

## BOOK REVIEWS

*The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army, 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783.* Translated and edited by HOWARD C. RICE, JR., and ANNE S. K. BROWN. (Princeton, N. J., and Providence, R. I.: Princeton University Press and Brown University Press, 1972. Vol. I, xxviii, 351 p.; Vol. II, vi, 362 p. Illustrations, maps, index. \$100.00.)

Like a beautiful person, beautifully dressed, these volumes are dazzling. Their virtues are no less exciting because expected. Their faults, discernible upon closer acquaintance, are as easy to overlook as they are to exaggerate. Their beauty—and cost—make them difficult to measure by the same, gray standards which we use for the merely ordinary. Instead of a balanced, sensible appraisal, we end with a restless tension between awe and doubt—a few questions and some puzzlement almost, but not quite, stifled by sheer admiration.

These books are indeed beautiful; the editors and publishers have evidently spared no pains to make them so. Volume I contains the translated and carefully edited journals of three French army officers with Rochambeau's small army, and an unusually valuable annotated bibliography of first-hand accounts of the American Revolutionary War by these and other French officers. Designed by James Wageman, the volume bears from the title page onward the unmistakable look of Princeton University Press and its artistic genius for many years, P. J. Conkrite. But the second volume surpasses the first, because it contains the lovely colored maps prepared by the French staff wherever its army stayed or went during two years' campaign in North America. Reproduced with breathtaking fidelity by the Meriden Gravure Company, these odd-shaped maps posed a difficult problem of presentation within the rigid format of book pages without impairing their visual qualities; this problem has been skillfully solved by one of the editors, Howard Rice. Rice and his collaborator, Anne Brown, brought to their work a nearly perfect combination of interest and experience—he as the meticulous editor of Chastellux's *Journal* and former rare-book librarian at Princeton, she as a well-known collector of militaria and translator of Lachoque's sumptuous work on Napoleon's Imperial Guard, both as admirers of France and its culture.

To call the wartime labor of a professional military staff "lovely" may seem odd or even offensive. These route maps and camp sketches were intended to facilitate the killing of men. But there is a loveliness that transcends function, sometimes even being enhanced by the economy enforced by functional constraints. Like *The Federalist* essays, mere

propaganda aimed at persuading people to vote right in 1788, or the modern jet hauling its mundane load of salesmen, tourists, and martinis from city to city, these staff maps, produced under pressure of time for immediate, nonesthetic needs, strike the eye with a force that the more elaborate, carefully engraved maps, which Rice has selected to fill out his illustration of the journals, do not. And of course more than military function and esthetic effect are involved, because the staff maps and their accompanying "itineraries" provide the most accurately detailed picture which we have of many early American roads and towns.

The heart of both volumes is the Berthier collection at Princeton. There is where the staff maps and the third of the three journals are found, in the papers of a man whose talent and ambition would later make him Napoleon's indispensable chief of staff. Louis-Alexandre Berthier and his younger brother, neither of them assigned to the American expeditionary force in 1780, cut all the red tape that might have barred them from the chance of a military lifetime. The elder Berthier thereby put his foot on the next rung of what proved to be a golden ladder; his brother, athirst with the same sense of glory and honor, died miserably in a vicious duel at Martinique, only a few months after helping the Americans secure their liberty and independence at Yorktown. Looking at the quality of Berthier's staff work, we can better understand how an astonishing level of military efficiency could emerge from the chaos of the French Revolution, and we can glimpse the extraordinary man whose capacity for taking pains would underpin Napoleonic genius.

The other two journals were kept by more obscure men, although both came from more aristocratic families than the Berthiers. Mrs. Brown, by detective work in French archives, has identified one of the journalists as being almost certainly an artillery lieutenant named Clermont-Crèvecoeur (only a remote relation of the famous Saint-John de Crèvecoeur); his journal has been in the Rhode Island Historical Society since 1923. Brown University owns the other journal, kept by Sublieutenant de Verger of the Royal Deux-Ponts, one of four infantry regiments in Rochambeau's army. All three journals cover roughly the same experience: sailing from Brest in the spring of 1780 by the first French force to assist the American rebels; arrival at Newport of scurvy-racked troops in the summer; winter in Rhode Island; an abortive expedition to the Chesapeake in the spring of 1781; the march in July to join Washington on the Hudson, where the allied armies seemed poised for an attack on the British garrison of Manhattan; the sudden, deceptive movement southward through upland New Jersey, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Williamsburg to close the trap on Cornwallis, whose sea-link at Yorktown had just been broken by the timely arrival of superior French naval force; winter at Williamsburg after the Yorktown surrender; the return northward in 1782; embarkation for the final, almost forgotten West Indian campaign, in which the army

did nothing except die by duels, disease, and shipwreck; and the long voyage home to France. Gilbert Chinard published some years ago, untranslated, the North American portions of Berthier's journal, for which the section describing the march from the Hudson to Yorktown has never been found. Small portions of the other two journals have also been previously published in out-of-the-way periodicals.

What do we learn from these journals? Not as much as the price and lavishness of their production seem to promise. Sprinkled with obligatory observations on American customs, like bundling in New England, and larded with copies of official reports and published histories, they add little to the well-known story of Rochambeau's army. Only an occasional remark or anecdote is illuminating. Both Clermont-Crèvecoeur and Verger mention that, after the surrender at Yorktown, the Americans were displeased by the aristocratic friendliness between French officers and the British and German officers of the defeated enemy. Estimates of American fighting qualities are interesting, but vary considerably between the two. Clermont-Crèvecoeur thought that life was too soft in America to make soldiers even as good as the peasant militia of France, but the teen-aged Verger, in general a less perceptive observer than the other two, caught more of the psychological dimension of revolutionary warfare: "We have seen parties of militia in this country perform feats that veteran units would have gloried in accomplishing. They only do so, however, when the persuasive eloquence of their commander has aroused in them an enthusiastic ardor . . . (p. 152)."

Berthier, perhaps because the Yorktown portion of his journal is lost, says nothing on the subject. All notice the effects of the war on Connecticut, lower New York, and Virginia, but it is Berthier whose staff-officer's eye translates the destroyed property and the roaming Tory bands into operational consequences for the allied armies. Berthier is also more personal, telling us how the young staff officers built a sylvan bower for themselves during their weeks of waiting in upper Westchester and how they flattered Washington during his inspection visit by spreading plans of Trenton and Princeton on the table. All were interested in Negro slavery, and all were variously disgusted by the Spanish society and regime which they saw at Caracas and Puerto Cabello in 1782. Berthier went so far as to think that Don Prudhomme, commandant at La Victoria, would "bear watching if ever a revolution breaks out," because the Don "frets over the superstition and tyranny the Spaniards exercise over this continent" (p. 274). But all three journals, taken together, are less informative than the journal-based memoirs of Baron von Closen, aide to Rochambeau, which were published in 1958.

Certainly the editors cannot be blamed that the journals are not richer historical documents, and they have done all that could be done to explain and amplify them by editorial notes. But mild disappointment raises the

question of why these three journals were selected, and how the whole work was conceived. It is not a documentary history of Rochambeau's army, although the editors have pushed in that direction; rather, it seems primarily a vehicle for the Berthier maps, with the other two journals, some naïve drawings by Verger, and maps from the Paul Mellon Collection and elsewhere used to fill out the work. Once committed to the enterprise, however, the editors have focused on the three individual journalists, all young men in 1780, all with long, interesting careers ahead of them. Each journal is preceded by an excellent biographical essay, and there are pictures of birthplaces and childhood homes, portraits of each officer in later life, and a contemporary illustration of Berthier's suicide in 1815. Inevitably, the emphasis falls less on the American Revolution than on three lives, and on the French army of the Old Regime that gave some unity to those lives. The literary result is not wholly satisfying, although its usefulness to scholars is undeniable. Yet the editors and publishers must have aimed at something more coherent and widely appealing than mere usefulness. Perhaps the problem goes back to the Berthier maps, whose extraordinary beauty deserve the best of efforts, but which require some accompanying documentation to make them fully intelligible. That the documents do not rise to the high standard of quality set by the maps, nor justify the prohibitive price of the two volumes, is unfortunate but not tragic. Though execution falls short of intention, beauty brings its own consolation.

