

BOOK REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTES

EDITED BY NORMAN B. WILKINSON

The Economic Growth of the United States, 1790-1860. By Douglass C. North. (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1961. Pp. 304. \$10.00.)

This is an important book which since its publication has aroused much interest and discussion as an example of a new approach to the writing of economic history. Of recent years, economists concerned with problems of long-run growth have been making renewed attempts to integrate history and theory. While their chief concern is naturally with the process of economic development, it is interesting to see that North claims his book is an "essay in American economic history" as well as "a study in economic growth."

North's analysis starts off with the proposition that the export sector is the crucial one for economic growth. From this he argues that cotton was "the major expansive force" in the economy of the United States before the Civil War. The statistics support his case, for cotton exports, already developing rapidly before the Embargo and the War of 1812, were 39 per cent of the total by value in 1820 and as high as 63 per cent by 1840. Paradoxically, cotton-growing did little for the economic development of the South as the income derived from it was largely spent outside the section. It is this situation, combined with moral repugnance towards slavery, which has long obscured the dynamic nature of the Cotton Kingdom. Unfortunately there is no firm statistical evidence on which to estimate the volume of these inter-regional flows. Accordingly, while there would be general agreement that the South made heavy payments to the North for servicing exports and for imports, there is less certainty about the extent to which the South was dependent on imports from the West to make up the deficiencies of its own farm production.

When North goes on to attempt the periodization of American economic growth some weakness in his argument about the dominant role of cotton becomes apparent. His temporal divisions are based on the long swings of approximately eighteen to twenty years rather than on the business cycle, and his argument for the multiplier effect of cotton seems to hold good only between 1815 and 1845. From 1790 to 1815 it was clearly the rich harvest of neutral trade which stimulated economic growth. By 1845, on North's own admission, the economy had already "escaped from the limitations of being tied to a single agricultural export staple." Manufacturing and the development of transportation had created a situation drawing North and West together. The encirclement of the South, in a sense, had begun.

Simplification is necessary in a brief interpretative study such as this or more complaint might be made of lack of balance in the treatment of American economic history during the period. Even so, there seems a real weakness in the failure of North's analysis to give adequate weight to the importance of the American population, both in numbers and quality. The fecundity of the people and the additions from immigration were basic in creating export surpluses, providing a labor force for industry, and furnishing a growing domestic market. The quality of the American population was even more fundamental, for it provided the entrepreneurial and technical skill which soon became the envy of the world. In fact, an equally telling book on American economic history might very well be written around this theme of population and social structure.

North's insistence that his book "deliberately breaks with the traditional framework" of economic history has alarming implications. The methods of historical reasoning are inductive, and although they can be broadened and deepened they are not likely to derive lasting benefit from revolutionary upheaval. The institutional frame in which textbook economic history is usually organized is susceptible of improvement but can hardly be scrapped. Nor is there that much in this book which is completely new. The idea that the industrial revolution began in America with the Civil War is still around, but not among historians. Most of them are also well aware of the importance of the War of 1812 in effecting a crucial transfer of capital from overseas trade to manufacturing. The regional specialization which is basic to North's analysis is surely the familiar Turner thesis of the rise of sections behind the moving frontier in a somewhat different guise.

Even these criticisms must show how stimulating and fruitful a study North has made of the economic growth of the United States to the point where it endured the "costly and bitter interruption" of Civil War.

University of Manchester

E. R. R. GREEN

Zach Taylor's Little Army. By Edward J. Nichols. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1963. Pp. 280. \$4.95.)

This book is a double biography of Zachary Taylor during the period of his command in Mexico and of the army he led. Its tale is a familiar one; it includes a bibliographical essay but not the full scholarly apparatus of source citations, and thus it will appeal largely to the lay reader of American military history. On the other hand, the very familiarity of the sources will enable the professional historian to check Professor Nichols's assertions readily enough, and the conclusions drawn from these assertions are sufficiently thoughtful, if not startlingly new, to repay the specialist for reading the book.

The bibliographical essay deals largely with the fluctuations of General Taylor's historical reputation, and the book is in part a further contribution to rehabilitating that reputation from the wounds inflicted by a generation of detractors, beginning with the scholarly Justin Smith and culminating in the sarcastic sallies of Bernard DeVoto. Professor Nichols's estimate of

Taylor as a general is closely akin to Holman Hamilton's moderately favorable one: Taylor was no military genius, and indeed he had serious flaws, such as his indifference to discipline and especially to camp discipline, because of which he must bear a large responsibility for the sickness and deaths of the camp at Camargo; but he was sound enough to win victories, and to do so without extravagant cost in lives.

In handling an especially controversial episode of Taylor's career, for example, the author largely accepts Taylor's own justification for the terms whereby the Mexicans evacuated Monterey but got off very cheaply. The American casualties of 13.5 per cent in the battle of Monterey were high by Taylor's standards (a revealing fact, since they were low by Civil War standards), and Old Zach did not want to impose new losses on his men when he could take the city by paying a different kind of price. As far as the two months' armistice was concerned, there was merit in Lieutenant George G. Meade's defense of Taylor, that the army was in no condition to resume the offensive in a shorter time anyway. Finally, Taylor could not know how close the Mexican garrison was to a complete collapse.

