

## BOOK REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTES

EDITED BY NORMAN B. WILKINSON

*Phineas Bond; A Study in Anglo-American Relations, 1786-1812.* By Joanne Loewe Neel. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968. Pp. 192. \$6.00.)

When Phineas Bond returned in November, 1786, to his old hometown of Philadelphia with an appointment as British consul to the middle Atlantic states, the auspices for a long and successful tour were not encouraging. No patriotic Philadelphian had to have a long memory to recall that as an ardent Tory Bond had been attainted of treason for guiding the victorious British army into the city in the autumn of 1777 and leaving with it when the occupation was over in the following spring.

Whatever his background, though, the work of any consul representative of the late enemy would be harassed by difficulties peculiar to the times. The British government, patronizing and disdainful in its attitude toward the United States, had failed to send a minister or sign a commercial treaty. The United States, on the other hand, with a weak and ineffective government, remained wary of the British and suspicious of their intentions. Each charged the other with bad faith in discharging the obligations of the Treaty of Paris of 1783, particularly in regard to British retention of the northwest posts and the obstacles that had confronted British creditors in their attempts to collect old debts. Had the Philadelphians realized at the time that one of Bond's purposes in coming to America was to facilitate the collection of those debts their attitude toward him would have been more hostile than it was.

Despite an uncertain beginning—his appointment was not recognized in all of the middle Atlantic states for almost a year—he spent twenty-three years in the British consular service in this country. Taking advantage of the latitude provided by his exequatur he practiced law occasionally, engaged in espionage against the French, and worked on the fringes of diplomacy. Dr. Neel concentrates, and justifiably so, on the period between 1789 and 1796, when the United States and Britain painfully and slowly tried to accommodate their differences arising from the Treaty of 1783. Those efforts would eventually result in John Jay's controversial Treaty of 1795. It was during those years that Bond made his most important contributions, as investigator and reporter for his government, as aide and adviser to minister plenipotentiary George Hammond, and, for a brief period, as chargé d'affaires. This latter activity brought him as close as he would ever get to the fulfillment of his real ambition, a place in the British diplomatic service. After that he apparently lost hope of significant advancement in government service. The last ten years of his

consular career were, in comparison to the first ten, definitely anticlimactic, and the author disposes of them in nine pages.

During his entire stay in the United States Bond remained a confirmed Loyalist. Scornful of democracy, unsympathetic to the American system and its ideals, and resentful of the material progress he saw around him, he feared any economic growth in "this wretched country," as he described it, that might possibly interfere with British prosperity and strength. Not unexpectedly, therefore, he did all he could to restrain the development of American manufacturing and shipping by opposing the emigration of British labor to this nation, and by advocating the relentless impressment of American seamen. Incidentally, when the United States went to war with Britain in 1812, he was caught completely by surprise.

Although Bond does not rank among history's stellar personages, a fact that partially accounts for his neglect up to now, he is fortunate in his first biographer. Basing her work almost exclusively on primary sources, Dr. Neel has written a valuable description of the development of the British consular service in America as seen through the first decade of Bond's tour. This is her primary objective, and in crisp, clear language, without padding or repeating oft-told diplomatic battles, she has met it very well indeed. But she is also much interested in Bond the man. With insight and deft character delineation she makes more understandable the personality of this austere, painfully correct Loyalist who could never forgive his American countrymen for leaving "the best King and the best Constitution in the Universe."

Temple University

HARRY M. TINKCOM

*Medical Licensing in America, 1650-1965.* By Richard H. Shryock. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1967. Pp. 124. \$5.00.)

"The professor's reputation is now as electron per se . . . [it] shines with an innate lustre, which makes an element of itself." The panegyric, written by usually acerbic author-physician Charles Caldwell about one of his nineteenth century colleagues, is applicable to Dr. Shryock. His understanding and knowledge of the development of American medicine is incomparable. Throughout his long career he has ingested virtually every available source and has reported importantly on the findings of his research. Each time the writing is crisper, the distillation clearer. In an age when there has been an unfortunate tendency toward large books on small subjects, Shryock has held fast in his devotion to the contrary ideal. The writing of *Medical Licensing in America, 1650-1965* is a feat akin to the hypothesis of commissioning John Vanderlyn to repaint his mammoth cyclorama of the Palace of Versailles as a miniature on ivory without sacrificing either grandeur or detail.

The subject, medical licensing, could be a deadly one in the hands of a less skilled author, or it could have degenerated into a dreary catalog of tables, but this is not Shryock technique. In microcosm, he presents a

history of the growth of the medical profession in America. Woven into this fabric is information pertinent to medical licensing and cogent interpretation of the various factors relating to it.

The most remarkable aspect of the development of medical licensing is the very slowness with which the practice was adopted in the United States. Professional regulation had been well established in England before the permanent settlements were made in America, but English precedent had little effect here. With British colonial policy toward matters medical being lax, the tradition grew up that each colony should have control over its own licensing procedures; a development which still—and rather anachronistically—holds true today within our states and explains (in part) why there is no national system for licensing physicians. Leadership in the movement to obtain national licensure came from the American Medical Association which in 1904 established a licensing table of standards, and it was members of that organization who established the National Board of Medical Examiners which prepared voluntary examinations designed to apply the AMA criteria throughout the United States. Gradually states accepted the results of these examinations and, with a few exceptions, made them mandatory. However, the states continue to guard their prerogatives on the issuance of licenses and are extremely cautious about granting reciprocity to physicians licensed elsewhere.

Medical licensing is intimately connected with medical education and Shryock very skillfully traces the evolution of professional training in America and clearly collates the effects of the Flexner Report with attempts at the establishment of national licensure.