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JOHN SHY

*The Saltonstall Papers, 1607-1815, Volume I, 1607-1789.* Edited by ROBERT E. MOODY. (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1972. xx, 574 p. Illustrations. \$25.00.)

Few present-day families can lay claim to the distinction achieved by eleven generations of the Saltonstalls in America. Saltonstalls have generated a vital force in the political, economic, and social life of Massachusetts since the arrival of Sir Richard Saltonstall (1586-1661) on the *Arbella* in 1630. The first volume of the *Saltonstall Papers, 1607-1789*, published by the Massachusetts Historical Society and capably edited by Robert E. Moody, encompasses the experiences of the first six generations.

The family provided instant leadership in the Bay Colony, but its early drama was often acted on a local stage. Although Sir Richard's interests compelled a return to England in 1631, he acquired nearly 600 acres of land at Watertown. His sons remained in Massachusetts, and soon shifted their base of operations to Boston's North Shore. From 1633,

when Richard Saltonstall II (1610-1694) settled at Ipswich, until 1815, when Nathaniel Saltonstall II died at Haverhill, the family, to paraphrase Henry Thoreau, traveled a great deal in Essex County.

The Saltonstalls, while authentic colonial gentry, nevertheless suffered the hazards of fortune. The son of Richard Saltonstall II, Nathaniel I (1639?-1707), moved to Haverhill upon his marriage to Elizabeth, daughter of the Reverend John Ward of the Merrimac River outpost. As a justice of the Essex County Inferior Court, he somehow avoided participation in the Salem witchcraft trials, for which he had no sympathy. His death left his son, Richard Saltonstall III (1703-1756), a minor, to be raised in the household of an uncle by marriage, the Reverend Roland Cotton of Sandwich on Cape Cod. Richard III served as representative to the General Court and as justice of the Superior Court, and made a brilliant marriage to Mary, the daughter of Elisha Cooke, Jr., politician and land speculator. But Judge Saltonstall lived high, wide, and handsome, leaving his estate heavily in debt. His son, Richard IV (1732-1785) retained the "Saltonstall Seat" at Haverhill only by mortgaging the property. Following the family tradition of public service, he became colonel of the local regiment, justice of the peace, and finally sheriff of Essex County, but his support of the government party earned him exile when the American Revolution came. Volume I of the *Saltonstall Papers* concludes with the return of Richard's brother, Nathaniel Saltonstall II (1746-1815), from Boston to Haverhill, there to practice medicine and erect a new family mansion, "The Buttonwoods," in 1789.

From the voluminous collection of Saltonstall documents at the Massachusetts Historical Society and elsewhere, Professor Moody has extracted a selection which is above reproach. The work offers a fascinating range of sources illustrative of the many-faceted life of colonial Massachusetts. Sir Richard's English correspondence does much to explain his difficult decision to come to America, as well as the problems he encountered in attempting to maintain landed estates an ocean apart. A substantial portion of the earlier papers—muster rolls, orders, reports, and journals—deals with the defense of Essex County during the Indian wars. The reader may follow the course of the famous lawsuit commenced by Governor Gurdon Saltonstall of Connecticut against his father's more handsomely endowed heirs. Social historians will find much to interest them. Depositions of local court cases are interspersed with accounts of student discipline at Harvard, Indian alarms, and descriptions of family illnesses. One learns the cost of building a sawmill on the Saco River in Maine in 1729. Governor Belcher orders hay at Hingham. Elizabeth Ward Saltonstall has stockings dyed red and blue. Inventories abound. Occasionally even the vaunted Puritan reticence breaks down: Nathaniel Saltonstall I comments that the newly married "Mr. Rolfe and his wife are in his wonted Chamber, and for ought I see, love one another, for they are not up so soon as the sun."

There is ample evidence of methodical selection here, yet the *Saltonstall Papers* have all the charm of an old and cluttered garret.

Professor Moody's glosses are sprightly, accurate, and more than generous. He has introduced the useful innovation (for the *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, at least) of biographies of the most important participants in the Saltonstall chronicle. Through these sketches the reader familiarizes himself with many of the events which are described in the *Papers*. The pictorial section adds further interest, and the problem of the identity of the portraits of Elisha Cooke, Jr., and Richard Middlecott, confused in earlier works, has at last been solved.

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GORDON E. KERSHAW

*Arms for Empire: A Military History of the British Colonies in North America, 1607-1763.* By DOUGLAS EDWARD LEACH. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1973. xiii, 566 p. Illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. \$14.95.)

When Louis Morton, editor of Macmillan's "Wars of the United States" series, selected Professor Douglas Leach of Vanderbilt University to contribute the appropriate volume on the colonial wars, he obtained the best man available in that field. For Leach's earlier studies of King Philip's War and the northern colonial frontier had clearly established his impressive credentials. Consequently, the high quality of Leach's present work—*Arms for Empire*—comes as no surprise. And yet this was not an easy book to write since it encompasses the military experiences of the American colonists over a century and a half. A third of those years saw the settlers involved in warfare, either somewhat localized conflicts with the Indians or struggles that were a part of the international rivalry between the European powers.

For the most part, the English government intended for the colonists to take care of their own military needs—at least until the Anglo-French confrontation in the New World reached its peak in the mid-eighteenth century. And the provincials did so by means of the traditional militia system, an institution—along with many others—that they imported from the homeland. None was more important; situated as they were in a hostile wilderness, the colonists found that matters of physical protection loomed uppermost in their minds for decades. Fortunately, every village or farming area contained men with militia experience in England, just as now and then a professional soldier made his appearance—a John Smith or a Miles Standish—and provided sorely needed leadership.

The militia, as Leach makes clear, was not a static institution, an exact copy of the English model. Local conditions, the general nature of the American environment, and changes in European military science all

helped to shape colonial methods of preparedness. For example, some colonies employed irregulars in coastal fortifications, others used them to garrison frontier outposts (as so-called rangers), and still others assigned the citizen soldiers to slave patrols. At times, regular militia units fought the enemy; on other occasions, draftees and volunteers from the militia served in specially formed bodies.

It is refreshing to see that the author is not a militia hater; he has not succumbed to the notion long current in our military histories that part-time soldiers were invariably a mistake, that only seasoned professional soldiers could do the job. The militia, of course, had its weaknesses; but it became in time a uniquely American institution as it differed in form from the English militia, which in fact began a steady decline about the time the first colonies were established.

Typical of the more sophisticated studies of warfare that characterize recent scholarship, Leach's volume strikes a nice balance between the homefront and the battlefield, between doings in the colonial capitals and policy-making in London. To be sure, the colonial wars, beginning with King William's War in 1689, were world-wide in scope, and the reader is always able to follow—albeit briefly—events in Europe, the West Indies, and the remote imperial outposts in Africa and Asia.

Drawing on a vast array of secondary and primary sources, Leach writes with a skillful pen. If his leading lights do not quite come to life as they do in the pages of Francis Parkman, however, it may be only because Leach is not a "romantic" historian. His evaluations, indeed, are more realistic. Edward Braddock, for instance, is correctly spared most of the criticism he customarily bears for the disastrous Battle of the Monongahela. At the same time, both of Parkman's immortals, Montcalm and Wolfe, appear more lifelike and certainly less than brilliant in the way they conducted their great trial by arms.

