
Professor Baltzell has fed masses of data into an IBM machine and out has come a composite portrait of the Philadelphia gentleman as of the year 1940. His remote ancestors were English or Welsh immigrants, probably Quakers. His great-great-great-grandfather, already a distinguished ornament of Philadelphia "society" in the days of the early republic, had probably abandoned Quakerism for the more fashionable Episcopalian Church. His family had been listed in the Social Register for nearly half a century. Born on Walnut Street, near Rittenhouse Square, he went to school at Episcopal Academy (or was sent away to Groton or St. Paul's in New England) and got his college degree from Harvard, Yale, or Princeton (unless local loyalty led his family to enroll him in the University of Pennsylvania). After law school, he either joined a prominent law firm in the city or went into banking or finance.

He held directorships in such powerful economic institutions as the Pennsylvania Railroad or the Girard Trust, and in cultural institutions like the Fairmount Park Art Association and the Franklin Institute. By 1940 he and his family had migrated to one of the fashionable suburbs, perhaps Chestnut Hill or along the Main Line. When in town he usually lunched with his peers at the Philadelphia Club or the slightly less exclusive Rittenhouse. He was part of a national upper class and had many traits in common with the Proper Bostonian, the New Yorker of Knickerbocker lineage, the Charlestonian of Huguenot extraction. But he was unmistakably a Philadelphian, and his distinctive attributes were rooted in the history of his native city.

Professor Baltzell is a sociologist. He uses all the tools of his profession: the quantitative method (thirty-eight tables provide the basic data from which he draws his generalizations); the analytical concepts of Weber, Durkheim, and Veblen and of more recent writers like Lloyd Warner, C. Wright Mills, and David Riesman; the special vocabulary of the social scientist ("reification," "ascription referent," "acculturate," "family-surrogate" [i.e., school], etc.). He has no axe to grind: there is nothing here of the reformer's moral indignation, the muckraker's itch to expose, the gossip-columnist's fascination with the private life of "high society." Starting from the premise that "leadership and some form of stratification are inherent in all human social organization," he is concerned to find out how the Philadelphia upper class achieved its status and how adequately it performs its functions.
Putting aside the notion of classlessness as a utopian perversion of the democratic idea, he believes that "a strong and autonomous upper class... is one of the important bulwarks of freedom against an all-inclusive totalitarian power." If he has doubts about the future usefulness of Philadelphia's dominantly Anglo-Saxon, Protestant upper class, they revolve around the question of whether it can extend its demonstrated ability to assimilate new men of prestige and power so far as to embrace the ethnic and religious minorities from which in the mid-twentieth century those "new men" are assuredly coming up.

Basically the group in which Professor Baltzell is interested consists of 226 individuals and their families, whom he has precipitated out of the total metropolitan population by the use of two instruments—Who's Who and the Social Register, the former an index of the American elite, the leaders in their chosen occupations or professions, the latter an index of the American upper class, the families at the top of the social hierarchy. The 226 individuals who appear in both volumes constitute the core of the aristocracy which he anatomizes, though within this number he distinguishes a still smaller group of 42 individuals in whom he finds power and prestige to focus most sharply. If one is initially inclined to question the adequacy of these indices, one's objections are disarmingly anticipated by Mr. Baltzell, who grants their shortcomings but pleads the unavailability of better instruments.

In the main, he makes clear, Philadelphia's upper class is a business aristocracy. He believes that "although possibly guilty of a somewhat conservative and narrow conception of the duties and obligations of wealth, the upper class in Philadelphia has, on the whole, fostered an atmosphere of integrity and honesty within the business community." It has not been a politically-minded aristocracy: the dominant Republican tradition has produced no notable dynasty of public servants comparable to the Lodges of Boston or the Tafts of Cincinnati, though the recessive Democratic strain, as he points out in the last chapter, has shown some signs of life since 1940. In one of the few passages in which he departs from analysis and assumes the role of critic, Mr. Baltzell takes the fashionable boarding schools to task for not producing the type of leadership that the English public schools have fostered.

The data which he extracts from his two master sources enable him to plot the geography of the Philadelphia aristocracy and explain the subtle differences between the prestige of an address in Whitemarsh and one in Jenkintown, to discuss its affinity for the Episcopal Church (with a separate chapter on the aristocratic Quaker and Jewish subcultures), and to analyze the gradations of prestige among the gentlemen's clubs in the city. Professor Baltzell's knowledge of his native town, together with his competence as a sociologist, makes Philadelphia Gentlemen a valuable and, one suspects, permanent contribution to the growing literature in which social scientists are seeking to understand the structure and functioning of our twentieth-century American society.

One feature of the book will especially please historians and will—or at
least so we may hope—make it a model for other social scientists to imitate. Too much social-science literature suffers from the lack of a temporal dimension. It attempts to understand the structure of contemporary society without reference to its historical roots or—what is perhaps worse—with only a perfunctory bow to history by way of a few superficial and misleading generalizations. Professor Baltzell recognizes this lack of a historical sense, this “time-provincialism,” as he calls it, for the serious weakness it is, and devotes three chapters to the history of the “first families” from their mercantile beginnings in pre-Revolutionary Philadelphia through the nineteenth century, when their numbers were recruited from the ranks of successful industrialists, railroad promoters, ironmasters, and financiers. His footnotes bear witness to the diligence of his research into the economic, social, political, and intellectual history of the Quaker City. If there are soft spots in these chapters, the fault is not his but ours.

The very strength of *Philadelphia Gentlemen*—its attention to historical development—underlines the failure of Pennsylvania historians, by and large, to provide adequate intensive studies of the careers of individual businessmen, the patterns of economic and social change, the political movements, the intellectual, religious, and artistic atmosphere—the historical milieu, in a word, out of which his Philadelphia gentlemen emerged.