Taylor's special strength as a general was his leadership of troops in battle. The author is interested as much in Taylor's army as in the general himself, and his argument here is that Taylor's troops were good ones, responsive to his leadership. Of course, no one has ever had much but praise for the regulars in the Mexican War and for the young West Point officers. But so much American military history has been written under the spell of Emory Upton's *Military Policy of the United States* with its disparagement of volunteers that the strictures against volunteers in Lieutenant Meade's letters, the bad behavior of the Baltimore Battalion at Monterey, and the flight of the 2nd Indiana at Buena Vista have loomed excessively large. Professor Nichols emphasizes that the volunteers generally fought well. Admittedly such an organization as Jefferson Davis's Mississippi Rifles were not ordinary citizen soldiers, and admittedly the illnesses of Taylor's camps and the hardships of the march to Monterey and Saltillo purged weaklings from Taylor's ranks. But the author believes that the lesson of Monterey and Buena Vista was that when citizen soldiers were brought under federal control, reasonably well trained and toughened, and fought alongside regulars and with good leadership, they fought creditably enough.

The book gives due attention to the new regular batteries of artillery which served so conspicuously and generally so well in Taylor's campaign, their first test. Professor Nichols notes their limitations, especially as revealed in the street fighting at Monterey, as well as their assets; but rightly enough Major Samuel Ringgold emerges as one of the heroes of the campaign, because of his lasting influence on the artillery as well as because of the manner of his death. There are occasional comments on the qualities of Taylor's Mexican opponents, but a bit more attention might have been given to this subject. The diplomacy leading to the war is touched on, but so lightly that it might better have been omitted altogether. The political overtones of President Polk's relations with his generals are handled well, and the author shrewdly assesses the growth of Taylor's political conscous-

ness and ambitions. Finally, despite their error in the date of Buena Vista, the maps by Rafael Palacios should delight readers of military history who are all too accustomed to being badly served in this respect.

Temple University

RUSSELL F. WEIGLEY

Benjamin Franklin Wade: Radical Republican from Ohio. By H. L. Trefousse. (New York: Twayne Publishers Inc., 1963. Pp. 404. \$6.50.)

The great revision continues. Another long-neglected and misunderstood Radical Republican has been redeemed, and the "Tragic Era," that "Age of Hate," continues to be transformed into an age of the "Champions of Freedom." The most recent beneficiary of the revisionist school is that Radical of Radicals, "Bluff Ben" Wade of Ohio, co-sponsor of the Wade-Davis Bill and Manifesto. In a well written, tightly organized, and fully documented biography, Professor Hans L. Trefousse of Brooklyn College, the biographer of Ben Butler, rescues Wade from the relative obscurity that has befallen the Ohio Senator, and the result is interesting, but hardly definitive.

Wade's first fifty years are covered in less than forty pages; in the final chapter we learn that after Wade's retirement from public life in 1868, "great bonfires could be seen in his yard on Saturday nights when he burned most of his papers." Four rapidly paced chapters trace Wade's rise from obscure county lawyer to prosecuting attorney (1835-1836), two-term state senator (1837-1839, 1841-1843), Ohio judge (1847-1851), and his election to the United States Senate in 1851. It is in these chapters that the author creates the dual character of "Ben" Wade, as he came to be known to the general public after he entered Congress. From the first entry into politics until his death, we are told, Wade was a "true radical." Thus he not only championed Negro emancipation and the elevation of the Negro to full citizenship, but throughout his political career he fought exploitation in any form. He consistently championed "abolition of imprisonment for debt, interested himself in the protection of individual investors in corporations, advocated free land for settlers, demanded a fair deal for the laboring man, and supported woman suffrage." For four years in Columbus and for seventeen years in Washington he refused to compromise on these basic issues; these were his principles, and regarding them he was independent from party control.

Wade, however, was also a "practical radical." An orthodox Whig in his tariff, banking, and internal improvements views, he was a true Whig "in the original, anti-executive sense of the term." As a "practical radical" he had no faith in third-party movements; he fully endorsed the spoils system, and he loyally supported his party's candidates, regardless of their particular views. Wade's transition from Whig to Republican is historically understandable, but Professor Trefousse's extended explanations of Wade's motives after 1851—a remarkable attempt to rehabilitate completely Wade's reputation by alternately invoking the "true radical" and "practical radical" images—constitute, at best, an interesting brief for the defendant.

And so the pattern is established. "Practical radical" Wade supports Lincoln for a second term; "true radical" Wade breaks with Lincoln, then with Johnson, over reconstruction. But Wade commits his greatest blunder in allowing himself to be elected President *pro tem* of the Senate; the "Radical Overreaches Himself," and the Senate's failure to convict Johnson in the impeachment trial is at least partially due to Republican refusal to accept "true radical" Wade, the champion of labor and woman suffrage, as Johnson's successor. "True radical" Wade returns to Jefferson, and in 1878 the frequently critical New York *Times* laments the passing of "The Last of the Congressional Champions of Freedom."