Pennsylvania's medical history, viewed from a national perspective is unique and peculiar. The Commonwealth produced the first medical school and the first voluntary hospital based on English precedent, but, it lagged grievously when it came to licensing physicians. By 1830, for example, only three states, according to N. S. Davis as cited by Shryock, lacked any statutes regulating medical practice—Pennsylvania, Virginia and North Carolina. It was not until 1893 that Pennsylvania established a state examining board.

In the last chapter of *Medical Licensing*, Shryock reviews the growth of licensing and the problems inherent in the procedures today, and he then applies his findings to aspects of other quagmires within contemporary medicine; most notably the doctor shortage, and the realization that as a physician ages he may become incompetent. Shryock weighs his evidence, a mixed bag at best, and concludes that “. . . the American profession may take some pride, in looking back over the last three centuries, in the approach toward perfection which has actually been attained.”

*The Capitol Campus*  
*The Pennsylvania State University*

IRWIN RICHMAN

*This Was Early Oil; Contemporary Accounts of the Growing Petroleum Industry, 1848-1885.* Compiled and edited by Ernest C. Miller. (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1968. Pp. 211. \$4.50.)

"Oil City is worthy of its name. The air reeks with oil. The mud is oily. The rocks hugged by the narrow street, perspire oil. The water shines with the rainbow hues of oil. Oil-boats . . . through the oily stream, and oily men with oily hands fasten oily ropes around oily snubbing posts." This excerpt, taken from an 1865 publication, is typical of the excitement and drama conveyed by Ernest C. Miller in this documentary history of Pennsylvania's petroleum industry. Similar to Paul H. Giddens' 1947 work, *Pennsylvania Petroleum, 1750-1872*, but not duplicating it, this volume demonstrates the variety and wealth of historical information relating to this new industry that Miller has found in newspapers, magazines, contemporary books, official pamphlets and reports, and private papers.

Following a prologue which reviews the pre-Drake period and an excellent map of "The Region About Oil Creek," Miller provides fifty-one documents, arranged chronologically, of which only two have been previously printed (in Giddens) since their original publication. Although not so identified by the editor, the documents deal with four major topics. Sixteen describe the "oil country" before and during the discovery and exploitation of oil; many of these were found in regional newspapers such as the *Crawford Journal*, *Venango Spectator*, and *Warren Mail*, but others first appeared in the *Scientific American* and *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*. Next, another sixteen provide information on drilling and refining and the danger of fire in these processes. Here again newspapers are prime sources but, as might be expected, official government reports and technical works were useful. Third, ten documents relate to business matters—attempts to regulate the price of crude oil, investment opportunities in the industry, and plans for corporate organizations. Finally, nine documents discuss transportation and miscellaneous topics.

Mr. Miller allows each document to speak for itself and avoids placing his impressions upon it. John S. Schooley's description of the "petroleum region" (*Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, April, 1865) offers a journalist's history of petroleum and calls the oil wells of Western Pennsylvania "the most celebrated . . . as yet discovered and operated on the American continent." J. H. A. Bone (in *Petroleum and Petroleum Wells*, 1865), warns the prospective investor of companies whose "only object . . . was the creation of shares to be sold at a profit by the sharp-witted projectors" and of other companies, although promoted in good faith, but likely to be only limited successes or even failures. Bone preferred to invest his money in property where paying wells were in existence and offered the age-old advice—"invest no more money . . . than you can lose without being crippled in resources." It was in this document, according to the editor, that John D. Rockefeller's name first appeared in connection with oil.

The longest document cited, *A History of the Rise and Fall of the South Improvement Company* (1872), describes the familiar battle over rates and rebates between various producers and the railroads. Opposed to "every form of monopoly, every unholy conspiracy against the natural laws of trade, and every selfish combination of capital and power . . ." the Producers' Protective Association sought agreement among all to sell their oil through the Association. But secret agreements were signed by some with the railroads, and the other producers warned of the consequences. Letters of disclaimer and cancellation from the Erie, Pennsy, and New York Central and Rockefeller's statement "that reports circulated in the Oil Region and elsewhere, that this company . . . threatened to depress oil, are false" bring the story to a close.

Both the editor and the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission are to be congratulated for making these documents more widely available; along with Giddens' work we now have a more complete picture of "early oil."

*West Chester State College*

ROBERT E. CARLSON

*The Politics of the Universe; Edward Beecher, Abolition, and Orthodoxy.*

By Robert Merideth. (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1968. Pp. 274. \$5.95.)

The Calvinist lineage of American churches and churchmen during the thirty years immediately preceding the Civil War faced a crisis of grave significance. Could the angry God of their orthodox theology sympathize with His "afflicted creatures," specifically the Negro slave? Could Calvinism's unyielding, dispassionate Judge consumed (critics charged) with revenge for Adam's fall show the faithful and saved His plan to institute in society honor, right, and justice? Accommodation of conventional Edwardsian doctrine to the immediacy of social reform was patently impossible; and reform would not wait for God's own time but demanded, as it were, that theology bend—break even—in order to cast its lot with abolition. Could Calvinism preserve itself and still serve social change? Whether or not churchmen could satisfactorily have altered orthodox theology to meet the necessities of that social leadership so long its prerogative, they did not, and the church suffered thereafter from social paralysis.

Not that attempts to reform orthodoxy were lacking, for there were numerous efforts. Robert Merideth in this perceptive summary of the social and theological creeds of Edward Beecher (1803-1895) demonstrates how one leading churchman sought seriously to preserve Calvinist orthodoxy while enlisting the Almighty in the cause of Negro manumission. The efforts of Beecher in behalf of theology were, perhaps, among his church's nobler failures.