*Swarthmore* College

**FREDERICK B. TOLLES**


This delightful little volume deals with Philadelphia’s Chestnut Street Theatre during the years when Mr. Jefferson’s brand of democracy was winning the domestic political stage, and when America was striving to stay out of the Napoleonic wars of the old world. Effete Philadelphia remained the cultural center of this young republic even though the nation’s capital had been moved to the new city of Washington in the Maryland woods. This playhouse was just a stone’s throw from Independence Hall on Chestnut Street, and here is a graphic picture of its programmes, playbills, artists, actors, managers, composers, directors, and audiences, all set against a background of historic times.

For some reason the title incorporates dates which are a bit misleading. Mr. James actually begins his story with the opening of the Chestnut Street in 1793, and there are references to its rival, the Southwark Playhouse, which was opened some time earlier. Philadelphia, called the “New Athens” by some contemporaries, had had a ban on playhouses until about the time of the Constitutional Convention. It now seemed determined to eradicate the last memories of prudish suppression by giving these new theatres full support.

All classes of society joined in this support. Mr. James has some colorful descriptions of typical audiences, from the riffraff in the pit and the rabble of the balconies to the be-wigged and powdered aristocracy of the loges. One gets a vivid picture of the balconies and the pit “cat-calling” the boxes after the democratic “revolution” occasioned by Mr. Jefferson’s election in
1800. On the other hand, there are memorable scenes of a nation's hours of grandeur: General Washington arriving in the state box, and, years later, a crepe-hung theatre commemorating his death with a special program. On one occasion in 1799 the stage was turned into a ballroom to honor President John Adams at the time of his stirring call to arms against Revolutionary France.

The backdrop of dynamic history is ever-present. The managers were particularly fond of reproducing naval engagements such as the attack on the Barbary pirate states, and Stephen Decatur was a favorite subject for actors to impersonate. Some of these presentations required elaborate stage sets, but the staff seemed equal to the most pretentious scripts. There was a commendable effort to present offerings of cultural value. The plays of Shakespeare were constantly produced. Often they did not draw well, but Shakespeare's works were scheduled as long as the Chestnut Street Theatre stood.

Many were the noted figures who trod the boards of this old playhouse. Joseph Jefferson began a great career here during the 1803-04 season; Chestnut audiences heard the sweet voice of Elizabeth Arnold, later the mother of Edgar Allan Poe; Thomas Cooper was a foremost tragedian; the whole town talked about the child prodigy John Howard Payne; William Francis was a versatile star in comedy, dance, and pantomime; and some of the finest scores were composed by Alexander Reinagle. Many foreign troupers made the long Atlantic crossing to be seen and heard in Philadelphia's "Cradle of Culture." In 1812, with war in the offing, the Quaker City was still an attractive assignment for British artists despite their musicians' having to reconcile themselves to playing raucous American tunes, and actors' sometimes being the butt of patriotic demonstrations against John Bull.

The self-contained little world of the stage has not changed much from that day to this in its professional introspection. Mr. James speaks of the appearance of The Theatrical Censor in 1805. This was one of the first American periodicals to be concerned entirely with the stage. Theatre people hailed its appearance, but soon discovered that it could be a devastating detractor as well as a booster for both individuals and productions.

Mr. James has attached an appendix listing every performance in the Chestnut Street Theatre—plays, ballets, pantomimes, and musicals—from 1800 to 1810. The name of the author of each piece and the number of performances are also given. Another appendix lists all performers and artists who appeared on these boards during the same years. There is an index, which can only be described as exhaustive, and a number of valuable illustrations.

Temple University

Lawrence Ealy


The authors of this book hold a mirror to a segment of Philadelphia society which, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, lived in the
“grand manner,” and they preserve for us an interesting portrait of an age rapidly disappearing in our large urban centers. Boston, New York, Baltimore, and scores of other cities, each has a history replete with eccentrics, nostalgic antecedents, firsts which gave distinction to their contributions to the past, but none is more noteworthy than that of Philadelphia.

In an interesting and witty account we are taken behind the scenes and shown how the distinctive character and personality of the city developed. You catch something of the spirit of Philadelphia when you are told why there is a prejudice against “living north of Market Street,” of the chasm that existed between the “world’s people” and the strict or “stiff” Quakers; of the strong Southern affiliations of some Philadelphians, who for many years would not walk across the pavement of the Union League, and who still will not enter its precincts; of the deep pride in the many institutions of the city; and of the distinctive flavor of the “grand eccentrics” whose stories are unfolded with sympathetic understanding.

*Philadelphia Scrapple* was written by those in the “know” to forestall any attempt on the part of the ill-informed to portray their city in an unfriendly manner. To catch the flavor of Philadelphia there is “a little of this, and a little of that”—like the ingredients in scrapple. There are amusing descriptions of the eccentrics—careless of dress, frugal to a point of absurdity, loquacious to a point of tediousness, steeped in idiosyncrasies, or tinged with snobbery.

One is tempted to quote at length the anecdotes about them, but let these few suffice. One good lady, wholly devoid of humor, who married late in life, did not want to walk up the aisle of St. Mark’s Church to the strains of the Lohengrin Wedding March, but, much to the amusement of her friends, asked the organist to play “that bee-a-uutiful anthem of Mendelssohn’s ‘I Waited for the Lord.’” A gentleman was posted in his club for a debt of fifty cents because he was greatly annoyed if his checking account ever got a penny below $450,000—and the debt occurred at an inconvenient time! But the same gentleman was not without a sense of humor because, when two young ladies who didn’t want to meet him on the street, hurried into their own door not far away, he stopped and sent in his card on which he had written, “The wicked flee, and no man pursueth,” and then went on his way.