This brief analysis, relying heavily upon chapter titles, admittedly does not do full justice to the author's research. It is a stimulating experience to view nearly three critical decades in our national history through Wade's eyes, but the view is hardly a balanced one. Pennsylvania readers will search in vain for an account of Wade's pre-Civil War relations with Simon Cameron, despite the famous 1858 dueling compact among Wade, Cameron, and Zachariah Chandler in which the three men, in their opposition to physical aggression in Congress, agreed not only to fight but to "carry the quarrel into the coffin." The Cameron Papers at the Library of Congress, which are not cited in the bibliography, contain Cameron's copy of the 1874 memorandum on this compact. Use of Professor Philip S. Klein's recent biography of Buchanan might perhaps have resulted in a more balanced treatment of the Kansas-Nebraska controversy and of Buchanan's views. Finally, a matter of attribution, the manuscript collections designated by the author as being in the Pennsylvania Historical Society are in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia.

National Archives

FRANK B. EVANS

Farewell to the Bloody Shirt, Northern Republicans and the Southern Negro, 1877-1893. By Stanley P. Hirshson. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1962. Pp. 334. \$6.95.)

This book has a logical connection with the author's doctoral dissertation at Columbia University, "The Humanitarian Reform Impulse after the Civil War." Making use of more than fifty manuscript collections, an extensive sampling of contemporary newspaper files, mostly Northern and Western, and relatively few government documents, Professor Hirshson develops in the above work the theme of shifting Republican attitudes toward the Negro in the 1870's and 1880's and the influence of these shifts in attitude on the political status of the Southern Negro and of the Republican party in the South. As the author sees it, Republican party policy during these years vacillated between the courses of action recommended by the so-called "Bloody Shirt" faction, seeking to build the Republican party in the South on the foundation of the Negro vote and urging federal intervention in Southern elections to safeguard Negro rights, and an opposing faction composed of Mugwump reformers, powerful commercial interests, and their political allies, who preferred to court the favor of conservative

Southern whites in the interest of Southern Republicanism. Most of the important Republican leaders of the period, including the four Republican Presidents, alternately sought to win the Southern white men to Republicanism and to rely on sectionalism when such attempts failed.

Comparisons are bound to be made (indeed the author implicitly invites such a comparison by the comments in his preface) between the Hirshson study and the earlier work published by Vincent P. De Santis in 1959 entitled *Republicans Face the Southern Question*. Both books treat substantially the same period from substantially the same point of view, and although the Hirshson volume is apparently the product of a greater amount of research, there are no striking differences in the conclusions advanced by the two authors.

Probably the strong points of Hirshson's treatment are the discussion in his ninth chapter of the interrelationship of the problems of federal aid to education and Negro illiteracy as reflected in the controversy over the Blair Bill in the 1880's, and his perceptive analysis elsewhere in the book of the factions and interests—high tariff men, Florida land investors, Western silver interests, and disillusioned Mugwumps—who frustrated the attempts of President Harrison, Senator George F. Hoar, Congressman Henry Cabot Lodge, and others to win Senate approval of the Federal Elections Bill bearing Lodge's name in 1890. On the debit side are the author's failure to illuminate the attitudes of Southern Negro leaders with the same degree of thoroughness as that applied to Northern Republican leaders, and his lack of attention to the political role of veterans' organizations such as the G.A.R. in Republican decision making.

Certain questions were raised in the mind of this reviewer by Hirshson's expositions of his subject: (1) Why after opposing by force the mass migration of Southern Negroes to the Northern states in 1879 and 1880, did Southern Bourbons demand that Southern Negroes be deported from the United States? (2) What course of action other than the two alternatives followed by the Republicans was open to them, and should one have been followed to the exclusion of the other? If so, which one? (3) Were not Northern Democrats such as Oscar Vorhees and Thomas F. Bayard quite as much motivated by partisan considerations (and quite as little by humanitarian sentiments) as Republican politicians of the Blaine-Aldrich stripe? In this connection how applicable is the term "Bloody Shirt" Republican to Senators such as Hoar and William E. Chandler, the latter of whom with some justification claimed for himself the title of the "first Progressive"? It would have been helpful if the author had included an explanation of the origin of the term "Bloody Shirt" and refrained from applying it to all Republican champions of Negro rights regardless of their motivation. The partisan origin of the term "Force Bill," used interchangeably by the author as a synonym for the Lodge Bill, ought similarly to have been made clear.

Students of Pennsylvania's political history will find some enlightening comments in this volume on the part played in formulating Republican tactics by party bosses Matthew S. Quay and Donald Cameron; Congress-

man "Pig Iron" Kelley; that great and good friend of Blaine, Benjamin F. Jones of the steel firm of Jones and Laughlin; and the prominent Philadelphia Republican, Hamilton Disston.