Beecher brought to his task impressive credentials, none of which was more useful potentially than the fact that he was of the Beechers of Boston and Cincinnati. The name insured an audience for his "solutions" even as it lent a certain respectability to the cause of abolition which he

supported after the murder of his friend, Elijah Lovejoy, in 1837. Aware and even enamored of the importance of being a Beecher, Edward developed a theology harmonizing, he claimed, God's dreadful justice and His compassion for sufferers by means of his "fundamental idea" of the pre-existence of souls, and hence of sin. From this doctrine he designed a social concept of "organic sin," wherein slaveholding, for example, was not always a personal sin when the political system supported it. By these truths Beecher expected to bind orthodoxy and reform together and to establish what he labeled in his writings in the 1850s "conservative abolition."

This revolutionary faith brought down upon Beecher the wrath of spokesmen for all shades of social as well as religious opinion. The experience, scarcely anticipated because Beechers did not perceive their own vulnerability even to mere semantic juggling, saddened him, especially in light of the popularity of his sister Harriet's novels which, as Merideth points out in the most interesting segment of his book, mirrored Edward Beecher's basic perceptions. But he remained steadfast to his faith and, with pique and precision, remarked often in his later years that the key to the failure of his church to guide America's response to social change after 1860 was its theology.

Merideth has attempted a most difficult task: an intellectual biography of a none too systematic thinker. The results are mixed. Beecher's paradoxes sometimes remain paradoxical and the imprecision and confusion of his thought, in particular during his formative years, find annoying reflection in the parenthesis-and-hyphen cluttered prose of Merideth's opening chapter. The stimuli to Beecher's intellectual and social growth too conveniently group around the Lovejoy murder and selected lesser incidents. The development of Beecher's thought, as a result, appears overall to be a study in cataclysms—which may be what in fact was the manner of his maturation, but which challenges Merideth's careful delineation of the formulation and nurture of Beecher's essential ideas.

Although there are other scattered shortcomings and disappointments in *The Politics of the Universe*, on the whole this is an impressive and valuable work. It extracts the worthwhile for us from an array of neglected writings by several members of this distinguished family. Despite formidable obstacles, the author with considerable skill, in particular on pages 127-145, vitalizes as he summarizes religious ideas today cognitively empty. Subtly, and thereby the more effectively, Merideth evokes the several emotional settings of Beecher's (and his age's) agonized search for a theology true to both the essence of orthodoxy and the experiences of his own generation. Edward Beecher emerges fuller than the remains of his intellect: a serious, warm, disparate personality, devoid only of those sensational or sentimental irrelevancies that pad but rarely add to biographies. And as Beecher emerges there follows for the reader a more precise and deeper understanding of the failure of Calvinism both to itself and an America to which it had given so much.

*Blueprint for Modern America: Nonmilitary Legislation of the First Civil War Congress.* By Leonard P. Curry. (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1968. Pp. 302. \$8.50.)

While historians have written voluminously about the generals, battles, and strategy of the Civil War, the role of Congress has received much less attention. Leonard P. Curry has chosen to right the balance by focusing on the activities of the important first Civil War Congress.

The legislative record of this body is imposing. Among its achievements were legislation freeing slaves in certain instances, the Morrill Land-Grant College Act, the Pacific Railroad Act, new taxation, higher protective tariffs, a banking act, and the Homestead Act.

From necessity rather than from social consciousness, members wrestled with these problems. Reluctantly Congress took action on various aspects of the slavery question and prepared the way for the Emancipation Proclamation. It freed slaves in the District of Columbia and federal territories, approved the constitution of the new state of West Virginia, which contained a clause freeing slaves, and forbade the return of slaves to their owners by military personnel. Colonization proposals and a sweeping confiscation act were defeated.

Legislation passed by the Thirty-Seventh Congress had important lasting consequences in relation to the disposal of the public domain and to the fostering of public improvements. Carrying out a platform promise, the Republicans passed the famous Homestead Act in 1862, though in many ways it was more beneficial to others than to farmers and settlers. The Morrill Land-Grant College Act stimulated education. The Pacific Railroad Act was the first step taken towards breaking the Great Plains transportation barrier, even though it had to be supplemented by later legislation. It opened the door for ruthless railway lobbying later in the century.

Lincoln was a shrewd enough politician to parry successfully a "direct assault" on his power of appointment of cabinet members by Congress. A "flank attack" on the power of the executive by setting up the first joint investigating committee in American congressional history, the Committee on the Conduct of the War, was more successful. The House Select Committee on Governmental Contracts also made a contribution toward congressional domination. Thus steps were taken to enlarge the legislative power at the expense of the executive.

As Curry views it, "The radicals of 1861-63 sketched the broad outlines, and their congressional successors filled in the details of the blueprint and erected the political structure of modern America." The Thirty-Seventh Congress played an important part in freeing the slaves, in setting up new universities, in linking the West closer to the nation, and in establishing a new taxation and banking structure. It failed to grapple with the problems of labor and of an industrial, urban society. With the verdict of Fessenden, the Republican Senate leader, most historians would probably agree that "with all its faults and errors, this has been a great and self-sacrificing Congress."

Curry's study is detailed and well footnoted. His bibliography of thirty pages indicates the thoroughness of his research. He tabulates and analyzes the voting record on all non-military measures. His material is well-organized, and he presents an interesting and provocative view that the "blueprint for modern America" was established in this session of Congress. The author is to be congratulated in writing a definitive work on the topic. It need not be done again. Persons interested in political and Civil War history will find the volume rewarding.

Otterbein College

HAROLD B. HANCOCK

*The Conservative Reformers; German-American Catholics and the Social Order.* By Philip Gleason. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1968. Pp. 272. \$8.95.)

In this thorough and carefully documented study of *Der Deutsche Römisch-Katholische Central-Verein von Nord Amerika*, Philip Gleason of the University of Notre Dame makes a significant contribution to an understanding of the "Sons of the Uprooted." By projecting the growth and decline of the Central-Verein as a case study of institutional response to the challenges presented to an ethnic organization by the complexity of American culture and society, the author is able to shed valuable light on the ever-fascinating process of "Americanization."