Another wealthy Philadelphian once cashed a check at the Pennsylvania Company for fifteen cents, and the teller with a straight face asked him how he would like his money. After some deliberation, Mr. - - - - answered, “I think you’d better give me two nickels and five pennies.” When the money was handed to him, he pushed the coins about in his hand for a few seconds, then murmured to himself, “There are 7 cents I don’t need,” and solemnly redeposited the 7 cents! One lady of great dignity entertained some guests at her town house on Walnut Street, and although everything was as it should be, in the middle of the meal she ordered the butler to remove everything from the table and to bring in cans and a can opener from the pantry, and the friends finished the dinner out of tin cans!

Another woman, a Friend—“certainly obsessed if not, indeed, mildly
deranged"—once too often disturbed the Germantown Friends at their meeting, and by prearrangement two able-bodied elders carried her out on their shoulders, at which she cried out as though preaching, "I am more honoured than our Saviour. He was carried on the back of one ass. I am borne on the backs of two!" The authors add: "A scuffle and screaming would have been forgotten; her serenity caused her words to be remembered for years."

The strands of tradition and conservatism are woven into the fabric of the story and help to give a thread of continuity to the corporate life of the community. Even the presentation of the servant problem, and the reliable services of such disparate peoples as caterers and morticians, help to catch the elusive character of Philadelphia.

The short accounts of the origins and importance of such institutions as the Library Company, the American Philosophical Society, the Dancing Assembly, the Pennsylvania Hospital, the Agricultural Society, the City Troop, the Academy of Natural Sciences, the Franklin Institute, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the Fish Club, the Academy of Music, the Orpheus and Savoy companies, the riding clubs, and Wistar parties, all add flavor to the engrossing story of the city. Churches and churchyards, the love of fine gardens and heirlooms, and the retention of certain forms of heraldry, give substance to the distinctive Philadelphia character. Nor would the story be complete without revealing the traditional reverence for good food and drink—and there are mouth-watering recipes for making scrapple, sticky cinnamon buns, ice cream, terrapin, stewed kidneys, real chicken salad, Fish House Punch, apple toddy, eggnog, whisky-sours, mint juleps, and tea!

Unfortunately there are no illustrations, nor even an index in this book. Only a few references scattered throughout the book reveal sources from which some of the material is drawn. However, it is a labor of love and we should be grateful to "Several Anonymous Philadelphians" who have caught the spirit and the value of so many things Philadelphian.


In this report J. C. Harrington, archaeologist for the National Park Service, presents a detailed account of the archaeological exploration, study, and interpretation which disclosed the true appearance of Fort Necessity and made possible an accurate reconstruction of that historic fort. After a long period of doubt and even controversy about the size, shape, and manner of construction of the fort, this archaeological research has settled the matter beyond any reasonable doubt. It shows, too, that the earlier attempts to describe Fort Necessity were like the attempts of the fabled blind men to describe an elephant. Historians drew upon various features of the original as described in the sources, or as they appeared in surface remains
and in earlier archaeological exploration; and then applied them generally, arguing contradictions away. This makes Harrington's work especially valuable "from the standpoint of historical criticism," as a lesson in the dangers and traps involved even in apparently clear historical evidence. In fact, the contradictory descriptions of the fort as triangular, diamond-shaped, or circular, each had a degree of justification in terms of the available evidence, until this report resolved the confusion. Something might have been gained perhaps if the present report had pointed out more clearly the relationship between what was determined by the archaeological exploration in 1952-1953, and what earlier students had conjectured.

Harrington's findings indicate that Fort Necessity was actually a quadrilateral embankment, broken at the northeast corner, the break being occupied by a small circular stockade. On the basis of surface remains, the surveyor Freeman Lewis in 1816 concluded that the fort was triangular, and was followed in this by the local historian James Veech. In 1830 Jared Sparks, collecting material for his *Writings of George Washington*, looked at the surface indications more closely, and decided that Fort Necessity had been diamond-shaped, and in 1901 Archer Butler Hulbert, after a thorough study, decided that Sparks was right. Both schools thought that the remains of the embankment represented earth heaped up around the posts of the stockade which was mentioned by Washington and others. James Burd's nearly contemporary description of the fort as a circular stockade was regarded by Veech as inexplicable, "a mystery which we cannot solve," while Hulbert regarded it as evidence for the fort's being "an irregular square," since that could conceivably look like a circle after a few years' weathering. In the 1940's Douglas Southall Freeman had more doubt about the description of Fort Necessity than Harrington indicates. He did indeed write that Hulbert's "conclusions are accepted," but he also made the reservation that "it is impossible to say where the trenches ran or how much of the ground was covered by the small temporary stockade," and he was cautious in picking his way through the controversy, which he described as "almost amusingly heated." (Freeman, *George Washington*, I, 402.) Actually, Hulbert and the other proponents of a four-sided Fort Necessity were correct as to the shape of the fort, so far as the embankment or "entrenchment" is concerned, but they were wrong in thinking that the stockade followed this line.