Chatham College

J. CUTLER ANDREWS

History of the Philadelphia Electric Company 1881-1961. By Nicholas B. Wainwright. (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Electric Company, 1961. Pp. 416. Gratis.)

A book about a business organization can be either a history of a company or a company history. A history of a company is written by a man who views a company from the outside and reflects the needs and passions of his age. A company history is written by a man who views a firm from the inside and reflects the needs and passions of a company. This is a company history.

As a company history fulfilling the promotional needs of the Philadelphia Electric Company, it is well done. Nicholas B. Wainwright has a smooth, easy style that is a delight to read. The book has an especially full index and useful appendices which include officers of the firm, a chronology of historical highlights, and charts and graphs of income, capital investment, sales, and costs. The dust jacket designed by Harry J. Oshiver and the pen and ink illustrations by Norman Guthrie Rudolph as well as numerous full color and black and white illustrations give the book an attractive appearance. The book creates a favorable public image for the Philadelphia Electric Company.

As a company history it ignores the harsher aspects of monopolies or "consolidations" and recalls only that they averted rate wars, eliminated overlapping functions and heavy overheads, and achieved standardization and economy of operation. Predictably the author sounds the alarm bell because the federal government, co-operatives, municipalities, and state power utility districts manufactured 22.5 per cent of the total electricity generated in the United States in 1955. He describes some of the company's "activities that opposed the nationalization of electric light and power, that promoted the free enterprise system against what appeared to be socialism."

History of the Philadelphia Electric Company is indeed written from the inside. It reflects the financier's interest in banks, bonds, mortgages, and stocks, the engineer's interest in D.C.-A.C. changeover, BTU ratings, peak loads, demineralization, and Girdler continuous catalytic units, and the executive's interest in corporation politics, the strain of decision, new vice-presidencies, and promotions. It seldom reflects in any meaningful way two and a quarter million customers for electricity, gas, and steam, one hundred thousand stockholders, and nine thousand employees. To be sure, customers, stockholders, and employees are mentioned when Hurricane Hazel disrupted service in 1954, the stockmarket crashed in 1929, and war veterans got their jobs back in 1945, but the book makes as meaningless a gesture toward the roles these groups have played in the eighty-year history of the company

as the vice-president who presents the gold watch to Green, or is it Brown, after fifty years of devoted service.

Now this is a better company history than most. There is much useful information in the record of how the company grew in size by consolidation, organization, and reorganization. The impact of technology on the Philadelphia Electric Company is dramatic and clearly illustrated. The story of tremendous increases in demand for electric power, gas, and steam and the vigorous way in which the company met these demands is perceptively told. Wainwright combines well his talent for research and writing; however, one wishes he had used more his talent for critical analysis.

Hagley Museum

GEORGE H. GIBSON

The Perennial Philadelphians: The Anatomy of an American Aristocracy.

By Nathaniel Burt. (Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1963. Pp. 626. \$12.50.)

Of the making of books about Philadelphia there appears to be no end. Serious books, gossip books, laudatory books, critical books, frivolous and satirical books probe and analyze the city in an attempt to settle once and for all why Philadelphia is what it is. One wonders whether any other American city has been so minutely dissected. What is it about Philadelphia that baffles, repels, and fascinates writers and drives them to that point of desperation where they have to sit down to their typewriters and commit their frustrations to paper? For Nathaniel Burt, Philadelphia's social oligarchy, "the Web" as he calls it, seems to have been the spur. *The Perennial Philadelphians* is the result.

In *The Perennial Philadelphians* Burt sets out to provide his readers with a portrait of the city's "upper class," to tell "what they are, and how they got that way." Since the author is of the opinion that Philadelphia is more than ordinarily dominated by its "head," this portrait is detailed and comprehensive. Burt discusses the family, taking an obvious delight in showing off his knowledge of genealogical intricacies; the proper education for an upper-class Philadelphian; and a suitable profession—law or medicine—or occupation—banking, insurance, iron or coal—for the well-connected man. Libraries, clubs, sports, art and music, and the relationship of the Old Philadelphians to these, are discussed at some length. The reader, consequently, should expect to learn a good deal about one of this country's oldest and wealthiest cities.

If he can endure the self-conscious informality of Mr. Burt's prose style with its over use of capitalization and slang, he will come upon some pertinent observations about Philadelphia. For example, Mr. Burt's speculation that Philadelphia's "new economic salvation" will come from her port is interesting. Apparently he is of the opinion that the vitality of the eighteenth-century city was the by-product of its commercial activity and that the concentration on the indigenous industrial wealth of the state, characteristic of the nineteenth-century city, produced the contentment of the years between 1840 and 1940.