In a concluding chapter—"The Transition to Peace and Revolution"—Leach enumerates some of the results of the colonial wars that helped pave the way, in a few short years, for revolution and independence. Particular stress is placed upon "the growth of mutual antagonisms between Britons and Americans" which "began long before the last of the colonial wars." Anglo-American controversies over the military appropriations of American legislatures, the mixing of redcoats and militia, and the quartering of regulars in private homes all revealed that post-1763 efforts to bring greater order and control from London might well produce an explosion from which the empire would never recover. In a future volume, Leach intends to delineate more precisely the nature of this friction and its ramifications; but he will be hard pressed to equal his performance in *Arms for Empire*.

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DON HIGGINBOTHAM

*The Papers of Benjamin Franklin: January 1 through December 31, 1770.* Volume XVII. Edited by WILLIAM B. WILLCOX. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973. xxxii, 430 p. Illustrations, index. \$17.50.)

Volume XVII, covering the year 1770, is one of the happiest volumes which has thus far appeared in the *Papers of Benjamin Franklin*. By the end of the year the Doctor is basking in the unprecedented honor of being agent for four American colonies at the Court of St. James. The felicity of his English domestic arrangements he captures in that delightful parody, *The Craven Street Gazette*. Deborah Franklin is rescued from her dependency by the birth of her and her husband's first grandchild, Benjamin Franklin Bache. The "Kingbird," as she calls the youngster, captivates her and takes her mind off her husband's long absence. The scientific correspondence is free of the obscure, theoretical discussions which frequently beclouds it in earlier volumes; it covers interesting topics and allows the printers of the volume to display unusual virtuosity in reproducing sketches of horizontal windmills and seafaring lightning rods. Ever an optimist, Franklin, by the end of the year, is persuaded that relations between Britain and America have taken a decisive turn for the better and is euphorically predicting that the colonies' grievances will be permanently and satisfactorily adjusted. Finally, the editors have obtained that mastery of their subject which shows itself in sure, easy, and felicitous footnotes.

The highlight of the volume, in this reviewer's opinion, is the development of Franklin's views on the constitutional nature of the British Empire. These views—that the Empire was a collection of "distinct and separate states" bound together only by a shared allegiance to a common king—are familiar to students of American colonial history, but the care with which Franklin developed them, the depth of the knowledge with which he supported them, and the fervor of his convictions about them have not, I think, ever been as clear as the publication of this volume makes them. This result is achieved by copious editorial notes and by the printing of Franklin's voluminous marginalia in the pamphlets of the day, a practice which the editors wisely began in the preceding volume. The marginalia is so revealing that one feels that a whole new dimension has been added to Franklin.

The editors should be commended, not only for the technical excellence of the volume, but also for the speed with which they are working. Nothing will allay more effectively the restlessness about scholarly editing which is now abroad than the combination of high quality and high productivity which Professor Willcox and his colleagues are giving us.



*Men in Rebellion: Higher Governmental Leaders and the Coming of the American Revolution.* By JAMES KIRBY MARTIN. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1973. xiii, 263 p. Tables, appendixes, index. \$12.50.)

This is an ambitious and serious book, based upon a complex research model that is in many ways both thoughtful and useful. Ultimately, however, it is an unfortunate book: deficient in conceptualization and reasoning, occasionally given to naïve misuses of literary evidence, and marred by abuses of good English usage and sensible syntax.

Martin's stated concern "is with the *process* of rebellion as it related to the consequences of revolution for the national period of United States history." Three basic questions recur throughout: "Why did some men rebel against the authority of Great Britain when others did not? What motivated the insurgents? What were the effects of their actions in terms of political and social developments growing out of the revolutionary process?" The author's method is to analyze the career lines of 487 men involved in the decision for Revolution; and the outcome of this quantitative analysis is that "the question of who ruled in late colonial America is central to deciphering the nature and the course of the revolutionary experience in America." Martin concludes that political immobility weakened "the colonial political systems and underlay much of the tensions giving motion to the developing American Revolution." Consequently "the crisis within the late colonial political elite became a democratizing movement in American political development while not necessarily being a movement arising from the democracy of citizens."

Martin's chief difficulty involves his use of aggregate data concerning officeholding (who held which positions for how long) to demonstrate the validity of a psychological phenomenon (*why* men chose to rebel or remain loyal). Although he says that he is interested in political process rather than in ideology, I came away from the book feeling that they are ultimately inseparable in this historical circumstance. Why? Because in many cases his own data demonstrate that political ideology mattered, even where its advocacy meant the sacrifice of political mobility (*e.g.*, Henry Laurens' refusal of an appointment to the South Carolina Council in 1764); and because the strongly held concept of the independent ("virtuous") man often served as a very real restraint upon aspiration for office and political mobility (*vide* the papers of Landon Carter and George Mason).

Thus when Martin tries to make a connection between "immobility" and ideology, he encounters difficulty and finally depends as much upon psychological inference as upon the quantitative evidence which is the essence of his study. "Insurgent whig leaders," he writes on page 33,

"many of whom were holding local, county, and Assembly-level positions, sensed that an assault upon new ministerial schemes also would serve to embarrass the very men who stood as roadblocks to their political advancement. What insurgent leaders needed, then, was a vocabulary with the potential to enunciate their world-view in challenging parliamentary legislation and attacking their opponents in higher offices. They modeled that vocabulary . . . on the English radical Whig opposition tradition."

Martin successfully demonstrates, as others have before, that the fact of rebellion created new opportunities in public life. What he does not show, to my satisfaction, is that men (or most men) revolted primarily in order *to create* these opportunities. Rebellion was too momentous a step, and too risky, to be taken simply on the chance that a successful revolution might satisfy far-reaching career ambitions. *Men in Rebellion* will, however, prove valuable to future scholars for its abundance of tables, charts, and aggregate data on revolutionary career lines. We are given a specificity we have not had before (e.g., "Of those 231 higher officials holding the 267 executive offices in the thirteen colonies just before the collapse of British authority, 77.5 per cent fell from power."); and with the flurry of bicentennial pomp and circumstance almost upon us, such nitty gritty data will prove to be enduring tools of considerable value. Scholars who cannot accept Martin's thesis will nevertheless want to consult his figures and utilize his research.

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MICHAEL KAMMEN

*Essays on the American Revolution.* Edited by STEPHEN G. KURTZ and JAMES H. HUTSON. (Chapel Hill: Published by the University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1973. xi, 320 p. Index. \$12.50.)

This reviewer should confess that he has some difficulty approaching volumes such as this collection of *Essays on the American Revolution*. Too often the rationale for their publication seems somewhat obscure. In the present case we are advised that we have "the product of the celebrated Symposium on the American Revolution" held in Williamsburg in 1971. The editors, Stephen Kurtz and James Hutson, tell us these eight essays are presented "as a serious response to the bicentennial celebration" with the hope that they "will inspire others to join with us in attempting to comprehend the meaning and importance of our Revolutionary heritage." Conceding the seriousness of intent, it is still possible to question both the need for and the reality of the inspirational message. Conferences can be good fun in their own right. And the onrushing bicentennial will provide a pleasant excuse for many such encounters. But a plea for some restraint

in publishing the results does seem in order (as does hope for more elegant and better-designed book-making).

In short, the current volume hardly explains why the 1971 Symposium was "celebrated." Nor do the essays here offered encompass the principal problems now confronting students of the Revolution. Claims for indispensability seem as extravagant as contentions that these essays will "help shape writings on the subject for many years to come." A more modest editorial representation of the virtues of this collection might have resulted in a readier perception of its intrinsic value.