He successfully demonstrates that institutional adjustments must follow upon changes in the social composition of a group if it is to avoid a fatal isolation which would render it totally irrelevant to the concerns of Americans in general and the increasingly assimilated members in particular. The Central-Verein was originally designed to serve a practical insurance purpose, but it increasingly assumed the role of champion of the German language and the traditions of German Catholics in America. Eventually it came to represent these Catholics in social reform and political activity, most notably and successfully during the Progressive Era. While the outstanding social reform program of the Verein served to give the members new reason for support of the organization at a time when ethnic ties were fading, it also served to place them directly in line with the most dynamic and progressive currents of American life. In this fashion, the very program designed to preserve ethnic identity assisted in the assimilation process by Americanizing the focus of activities in the most positive ways. Failure to respond creatively to the needs of the increasingly assimilated second and third generations in the years after World War I produced cultural isolation, loss of vitality, and eventually, the effective demise of the Verein.

Dr. Gleason's analysis of the slow assimilation of this important element in the American Catholic population yields important insights on the history of the twentieth-century Church in the United States. It is currently assumed that whatever liberalism exists within the contemporary Church in America grows out of its German-American elements and their freedom from the constraints of a reactionary Irish hierarchy. *The Con-*



*servative Reformers* effectively demonstrates that this assumption is false—at least as far as those German-Americans involved in the Central-Verein were concerned.

Tracing the social theory of Frederick P. Kenkel, chief architect of the reform program, Gleason shows that the Verein's ideological position was essentially and consistently conservative. Kenkel and many of his associates in the Central Bureau were inspired by a vision of pre-industrial harmony and solidarity and by an intense personal estrangement from the modern world. For Kenkel in particular, the ideal was a romantic medieval corporatism and he lived in constant fear of centralization and state socialism. Such fears were shared by many of the rank and file, for even in the pre-war years combating the socialist threat was the cause with widest popular appeal.

Unfortunately, Dr. Gleason does not concern himself with the problem of regional particularisms among the Germans who settled in America. If the Central-Verein was able to homogenize the differences which existed among Germans in the Old Fatherland, there is no evidence of it in this study. Although the author is primarily concerned with the twentieth century, when German immigration would have reenforced this traditional particularism, he proceeds as if there were no fundamental differences between North Germans and South Germans, between Westphalians and Thuringians. The only difference he notes among those of Germanic origin is that caused by religion.

Throughout his study the author asserts that a study of the Central-Verein is a study of German-American Catholics, but his arguments from psychology and sociology dealing with identification and loyalties are not convincing. There is no hard evidence that the Central-Verein was any more truly representative of its 125,000 members than was the National German-American Alliance of its claimed two million adherents. Thus, while *The Conservative Reformers* stands as a significant study of one type of vehicle for the preservation of ethnic identity, one which made notable contributions toward the assimilation of its members by arousing the social awareness of a traditionally withdrawn sector of the Catholic population and ultimately by awakening American Catholic sensitivity to social problems, its value is eclipsed by the failure to satisfy the reader that the Verein was truly representative of its constituents and not merely a "paper" organization, supported out of sentiment and tradition, without commitment or real involvement.

State University College at Buffalo

NUALA MCGANN DRESCHER

*The Slavic Community on Strike; Immigrant Labor in Pennsylvania Anthracite.* By Victor R. Greene. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1968. Pp. 260. \$6.95.)

The Pennsylvania anthracite region has become once again a field of investigation for the historian of immigrant labor. In *The Slavic Community on Strike* Victor Greene adds another insight into union activity by

examining the role of the Eastern European Slav in the hard coal industry from the 1870s to the strike of 1902.

Contrary to the currently accepted opinion that the immigrant could not be organized, and thus retarded the American labor movement, Professor Greene maintains that at least in one strategic region the immigrant not only actively joined the movement, but became a part of its vanguard. The tight ethnocentric unity of the Slavic community—that group of poor Eastern European immigrants living on the edge of town—was the motivating force in the drive toward achieving the goals of labor. The Slavs came to the anthracite fields to escape poverty and lived at the subsistence level in order to accumulate money that would allow them to return to their native land as moderately wealthy men. They saved money even during depressions and strikes, and when confronted with the prevalent economic evils they reacted unitedly against the malefactions as early as the latter 1880s.

Professor Greene depicts the socio-economic structure of the community as middle-class Slavs living in shanties, eating cheap food, and saving more than fifty percent of their wages. Although representing many nationalities, they become fused into one ethnic group through the church, the saloon, and the boarding house. These institutions served as the chief media of contact and welded the common quest for material gain into a dynamic force. Community consensus tolerated little deviation from the norm in the drive for economic security.

The limited achievements of mine labor during these decades, according to Greene, rest in the geographical separation of the three anthracite districts, lack of coordination in union strategy, and stubborn resistance by the employers. At no time did the Eastern European immigrant hinder the labor movement. The failure of unionism in the 1870s cannot be blamed on the Slav since he did not start coming to the region in large numbers until the next decade. In the 1880s miners' unions enlisted large numbers of Slavs, but during the strike of 1887-1888 the contribution of the Slavic community to unionization was mixed. They misunderstood the inconsistency of unions in allowing some miners to work and others to strike, and, intolerant of this action, rioted against working miners in Shenandoah. The next sporadic outbreak of trouble came in 1897 in the Hazleton area. After the infamous Latimer massacre of that year John Fahy of the UMW had an excellent opportunity to organize all the miners of the region. Fahy called upon respected Slavs to spearhead the drive for new locals and to serve as union officials, for which they deserve major credit for making the union strong in the region and winning the 1897 strike.