However, the reader will use the facts cited in *The Perennial Philadelphians* at his peril, for the book is honeycombed with minor errors. Some of these probably result from the style. Straining after smartness, the author falls into inexact statements: for example, he implies that the Quakers have always been against "Enthusiasm," or that no one but a Philadelphian can admire the *Bulletin* building, or that Philadelphia is a red-brick city because of the regulations of the insurance companies, or that Thomas Walter was the architect of the national Capitol. Other errors are the result of carelessness of both writer and editor: Benjamin Chew was born in 1722 not 1727, he purchased John Penn's mansion on South Third Street, not Thomas Willing's, and he could not properly be described as "state Attorney General" while Pennsylvania was still a colony. The Powel house was built not by Samuel Powel but by Charles Stedman; Mrs. Rush was Phoebe Ridgway, not Ridgeway; the president of the University of Pennsylvania was Thomas S. Gates, not Thomas D. Gates, and so on. If these inaccuracies were less frequent they could be dismissed as regrettable slips marring an otherwise usable book. Unfortunately that is not the case.

As a result, it is difficult to take *The Perennial Philadelphians* seriously. Perhaps Mr. Burt did not intend that one should. Would he, otherwise, have attempted a pun in his bibliographical notes? All in all, *The Perennial Philadelphians* can best be described as a later-day Watson, or, perhaps more accurately, Scharf and Westcott, full of tidbits about Philadelphia which are of doubtful accuracy but which may be used cleverly to enliven the conversation at a dull dinner party.

Philadelphia Historical Commission

MARGARET B. TINKCOM

A. Mitchell Palmer: Politician. By Stanley Coben. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963. Pp. 351. \$7.50.)

In attempting to analyze the political career of A. Mitchell Palmer, Professor Stanley Coben has created the image of Palmer as a brilliant lawyer, an excellent orator, and a shrewd politician who was obsessed by a desire to become President of the United States. With the assistance of those who sought both power and public office Palmer rose rapidly up the political ladder. Within twenty years he moved from his position as a small-town lawyer and president of the Stroudsburg Democratic Club to the post of Attorney General of the United States and a candidate for his party's Presidential nomination.

His meteoric rise in both politics and position was due to his own aggressiveness as well as that of his associates. Close analysis reveals that Palmer moved upward in spite of the general absence of brilliant performance. In 1908 he was elected to Congress and re-elected in 1910 and 1912. In 1914 Boies Penrose overwhelmingly defeated him for the Senate. Palmer now sought appointive offices, but for three years his efforts were unsuccessful. In 1917, however, Woodrow Wilson made him Alien Property Custodian as a result of the influence of Joseph Tumulty. In February, 1919, Tumulty again intervened to obtain Palmer's appointment as Attorney General. When

his abortive campaign for the Presidential nomination failed in 1920, Palmer's political fall was swift. Although he advised Franklin Roosevelt on the party platform of 1932, Palmer's role in politics was limited by both a scarred reputation and poor health.

In gathering his materials the author has used extensive resources and he has used them with good judgment. His analyses, although slightly strained, are valiant efforts to create an understanding of the enigmatic Pennsylvanian. In spite of the controversy surrounding his subject, Coben has dealt with Palmer with a minimum of bias. In a spirit of revision, the author has assisted students of the Progressive Era to a better understanding of the forces which shaped the men who played leading roles in the new America of the twentieth century.

The study, however, suffers from its novelty. Scholars in the field of political history have often tried and too often failed to interpret the political careers of public figures. It is understandably difficult to take out of the context of an entire biography those facets pertaining only to politics. Nowhere in Coben's study do we find any definition of the strictures of politics during the Progressive Era. Would it be true, for example, that Palmer was a successful politician who operated with a set of political values wholly consistent with the nature of the political system of 1900-1920? Was Palmer a "Boss" Cox or a Joseph Folk? Was he a Boies Penrose or a Robert La Follette? Or was he a maverick who disregarded the political standards of his day? The reader is left in doubt.

In some respects this study of Palmer illustrates the need for novel approaches. The community in which Palmer began his law practice in 1893 needs a more thorough analysis. Stroudsburg was undergoing both economic and political metamorphosis. In the same year East Stroudsburg State Normal School opened its doors as a result of the efforts of Palmer's benefactor, Judge John B. Storm. What influence did Storm, a former Congressman, have upon his protegee? Industry was making substantial progress in spite of the Panic of 1893 and Stroudsburg was the center of rapidly-growing manufacturing, railroad, and resort industries. The local economy was prospering and a young ambitious lawyer could expect to share in that prosperity. Coben fails also to recognize the new spirit which prevailed among the Democrats of Monroe County. In 1890 the Democrats had won the Congressional elections and Robert L. Pattison had won his second term as governor. In 1892 Grover Cleveland had won an outstanding victory over Republican Benjamin Harrison and Populist James E. Weaver. The rejuvenated political environment in a traditionally Democratic county was most conducive to success for a young ambitious Democrat.

Was Palmer a demagogue? Coben suggests that he may have been "one of the most dangerous men in our history" because he attuned himself to "what he felt were the strong desires of most Americans." This hardly seems a valid criterion for labelling a man dangerous. Was Palmer a progressive? Coben claims that he was a reformer during the early Progressive Era; his evidence, however, points to Palmer as a Cleveland Democrat. What were Palmer's views towards the major issues of the campaign in

1908 between Taft and Bryan? Certainly no candidate for Congress was immune from discussing national issues and the qualifications of presidential candidates.

