
In our society subscription histories are fast becoming extinct. Despite the high cost of this set, increasingly higher distribution costs will probably be responsible for the demise of this once common form. We shall all mourn a bit.

The format is a handsome one. The four gold-stamped volumes, bound in red, are printed on heavy stock, coated paper. However, for some reason, the publisher chose to group the illustrations, rather than to spread them throughout the text.

The text was written by S. K. Stevens, the acknowledged dean of Pennsylvania historiography, and Executive Director of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. The first two volumes are devoted to a traditional chronological interpretation of the Commonwealth's history with an emphasis on the more recent period. In addition to the expected political data, these volumes provide a great deal of information on the social and economic aspects of Pennsylvania's development. As one can expect in any of Stevens' work, there is an excellent and extensive bibliographical essay.

Volume III is entitled "Documents and Special Features." The usual documents such as Penn's 1681 Letter to the Inhabitants of Pennsylvania and the Charter of Privileges of 1701 are not included because they have already been printed in Dr. Stevens' earlier multi-volume work Pennsylvania—The Keystone State. The documents selected for inclusion in the present work are more esoteric. Among them you find Judge Thomas Mellon's explanation of his attitudes on labor and capital and a contemporary description of the Connellsville Coke Region as it appeared in 1888.

Some of the special features of Volume III are essays by Dr. Stevens that expatiate upon themes touched upon in the first two volumes but which a sense of balance has not allowed the author to expand in the body of the text. These range in subject matter from an essay on the first federal mint to one on the Susquehanna River. Additionally, there are several articles by other persons including Robert P. Multhauf, "Engineering in Philadelphia, 1775-1825"; Raymond W. Albright, "Pennsylvania—a Haven for the Christian Churches and a Cradle of Theology"; and this reviewer's "Three Hundred Years of Pennsylvania Medicine."

Using an anatomical simile, Volumes I and II may be considered the brain of the set; Volume III the heart; and Volume IV, "Family and Personal Records," the viscera. This last volume, like its equivalent in other subscrip-
tion histories, can be considered the *raison d'être* for the work. From this reviewer’s perspective, in the long run, Volume IV has great potential value because it brings together information about people and businesses of local or regional interest, individuals and firms about whom information is not easily available. Dozens of references can be found to the late Milton S. Hershey, who is also included in this volume, but where else can the future scholar go for data on Omar Carlyle Brock, 2nd, Erie dairy executive, or Harry Lincoln Matthews, Titusville cutlery executive? The same holds true, even more significantly, for industries that are not usually mentioned anywhere other than in indices like Dun and Bradstreet’s, viz. Bearings Company of America, Mrs. Smith’s Pie Company, *et al.*

In summation, *Pennsylvania: The Heritage of a Commonwealth*, is a treasure trove of grand themes, interesting cameos, and prosaic, but often valuable minutiae.

*The Capitol Campus*

*The Pennsylvania State University*  

*Irwin Richman*

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*The Otis Family in Provincial and Revolutionary Massachusetts.* By John J. Waters, Jr. (Chapel Hill: Published by the University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1968. Pp. 221. $6.95.)

John J. Waters, Jr., has written an uncommonly good book in a genre American historians have too often neglected, family history. His study of five generations of Otises demonstrates the great potential of the familial approach, for examining a large, self-perpetuating, successful family forced him to ask and answer numbers of significant questions, not only about the personalities involved, but also about the structure of the society in which they lived.

In the course of his work Professor Waters sheds much light, for example, on social mobility and the class structure in Massachusetts; he delves into the function of the town, in this case Barnstable, as a social and governmental unit, and relates its politics to those of the province as a whole. He is led, through his subjects, into a study of farming and commerce on Cape Cod, and from there into an exploration of the larger problem of the functioning of the Massachusetts economy; and he is led again through his subjects, into a study of the high drama of the politics and warfare of the American Revolution. Family history, in Professor Waters’ capable hands, is a key that opens many doors; his work should convince any reader that more scholars should join in rescuing it from the genealogists.

In studying the Otises the author has had one signal advantage over previous analysts of the family (no pun intended); he has had the use of two hitherto unavailable manuscript collections: the Gray-Otis Papers and the Otis Family Manuscripts, both now at the Butler Library, Columbia University. Perhaps the most significant fact which these papers have yielded is that the enmity of James Otis, Sr., and Jr., to Thomas Hutchinson, which was perhaps the major irritant in Massachusetts politics in the early
BOOK REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTES

1760's, stemmed not, as historians have hitherto believed, from Hutchinson's appointment to a seat on the provincial supreme court, which the elder Otis believed had been promised to him, but from the elder Otis' conviction that Hutchinson had conspired to prevent his election to the Massachusetts Council in 1757.

