring-do on May 6, 1765 ("Lexington is almost ten years away. But the first fight is on between Americans and British regulars, and the British are retreating"). This repetend is varied on page 173 into "Not until December 16, 1773, would another small group of Americans, in Boston, disguise themselves as Indians and oppose with violence a traffic they abhorred." Elsewhere the back-country violence is a "rehearsal" (p. 290) or an "advance showing of the great American drama, Revolution" (p. 240). On page 251 the author gives Smith and his fellows the high meed that they "had upheld the right of free men to be tried by their own neighbors, in their own courts."

But nowhere does The First Rebel state an explicit continuity between the Conococheague uprising and the Revolution. Mr. Swanson has plucked from the pie of history an unexpected plum. He has exclaimed over it with, one might say, undergraduate exuberance. But it is a plum of coincidence, and its connection
with the Revolution is merely the tang of analogy. The author's reiterations of this analogy, with his picturing of the valley insurgents as pretty fine people driven to a desperate defence of their civil liberties, seem to lull readers into forgetting pertinent warnings they met in Philosophy II (3 crs., 2d sem., Logic). It is regrettable that this inference, which the author certainly did not guard against, should shadow a good adventure story.

If frontier Pennsylvania is to be endowed with a new set of heroes, we must measure the cubits of their stature. Again we find difficulty; for much of the writing is subjective, as from the mind of James Smith or from the mass-mind of the insurrectionists. To quote the Foreword again: "A taciturn man [Smith], he said little about his feelings, but his acts reveal them. . . . I have ascribed to him only those thoughts and emotions plainly disclosed in his subsequent conduct. In no case do the passages thus supplied involve incidents of the Pennsylvania uprising." But the "incidents" are spatial, temporal; we know that the insurgents shot at British regulars and flogged provincial batmen; for motives, justification or blame, the reader's chief reliance must be the impressions the author has drawn from, or may have read into, his documents. These impressions are of one pattern, the bias askew, the fabric very little woof and nearly all warp.

The effect, as elaborated by the composite Mr. Swanson-Smith, is this: The fur trade was "licensed murder." "God in the bush, a man can line his pockets now, Injun tradin'" (p. 105). The Indian incursions of 1763 and 1764 brought tragedy to frontier settlements; the merchants were "safe in Philadelphia." When "the God-damned traders" in the spring of 1765 included some private goods for Indian trade (as yet interdicted) with a shipment of the king's goods for Fort Pitt, "the Black Boys . . . struck their blow against the trade in murder" (p. 173). When a platoon of the Black Watch from Fort Loudon captured eight frontiersmen suspected of being among the rioters, "the Black Watch broke the civil law." When the bales of a second train were deposited at Fort Loudon and the insurgents again marched on the little post, "It was the right to personal security against the right to profits. . . . And it came very close, that tenth day of May, 1765, to being one government against another" (p. 208). The English army was on the traders' side: "To a plain man, it did not make sense . . . it was no more pleasant to be killed with English lead and powder than with French. An English knife could mutilate a woman as obscenely as a French knife" (p. 205).

In the two just-quoted clauses the fundamental fallacy of the Black Boys' mentation and of Mr. Swanson's empathic writing becomes evident. The contrasting substantives, "English" and "French," make up a non sequitur in sleek clothing. Reverse them—"A French knife could mutilate a woman as obscenely as an English knife"—and the sense is just as persuasive.

The actual circumstance was that the resumption of the Indian trade, under the conditions Bouquet, Gage, and Johnson were creating, offered the best assurance of peace that the frontier had. As Gage wrote Halifax, April 27, 1765, "There has been a great Cry for the Trade to be opened, and the Indians
impatient for it." The Seneca chief Kyashuta addressed the whites at the Fort Pitt conference in May: "Now, Brethren, do not act as you have done for a year or two before these late Troubles, when you prohibited the sale of Powder, Lead, and Rum. This conduct gave all Nations in this country a suspicion that you had bad designs against them, and was contrary to your first promises, when you came here to settle and build this Fort on our ground." After Smith's two attacks on Fort Loudon, Gage wrote the Earl (June 8, 1765), "Our Indian Affairs seem to take a favorable turn, and there is a very good Prospect of General Pacification, unless it is interrupted by the lawless and Licentious Proceedings of the Frontier Inhabitants." This was not only the "long range" view which Mr. Swanson concedes to John Penn, but the immediate view. A judicious paragraph (p. 228-29) stating Sir William Johnson's attitude is lost amid its context.