The first part of this instructive report presents the historical background of Fort Necessity, telling of Washington's campaign of 1754 and the building of the fort, explaining the long controversy over its probable shape and structure, and summarizing the later history of the site. There follows the main part, the account of the archaeological explorations. The early excavations in 1901 and 1931 are briefly presented, and their erroneous conclusions seen as the result of adherence to earlier ideas about the fort, as well as inexperience in the interpretation of archaeological data. The detailed story of the preliminary explorations in 1952 and of the final work in 1953 may be a bit difficult for historians to find interesting, but it is well worth the effort to see how the bits and scraps of material evidence were found and
fitted together to arrive at a definite plan of the fort. The report concludes with an account of the reconstruction of Fort Necessity in 1953 and 1954. The more important historical sources are reproduced in appendices, and there is a useful list of references. Although paper-bound and produced by photo-offset, this is an attractive publication, well illustrated with maps, plans, and photographs of the archaeological work.

*Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission*

DONALD H. KENT


The publication of this volume marks the completion of a thirty-seven-year venture by the New York State Education Department. This final volume, completing the series which was begun in 1921, has been edited by Milton W. Hamilton and it has made available much valuable documentary material dealing with the history of colonial America. As Superintendent of Indian Affairs in North America, Sir William Johnson carried on a voluminous correspondence which furnishes considerable information on a variety of problems confronting all the provinces, including Pennsylvania. This volume covers the period from 1766 to 1774.

The major problem considered by this work, as it happens, is the attempted settlement of the western part of the colony of Pennsylvania. The Proclamation of 1763, together with Pennsylvania's policy of not permitting settlement within areas of the colony not purchased from the Indians, had not been sufficient to prevent the incursion of settlers into the west. The Indian tribes resented this violation of their territory and viewed with alarm the abandonment of the many western military garrisons and their replacement by the new western settler, who often showed an utter disregard for the legislation and policies which had been designed, at least in part, to protect the Indian.

Indian unrest, heightened by the parsimony of the British now that the French had been defeated, presaged outright hostilities with the prospect of slaughter reminiscent of the uprisings of 1763. Another aspect of this frontier struggle was the desire of the eastern commercial interests, typified by the Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan Company of Philadelphia, to reopen the Indian trade which had been prohibited following the Indian uprisings of 1763. Opposing the re-opening of this trade were many inhabitants of what is now the central portion of the state, who viewed the renewal as a means by which the Indians could procure arms and ammunition with which to threaten the western settlers. This latter group was represented by the Paxton Boys and their adherents who attacked supply trains carrying Indian presents and provisions.

In addition, many of the settlers could not easily forget the death and destruction which had accompanied the Indian uprisings of 1763. With the withdrawal of British and provincial troops from all except the most significant western posts, they took this opportunity to avenge earlier
Indian depredations. The garrison at Fort Pitt, still maintained during this period, was used to prevent the western settler from permanently establishing himself in the valleys of the Monongahela and Cheat Rivers. In general, however, the efforts of this garrison were not sufficient to dislodge these settlers, who showed the traditional disrespect for constituted authority when it infringed on what they believed to be their rights.

The problems which faced this colony were the subject of much correspondence between the Governor of Pennsylvania and Sir William Johnson. In addition, there were frequent communications between Johnson and Thomas Penn and Benjamin Franklin, who represented the interests of the Quaker Colony in London. A partial solution of many of these vexatious questions was achieved by Johnson's signing of the Treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768. In the making of this treaty the colony of Pennsylvania was represented. The preliminaries, negotiation, and aftermath of the treaty are thoroughly documented in this volume. Not all of the problems of the west, however, were solved by the Fort Stanwix treaty. There was evidence of a struggle between the assembly and the executive of Pennsylvania, in which the latter was charged with being less than diligent in enforcing the laws against the lawless people who had settled in the west. Sterner legislation was proposed for dealing with such intruders, and the death penalty was prescribed for those who persisted in disobeying provincial edicts.

Considerable interest was shown by the inhabitants of Philadelphia and the older, established portions of the colony in maintaining free passage through the colony to the western forts, particularly Fort Pitt, from which a great profit was to be earned in the western trade. Many of the Philadelphia trading houses had established warehouses at Fort Pitt, and from this advanced base of operations they continued to ship provisions and supplies down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers to the newly occupied British posts. Severance of this lifeline, either by Indian forays or by settler opposition to continuation of trade, would have seriously damaged the investments of the eastern traders.

Although more than half of the volume relates directly to the problems enumerated above, other matters affecting the Quaker Colony are also touched upon. Boundary disputes were particularly disturbing; there is extensive reference to the necessity of firmly establishing the western boundary of the province. In addition, the troublesome border between Pennsylvania and Maryland was in the process of being delineated, and this volume contains much documentary material dealing with the demarcation of the Mason-Dixon line.

The final portion of the volume deals primarily with the efforts of Sir William Johnson to consolidate his land holdings in central New York; hence it offers relatively little that is germane to the history of Pennsylvania. Evident, however, is Johnson's rather surprising sympathy with the colonial cause and his increasing irritation with the lack of understanding of colonial problems shown by government officials in London.

This work continues the high standards of editing and scholarship which marked the previous volumes in the series. Great care has been taken to
cross reference the 537 documents included, and there is ample evidence of the labor and research which has gone into the editing of this work. The bulk of the documents offered here have been gathered from the Public Archives of Canada, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and the William L. Clements Library, as well as from less likely repositories, such as the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park, New York.

A final volume is promised which will contain those documents not collected in time for inclusion in the first twelve volumes. This will also include corrections and errata for the series as well as a much needed chronological listing of all documents contained in the entire series.

**United States Naval Academy**

**JOHN W. HUSTON**

**Counterfeiting in Colonial America.** By Kenneth Scott. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1957. Pp. 283. $5.00.)