Professor Waters rightfully devotes substantial space to the political activities of James Otis, Sr., and James, Jr., and performs a valuable service for students of Massachusetts politics by accurately assessing the older man's role in the public arena, showing him to have been a far more important politician than has been suspected. He does not add much to our knowledge of the political activities of James, Jr., and does not, in this reviewer's opinion, succeed any better than previous writers in solving the enigma of that extraordinary man's character (one strongly suspects that Otis is unfathomable). Waters does, however, make one telling point by relating him to his family and to his Barnstable background, and by showing that the conservatism which was always prominent in his thought and action, i.e., his refusal to contemplate or encourage independence from Great Britain, may have been formed by his upbringing. This is just one of the insights which Professor Waters gains by considering the Otises as a family. His book abounds with others of which no student of the history of Massachusetts should be ignorant.

Yale University

JAMES H. HUTSON


A Bibliography of American Presbyterianism during the Colonial Period is the eighth publication of a series sponsored by the Presbyterian Historical Society, first projected in 1856 and inaugurated in 1956. Two volumes in the series are documentary and five are accounts of various Presbyterian activities in American life. The Bibliography will facilitate further research into Presbyterian contributions to the American heritage. The editor, Leonard J. Trinterud, is California Professor of Church History at San Francisco Theological Seminary and author of the comprehensive The Forming of an American Tradition: A Re-examination of Colonial Presbyterianism (The Westminster Press, 1959), a work based on a thorough scrutiny of the available source material.

The Bibliography is arranged by synod or presbytery covering the life span of each up to 1800. Trinterud identifies twelve distinct groups among the many Presbyterian schisms and mergers of the colonial and revolutionary periods and offers a separate bibliography for each of the groups. The largest is that for the Synod of New York and Philadelphia which contains 866 entries. The remaining eleven contain a total of 263 entries, some of which are duplicates for works concerned with more than one organization.
While fairly comprehensive, the Bibliography makes no claim to being exhaustive. Its preparation depended primarily, almost wholly, on the microprint edition, prepared under the auspices of the American Antiquarian Society for the Readex Corporation, of Charles Evans's American Bibliography (14 volumes, Chicago and Worcester, 1903-1959). Since Evans is not complete and the supplement thereto being prepared for Readex is still in progress, several other bibliographical sources were searched and appropriate libraries and historical societies were requested to submit items for inclusion. Furthermore, since Evans includes only works published in America, the British Museum catalog was used for European imprints.

The bibliography for each synod or presbytery includes one section listing publications by people associated with the organization during the time of that association, and a second section listing works that make significant mention of the organization and of the people associated with it. In the bibliography for the Synod of New York and Philadelphia there are four additional sections: Section 3, "The Book of Psalms" (references to several editions of the Book of Psalms prepared under the auspices of the Synod); Section 4, "Items concerning Presbyterianism in the Middle Colonies" (a miscellany of works not related directly to the Synod as such); Section 5, "The Paxton Controversy" (works related to the heated debate between Presbyterians and Friends over the accusations that Presbyterians had protected the "Paxton boys" guilty of the Moravian Indian massacre that played its role in the outbreak of the French and Indian War in Pennsylvania); Section 6, "Presbyterian-Congregationalist Relationships" (a selected list of publications related to the failure of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia to plant churches in New England or to associate with such Presbyterian churches as were there). The bibliographies for the Associated Presbytery of Morris County, the Boston Presbytery, and the Presbytery of Charleston are admitted by the editor to be "at best tentative" or "provisional" because of the vagueness of the identity of the organizations and their affiliates.

The usefulness of the Bibliography will be the grouping of entries by synod, presbytery, and section, and in the index of authors, subjects and titles. Pages are not numbered and the Table of Contents indicates inclusive entry numbers rather than pages. There would be an advantage in including in the Table of Contents, or in a table of contents for each of the twelve bibliographies, an indication of the inclusive entry numbers for each section. This would be particularly useful for the bibliography of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia.

Lafayette College


Every generation, it seems, must have its biographies of the greats from America's past. James T. Flexner, in this second of a projected three-volume life of George Washington, has tried to provide our generation with a
"Biography not only in the scholarly but in the literary meaning of the term." Its focus is on Washington alone, on "the adventures and emotions of an individual man: how he had a great trust thrust upon him; how he handled himself and what changes experience, grievous or gay, made in his knowledge and his skills and his character, and what effect all this had on the history of the United States and, indeed, the world." That Flexner has failed is partly a function of the volume itself, but even more a testament to the perennial problem of dealing with a figure so commanding to his era but so hidden and guarded in his public deeds and private correspondence.

Flexner is at his best when he stays close to his man. The picture that seems to emerge is that of a sensitive, passionate, irascible man, driven by a personal ambition for public trust and popular applause, beset by the ambitions of rivals and the incompetence of governmental institutions. Green and unsure when the War began, Washington purposefully kept an open mind, learning constantly as he gained in self-assurance, knowledge of the enemy, and awareness of the strengths and weaknesses of his subordinates. The finest sections of this long and detailed volume are the portraits of Washington's military contemporaries and the clash of personalities which often affected the War as much as the movements of armies or the vagaries of supply and finance. The judgments on military subjects are clear, well advocated, and sparkle with a finely tuned common sense about men and events. On the Conway Cabal, for example, Flexner argues that moves were afoot to unseat Washington, but that they were barely in embryo. Washington's great sensitivity, and Bernhard Knollenberg used to argue that the conspiracy existed only in Washington's mind, was merely the understandable reaction of a man whose generalship was under attack and being eclipsed by a difficult subordinate.