The first severe test of the greatly enlarged UMW came in 1900 when the Wyoming miners struck to obtain wages equal to those paid in the southern mine district. The UMW won this round with the aid of the Slavic community. The conflict continued the next year when the employers rescinded the union's gains and provoked the famous anthracite strike of 1902. Once again the Slavs supported the strike and became a mainstay to the union. By living cheaply and turning to other occupations, the Slav

unwaveringly endured the privations of the struggle and served as a key means of disciplining labor's ranks by keeping the potential strike breaker away from work.

Professor Greene has made a good assessment of the role the Slavic community played in the hard coal disputes. However, he may have over-emphasized divisions between the Eastern European and the English, Welsh, German, and Irish. The Irish community with similar religious and social institutions, for example, may have had a far greater influence on the Slavic community than he recognizes. This reader also wished there had been manuscripts of a few Slavic leaders for Professor Greene to examine to better assess the internal dynamic role of the community over a three-decade period.

Be that as it may, only a few minor errors mar an otherwise fine analysis. Geographical directions deserve more precision. For instance, Ashley lies five miles east of Nanticoke, not below Nanticoke. In addition, the repeated identification of Peter Roberts and Shenandoah proved annoying. Aside from these few detractions this excellent monograph adds depth to the historians' knowledge of one immigrant group's role in the troubled labor relations of the anthracite industry at the close of the nineteenth century.

*Bloomsburg State College*

H. BENJAMIN POWELL

*The Johnstown Flood.* By David G. McCullough (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1968. Pp. 302. \$6.95.)

There is a latent morbidity in most of us that seems to insure a good market for "disaster" books, and McCullough's *The Johnstown Flood* proves no exception. Seventy-nine years after the event it is still our most publicized domestic cataclysm. The questionable witticisms that it spawned for the vaudeville stage are still with us on television, but the events of May 31, 1889, were tragic, not humorous. Twenty-two hundred and nine persons died in less than one hour, double the number of the Peshtigo forest fire, the closest competitor. The bibliography of the flood is extensive. McCullough lists 119 items including twenty volumes entirely devoted to the event. It is the poor quality of the latter that justifies yet another book upon this theme.

McCullough has built on a continuity that begins before the mud was cleared from Johnstown's streets, acknowledging his indebtedness to certain "flood histories." The use of newspaper files, engineering journals, and interviews with flood survivors (children, of course, in 1889) has produced a balanced account that is enhanced by a journalistic style. The discovery of the typescript of the Pennsylvania Railroad's own investigation of the catastrophe adds a new source to the story. The author has used this to full advantage, and now for the first time the railroad receives proper credit for its relief role.

The latter might be considered an atonement for contributory negligence, for the South Fork Dam which burst was once the property of

the Pennsylvania. Built by the State of Pennsylvania to insure a supply of water for the Western Division Canal of its Public Works, it was completed in 1852, just in time to be made obsolete by the new Philadelphia to Pittsburgh railroad. The dam broke in 1862, fortunately during a prolonged drought, and the sluice pipes were able to regulate the outpouring. After several decades of ignoring the reservoir the Pennsylvania Railroad sold the site to Congressman John Reilly, a former employee, who compounded the felony by selling the discharge pipes for scrap. Reilly held on for four years, selling in turn to the South Fork Fishing and Hunting Club, in 1879. This organization is the villain of the tale.

Labeled the "Bosses Club" by the *Pittsburgh Press*, the club roster included such names as Henry Clay Frick, Andrew Mellon, Philander Chase Knox and Samuel Rea, Pittsburghers all, seeking a mountain retreat not too far from the Golden Triangle. The membership proceeded at once to change the reservoir into a lake suitably large for fishing and boating and in so doing reduced the capacity of the spillway without restoring the discharge pipes. Johnstown now had a sword of Damocles three hundred feet above and ten miles east of its business district. The citizenry was concerned but lacked the influence to attack the gods in Valhalla, especially after the death of Daniel J. Morrell in 1885. Owner of the Cambria Iron Works and a competent engineer, he had realized the shoddiness of the repairs and had not hesitated to speak out against them.

The last week of May 1889 was one of constant rains that overtaxed the drainage of Western Pennsylvania. When the dam let go at 3:10 on the afternoon of Friday the 31st the lake waters were added to the already swollen Conemaugh River. At 4:07 the wall of water slammed into Johnstown, and ten minutes later it was all over. Now began the most massive cleanup job ever seen in the United States. The dazed inhabitants had regrouped by Saturday afternoon and relief trains began arriving early Sunday morning. Ten miles of destroyed tracks were restored in twenty-four hours. From this point rehabilitation proceeded apace. Clara Barton and the Red Cross supervised food distribution and hospitalization while the Pennsylvania Railroad tackled the engineering problems.

McCullough has had the unenviable task of separating fact from fiction, and the Johnstown Flood certainly left a large mythological inheritance. Daniel Peyton was briefly our second Paul Revere. He conveniently perished in the flood so that no one could check on his nonexistence. Certain eastern European minority groups were singled out for calumny by the big eastern dailies. The Hungarians, in particular, were blamed for just about all of the looting. Such accusations could not be proven and the New York *World* had the courage to say so.

The maudlin outpourings of the press did serve the purpose of opening the pocketbooks of America and Europe. Almost \$4,000,000 in cash was contributed in addition to the hundreds of carloads of food and building materials. The determination of the Cambria Iron Works and other local industries to start immediate rebuilding proved, in the end, to be the greatest incentive for Johnstown's citizens.

The sorry tale of the attempts to find a legal scapegoat forms the last chapter of the book. It clearly points up the difference between 1889 and 1968. Present-day lawyers who have examined the evidence are of the belief that several Pittsburgh fortunes would be wiped out if the suits were entertained in the modern judicial system. In 1889 these tycoons were untouchable.