In a context of reduced expectation, many of these essays are worth having and several deserve both praise and readers. It would be hard to improve on Bernard Bailyn's felicitous introductory essay: he supplies a convenient summary of his approach to the ideology of the American Revolution. His comment on the relevance of "the shrill and articulate opposition" to "that fantastically successful political operator, Robert Walpole" remains central to any discussion of the colonists' distrust of power, a distrust Bailyn properly identifies as a continually potent element in our national life.

Distrust of power, in a different sense, is the concern of Richard Maxwell Brown's thoughtful study of "Violence and the American Revolution." He reminds us of the ubiquity of insurgent activity in the American colonies in the century preceding the Revolution, and remarks on the frequent riots that punctuated British history during the same period. There were peak years in both the mother country and the colonies—1740, 1749–53, 1756–58 and 1765–70. For Brown such a record of violence suggests "it would be no great exaggeration to call the years 1670 to 1700 the first American revolutionary period." (Brown's reflection on the record of unrest in England reminds this reviewer of the late Douglass Adair's suggestive comments, made twenty-five years ago, on the relationship of the Gordon riots to Jefferson's gloomy political forecast for England in his *Notes on Virginia*.) But Brown's main theme is the persistence of violence in America, a habit which not only died hard, but which has often been legitimized in terms of the American tradition.

John Shy's essay on "The Military Conflict Considered as a Revolutionary War" is equally valuable. In considering both the revolutionary structure and effects of the military conflict he wisely warns that "quantities must be translated into qualities." In his view "the war was a political education conducted by military means," and it was the British army which proved one of the chief political teachers. Shy contends the colonial militia constituted the most revolutionary aspect of the conflict—he terms it "the sand in the gears of the pacification machine," an ingredient which also contributed to "the erosion of deferential political behavior." Shy is particularly perceptive in his discussion of dimensions of the British military failure. He also speculates on modern parallels as he discusses

how "North's cost benefit analysis of the situation lost out of the king's domino theory."

The religious aspect of the Revolution is superbly attended by William McLaughlin in his extended but lively treatment of "The Role of Religion." Readers may not be surprised to learn that the American Revolution was indeed "a religious as well as a political movement," but they should find much satisfaction with McLaughlin's thoughtful summation of the religious causes and consequences of the Revolution—even though he seems to overstate. McLaughlin sees the Great Awakening as "the starting point of the Revolution." Indeed, he seems to equate it with Becker's sense of the Enlightenment: "The channel of authority no longer flowed from God to the rulers to the people but from God to the people in their elected representatives." His comments on religion in the postwar years may find greater acceptance—particularly his remarks on the relevance of southern Anglicanism and the leadership of his "semi-deists," Jefferson and Madison.

The surviving essays are hardly without redeeming historical significance and will certainly meet most community standards. In short they might find favor with both the Supreme Court and many professional historians. James Henderson's review of "The Structure of Politics in the Continental Congress" seems dangerously condensed in view of the importance of the subject and the substantial scholarship deployed. Jack Greene's "Analysis of the Pre-conditions of the American Revolution" is useful but somehow rather familiar. Rowland Berthoff and John Murrin offer an intriguing but relatively undeveloped consideration of "The American Revolution Considered as a Social Accident." They contend that feudal projects collapsed in seventeenth-century America because the colonies were then too primitive, not because they were too progressive; in the Berthoff-Murrin view, a substantial population base was an essential feudal ingredient and so the eighteenth century saw a revival of charter rights to the extent that "By the 1760s the largest proprietors . . . were receiving colonial revenues comparable to the incomes of the greatest English noblemen. . . ." They concede that this feudal revival was not ubiquitous, that it was divisive, that (as Jefferson remarked in 1776) it was essentially ended by the Revolution. They pay little attention to the Founding Fathers' attitude to feudalism.

Appropriately, this volume concludes with a delightfully pithy essay by Edmund S. Morgan, "Conflict and Consensus in the American Revolution." This brief unfootnoted piece is as witty as it is thoughtful. Morgan argues for the emergence of a striking measure of consensus as the base on which colonial society rested and which he views as unbroken by the Revolution itself. He finds no evidence of meaningful class conflict but readily concedes the prevalence of sectional disputes which are finally contained by a new nationalism: "The creed of equality did not give men equality, but it invited them to claim it . . . to seek a better place." The

Revolution, Morgan concludes, produced a consensus that invited conflict, and still does; it made a society "where a Hamilton had his Jefferson, a Hoover his Roosevelt, and a Nixon—might profit by their example." Just as other colonialists might profit by Morgan's.

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TREVOR COLBOURN

*Political Parties in Revolutionary Massachusetts.* By STEPHEN E. PATTERSON. (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1973. ix, 299 p. Appendixes, bibliographical essay, index. \$12.50.)

Were there political parties in Revolutionary America? Stephen Patterson provides an affirmative answer documented by a detailed study of Massachusetts history during the period. These parties, he claims, though not like modern organized machines, were as long-lived as the Federalist and Republican, or Free-soil and American parties of later times. The earlier court and country divisions are illustrated here in relation to the governorships of William Shirley, Thomas Pownall, Francis Bernard and Thomas Hutchinson. The Popular party in Boston is analyzed, and a most interesting chapter describes the awakening of the back country in 1774-1775, as the British system crumbled. Independence, the move to rid the country of external control, theme of James H. Hutson's *Pennsylvania Politics* (Princeton, 1971), affected, but did not obliterate, partisanship in Massachusetts.

There, from about 1774 until after the long-delayed agreement about the constitution of 1780 was reached, parties polarized. These groups were formed from newer urban centers, from eastern and western areas, from agrarian and mercantile communities, and from those categories of persons determined to wrest a greater political role from the still prominent and governing elite. Partisanship of varying kinds was revealed in the disputes over the nature of the new government of the colony. In the end, while not all the reformers wanted, much was conceded which the supporters of the old order established in 1691 had not wished to lose. Three appendixes offer useful tabulation of town and county representation, and their response to different constitutional proposals.

This study is distinguished by breadth of vision. Concerned chiefly with Massachusetts, it is far from provincial in outlook. Patterson has obviously studied the literature of party, and the contrast afforded in its history by what he calls "republican rhetoric" about harmony, unity, and peace, so different from the corruption brought about by faction, and the realities of partisanship both at national and provincial levels. He sees acceptance of party as a slow recognition of a competitive political order that would eventually match the diversified society of America (p. 251).

The book's primary concern, is, of course, with the changing character of the parties of the Bay State, and with the social and political forces affecting them, set in the context of the struggle against British rule.

An excellent bibliographical note lists sources used, not only in the rich repositories of Massachusetts, but elsewhere in such collections as the letters of Sam Adams, Joseph Warren, and the Boston Committee of Correspondence in the New York Public Library, in all an impressive array. Writings that have recently appeared on the nature of party, of the role played in its development by towns, popular forces and crowds are perceptively summarized. Earlier works too often ignored the colonial and Revolutionary developments of American parties; Patterson does much to fill a part of this lacuna. He is not always in agreement with the works cited, but seems genuinely sympathetic in appraisal of other points of view. Thoroughly familiar with his subject, he has made a valuable contribution to the history of Massachusetts, to understanding of its diversity of political interest, and to a deeper perception of the problems posed by partisanship in the colonies at a critical epoch.

*Rosemont, Pa.*

CAROLINE ROBBINS

*George Washington: A Biography in His Own Words.* Edited by RALPH K. ANDRIST with an Introduction by DONALD JACKSON. (New York: Distributed by Harper & Row, Publishers, for Newsweek Book Division, 1972. 416 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$15.00.)