The author of this book is the most productive scholar who has written on colonial counterfeiting. Of the twenty-three articles and books on the subject which are listed in his bibliography, sixteen are by Professor Scott himself. Since this book went to press three more articles by him on counterfeiting have appeared, on New Hampshire, New Jersey, and North Carolina. Another, on Revolutionary New York, and a book on Connecticut (an American Numismatic Society monograph) are on the way. The present work is therefore a summary, for the general reader, of the more detailed researches, largely Scott's own, which have been done to date in this intriguing but neglected subject. This book, however, is without footnotes. Those who wish documentation and more detail can get them in Scott's other books and articles, almost all of which have appeared within the last ten or fifteen years.

Previous writers have confined themselves to a single colony or region, as, for example, Harold D. Gillingham did in his little monograph on Pennsylvania. But the professional counterfeiters moved freely from one colony to another, for it was safer for them, if caught, to be caught making "phony" New York bills in New Jersey, and vice versa, than to operate on a local basis. They often ranged the whole seaboard, and so has Scott in his pursuit of them. If the colonial authorities had had equal mobility, they would have been more successful in coping with the counterfeiting problem.

Counterfeiting was a favorite occupation for many colonial Americans (Scott lists over a thousand names in his index) in all walks of life. Not only the criminal riffraff were involved, but often members of highly respectable families, and sometimes whole neighborhoods. Most of the book is taken up with their activities in the various colonies, with much on the great gangs, such as Samuel Ford's, of Morristown, New Jersey, Joseph Bill's in Massachusetts, and Owen Sullivan's Dover Money Club. There is a chapter on women practitioners, the most talented of whom was a housewife named Mary Butterworth. Working in her own kitchen, she produced passable facsimiles of Rhode Island and other New England bills of credit, all made by hand.

Ingenious though it was, this kind of household manufacture was too
laborious to compete with the products of a good engraved plate. Until about 1740 the colonists leaned heavily upon imports from England and Ireland, where experienced engravers and printers made thousands of colonial bills, copied from samples brought over by sea captains, sailors, or passengers, who returned forthwith to flood the colonies with their spurious wares. Later the Americans became more proficient in the craft. Samuel Ford learned engraving and type-making during a sojourn in Ireland. Enough American silversmiths applied their skill in metal working and engraving to furnish material for a sizable chapter in Scott’s book. Outstanding among them was Abel Buell, who, after completing his apprenticeship as a silversmith, started by altering some Connecticut bills. After he had paid his debt to society, he was hired by that state to make good money, with the aid of a machine for striking coins that he had invented.

The book ends with a chapter on the counterfeiting of Continental currency by the British during the Revolution. The author says that this was “the first time in history” that “counterfeiting was resorted to by a government to undermine confidence in the currency, and thereby the credit, of the enemy.” They did an excellent job.

Professor Scott has done an excellent job too. This book should be in every library which assays to cover the field of American history.

H. Clay Reed


“I have had the good fortune to live in Dutch Pennsylvania—to get the feel of it, to imbibe its spirit, to know it, and to love it. It is a love I would share with others. So here is the story, a true story with authentic places and real people.” Those are the introductory words of the author who, born near Harmony in western Pennsylvania, served parishes in Schwenksville and Reading and is now serving in Carnegie.

In twelve sketches of Pennsylvania-German life, each one of which could stand alone, Dr. Brenner tells his story in an informal, entertaining style. Actually, however, it is not pure narrative, for frequently he shifts to the informational. The best chapters are “A Hand upon Your Shoulder,” in which the spirit of brotherhood and the willingness to help are shown; “The Birds Sing Best in Pennsylvania,” in which the reader meets old books and early printing; “The Kingdom of the Tulip,” even though the reviewer feels that the tulip is given too much symbolism; and “Der Battlefield Iss at Gettysburg,” in which the story of the Mennonite boy reveals a slight conflict between the tulip and the flag, and in which the Conestoga wagon and the “Kentucky” rifle appear.

The book deserves to be read. A lucid and flowing style makes it a book that can be read quickly. The reader easily feels the mood of the author and his love for his people. In spite of these many fine qualities, however, Brenner’s presentation has certain weaknesses. The most striking one is his tendency to add anticlimactic and irrelevant elements. An example of
anticlimax is the chapter called “Der Battlefield Iss at Gettysburg,” which is artistically told until Dr. Brenner adds comments about himself (p. 155), and about the gray-haired lady (p. 156) who was denied the right to hear Lincoln at Gettysburg. Irrelevancy is the most common weakness. The story of Howard, the college freshman (p. 30 ff.), adds little to the characterization of the Pennsylvania Germans in “She Feels to Teach.” What does the offer of a fifty-dollar check from a man who does not belong to the ethnic group, but who married a Pennsylvania German girl, have to do with the characterization (p. 166)? In the last chapter, “Ach, Dere’s Plenty Yet,” in which Brenner takes his cousin to the Lancaster market, he leaps from food to dress, to country sales, to annual fairs, and finally to the spiritual and musical plenty of the Pennsylvania Germans. All is of one piece here except dress. In sharp contrast is an example which is pointed and characteristic: the interesting story of the 90-year-old man (p. 171 ff.) who shows “a streak of stubbornness” and who demonstrates that “Der Parre Hat Truble, Ain’t?”