Finally we have the official necrology alphabetized by individual cemeteries, a properly macabre touch. Author McCullough's interest in his subject stems from a Pittsburgh background and summer vacations on the western slope of the Alleghenies. He has done a workmanlike job. We may yet view it in widescreen Technicolor.

*Eleutherian Mills Historical Library*

HUGH R. GIBB

*The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, Volume 5, 1885-1888. Edited by Arthur S. Link, et al. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968. Pp. 792. \$15.00.)

Of special interest to readers of PENNSYLVANIA HISTORY, the three years covered by this volume encompass Wilson's teaching career at Bryn Mawr College. They were important years for the young professor personally. While he remorselessly engaged himself in teaching and scholarship, his wife Ellen went South for the birth of their first daughter. His father grieved that Wilson had "to resort to *borrowing* in order to eke out a living . . . A rapidly growing family is expensive, however." Tragedy came with the death of his mother in 1888. A terse telegram informed him of the event, but he arrived too late to attend the funeral. Wilson sorrowfully remembered how "I clung to her (a laughed at mama's boy) till I was a great big fellow; but love of the best womanhood came to me and entered my heart through those apron strings." His academic career flourished despite his growing discomfiture with teaching the distaff side the hard realities of politics. By the end of this volume he had received an appointment to Wesleyan University which allowed him to continue his part-time lecturing at Johns Hopkins University. His controversial uncle, James Woodrow, sent felicitations on his call to the Connecticut college but felt that "it sounds queer that any one of the blood should be connected in anyway with *Wesleyanism*."

Throughout the period Wilson turned his thoughts more and more effectively to public commentary. An initial attempt by way of a speech to New York Princeton Alumni in 1886 failed to go over convincingly. One reason might be its repetition of the genteel banalities of the day. Wilson was not put off. In an essay of September of that year, he described in perceptively realistic terms "The Prospects of a New National Party." He scathingly noted how the "Republican Party kept itself in office by constantly reminding the country of what it had done for the Union, and of what the Democrats had tried to do against the Union." The new times demanded a new politics for it was becoming "yearly harder and harder to conduct national affairs with reference altogether to the past." The fact

of the Union's "past salvation could not be made to take the place of its continuous good government, which was to be its future salvation." Because old issues still dominated the area of partisan rhetoric, "the individualistic elements in our politics had full play." What he sought was the existence of "open, healthy, public spirited party government" to be attained "by creating in Congress some small group of leaders . . . who shall formulate policy and gather into hand the responsibility which now wanders among two score Committees till it is lost."

Interesting as Wilson's discussion of old issues and new politics might appear, he touched upon a more profound problem in a later entry in these papers. The occasion was an invitation by President Charles K. Adams of Cornell University to deliver a lecture to its Historical and Political Science Association. Wilson blandly entitled it "The Study of Administration." Suffice it to remark that this reviewer found it the most thought-provoking of all the papers so far included in the three volumes he has read. Indeed, it raises an issue that is still with us and will continue to be. Wilson grappled with the problem of how to reconcile the technical administrative proficiency necessary in modern industrial society with the liberal democratic tradition that centered around the premise of popular sovereignty exercised through public opinion. It was a hard question indeed, for "the democratic state has yet to be equipped for carrying those enormous burdens of administration which the needs of this industrial and trading age are so fast accumulating." European governments appeared far in advance of our awkward attempts at organization but Wilson saw that in so doing "they have obtained leave to continue despotic by becoming paternal . . . too benevolent to be suspected, too powerful to be coped with." Granted the efficiency of models like the Prussian, Wilson argued that it "is better to be untrained and free than to be servile and systematic." Yet, was there no way, then, to take advantage of administrative technique without destroying democratic values for, "there is no denying that it would be better to be both free in spirit and proficient in practice." Wilson saw the solution in naturalizing administration to the American environment. Train your "technically schooled administrators" with large powers and unhampered discretion. There will be no danger from the officer of government if his power be held to strict accountability. It then should not be divided. The obscurity resulting from such diffusion of authority leads to irresponsible abuse of power. But overall public opinion must be allowed to "play the part of authoritative critic."

There are some echoes in these pages from Wilson's own past. His wife writes from the South in 1886 of a "Jeff Davis" craze that developed when the old man made a public tour; nor was Wilson untouched by remembrance of things past. Commenting on Susan Dabney Smedes' *Memorials of a Southern Planter*, Wilson saw the subject of that book as "a type of what I fear this country may never see again—a type of the chivalrous gentleman—a type of the sort of man whom if the nowadays industrial world could match with a dozen or two of a like humane, a noble sort, there would be no labor problem." Wilson blessed "the dear

old section before the 'Money Devil' entered into it." Yet despite such limitations of outlook, this volume demonstrates Wilson's thought maturing with deep study in German and British constitutional commentators and attention to the more mundane concerns of municipal organization. Here is a traditionalist's mind growing into modernity—an institutional conservative yet one with intelligence.

*University of Connecticut*

VINCENT A. CARRAFIELLO

*A Historian's Progress.* By Roy F. Nichols. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968. Pp. 308. \$6.95.)

Roy Nichols is well known to the members of the Pennsylvania Historical Association as one of the founders of this group, and as one of its most active members. An administrator, and presiding officer *par excellence*, he has long been one of the movers and shakers of the academic world, and as a practicing historian he has been one of the profession's most productive scholars.