If Ralph K. Andrist's purpose in his edition of George Washington's autobiographical writings was to convince his readers that Washington was "First in War, First in Peace, and First in the Hearts of His Countrymen," he succeeds admirably. From the vast amount of letters, diaries, military memoranda, official reports, papers, and speeches, a very human person emerges. The editor has sagaciously selected letters to show Washington's weakness as well as his courage, his vanity as well as his compassion. He was a Virginia gentleman who loved to fox hunt, play cards, and dance, yet one who also was demanding of himself and his associates in managing his vast land and business ventures. His previous military experience hardly fitted him for the role of commanding general, nor had his limited political experience prepared him for the demanding responsibilities of a first president. Eight years in each office proved his competence and enhanced a reputation which posterity has not diminished.

Three-fourths of the material included is concerned with his service during the French and Indian War, the Revolutionary War, and his presidential administration. The personality portrayed is that of a man

with an inordinate sense of duty and personal integrity, yet one who also was acutely conscious of what he thought every situation demanded of one in his military, social, or political position. The letters and reports that he wrote during his military career aptly show the utter disappointments and frustrations that he experienced as a result of supplies that did not arrive, of requisitions for men who did not enlist, of orders disobeyed, of desertions, and of his constant attempts to keep an army intact that invariably was ill-fed, ill-housed, ill-clothed, and frequently not paid at all.

No sooner had Washington retired as commander in chief than he began to see the inherent weakness of the government of the Articles of Confederation. In a letter to Governor Benjamin Harrison of Virginia on January 18, 1784, he wrote that he did not have fears that the new government would establish a tyranny, instead he had "many, and powerful ones indeed which predict the worst consequences from a half-starved, limping Government, that appears to be always moving upon crutches, and tottering at every step." Although his interest in the nation continued, his correspondence indicated that his retirement was permanent, that he was content to remain "under my own Vine and my own Fig Tree—free from the bustle of a camp and the intrigues of a Court." But the call to duty was so strong that when his friends prevailed upon him to attend the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia in 1787, he wrote to Robert Morris that "it was not until after a long struggle I could obtain my own consent to appear again in a public theatre." Following the ratification of the Constitution, it again became clear to Washington that he was the logical person to lead the new government. Just a few days before the electoral votes were counted, Washington wrote the Marquis de Lafayette on January 29 that "nothing short of a conviction of duty will induce me again to take an active part in public affairs." When officially informed of his unanimous election, Washington began his acceptance speech by declaring that "I have been accustomed to pay so much respect to the opinion of my fellow-citizens, that the knowledge of their having given their unanimous suffrages in my favour, scarcely leaves me the alternative for an option."

This volume, the second in a projected series of "Founding Fathers," is similar in many respects to the first-published biography of Franklin. The size, printing, and general format of the books are identical, even to the same number of pages. There are more than 300 reproductions of old woodcuts, contemporary cartoons, engravings, maps, portraits, and sketches. Each document is succinctly introduced, and the book is beautifully illustrated with three picture portfolios in full color, "First in War," "A Lifetime Haven," and "First in Peace." Washington would have agreed that those responsible for this production have done their duty.

*Mad Anthony Wayne and the New Nation: The Story of Washington's Front-Line General.* By GLENN TUCKER. (Harrisburg, Pa.: Stackpole Books, 1973. 287 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$10.00.)

Glenn Tucker's *Mad Anthony Wayne and the New Nation* is a succinct, well-written military biography of one of America's legendary heroes. In no way an in-depth research work, it presents Wayne as a colorful human being in both his victories and defeats. It does not replace the Harry E. Wildes' biography, but, instead, dwells on the high points of Wayne's military career—Ticonderoga, Paoli, Valley Forge, Stony Point, Yorktown, Georgia, Fallen Timbers, etc. In detail, there are numerous minor errors, such as the misspellings of Fort Miamis and Greene Ville, the oversight of the true importance of the Battle of Fort Recovery (June 30–July 1, 1794), the emphasis upon Tecumseh during the Indian Wars (he was, at most, a minor figure), the misunderstanding of the quartermaster's role prior to 1793, and the restatement of the oft-repeated but erroneous description of Wayne's death from the "gout."

But the above oversights are forgivable given the striking totality of the work. *Mad Anthony Wayne and the New Nation* effectively destroys the commonly held picture of Wayne as an impetuous, foolhardy soldier. Rather, Tucker portrays him, from Revolutionary days on, as a disciplinarian, an organizer, a superb tactician, a humane spirit in dealing with his men, the soldier's soldier. As one reads this small volume, he cannot fail to feel that, in many respects, Wayne was the American prototype of military men such as George Patton. If he did not elicit the love of his peers and subordinates, he deservedly commanded their respect.

There are moments, too, which add color of a nonmilitary hue: Wayne's long-standing affair with Mary Vining and the story of his double burial at Erie and Radnor, among others. Likewise, his distaste for the "tarnished warrior," James Wilkinson, is shown as more than simply a clash of military ambitions. Thus, Wayne, the pedestal-style hero, is humanized.

In dealing with Wayne as a diplomat, following the Indian Wars, Tucker, perhaps, gives too much credit to Wayne personally for the Greene Ville Treaty. In fact, it was a dictated peace, not a negotiated one, and, the Indian leaders' speeches notwithstanding, the treaty was signed, with only a few minor changes inserted by Wayne, as it had been forwarded to him from the War Department the preceding May.

The maps, drawn by Dorothy Thomas Tucker, are exceptionally well executed and the illustrations well chosen.

In all, Glenn Tucker's *Mad Anthony Wayne* adds nothing new to the literature on this military hero, but presents its central character in a well-defined light. It admirably accomplishes what it sets out to do—to clearly profile an early national figure for the general reader of biography.

Kent State University

RICHARD C. KNOPF



*Disrupted Decades: The Civil War and Reconstruction Years.* By ROBERT H. JONES. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973. xiv, 543 p. Illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. \$15.00.)

"This volume," Professor Jones of the University of Akron declares, "is not a definitive study"; its "purpose is to provide the general reader or the undergraduate student with an approach to the period that is neither so detailed as to appeal only to the sophistication of graduate students or mature scholars, nor so limited as to be little more than an outline." Jones has achieved his objective. His well-written volume is both a solid and an interesting introduction to those "Disrupted Decades."

Without ignoring analysis, Jones places more emphasis on narration than on interpretation. His anecdotes, descriptions—the 1860 Republican convention, for example—quotations, particularly those of Whitelaw Reid and John R. Dennett, and summaries are most effective. An excellent narrator, Jones understands, appreciates, and frequently sympathizes with the subject at hand. He is enthusiastic about abolitionists, particularly black abolitionists, quotes Ralph Waldo Emerson admiringly when he criticizes reformers, and thinks Daniel Webster's Seventh of March speech courageous rather than traitorous. Jones's ability to sympathize with a variety of people and their positions deprives his book of a sharply delineated point of view but enhances it with a high degree of fairness. Military events are clearly described and the maps (though not provided for all major battles) are good. The trans-Mississippi West, including Indian wars, is given particularly full treatment, as are constitutional development and diplomatic events.