Dr. Brenner generalizes, moralizes, popularizes, and sensationalizes. He generalizes about education (p. 35), he moralizes about Aaron Levy and Aaronsburg when he says (p. 15) that Levy “bespeaks the coming day when Jew and Gentile will better appreciate their common spiritual heritage . . . .” and he seeks to popularize by using the dialect idiom. He tries to present the sensational in his chapter on pow-wowing entitled “Hex Will Make Ous.” The discipline of the Amish is dramatically told in “Make Tight der Reins.” Amish Mary spends several days at Rehoboth Beach and becomes “gay” in her purchase of a seashell pin. The church condemns her and considers her a woman of the streets. Bishop Lapp is unmerciful toward her. When he learns that his son Henry is in love with her, he forces him to give up the “harlot.” Obedient, Henry forgets her. Later Henry tells his father that he must now marry a Mennonite girl. The Bishop feeling that “must” is the word, orders him out of the house and bans him. Here is the most dramatic gem in the entire book. It is in the style of Mildred Jordan’s *Apple in the Attic* in miniature, but colored differently.

In writing such a narrative the author faces the question of how much dialect and how much Dutch-English to use. Brenner has a neat way of letting the reader know the meaning without translating the dialect directly. Generally the English idiom of the dialogue is somewhat typical of the sect people. Again and again a sentence ends with *ain’t* (i.e., *gel*). The English is rather exaggerated and overdrawn. In the preface Brenner states: “My pen is not half as Dutch as my heart, and I know beyond doubt that the dialectal expressions are not always ‘chust so.’” Numerous examples of inaccuracies appear, as well as incorrect orthography in the dialect.

The subtitle, *The Plain and the Fancy*, is somewhat confusing: “the plain” is out of all proportion to “the fancy.” Sometimes it is difficult to tell where the “plain” ends and the “fancy” begins. The emphasis is definitely on the sects. The reviewer feels that the presentation of dress is out of place in the last chapter, “Ach, Dere’s Plenty Yet.” If the comments about the dress of the Lutherans and the Reformed and other “fancy”
people, as well as other information about them, had appeared on earlier
pages, the reviewer's criticism would be less valid. All in all, Dr. Brenner's
book is entertaining, informative, and interesting.

Susquehanna University

Russell W. Gilbert

_Albert Gallatin: Jeffersonian Financier and Diplomat._ By Raymond Walters,

Historians generally, and those of Pennsylvania in particular, welcome
this work by Dr. Walters, for it adds much to our knowledge of Gallatin,
and achieves a balance between his private and public life which is con-
spicuously lacking in the earlier biographies by Henry Adams and John
A. Stevens.

The volume in review bears evidence of careful scholarly craftsmanship.
The end-notes and bibliography show that the author has combed the
manuscripts of Gallatin and his contemporaries, and used the monographs
which illuminate his field. The text is noteworthy for its objectivity, a
restraint more difficult to achieve in biography than in possibly any other
form of historical writing except church history. The book as a whole ap-
propriately possesses the very features which distinguish the career of
Albert Gallatin; it is a quiet, solid, conscientious performance.

Nineteen-year-old Gallatin sailed for America in 1780 with $400 in his
pocket and dreams of becoming a merchant in the new world. After one
winter on the rugged Maine frontier he grew discouraged with the local
business prospects and worked his way slowly southward to Richmond. Later
he bought a large tract of land along the Monongahela and engaged his
money and his hopes in a settlement he called, after his birthplace, New
Geneva. To his amazement, his new frontier neighbors promptly chose him,
in 1788, as their delegate, along with the famous John Smilie, to a Penn-
sylvania convention to obtain amendments to the federal constitution.

Gallatin served in the Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention of 1790,
and became an assemblyman in 1791 and again in 1792. Here he displayed
such energy and such clarity of thought on economic problems that his
colleagues chose him for the United States Senate in 1793, but the Federalist
Senators unseated him by a party vote on the grounds that he had not
met the citizenship requirement. The truer reason was that he had been
delivering telling attacks on Hamilton's financial policies, particularly the
whiskey excise. Gallatin's constituents in western Pennsylvania replied by
an act unique in American history: they elected him on the same day both
Pennsylvania assemblyman and a member of the federal Congress. One of
his first acts as congressman was to thrust a spear into Hamilton's program
by launching a legislative investigation of the Treasury Department with
the hope of bringing policy-making under congressional control. It was at
this time that he became an important floor-leader for the anti-Federalists.

In choosing Gallatin as Secretary of the Treasury, President Jefferson
picked the man in his party who had most intelligently challenged the
Federalists on their own strongest ground, the administration of finance.
Gallatin's basic view of the Treasury was simple: it should be solvent. He regarded "a public debt as scarcely less than a sin, and extinguishment of it was his primary goal" (p. 263). "I know of but one way," he wrote, "that a nation has of paying her debts; and that is precisely the same way which individuals practice. Spend less than you receive. . . . But if you spend more than you receive, you may have recourse to sinking funds, you may modify them as you please, you may render your accounts extremely complex, you may give a scientific appearance to additions and subtractions, you must still necessarily increase your debt" (p. 122).

Gallatin did his best to reduce the debt by economy, nearly wrecking the navy in the process. He disliked sinking funds and taxes, especially excises, and thought that Congress ought carefully to earmark all appropriations. He approved of a centralized banking institution, and was willing to interpret the constitution freely enough to permit federal encouragement of industry, commerce, and development of natural resources. His economic philosophy, according to Dr. Walters, was "midway between the conceptions now known as Hamiltonianism and Jeffersonianism" (p. 262).

As a cabinet officer he never fully accepted the responsibilities of partisanship, but regularly based his actions on the logic of economics rather than on politics. Thus, as Secretary, he found congressional scrutiny and direction extremely irksome and smarted under the kind of attacks he had formerly launched against the Federalists. He protested against the embargo, though he tried faithfully to enforce it when it became law. He worked for the re-charter of the First Bank of the United States. He disapproved of a political patronage for civil servants and succeeded thereby in bringing down on his head the wrath of party leaders in Pennsylvania and New York where patronage was the life of the party. He aroused the ire of the Secretary of State by ferreting out some sharp practice by that gentleman's brother, which was costing the government money. During the War of 1812, he even adopted the old Federalist practices of eight per cent loans and excises as the only means he could find, since the demise of the Bank, of meeting the imperative needs of the Treasury. In short, he felt that the work of his office should take precedence over the fortunes either of himself or of his party.