In touching up the danger of Indian forays in 1765, the author recites the escape of the eight Shawnese hostages in Bouquet's entourage, but fails to notice that these were replaced by the Indians voluntarily. It is overlooked that the king's goods were intermixed with the Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan packs burned by the rioters. The merchants' part and Croghan's in placing private goods in the king's train becomes incarnadine villainy. (Mr. Swanson has doubtless read Max Savelle's *George Morgan, Colony Builder*; but it had no influence on his text.) It is unnoticed save in the Appendix that "a very large Convoy of Goods went from New Orleans for the Illinois last February. . . . This makes it necessary for us to open the Trade at Fort Pitt as soon as possible" (Gage to Penn, June 16, 1765). If traffic were denied the Indians at Fort Pitt, there were French traders yet about Michilimackinac and Detroit; and the Pennsylvania frontier might shortly have had another blood-bath. Rather than the colonial trader the land-hungry pioneer—in metonymy, the Conococheague man—was to prove a provocative agent toward future hostilities.

In the book's one-way account of the uprising, the Paxtang depredations of 1764 have small correlative significance; the political cleavage between Scots-Irish and Quakers, the unequal representation of the five interior counties as against the three eastern counties (ten assemblymen to twenty-six), apparently has no bearing. A résumé of the "Remonstrance from the Frontier Inhabitants" presented to Governor Penn on February 13, 1764, indicates the factor in the uprising which in *The First Rebel* is most conspicuously unstressed. The grievances are seven: the unequal part in legislation; the transfer of the Paxtang murderers' trials from frontier to eastern counties; the protection of friendly Indians at Philadelphia; a demand for the eviction of all Indians from the inhabited parts of the province; demands for "socialized medicine," as it were, for wounded frontiersmen, and for bounties on Indian scalps; a request that no Indian trade be permitted until all captives were returned, and a protest that the Quaker Society had at treaty conferences "openly loaded the Indians with presents." The dominant motif is here plainly a frenetic hatred of all Indians and of all whites having to do peaceably with Indians. And this supplies the needful "irrational" toward explanation of the Black Boys' ambuscades and
flogging parties. The grade of whiskey at Cunningham's tavern, headquarters of the insurrectionists, might be given succursal mention.

An erratum list would remark that the identification of the Forbes Road with the Glade Road (p. 4) was a fancy invented by Hulbert; that Bouquet was not present at the Battle of Loyal Hanna (p. 134); that the paragraphs on Washington (p. 298-99) are unfortunate and absurd. Mr. Swanson possessed most of the material, and has the literary skill, to have written an account of the "Pennsylvania uprising" both stirring in effect and firm in content. This picture of embattled democracy forcing British regulars from frontier posts in expression of "the desire of ordinary men to live with security against the desire of capital to take profits where they could be found" (p. ix) does not satisfy. The subjective approach affords no comprehensive views; the chapters laden with paragraphs in the historical-present tense provide only a pictorial effect at best. Mr. Swanson lacked, perhaps, that cooling of temperament after the first fine excitement at one's own discoveries; and the actual wish to write clear, uncanalized history.

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E. DOUGLAS BRANCH


New England—Massachusetts in particular—has so long dominated the field of maritime history in America that the mere mention of the subject brings to mind Salem, Boston, or Nantucket. It is, therefore, refreshing to see in print something of the marine activities of another part of the United States, even though it be the nefarious business of piracy.

In his study of the "brethren of the Coast" who infested Virginia waters from 1621 for better than a century, Mr. Williams has given his readers not only the more exciting narrative of the events, but also a detailed account of the organization of the profession. That piracy had such a thing as "organization" is not generally known. The author has discovered a complete set of the rules and common law which governed a pirate's life and actions while at work. One is quite surprized to find among them:

III. No person to game at cards or dice for money.
VI. No boy or woman to be allowed. If any man were found seducing any of the latter sex, and carried her to sea disguised, he was to suffer death.
XI. The Musicians to have rest on the Sabbath-day, but the other six days and nights none without special favor.

And to most of us, acquainted with piracy only through childish stories of Captain Kidd, it is somewhat astonishing to discover that the buccaneers considered their profession much the same as any other tradesman, a means of gaining a livelihood and providing a competency for an old age at home with wife and family.

In his narrative the author has uncovered in ships' logs, admiralty court reports, and the like a wealth of material about such men as Blackbeard, once a
familiar character in Philadelphia, William Howard, Guittar, and others, not the least interesting of whom are the three pirates whose stolen wealth aided in the foundation of the College of William and Mary.

One of the difficulties of any book of marine history lies in the fact that an especial vocabulary is essential to a proper understanding of the text. This calls for a glossary as an appendix. The reader usually discovers it after he has completed the body of the text, thereby losing much of the book's color as well as its meaning. Mr. Williams has happily solved that problem by placing the necessary definitions towards the forepart of the book, preceding the section in which the use of specialized terms is required. An appendix contains the complete text of the various Acts for the suppression and punishment of piracy, Proclamations, and Acts of Grace. The illustrations are well chosen from the great collection at The Mariners' Museum.