Jones's interpretations contain few surprises. The emphasis on black abolitionists and on Indian affairs reflects present day concern with previously ignored groups. Jones identifies "the preservation of slavery" as the "fundamental" cause of secession and the Civil War. He views Abraham Lincoln as a pragmatic politician who stretched the Constitution but was no dictator. On the other hand, he regards Jefferson Davis as a poor politician whose greatest liability was his exaggerated opinion of his own military prowess. Yet Jones admits that even if Davis had "operated like Lincoln," he would not have fared well. In Lincoln's cabinet, Jones gives high marks to William H. Seward for preventing European intervention in the war and to Salmon P. Chase for being an able administrator. Jones evaluates generals along familiar lines. He calls George B. McClellan a good organizer who tended to be slow and to exaggerate his opponents' forces; Ulysses S. Grant a relentless seeker and destroyer of the enemy; Robert E. Lee a superb field commander. While exhibiting a fondness for William T. Sherman's army in the Atlanta campaign, Jones criticizes Sherman for not controlling the pillaging "bummers" on his March to the Sea. In concluding chapters, Jones sympathizes with the

Radicals on reconstruction and thinks Andrew Johnson a blind and inflexible blunderer and Grant a miserable failure as president. *Disrupted Decades* is an up-to-date, readable volume which neither challenges nor seeks to challenge the authoritative classic by James G. Randall and David Donald, *The Civil War and Reconstruction*.

Brooklyn College

ARI HOOGENBOOM

*Guide to the Study of United States Imprints.* By G. THOMAS TANSSELLE. (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971. Vol. I, lxix, 403 p.; Vol. II, 405-1050 p. Index. \$40.00.)

Here is a reference work designed for the use of the American historian, student of literature, the collector, library cataloguer and book dealer as well as the bibliographer. Its objectives are twofold: (1) to furnish "a practical manual for use in identifying, cataloguing, or recording a particular piece of printed matter," and (2) to provide a selective but reasonably complete guide to research on American printing and publishing from 1639 to the twentieth century. A tool that undertakes to cut so wide a swath needs a broad sweep, and the territory Tanselle's guide covers includes not just the pertinent scholarship on printing and publishing in this country but also titles of related research from American literature and history on the one hand and those from American journalism and library science on the other.

One of Professor Tanselle's primary concerns is for the person who wants information about some unfamiliar piece of American printing and does not know where to turn. To give him direction and save him time, the compiler has broken down the great mass of available scholarship into four basic divisions. The first division brings together American imprint lists arranged by region, then chronologically by state and city. The tools for the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries are widely known. What readers will welcome are the more specialized state lists and large numbers of preliminary checklists of later nineteenth-century imprints for towns and cities across the nation. The second division enables the user to pursue his search by genre rather than by time and place, and categorizes available bibliographies into more than ninety subdivisions: plays, verse, almanacs, jest books, Quaker American, science fiction, diaries, sermons, etc. The third division assembles author lists. Most of these writers are American, living as well as dead, but one may also find bibliographies of American editions of well-known foreign authors like Browning, Marx, and Kazantzakis.

The fourth and last approach to investigating an unfamiliar imprint is through the printer or publisher involved, and research in this area occupies

most of the stouter second volume. The compendium of titles is a remarkably accurate and inclusive one. In bringing together in one place for the first time references to research scattered through the files of a half-dozen major journals in the field and hundreds of other books and periodicals, Tanselle has accomplished two feats. He fulfills his second primary aim to furnish the American bibliographer with a guide to research on American printing and publishing, and offers any interested user the convenience of a great time-saver.

An undertaking of the scope and complexity of this guide raises problems, however, which a prospective reader might well bear in mind. Listings are, perforce, selective and introductory, not exhaustive. In dealing with material issued by publishers about their own publications, the compiler's aim has been to include the historically oriented and retrospective rather than primary sources. Thus one should not expect to find listed such an article as "Making the Magazine" (December, 1865), a long, illuminating account of the composing, printing, and distribution of *Harper's New Monthly*. Less easily accounted for are the omission of well-known twentieth-century dictionaries of painters, sculptors, and engravers like Mantle Fielding's in 1926, William Young's reprinted in 1968, and the New-York Historical Society's compiled by Groce and Wallace in 1957.

Tanselle's plan to help the reader save time by dividing the scholarship into easily consulted subject areas is, on the whole, admirable. The user, however, is likely to become confused when the compiler, unfamiliar with the contents of some of the articles he lists, categorizes them inaccurately. For example, he enters "Franklin's *Poor Richard Almanacs*: Their Printing and Publication" under B. Franklin, author, rather than under Franklin, the printer and publisher. To be sure Franklin composed the almanacs, but he also printed and published them. The study itself is concerned principally with a bibliographical examination of their printing. On the other hand, M. W. England's *The First Wesley Hymn Book*, appears under Lewis Timothy, Charleston printer, and not under John Wesley, author, despite the fact that the study deals primarily with Wesley as a British hymnodist and contains little more than a passing reference to the printer Timothy. The scholar, certainly, will save time in the end by consulting the excellent general index rather than relying on the subject categories. If he does, however, he may need first to brush up on his recognition of decimals which Tanselle uses to number his entries. Item GF5000.31, for instance, comes after GF5000.301, not before it.

The reader should bear in mind, also, that solid scholarship exists beyond what Tanselle, with all his care, has listed or is likely to exist. He has covered the long-established and first-line journals well. What one misses are the occasional good studies in out-of-the-way places: R. P. Hommel's "Two Centuries of Papermaking at Miquon, Pa.," *Montgomery Co. Hist. Soc. Bull.*, V (1947), or R. S. Rodney's *Colonial Finances*

in *Delaware* (Wilmington, 1928), a history of paper money in that colony, or the one significant bibliographical note on Wesley's first hymnal by G. W. Williams in the facsimile edition published in Charleston, 1964, by the Dalco Historical Society. And Tanselle would have served his users better to steer them to the indexes of the first twelve volumes of *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin* (1959-1969) rather than to J. O. Oswald's amateurish *Benjamin Franklin Printer* (1917) for an authoritative treatment of that subject. But these are mere footnotes to a reference work of first importance which will soon become the bibliographer's vade mecum and hopefully herald a new era in American scholarship.

One final point. Tanselle reproduces as a frontispiece from the copy owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania a woodcut of a printing press from Samuel Sauer's 1791 German almanac printed in Chestnut Hill. The illustration is attractive and interesting in itself, but another reason for Tanselle's including it is that it has been labeled the earliest American picture of a printing press. Had the authorities on which the compiler was obliged to rely been more knowing they probably would have called his attention to a copper engraving of a printing press included by Franklin and Böhm in their edition of Arndt's *Wahren Christenthum* printed here in Philadelphia forty years earlier.

*Temple University*

C. WILLIAM MILLER

*Dickinson College: A History.* By CHARLES COLEMAN SELLERS. (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1973. xvii, 626 p. Illustrations, appendixes, index. \$20.00.)

Rare indeed is the college history that moves beyond nostalgic sentimental attachment to alma mater and encomiums of praise for a glorious past more fictional than real. But rare too is the college chronicler who possesses Charles Coleman Sellers' wit, his deft pen, and his superb scholarship.

Born in the turbulent post-Revolutionary period of our history, child of the eminent physician and devoted patriot, Benjamin Rush, Dickinson College mirrored the accelerating efforts of the early churches to create centers of higher learning as defenders and extenders of the faith. Success and failure jostled each other in a precarious environment that rendered institutional existence uncertain. Dickinson survived, but not without suffering the vicissitudes engendered by financial deprivation, internal dissension, and external opposition. Twice in its history it was forced to close its doors, and twice it was revived by trustees, faculty, and alumni convinced of its necessity. These episodes flit across the pages of the chronicle brought to vivid life with skilled portraiture. If occasional barbs

offend the sensibilities of alumni who recall favorite professors with affection, their sharp ends are blunted by a subtle and sympathetic humor. Sellers' characters are real because they are fallible.