Gallatin also served as a member of the commission which negotiated the Treaty of Ghent, and later as United States Minister to France and to Great Britain. In his diplomatic career he kept his mind focused sharply on the main point, and tried to seek agreement rather than advantage. Thus, at Ghent, he studied the issues thoroughly and applied them to the question of peace, while Clay and Adams at times seemed more engrossed in getting special concessions in western lands or fisheries than in the general settlement. He wrote of himself, with clear perception. "If I have any talent, it is of making a proper use of ascertained facts and of drawing from these legitimate inferences" (p. 262). He may not rank among the most brilliant diplomats of our nation, but he certainly stands high among those who have been trusted by the governments to whom they have been assigned.

During the last two decades of his life, Gallatin played the role of scholar
and elder statesman. He completed a substantial work on American Indian tribes, and wrote many papers on the subject for various learned societies. He jumped into the bank fight of 1830 with a timely article on "Banks and Currency" which explained with precision why the nation ought to have an institution like the United States Bank. Biddle circulated it widely and wanted to pay him $1,000 for it, but Gallatin declined with this reply: "Under existing circumstances, he who happens to have drawn conclusions favorable to the renewal of the charter must have no personal interest for coming to that result, if he wishes to produce any effect" (p. 358). Under existing circumstances, he could have used the money, too. He wrote penetrating articles on the Oregon problem and on the Mexican War, and was even offered the Secretaryship of the Treasury by Tyler in 1843, when he was eighty-four. He declined this dubious honor with the remark that to accept "would be an act of insanity" (p. 371).

Throughout the narrative, Dr. Walters weaves the multiple threads of Gallatin's personal life: his two marriages; life at Friendship Hill, uncomfortable to his New York-bred second wife, Hannah Nicholson; the training and fortunes of his children; his hopes and failures as a land speculator, manufacturer, and town builder; his loyal friendships; his personal pleasures in times of leisure. For example, he liked to read novels, but "it was his private theory that a novel should be read last chapter first, so that appreciation of the style would not be lost in the interest excited by the plot" (p. 352).

There are a few things which I had hoped to find in this book which were missing. One was a clearer exposition of Jefferson's handling of his cabinet. Another was a more enlightening explanation of why Gallatin, like Madison, accepted so quickly and readily the promise of Napoleon to revoke the Berlin and Milan decrees. But on the whole, this book brings to the reader the sense of having become intimately acquainted with Albert Gallatin as he really was, and this in biography is the mark of success.

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To make up the book under review, Dr. Jay Luvaas has brought together and ably edited some of the published writings of a British army officer on our Civil War. This book, however, is no mere reprinting of the lesser writings of a man who, sixty years ago, achieved international repute by bringing out what has often been called, and continues to be, the classic life of Stonewall Jackson. Thanks to the scholarly efforts of the editor, this book is also a study of Colonel G. F. R. Henderson as a military historian and as a teacher of the art of war. Colonel Henderson's fame rests not upon any accomplishment as a field officer, but upon a distinguished career as a teacher and a writer. He died in 1903, before he had reached the age of fifty.
The editor's contributions to this work are dispersed in three chapters of the book. The first chapter is a brief introduction by the editor to the second, which reproduces Henderson's first book, *The Campaign of Fredericksburg*, published in 1886. This little book opened the way to Henderson's appointment as an instructor in the Cadet School at Sandhurst. A second work, a tactical study of the battle of Spicheren which appeared in 1891, led to his appointment, in 1892, as a professor in the Staff College. The next ten years proved to be the most productive years of his life.

Chapter three of *The Civil War: A Soldier's View*, entitled "Henderson and the American Civil War," is an introduction by Dr. Luvaas to the next five chapters, four of which consist of an essay and three lectures by Henderson that were published posthumously, in 1905, in a work entitled *The Science of War*. These four chapters are entitled, respectively, "Battles and Leaders of the Civil War," "The American Civil War, 1861-1865," "The Battle of Gettysburg," and "The Campaign in the Wilderness of Virginia, 1864." The fifth of this group of chapters, an essay entitled "Stonewall Jackson's Place in History," was first published in Mary Anna Jackson's *Memoirs of Stonewall Jackson* (1895).

The ninth and final chapter of the book is entitled "The Henderson Legacy." Here Dr. Luvaas gives a brief and favorable appraisal of Henderson's career. He believes that Henderson made a noteworthy contribution to military thought, that he "left his mark on military education," and that his writings "influenced both the quantity and the quality of the literature on the Civil War." Henderson's writings are read today, Dr. Luvaas adds, not only for their practical value, but also because they are "good history." Dr. Luvaas' regret that Henderson did not live long enough to write a life of Robert E. Lee is one that others will share with him.

The careful reader will no doubt lay down this book with the feeling that Henderson was an excellent teacher. He wrote for the purpose of teaching. He never forgot that his business was the teaching of young British army officers, and he believed that "next to experience in the field, the surest means of attaining a knowledge of the theory and principles of the military art" is to carefully study great battles. For this reason he wrote *The Campaign of Fredericksburg*; for this reason he wrote his lectures on the battle of Gettysburg and the campaign in the wilderness of Virginia; and for this reason he prepared his other writings on the American Civil War. He believed that a thorough knowledge of this war—a war fought by armies composed largely of unprofessional soldiers—could be highly useful to British officers, who, in years to come, might have to handle large armies composed for the most part of unprofessional soldiers. Even his life of Stonewall Jackson was so written that it could serve as a military text.