To what extent did Palmer control the Democratic party of Pennsylvania between 1911 and 1921? It appears from the evidence presented that Palmer was not the party "boss" but rather one of the leaders of a small but ambitious group of young men seeking power. Finally, Coben should explain further a curious footnote in Chapter XI. Speaking of Monroe County as "a hotbed of nativism" and Palmer as a person who "naturally imbibed the local attitudes," the author points out in the accompanying footnote that the district has been represented recently in Congress by the late Francis E. Walter, "an archenemy of radicals and of immigration from southern and eastern Europe."

It seems certain that Palmer's concern for radicalism arose out of the strong nationalism of the war and postwar periods and much less so from "local attitudes." Furthermore, Congressman Walter was a native of Northampton County, where immigrants from southern and eastern Europe are a substantial part of the population. This reviewer believes that Coben would do well to investigate further the "local attitudes," Palmer's alleged assimilation of those attitudes, and the forces which shaped the career of Congressman Walter. He may have difficulty as a result in linking Palmer's raids after World War I with Walter's attack on radicalism after World War II.

East Stroudsburg State College

ALFRED D. SUMBERG

The Pennsylvanian: Joseph R. Grundy. By Ann Hawkes Hutton. (Philadelphia: Dorrance and Company, 1962. Pp. 241. \$4.95.)

Ann Hawkes Hutton, writer, lawyer, promoter of many historical projects, "Distinguished Daughter of Pennsylvania," leader in the establishment of the Washington Crossing State Park and in the procurement on loan of the famous, if unrealistic, painting of "Washington Crossing the Delaware," and the only woman to receive a major Freedom Leadership Award from the Freedom's Foundation at Valley Forge, has attempted in *The Pennsylvanian: Joseph R. Grundy* not a traditional biography but a vindication of a "maligned" industrialist, politician, and patriot whose unrecognized greatness, she feels, justifies the title *The Pennsylvanian*.

The author has not only had access to the Grundy diary and other personal records, but was also a neighbor and friend of her hero in his home community and an occasional visitor to his winter mansion, Jacaranda in Nassau in the Bahamas. She was often a guest at his famous dinners and worked with him in his later years in historical restorations. Socially, economically, monetarily, and politically theirs was a kindred philosophy.

Joseph Ridgway Grundy was born in Bristol, Pennsylvania, in 1863. On his father's side the family was traditionally Quaker, though often, for one reason or another, read out of the faith. His mother was Episcopalian. Young Joe visited much at the Grundy grandparents' home in Walnut Grove and at the Ridgway grandparents' home in Mount Holly, New Jersey. He

went off to school for a time to the Moravian School for Boys at Lititz, and later enrolled in Swarthmore College. His educational career was not a brilliant one, though a glance at his letters will clearly show that he did make progress in spelling!

The Grundy family, always eager for success, was primarily concerned with woolen textiles and banking. Young Grundy, with modest wealth at his disposal, took the usual course of the rising young man: the "Grand Tour" of Europe and then employment as "any other common laborer" in the family business. He returned to Europe often on business trips or to spend a few weeks at the summer cottage on Lake Geneva. On the death of his father in October, 1893, he became head of William H. Grundy and Company; he was amply qualified to take over the task, for he had served as wool sorter, dyer, and buyer, and even as plant manager. Like most industrialists of his generation, Grundy worked hard; he made money, he believed in high tariffs, he was convinced that what was good for him was good for everybody, and he found time to devote to public enterprises, to his home town, and to his own social and cultural advancement—especially in dining as an enjoyment of life. He was founder and first president of the Pennsylvania Manufacturers Association (PMA), and served a short time in the Senate of the United States.

Joseph R. Grundy was all his life an aggressive advocate of protection. He was sometimes called the "high priest" of the lobbyists, and whoever opposed him was evil, particularly the Democrats. The shifting tides of national and world economy left no impress on the Grundy mind; he was truly born a half century too late. Not only the wages of the workers but also the cost of government were paid by the industrialists. But he who provided the money should direct the course of events. Both Grundy and Mrs. Hutton were grieved by the fact that the town of Bristol, to which its chief benefactor had given more than half a million dollars, voted Democratic in 1932; both were shocked that the industrialist's attempts to maintain the economic order of another day were sometimes referred to by the unappreciative as "Grundyism."

Mrs. Hutton's story is often not directly related to Grundy; it is not always based on the most modern evidence; it is clearly a defense of a man and his deeds; and it is in part a nostalgic yearning for a time that, in comparison with the present, was simple and peaceful, but it is enthusiastically and delightfully written. It will offer solace to its Victorian author, please Mr. Grundy's friends, and affect little the historic image of the man. Joseph R. Grundy was an important figure, there can be no doubt about that. He was an interesting person for many reasons, not the least of which is the fact that he lacked less than two years having lived out a full century. Tragic, perhaps, is the note that he came to the end of a busy life with the feeling that the good past and the good ways were gone forever. He provided in his will for the establishment and maintenance of the Margaret R. Grundy Memorial Library and Museum in Bristol, the home town to which he remained so devoted.