*A Historian's Progress* is a narrative account of Nichols' development as a historian, and at the same time—perhaps this is the book's special value—an account of the growth and inter-disciplinary thrust of the historical profession. Few historians have had a wider acquaintance in the profession, or a comparable view of related disciplines, and it is the perspective that comes from this unusual vantage point that gives the book its particular authority. Nichols was a member of the Social Science Research Council for over twenty years, and its chairman from 1949 to 1953. He was chairman of the Association of Graduate Schools in the Association of American Universities, and president of the American Historical Association in 1966. For a hobby he was interested in genealogy, and inevitably he found himself serving as president of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania. Over the years he was associated with an astonishing number of scholarly projects, and in this book he explains their origins and inter-relationships.

Although the approach is autobiographical, there is little introspection in this volume. Nichols is more interested in analyzing the nature of historical thinking, and the practical tasks of education and organization, than in probing and exposing the hidden irrationalities of the psyche. His own progress has been smooth and seemingly without pitfalls. The title of the book may (or may not) have been borrowed from John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, but in Nichols' case the only temptation he feels he had to explain was the temptation to go into academic administration, after a successful career as a teacher. Starting at Columbia University, he quickly moved to the University of Pennsylvania, where he remained for more than forty years—as professor of history, dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, and Vice Provost. He also served as Pitt Professor of American History and Institutions at Cambridge University in England.

Blessed with a memory that enables him to recall not only the professors he studied with, but the textbooks they used, Nichols describes the courses

that were part of his own education, and some of the courses which he subsequently gave at both the undergraduate and the graduate levels. As his research proceeded, and his responsibilities were enlarged, his view of history evolved. "I had at first viewed history," he writes, "as an established corpus of knowledge, ready for me to learn. Then it appeared as an incomplete mass of information which was to be enlarged by research and communicated by art. Later it assumed the form of a significant dimension of the science of society which was being formulated and interpreted by means of scientific analogies fashioned in terms of human dynamics."

In describing the means by which these formulations were to take place, Nichols discusses both the structure of professional organization and the meaning of history, insofar as he has been able to find it. In particular, he describes the complex of historical organizations and societies with which he has been connected in the state of Pennsylvania, and the similar organizations and projects that were of interest to his wife, Jeannette P. Nichols, who shared a "joint career" with him from their days in graduate school. It is especially interesting to observe the expanding ramifications of the inter-disciplinary approach of Columbia University's Contemporary Civilization course, and the reappearance of this technique in the American Studies program at the University of Pennsylvania, and in other projects.

Nichols' speculations as to the nature of history are most provocative, not surprisingly, when he is discussing American politics, particularly in the Civil War period. This has always been his specialty, and it was the subject of his Pulitzer Prize-winning volume *The Disruption of American Democracy* (1948). There is an immediacy in his awareness of the "seeds of destruction" in the American body politic, and a timeliness in his warning that historians are "so content to putter." His conclusion as to history is, "It is not art, science or literature; it is *sui generis*, philosophically independent, a unique form of intellectual activity. . . . Since the historian has a unique contribution because he thinks in time and explains the slow processes of the evolution of cultures, he alone can protect society from present-mindedness."

Above all, Nichols is interested in "breaking down limitations" in historians' activities, such as excessive nationalism, parochialism, personal isolation, period-consciousness (of which present-mindedness is one form), over-specialization, dogma (in some cases self-imposed), and ignorance of the "discoverable generalizations" which already exist. Thus, despite his preoccupation with the most cataclysmic period of American history, Nichols sums up—for both historians and politicians—in these words, "I have discovered that we are not living wholly in the present. Most of what we are conscious of is not only very old but will continue to have influence in the future. The moment in itself is never very important and never independent of its antecedents and its successors."

Lafayette College

JOHN M. COLEMAN



*Echoes from Warriors Mark, Pennsylvania, and Surrounding Areas.* By Elizabeth Nearhoof. (Boalsburg, Pa.: Offset Printing, Inc., 1968. Pp. 417. \$10.50.)

"History has always seemed to me . . . not so much a matter of monarchs, presidents, battles, treaties, as the daily life of ordinary people. It is not the professor but the man who remembers his grandfather who is the true historian," journalist P. L. Travers wrote some fifteen years ago. Local history, replete with grandfathers and family minutiae, ceased to be a neglected stepchild of our fascinating Muse when reputable houses like Philadelphia's Louis H. Evarts began bringing out monumental works on Pennsylvania counties in the 1880s, handsomely bound volumes fated to be preserved for years on family bookshelves like household gods. Though some of their pages remained suspiciously uncut, the big maroon tomes constantly increased in value. Today, confronted by soaring publishing costs, local historians must utilize every resource of the printer's ingenuity to reach a limited public.

Elizabeth Nearhoof's lengthy, informal account of Warriors Mark and several nearby villages of western Huntingdon County is an instance in point. Published by the compiler to fulfill a project cherished by her father and in commemoration of Warriors Mark's bicentennial (1768-1968), this typewritten, offset-reproduced, loose-leaf assembled volume represents years of painstaking collection of local and neighborhood data. It is illustrative of a current trend, springing from civic pride and a new popular taste for antiquarianism, toward fragmentation of county into what may be called locality history. Passing briefly over origins of pioneer settlement in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Miss Nearhoof emphasizes the past hundred years, filling her narrative with vignettes and anecdotes concerning the coming of railroads, electricity, telephone, radio, the automobile, and such topics as latter-day barn-burnings, all of which strike universal chords of memory.

Warriors Mark, situated forty miles east of Pennsylvania's forested Allegheny Front, is an incomparably beautiful, agriculturally rich basin of rural Huntingdon County. In general fashion Miss Nearhoof describes the yearly rotation of farm life and customs and the important part taken by store, furnace, forge, sawmill, and quarry in crossroads economies. Mill-pond; copse, and picnic grove; meadow, barren, limestone pit and ore bank; homes, farms, mills, and store locations are alluded to in personally nostalgic terms. Here are full names of particular farmers, storekeepers, carpenters, apprentices, laborers, teachers, preachers, ironmasters, lumbermen, quarrymen, garagemen and multiple rosters which do not omit those unsung liegemen of America's political past—the postmasters. The fullness of the catalogue precludes much characterization. The only severe criticism is that the material's narrow range of focus contrives to limit interest. This carefully detailed, uncritical enumeration of worthy progenitors will appeal primarily to the delectation of neighbors across the street or down the road. Nevertheless it represents a notable contribution to the historiography of Huntingdon County.