Dr. Luvaas assures us that he has done little editing of Henderson's texts. He says he has corrected misspellings of names and places, that he has occasionally changed Henderson's marks of punctuation, and that he has endeavored to call attention to Henderson's errors. It is regrettable, I think, that he did not call attention to Henderson's erroneous assertion that thirteen states seceded from the Union.
As befits a work which will rank high among the many writings on our Civil War currently appearing, this book is well printed, and, in general, has an attractive format. It is well illustrated and adequately documented. Happily, the footnotes are put where footnotes belong. The index, however, leaves something to be desired.

To the current quest for novelty in printing, the designers of this book have made a modest contribution by putting the running head, not at the top, but at the foot of the page. What advantage has been gained by so doing may not be clear, but at least the purpose of novelty for the sake of novelty has been served. If it were not impertinent for me to do so, I would suggest that the present competition among designers of books for novelty might cease before we are offered a book with the index in the front, the title page in the middle, the foreword at the end, and—mirabile dictu—footnotes at the top of each page.

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New York and Pennsylvania are alike in much of their history and in problems relating to the writing of that history. The success of the New York State Historical Association inspired the founders of the Pennsylvania Historical Association twenty-six years ago. And the usefulness of Wayland F. Dunaway's one-volume textbook on the history of Pennsylvania was a challenge to New York to issue such a text. The present volume was sponsored by the New York State Historical Association, and was primarily designed as a college textbook. Yet there are many other prospective users for a one-volume state history, and so the authors have also aimed for a larger audience.

The problems of compressing the Empire State's 350-year history into a single volume are manifold. Few will agree with the solutions of these problems in all instances, but the authors have done a competent and worthwhile job, and they have produced an interesting and highly useful book. Time will tell whether it is well adapted to teaching needs, and users are bound to point out minor errors and inaccuracies in fact and interpretation. A fair consideration of the product must be based on an awareness of the problems confronted.

First, there is the question of balance, how to apportion the space to the various periods, and how much emphasis to give to political history, and to socio-economic and cultural history. Like most writers of texts, the authors have decided to emphasize the later, and to shorten treatment of the earlier period. Thus, out of 653 pages, only 101 pages are devoted to the colonial period, 1609-1775, and 14 to the Revolution. Many, including the reviewer, will think this inadequate.

There is virtually no treatment of explorations; in spite of the fact that
the state is preparing to celebrate the 350th anniversary of Champlain and Hudson, there is no mention of the former and scant notice of the latter. On the other hand, Algonkians and Iroquois get nine pages, which seems a little out of proportion to the fourteen pages given the Revolution. From 1783 through the Civil War is covered in 225 pages, while the period since the Civil War gets 100 pages, nearly half of it since 1920, with single chapters on the administrations of Smith, Roosevelt, Lehman, and Dewey. However, a final section of 205 pages is devoted to economic, social and cultural history since 1865. Textbook users may wish that this could have been incorporated into, or sandwiched between, the chapters on the political history of this period.

The treatment of the colonial and revolutionary periods is conventional, although newer trends in interpretation are noticed in the emphasis upon the conflict between autocracy and representative elements, and between landlords and farmers. The campaigns are clarified by two sketch maps. No one has ever been able to make the tortuous history of New York politics after 1783 interesting to the general reader, in spite of the personalities of Hamilton, Burr, Clinton and John Jay. When lesser figures dominated the apparently meaningless party struggles, the story bogs down. It is no wonder the writer, Mr. Frost in this instance, has made some slips; for example, he states that the Anti-Masons supported Clay for President (p. 214) in 1832, when they had their own candidate. It is also ascribing too much power to young Thurlow Weed to state (p. 212) that in 1824 his "machinations defeated the Albany Regency and placed John Quincy Adams in the presidency."

Turning from the political story, we get admirable chapters on "Building the Transportation Network," the development of "The Business Man," and "The Rise of the Dairy State." Here we have interpretations which bring new meaning to those who have been inclined to view the state's history as primarily political. The growth of religion and reform, immigration and labor, education and the arts are the New York aspect of larger developments in the nation as a whole.

The political history of New York for the last half of the nineteenth century is not edifying, and we are content with the present evaluation. In the twentieth century, especially the last thirty years, New York's governors have been national figures, and their careers and the issues which they popularized have been of general interest. Here the treatment is excellent, critical yet as objective as possible. If the detailed account of issues and measures before the legislature seems an over-emphasis, it may be justified because these are questions of the present day, problems for today's citizens. The economic and social surveys, the work of Dean Carman, appear in some instances more contemporary than historical. Where they are not weighted with figures and tables, they are informative and fascinating.

Certain features of the volume deserve critical comment. There is an insert of 32 pages of excellent halftone illustrations—from Peter Stuyvesant to the United Nations—in the center of the book. Maps and charts are listed
in the table of contents, but some twenty statistical and political tables are not, which makes it difficult to find them. Here the index, which is quite inadequate, is no help. In fact the inadequacy of the index, which fails repeatedly to supply reference to material in the text, is a principal complaint, and should be remedied in subsequent editions. The bibliographical essay may prove to be the most useful part of the volume. It covers a wide range of subjects and references, is sometimes critical, and both interesting and suggestive. It will be a boon to teachers and students alike. There are some omissions, a few inevitable errors, and a tendency to be careless with initials and names. These, too, may be corrected in subsequent editions.

*Albany, New York*  
Milton W. Hamilton