Temple University

JAMES A. BARNES

AMA: Voice of American Medicine. By James G. Burrow. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1963. Pp. 430. \$7.50.)

To the old-time preacher a man was either for God or the devil. Mr. Burrow is for the American Medical Association. However, the intellectual climate inhabited by the author is different from that of the preacher. In works which purport to be scholarly we expect to find some criticism along with praise. It is almost mandatory to rebel against familial influence and to discover psychic flaws in one's acquaintances. Because of the spirit of the day, therefore, this work has not emerged simply as a uniformly glowing panegyric expounding the virtues of the AMA, but, rather, as a study which while favorably inclined towards the organization, is veneered with fashionable criticism.

Mr. Burrow's fortitude as a researcher is praiseworthy. He apparently has waded through seemingly endless cubic feet of AMA records and publications, and this fact alone could help to explain the bias of the work. The book contains very little discussion of outside reaction to the AMA's policies, and only limited research has been done in this area judging from content, footnotes, and bibliography. The result of this omission is that in reading the work one almost feels that the AMA exists in a vacuum. There is no noticeable attempt made to fit the organization's import into a historical perspective except when Burrow discusses the association's role in fighting for the Pure Food and Drug Act and its war on quack medicines.

Beyond any doubt the most interesting and timely sections of the book are those which discuss the AMA's varied reactions towards compulsory and voluntary health insurance. The author, with the utmost skill, has culled from a vast quantity of AMA literature the materials which have enabled him to present the first truly definitive exposition of the association's stance on various aspects of this vital question.

Throughout the volume, the picture that the reader obtains of the AMA is of a conservative, occasionally over-conservative organization that is naturally resistant to change, but has "often placed commendable stress upon the principles of individual responsibility and initiative that appear so essential to the survival of a politically free society." The AMA has always been at the forefront in the fight to protect the American citizenry from the baneful effects of compulsory (and originally even voluntary) health insurance, it has saved taxpayers money by partially halting the avaricious expansion of the Veteran Administration's medical facilities, and it has even protected the nation's children against the horrendous consequences which would result from federal assistance to the states in providing for medical examinations of school-age children.

Like most organizations opposed to governmental subsidies, the AMA's attitude is strangely flexible when its own interests are in a position to profit. This was the case at the end of the Second World War when the association actively campaigned to arrange for individual physicians to obtain, at heavy discounts, surplus government medical equipment. The association was upset when its efforts failed and the materials passed into institutional hands.

The AMA has even extended the questionable benefits of its influence well beyond the three-mile limit. Unable to halt an international trend towards socialized medicine elsewhere, it could help determine the form of the health service established in Occupied Japan. It was influential in having rejected a plan drawn up by an American Social Security Commission on the grounds that "serious threats to development of democratic processes in Japan" would develop if a strong, uniform, compulsory system was established.

Perhaps the most obvious expression of Burrow's overly-favorable attitude towards the AMA is to be found in his discussion of the organization's activities during World War II. He praises the "Association's heroic effort to provide adequate medical care for the Armed Forces . . ." by encouraging enlistments of physicians. "It did not object when Army and Navy recruiting teams held before some reluctant doctors the threat of being drafted into the lowest ranks of the services when its own efforts failed." Why, one might ask, were such noble procedures necessary? The answer is simple: The AMA maneuvered rulings which exempted physicians from the draft. Obviously Burrow has bent over backwards to praise the efforts of the association to obtain the best from a situation it had created and desired to maintain—a situation which provided the physician with an automatic immunity to the draft enjoyed by few other segments of society!

As Burrow indignantly points out, the AMA has traditionally been a Jim Crow organization, but he unfortunately fails to devote any attention to a discussion of the relationship, or lack of relationship, of the organization and its Negro counterpart, the National Medical Association. Similarly, Burrow is vague when he discusses the means by which the AMA became the "Voice of American Medicine." One wishes that there had been a fuller discussion of the association and its tactics in discrediting its rivals such as the osteopaths who have survived many assaults and to whom the AMA has so recently offered an olive branch.

As a professional social and political history of the most important medical organization in the United States, this monograph of course undertakes to explain the techniques by which the association has brought its pressure to bear on public opinion and on legislators. Among the organization's most potent weapons in fighting for its interests are its study committees which draw up and circulate reports on subjects dear to the association's heart, and its speakers bureau which will supply almost any organization with the free services of an "approved" speaker. The AMA also actively encourages physicians to propagandize among their patients to engage in political activity, and to send barrages of telegrams to Congressmen at vital times. Burrow even writes about the AMA's employment of the services of the successful and notorious "public relations team" of Baxter and Whitaker, and the huge sums of money made available to them in defeating Truman's plan for compulsory health insurance. But for some inexplicable reason he nowhere mentions the almost common knowledge that the AMA maintains a lobby in Washington which is regularly among the heaviest spenders of all the lobbies maintained in the Capitol, and which, according to official government records, spent a mere \$72,635 in the rela-

tively quiet Eisenhower year of 1960. With the beginnings of the medicare agitation in 1961, \$163,405 were spent. How Burrow failed to note this important activity is not understandable unless he did not see this undertaking mentioned in AMA publications, and that he failed to look any further.