Despite expressions of doubt as to the proper province of liberal arts colleges voiced by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century educational reformers, ubiquitous practice indicated that the ancient languages constituted the core of the college program. Introduction of new studies alien to the classics but responsive to the rapid transformations in American society, affected largely by technological advances, proceeded slowly and reluctantly, meeting the most vigorous resistance from those institutions that maintained an intimate connection with the churches that sponsored them. This resistance to curricular change, neglected in the main by those who viewed the history of higher education as residing virtually exclusively in the experiences of Harvard, Yale, and Princeton, receives perceptive treatment in the hands of Charles Sellers. He records the ebb and flow of the battle waged between conservative, church-oriented, and secular change-directed forces for commanding influence over the college program. He brings clarity to an issue muddled by inattention.

No longer need subsequent chronicles of higher education suffer the limitations induced by narrowness of vision. Sellers has enlarged the canvas. We need but follow his lead and profit.

*University of Pennsylvania*

SAUL SACK

*Delaware Canal Journal: A Definitive History of The Canal and The River Valley Through which it Flows.* By C. P. "BILL" YODER. (Bethlehem, Pa.: Canal Press Incorporated, 1972. iv, 287 p. Illustrations, maps, appendix, bibliography, index. \$7.95.)

The Delaware Canal was one of five nineteenth-century Delaware Valley canals important for the transportation of coal from the anthracite mines of eastern Pennsylvania down to Philadelphia and other urban markets. The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania built the Delaware Canal between 1827 and 1834 at a reported original cost of \$1,430,000. The waterway started at Easton and ran along the western bank of the Delaware for sixty miles, down to the tidal basin at Bristol. At Easton the canal connected with the Lehigh Canal serving the coal fields, and also with the Morris Canal which crossed northern New Jersey. Forty feet wide and with 23 lift locks, the canal was built to accommodate boats of 67 tons burden. Coal made up perhaps 80 per cent of all freight traffic on the canal, and there was only incidental packet or passenger service. The coal boats remained active throughout the century, with service finally ending only in 1931.

In spite of the title of this volume it is not really a "definitive" history of the Delaware Canal. *Delaware Canal Journal* has been written for the canal buff rather than for the historian. The author is not a professional historian, but he has written a delightful volume. Many aspects of canal history that the academician might expect to find are absent in this book, but other things of value are present. It is rich in the folklore of the valley, and the stories and reminiscences of old lock tenders and boatmen make up a major part of the work. The dozens of old pictures together produce a first-rate pictorial record of the canal era in eastern Pennsylvania. The several chapters vary in quality, but especially good are those on canal engineering, canal boats, and life and times along the canal. Yoder's volume should furnish a pleasant way to relive the heritage of canal and tow path in the Delaware Valley of the last century.

*Purdue University*

JOHN F. STOVER

*A Family Tapestry: Five Generations of the Curwens of Walnut Hill and Their Various Relatives.* By PATRICIA TALBOT DAVIS. (Wynnewood, Pa.: Livingston Publishing Company, 1972. xii, 209 p. Illustrations, charts, bibliography. \$10.00.)

In 1973 a suburban Philadelphia tenure of land held—remarkably, in this day and age—in the same family and name since 1785, came to an end in Lower Merion Township, Montgomery County, with the sale of the last portion of Walnut Hill, at Villanova. The property was purchased one hundred and eighty-eight years ago by John Curwen, formerly of Bridekirk and Little Broughton in Cumberland, the English-born ancestor of the vendors, the last of the Curwens to live on the land.

With a sensitivity to family traditions even more remarkable than the continuity of the landholding, Miss Elinor Ewing Curwen and Mrs. Edward F. McKeen paid their *adieux* to Walnut Hill and to Philadelphia with several splendid gestures. The first was the gift of their finest inherited furniture to Harriton, at Bryn Mawr, now in process of restoration as a historic house museum, the seat of Charles Thomson, Secretary of the Continental Congress, who was a close neighbor and friend of the early Curwens and Ewings. Family portraits went to the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts and a rich collection of family papers was divided among the Athenaeum of Philadelphia and the Radnor Historical Society. Finally, the family record was sealed by the commission to Mrs. Patricia Talbot Davis to write the Curwen story.

Mrs. Davis wove *A Family Tapestry* almost entirely from the now dispersed papers, pictures, and memorabilia at Walnut Hill. She used letters, diaries, account books and deeds, portraits, maps and views of

houses and their interiors to produce a minutely detailed but lively narrative. The book tells the interrelated stories of the Curwens and the families into which they married: Pennsylvania and New Jersey Ewings and Hunters, Beattys and Moores, and New York and New England Stoddards, Tanners, and Osbornes. Gadsdens of South Carolina, Leamings of Indiana, and Bells of Kentucky also make an appearance.

There is thus a great deal of genealogical detail in the book, and, unavoidably, a few factual errors. James Sterling, mayor of Burlington and West Jersey's reputed first millionaire, was, for example, not a relative by marriage but nephew to James Hunter, the Curwen ancestor whose Woodstock estate in Radnor Township, near Walnut Hill, was itself sold in 1971, ending a family ownership which began in 1757. Facts concerning the earlier generations of these distaff families are reported as the family told them and are left to professional genealogists to verify. All the pedigrees are clarified by tabular charts and are so interspersed with pleasantly told historical anecdote that the book's basic theme, the domestic life at Walnut Hill over many generations, is not obscured. The successive dwellings which provided the stage for the domestic scene are all well described and documented, particularly the 1864 Gothic mansion house which still stands, handsomely maintained, and which, with local street names (Curwen Circle, Broughton Lane), helps preserve the Curwen memory in the neighborhood, as Mrs. Davis' work preserves it in print.

This little book has something to say to the social historian. From 1797, when John Curwen was commissioned in the peace of his new county, his descendants continued to serve their community with intelligence and dedication. While occasionally active on a national or state level, the Curwens for two centuries were chiefly oriented to county and township organization and office. Similarly, they augmented their fortunes by investment on the sea, in upstate coal mines, and by careers in medicine and industry, but in the European tradition the family remained rooted to the fruits of its own *terres*. First came agriculture and, later, land development.

Never merely Philadelphia merchants settled on the Main Line, the Curwens of Walnut Hill preceded the Main Line. They represent a breed fast disappearing in this country, the true country gentleman.

*University of Pennsylvania Archives*

FRANCIS JAMES DALLETT

*Departing Glory: Theodore Roosevelt as ex-President.* By JOSEPH L. GARDNER. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973. xv, 432 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$12.50.)

Occasionally prominent leaders lose their capacity for leadership while still serving in leadership roles. Although his control did not fail him while

he was officially responsible for the affairs of the nation, Theodore Roosevelt was one of these. In the years following his presidency, he remained the man of hope to hundreds of thousands of Americans who wanted to see his brand of progressivism woven more firmly into the fabric of American society. Joseph L. Gardner's *Departing Glory* is an account of these post-presidential years in which TR tried in vain to recapture the levels of success that had marked his presidency.

Tradition has relegated ex-Presidents, regardless of age and vigor, to at least semiretirement. Content to appear at ceremonial functions, write their memoirs, and serve as *ex officio* party heroes, most of them have easily slipped into this less challenging life style. As in most aspects of his career, Theodore Roosevelt did not conform. Eager to be on the frontiers of development, he was the first President or ex-President to descend in a submarine and the first to ascend in an airplane. His deeds were more popular, more controversial, more energetic, and more diverse than those of any of his ex-President colleagues.

Living for almost a decade after leaving the presidency in 1909, TR's span of post-presidential life is slightly above average for the 35 ex-Presidents. (Herbert Hoover's 31 years, followed by John Adams' 25, is the longest.) Throughout this period Roosevelt remained a powerful political force. His post-presidential political participation is rivaled only by John Quincy Adams' 17 years in the Congress after retiring from the presidency in 1829. Although Adams' involvement was longer than that of TR, he enjoyed at best a sectional rather than a national following.