Nuggets of gold may be panned from these voluminous pages. Glenn Ellenberger's charming anecdote of piloting a Flying Fortress from Salina, Kansas, to England in the spring of 1943 and deviating from his flight plan long enough to "buzz" this "lovely little community," wave to sister and mother, and reflect that "Bonnie Brook Farm looked good to me," or a small boy's unforgettable recollection of profit derived from searching out minuscule pieces of scrap iron and selling them to a foundryman for "a nickel and a few pennies. We were rich! Off to Ben Nearhoof's store we scurried and invested our money in 'jaw-breakers' and long sticks of tough licorice. Our wealth did not last long and the iron hunt was on again the next week." What Stevenson Whitcomb Fletcher did for the first two hundred years of Pennsylvania agriculture and country life, Miss Nearhoof has done well for the latest phase of her native heath.

*Holidaysburg, Pa.*

JESSE L. HARTMAN

*Proceedings of The Lehigh County Historical Society.* Volume 27. Edited by Mildred Rowe Trexler. (Allentown, Pa.: Lehigh County Historical Society, 1968. Pp. 227.)

Attempting a review of an anthology or collection of historical essays requires some standard or criterion by which the reviewer may assess fairly and constructively the efforts of the editor and authors. We may ask what the editor and authors wished to achieve, and how satisfactorily did they accomplish that object. On the other hand, a reviewer ought to have a goal beyond his critical analysis of the work, and that objective should include suggestions for improvement—if needed—and for expansion of the subject in future works.

Seven essays constitute the bulk of this publication. The first is an extended treatment of George Taylor, Esquire, by the editor, Taylor, whose place of birth has been disputed, was born in Ireland in 1716, according to Mrs. Trexler's source. Why she thinks "we must accept the above statement" torments us, particularly in view of the rather unorthodox footnote style for the source. Taylor allegedly came to this country as a redemptioner, but again an annoying vagueness envelops the account. Of one thing the author is certain: being a redemptioner was not shameful—and she elaborates on that point beyond the call of duty or the needs of scholarship.

George Taylor lived a busy life with interests in iron, and service as a legislator, justice of the peace, and patriot. Unfortunately, the account of his active years consists of bits and pieces put together without much regard for order. Rambling bits of irrelevant and tangential information pepper the essay. It is to be hoped that a sense of scholarly discipline will characterize future works of the author. The proofreader, too, has some homework to do.

John K. Heyl has a short piece on the construction of George Taylor's mansion at Chawton (now Catasauqua) Manor. Lehigh Valley's noted architect has done a most commendable job describing the handsome structure built in 1768. Excellent photographs showing interior views comple-

ment the article. Lehigh Valley can be proud of the beautifully preserved old mansion and the role played by the Lehigh County Historical Society in making it a showplace of history and architecture.

"George Hammond and Margaret Allen" are the subject of an essay by Anthony C. Barnes, an English banker, who is a great-great-grandson of George and Margaret Hammond. Hammond was the first British Minister to the United States, and Margaret was the daughter of Andrew Allen, second son of Chief Justice William Allen, founder of Allentown. Andrew was named for his grandfather, Andrew Hamilton, of Philadelphia fame. Mr. Barnes has written a most readable and scholarly history of the lives of the Hammonds, one which must be a tribute to the editor.

John Y. and Helen W. Kohl explain the affinity of Allentown for the surname Livingston in an essay, "Introducing the Livingstons." Armed with a statement from Dr. S. K. Stevens attesting to the fact the Livingstons were second only to the Adams family in their contribution to early American life, the Kohls describe the contribution of Walter Copake and Mary Greenleaf Livingston to Allentown from 1824 to 1840. Walter's mother had been Mary Masters Allen, daughter of James Allen. Mary Greenleaf Livingston's mother was Ann Penn Allen Greenleaf, another daughter of James Allen. Walter and Mary were first cousins as well as husband and wife. But then, of course, they were Livingstons! Kohl and Kohl deserve much credit for their lucid presentation and for unravelling the family ties.

Judge James F. Henninger's piece on "The Judges of Lehigh County" is exciting political history with a touch of autobiography. Judge Henninger is able to tell us the little insights which often are missed in research from printed documents.

"The First Federal Census of Lehigh County" may mislead those who rely heavily on titles, because Charles F. Seng, the compiler, means the first census *after* Lehigh County was formed in 1812. This is the Census of 1820, and was available only on microfilm until now. Only names and localities are listed by Mr. Seng.

For the genealogist there is Part III of "Indentures as a Genealogical Guide," compiled by Ruth Kramer and Lee Walck. This consists of listings of unrecorded deeds in the Society's collections.

Other features include a supplement to the previously-published checklist of the Society's newspaper files, and numerous reports of the organization's activities.

The new editor stated her purpose was to present "something of interest and pleasure" to each of the Society's members. We believe she accomplished that purpose quite satisfactorily, taking the volume as a whole.

*Lancaster County Historical Society*

JOHN WARD WILLSON LOOSE



# PENNSYLVANIA HISTORY

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Pennsylvania Historical Association*

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## ANNUAL MEETING

Thirty-Eighth Annual Meeting of the Association will be held at Wilson College, Chambersburg, October 17-18. The Council has recommended that annual dues be established at \$8.00. This matter will be discussed at the Annual Business Meeting Saturday morning, October 18.



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