From a literary standpoint, the volume is extremely well written and amply documented. It is one which is heartily recommended to anyone interested in the role that the American Medical Association has played in American life. The book is a thought-provoking one, and perhaps its major fault is that despite its avowed purpose of being "objective," it would be much more forthright had it been published under the direct sponsorship of the AMA rather than by the scholarly Johns Hopkins Press.

Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission

IRWIN RICHMAN

Generalization in the Writing of History: A Report of the Committee on Historical Analysis of the Social Science Research Council. Edited by Louis Gottschalk. (Chicago: the University of Chicago Press, 1963. Pp. 255. \$5.00.)

The importance of the study of history was long unquestionably accepted by historians and laymen alike. But in the twentieth century the growth of allied disciplines such as sociology, psychology, and anthropology usurped the role which history long had enjoyed as the indispensable guide to an understanding of the present. If the problems of society could best be understood by the alleged scientific method of these new disciplines, what was the job of the historian—should he resign himself to being a mere chronicler of the past, basing his work on unformulated notions about the nature of historical change, or should he, by scrupulous attention to methodology, regain for history the lofty position of "Queen of the Social Sciences"?

American historians, for the most part, have chosen the latter alternative. By applying the methods of the social sciences they have attempted to refurbish the reputation of history; by careful examination of their own preconceptions they have tried to rule out individual caprice as the determinant of historical interpretation; by taking thought they have attempted to make their unformulated ideas on the nature of history explicit.

Generalization in the Writing of History, like the historiographical bulletins of the Social Science Research Council published in 1946 and 1954, reflects this contemporary preoccupation of our historians. The book had its inception in June, 1956, when a Committee on Historical Analysis of the SSRC was appointed to study "the question whether the historian is at all competent from his own data and by his own methods to derive concepts that are neither so limited in scope as to be trivial nor so comprehensive as to be meaningless." The difficulty in answering the question is suggested by the way in which the committee chose to deal with it.

Instead of a report by the committee (and agreement on the answer to such a question perhaps would have been impossible), it was decided, in the words of the committee chairman, to select "mature historians who had

worked intensively on some important aspects of history and who in the course of their study must have become familiar with the literature of their fields . . . to write essays which, after sampling the concepts and generalizations in that literature, would undertake to indicate which in their judgment were wholly valid, partly valid, partly invalid, or wholly invalid, and in each case why" (p. ix). The essays by these mature historians (Chester G. Starr, M. I. Finley, Arthur F. Wright, Derk Bodde, Robert R. Palmer, Walter P. Metzger, and Thomas C. Cochran) form Part I of this book. In essays on ancient history, revolutions, national character, and social role they discuss the difficulties they encountered in arriving at satisfactory generalizations. These essays, in turn, were studied by the members of the committee, some of whom (Louis Gottschalk, Roy F. Nichols, William O. Aydelotte, and David M. Potter) were "encouraged . . . to ponder more systematically than they otherwise might have done, the problem of generalization along less specialized lines" (pp. x-xi). These more theoretical generalizations form Part II of the book. Part III is a "Bibliography on Historiography and the Philosophy of History" prepared by Martin Klein.

What answer does the committee give to the question it was appointed to study? The contributors to this book ably discuss such questions as—How is the word "generalization" to be defined? Is there a distinction between "facts" and "generalizations"? Can historical generalizations be proved? Can, indeed, facts be proved? But, as one would guess, they do not agree on any concepts, whether limited or comprehensive, that can be applied to the study of history. To the contrary, they clearly demonstrate the problems presented by historical generalizations and the virtual impossibility of agreement on generalizations about generalizations.

Of what value is this book? The individual historian will find it difficult to relate the conceptualizations with which it deals to the concrete problems of his own research. The practices of historians, after all, vary widely, depending on the period and subject studied, the object of study, and the kind and quantity of evidence available. Its value, therefore, is not in any particular prescription which it offers but rather in its diagnosis of the problem.

Since historians must generalize if they are to write anything worth reading, *Generalization in the Writing of History* serves an important purpose. As David M. Potter states, the choice before us "is not between a 'factual' and a 'theoretical' approach but between, on the one hand, theoretical assumptions which have been recognized and, so far as possible, made rational and explicit and, on the other hand, unrecognized, half-hidden assumptions which remain unordered and chaotic." These essays are an intelligent and provocative guide to those who select the former approach. That they do not unravel the knotty problem of generalization in history is a merit rather than a demerit. To the problems of historiography there are no final answers; it is enough that one ask intelligent questions and give tentative answers.

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