Philadelphia


This is a volume of the WPA guide series, and has all the strength and weakness of WPA intellectual endeavor. Broadly speaking, it is an intelligent and perhaps an adequate survey, but it is at the same time rather superficial. It is characterized by a strong WPA point of view: reading between the lines we clearly see an obvious partisan bias, while the word "underprivileged" and other propagandist adjectives stand out like sore thumbs. This has the effect of making the book seem more like campaign literature than a Baedeker.

The book just treats the history of our city, then deals with the diverse elements of the population, then with the industries, and next the cultural aspects. A section on points of special interest follows, and the book is concluded by a section of 300 pages of excursions in and around the city. The historical part could be greatly improved upon. There is no mention of the Yellow Fever of 1793, and no reference at all to the swing of the city's axis from a north-south line along the Delaware to an east-west line along Market and Chestnut Streets. One feels that the authors have never heard of Watson's Annals. No mention is given to such characteristic Philadelphia institutions as the Philadelphia Club and the State in Schuylkill which, although from a WPA point of view they may be hotbeds of social pariahs and enemies of mankind, are even so part of the warp and woof of our local scene. Nor is so Philadelphian a delicacy as terrapin mentioned among the foods. Nor are our two great civic beverages—Fish House Punch and Madeira—given so much as a word. In like manner is the book silent on such typical institutions as Dexter's, Maron's, Junker's, Dreka's and John Wagner's.

The section on the walks in Philadelphia and the drives around the city is,
on the whole, well done, and should prove useful to future visitors. There are, however, a couple of obvious criticisms, for instance, the return of the Valley Forge tour is made along Lancaster Pike, which comes near being the most hideous road in America. An alternative by Waynesboro, St. David's Church, and Bryn Mawr Avenue, would have been far preferable. Then, too, a tour should have been included to take in the old houses around Torresdale, Bordon-town, and Burlington, as well as (possibly) Salem; for a survey of Philadelphia is bound to be incomplete without some notice of the old satellite towns in the Delaware Valley.

The photographs on the whole are good, but the quotation captions are decidedly gimcrack. The bibliography is very inadequate. This book might have more standing if the authors did not remain anonymous. As it is we have the feeling that they had a grand chance to make a super-Baedecker (which Philadelphia badly needs) but they did not quite pull it off. The binding is horrible.

Boies Penrose
Arthur H. Lea, Gentleman, Senior Vice-President of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and member of its Council, fared forth on the uncharted sea of the Inevitable, Friday, January seventh last, and was buried from his wide-acred Chestnut Hill home on Monday following, his pastor, Dr. Griffin of the First Unitarian Church, in charge of the brief service of farewell.

Richly endowed, Mr. Lea lived his life in homes of high ceilings and many windows, after the pattern of one which stood four square to the winds on a South Jersey Coast where his father, Henry Charles Lea, the assiduous Philadelphia business man and one of America's most eminent scholars, worked through golden summers to the song of the sea and the lure of the abundant flora with whose habit and habitat he was unusually familiar.

The fates in their weaving showered Mr. Lea with gifts which he used as a sacred trust. His loyalty to family, friends and institutions would have been phenomenal had it not been a cultivated inheritance.

He was one of those quiet people who brought to his contacts with men and things the strength of high purpose, the inspiration of courage and that industry which produces desired results. His salutations were sincerity; the clasp of his hand confidence. Added to these personal qualities his large resources of wealth, prestige, and the best backgrounds of Americanism, afforded opportunities to work with fervor for the common good.

Hence many activities claimed his attention: reform movements in public affairs, philanthropic enterprises, cultural and altruistic associations and learned institutions. Upon all these he bestowed impartial, virile consideration. As one has said of him: "He had a conscience." This conscience governed his work.

His service to The Historical Society of Pennsylvania was diversified. A member of many committees: finance, nomination and election of members, revision of its Constitution and By-Laws, Publications and Reception, a trustee of the Binding Fund and of the Dreer Collection of Manuscripts, often the presiding officer of each, he brought to every duty a breadth of understanding, administrative ability and fair dealing to those who differed.

Affection, courtesy, confidence, courage: such was Arthur H. Lea and those who walked with him in the daily hum of the city streets, or met with him in the Council of this Society, scarcely recognized his great forthrightness. His benefaction of fifty thousand dollars in his testimony of his regard for the Society and its work. Added to his former quiet yet vitalizing interest, it is an enduring, almost a solemn legacy.

Clean of life, clear in thought and conservative in speech, Mr. Lea leaves
to his co-members in the Council and others an open space dedicated to his memory in the Valhalla of the Society's immortals. Therefore be it

RESOLVED: That, we of the Council record our own and the Society's loss of so loyal a friend; that we count it a privilege to have been associated with one whose strong natural ability and reserve was softened by such courtly grace, and we suggest that a more adequate memorial be prepared and printed in the Society's official publication.

M. A. L.