The author exhibits great balance and talent for description in writing about the multifarious Roosevelt. The African safari, the tour of European capitals (which included an address at Oxford, a clash with the pope, a tiff with the Kaiser, and the spectacle of a German sham battle), his trek through the Brazilian jungle, his career as a journalist for *The Outlook* and *Metropolitan* magazines, and, of course, his political role—all are reported with clarity and gusto. This account, a comprehensive treatment of his post-presidential years, is not only enjoyable reading, but also an example of the excellent description which readers have come to expect from one who has served, as Mr. Gardner has, as an editor for *American Heritage*.

There are no footnotes by which the reader can chart the author's course through the extensive Rooseveltian materials. Although his emphasis is not on controversy and analysis, passages are at times so insightful that the reader looks in vain to learn the sources relied upon. Almost one-fourth of the volume is devoted to background, to Roosevelt as President, but these pages attempt to highlight only the personal side of TR's administrations in setting the stage for his later involvements.

Central to the author's account is TR's excursion out of the Republican Party in 1912 to join and lead the hapless Progressives, their heart-rending defeats, and ultimate return to the Republican fold. At one point in this



portrayal (p. 220) TR is described as a man who wanted a third term "rather desperately" and who was "very nearly obsessed with power." On the other hand, the details of this unsuccessful Progressive pilgrimage, as marshalled by the author, do not depict such an emotional pursuit of the presidency. Driven by a combination of Taft mistakes, commitment to a particular socio-political philosophy, loyalty to fellow ideologues, fear of LaFollette extremism, and personal pride, Roosevelt undertook the Progressive venture with full knowledge of the likelihood of political disaster. Thus the best evidence, including that in Mr. Gardner's own account, indicates that TR's approach was deliberate and rational; unfortunately for him and his co-spirits it failed to enlist a majority of the American voters in its cause.

*University of Pittsburgh*

JAMES A. KEHL

*Held Captive by Indians, Selected Narratives, 1642-1836.* Edited by RICHARD VANDERBEETS. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1973. xxxi, 374 p. Illustrations, index. \$12.95.)

The editor of this anthology of captivity narratives is a professor of English who believes this type of literature, now out of fashion, little known, and finished so far as new tales are likely, should be made more available. His publisher agreed, and so do I. They afford the reader some glimpses of what it was like to pioneer on the edge of civilization and the high cost that might be exacted. They help explain the hardening white attitude toward the Indian. They reveal much about the culture of several tribes. And they are vivid and dramatic. Further, in the original editions and many of the later ones they are difficult to find and sometimes exceedingly expensive. For all these reasons a convenient collection, with explanatory notes, selling at a reasonable price is welcome.

Professor VanDerBeets offers a twenty-page introduction to this type of literature and shows a sure grasp of the genre and its shaping to the expectations of a changing audience. He has arranged the narratives selected for reprinting in chronological order and includes three "classics"—that is, stories known to most students of Indian-White relations and highly regarded: the captivity of Jesuit Father Jogues among the Mohawks (1642), Mary Rowlandson's testament of faith after she was taken in King Philip's War (1676), and the sufferings of Rachel Plummer at the hands of the Comanches (1836). The other victims turned authors are John Gyles, taken in Maine in 1689 and held six years; Elizabeth Hanson, carried to Canada in 1724; Robert Eastburn, captured in western New York in 1758; John Marrant, a Negro who lived with the Cherokees 1770-1772; Charles Johnston, made prisoner by Ohio Indians in 1790;

Mary Kinan, taken by the Shawnees in 1791; and then the Mannheim "potpourri," as the editor calls it, of 1793 containing nine short accounts.

The editor did not seek to republish first editions, but has utilized reprints (why, I don't know) and "corrected editions" (which makes sense). The stories he has selected are probably representative of the genre, but are they the best ones? After all, there are nearly 200 to choose from, and every investigator has his favorites. Not found in this volume are the captivities of Mary Jemison, Olive Oatman, and Fanny Kelly, probably because they are too long; but I missed the trials of the Rev. John Williams, taken at Deerfield, the Hall sisters, Massy Harbison, and John Norton. I found the Gyles narrative a little tedious, John Marrant not a genuine captive, and the Mannheim group a questionable choice.

The special maps are helpful, but the illustrations, taken from nineteenth-century publications, are quite unreliable and misleading. The first one is a badly reworked sketch of a John White water color of 1585! There is a bibliography and an index.

*William L. Clements Library*  
*University of Michigan*

HOWARD H. PECKHAM

*Captives Mansion.* By S. R. SLAYMAKER II. (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, Inc., 1973. xx, 220 p. Illustrations, index. \$7.95.)

History may be written from several centers of meaning and this well-written and at times even brilliant book is centered around the Slaymaker mansion, White Chimneys, at Gap in eastern Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. Here the author says we have a "microscopic saga of the nation itself" (p. 200). This house, which has been occupied by the members of one family for over two and a half centuries, and which has been expanded as required, depicts the "neatly compacted life-span of the family" on the one hand and America's commonly accepted history periods on the other. Other houses, of course, do the same.

So the author, descendent of Matthias Schleiermacher (-1763) who Anglicized his family name, periodizes his history in the life spans of his forbears: "Matthias lived in the early Colonial period, the first Henry's career spanned the later Colonial, as his son Amos' did the Federal. Henry F. and Colonel S. C. were respectively early and late Victorian, while S. K., my father, and I were and are of the modern times (p. 200)."

Is it not to be expected that the history of the Slaymakertown squires and their manor house should mirror the national events that surrounded their lives? Is it not obvious that White Chimneys should reflect both external events and family needs? That both family and mansion thus reflected outer events is not unusual; what is different in mobile America is for a family to remain at one place long enough for this to happen.

Matthias Schleiermacher came to Pennsylvania by way of London and the Schoharie in New York, and he located in the Lancaster Pequea region with M<sup>me</sup> Ferree and her colony. Then he became a Presbyterian, thus retaining his Calvinism and his differences from his Pietist neighbors.

Seven generations of Slaymakers lived in White Chimneys, bettering the house as needs arose. The first Henry, storekeeper, lawyer, judge, politician, had his portrait painted by John Hesselius. Amos also kept store, sired many children, and in 1792 he saw the Lancaster turnpike opened before his house, thus insuring his prosperity; he entertained Lafayette on his second visit to America. Henry F. Slaymaker dressed in natty laced shirts, frock coats, and beaver hats; this phaeton riding squire had his portrait done by his sister Hannah. "Colonel" Samuel C. Slaymaker had a synthetic military commission from the Governor of Pennsylvania; he was a civil engineer for the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad who came back to the mansion on weekends. The later generations were Lancaster businessmen who commuted from White Chimneys.

Through all this history the focus of interest is the mansion itself. As Sir Denis Brogan points out in his Foreword, the main trait of the rebuilding that was needed to make it attractive again is that the present squire did not try to make it all in the same style. "Since White Chimneys has been inhabited continuously by the Slaymaker family . . . the house is *not* a model of symmetry, of the harmony that is much admired all over the South. . . ." The house has been altered in differing styles because the present owner meant to reflect all periods of the house's history, the continuing life of the family there. Unlike other Pennsylvania mansions (the Hottenstein house in Maxatawney and Baron Stiegel's Charming Forge), White Chimneys does not express one architectural style.

Here then in this interesting book we have a window on American history, looking out from a house that itself reflects the world on passing events. Whether architecture thus can depict the full spirit of a nation in clear presentation is a moot point. In any event, White Chimneys has captured the present owner and led him to believe that he may tell within its walls the moving spirit of this nation. Perhaps there are others who thus are captives of a house.

*Fleetwood, Pa.*

J. J. STOUT

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