But whether Flexner's volume will endure as the standard scholarly and literary biography for this era remains highly doubtful. At times the scholarship is superficial. In none of the over fourteen hundred notes is there a reference to the Washington Papers in the Library of Congress, even though they are cited in the bibliography. Flexner is undisciplined in his chronology. He quotes Washington's 1792 opinion of Wayne as if it was the one the Commander held at the time he selected Wayne for the attack on Stony Point. In the long and often distorted narrative of the Newburgh incident, Flexner uses his sources—the rumors recorded by Rufus King, for example—very uncritically. Walter Stewart could not have approached Washington, as the document indicated, because Stewart remained in Philadelphia, a fact which Washington's published correspondence proves. And nowhere in this section is there a reference to the Knox Papers at the Massachusetts Historical Society, a key source for understanding that complex and disputed episode.

Flexner has tried to strike a balance between Douglas Freeman's long detailed study and the as yet unwritten "essential" Washington. But like Freeman, Flexner is too close to his subject, too mired in the minutiae of the soldier's correspondence, and in a sense, overpowered by the range of Washington's activities and the sheer bulk of his surviving writings. The
reader is subjected to a mass of quotations from and about Washington, followed all too rarely by cogent analysis. Frequent digressions on minor incidents, like the near execution of Captain Charles Asgill in retaliation for Loyalist terror attacks, break the thread of the narrative with needless detail.

The book, then, is almost a catalog of Washingtoniana. When Flexner does venture analysis, it is often marred by homilies on human nature: “Civil conflicts engender more hate than foreign wars”; “The witch-hunter and the witch are always sisters under the skin”; and “Rebellions appeal naturally to pushing spirits whom the status quo least favors, but tend to frighten those who have the most to lose.” Even more questionable are some of the interpretations. The Newburgh incident was by no stretch of the imagination “the most dangerous hour the United States has ever known.” It was the officer corps, not the soldiery that threatened mutiny—something never clear in the narrative—and a civil war was unlikely even if the officers had revolted. One must also question a statement that Yorktown was “the greatest defeat which the European aristocratic way of life had so far ever suffered.”

In the final analysis, the massive detail and long quotations obscure rather than illuminate the man. Flexner’s Washington, like all the rest, is still a stick figure, an oil portrait and a mass of correspondence walking jerkily across a great epoch. This generation still needs its biography. Perhaps only when a historian agrees to brave the slurs of his colleagues and use the tools of other disciplines will a more powerful and accurate picture emerge. George Washington still remains hidden, as much to us as he did to his contemporaries.

City College of the City University of New York Richard H. Kohn


For this well-balanced and analytical biography of Richard Henry Lee, Professor Chitwood can be thanked for filling a gap in the literature of the American Revolution. Until now the only full-length life of Lee was a rather inadequate volume written by Lee’s grandson and published in 1825. Professor Chitwood hopes his biography will revive interest in Lee and win for him greater recognition as an American statesman. He rightfully emphasizes Lee’s career before and during the War for Independence when as a Virginia radical he was in the forefront of the contest with the mother country.

Lee, as Professor Chitwood shows, took a prominent part in the movement for American independence. After certain counties in Virginia manifested a desire for independence, a resolution was adopted by a state convention which directed the Virginia delegates in Congress to propose a declaration of independence. Consequently on June 7, 1776, Lee offered his
famous resolution which resulted in the adoption of the Declaration of Independence a few weeks later.

In Congress Lee labored ceaselessly to advance the interest of the new nation. As a member of the committee on foreign affairs Lee became concerned in the touchy problem caused by Silas Deane’s rather wholesale enlistment of French officers for the American army. Soon Lee was at odds with anyone who maligned his brother Arthur, a rather testy American agent at the French Court. Deane became the principal target for the Lees although Franklin as one of Deane’s supporters came in for his share of criticism. In the course of events Lee was accused of being the center of the so-called “Conway Cabal” against Washington. Professor Chitwood discounts this and holds that Lee was never disloyal to Washington and that there was no conspiracy to relieve the latter of his command. Later, Lee sympathized with General Charles Lee (no relation to the Lees of Virginia) out of a feeling the General had been unjustly censured following the Battle of Monmouth. This, too, Professor Chitwood feels does not mean that Lee was anti-Washington.

After his support of national unity during the war, Lee came to fear the development of a powerful federal government. He opposed the five percent tax for Congress at the end of the war, partly from fear of Congressional power, and partly, it would seem, from his dislike of Robert Morris, the initiator of the plan. Regarding this, Edmund Randolph thought that Lee’s character for malice confirmed the suspicion.

In 1785, while again in Congress, Lee favored a clause in the land ordinance offering support for a union of church and state. To Madison this smelled strongly of “antiquated Bigotry.” It was at this time, too, that Lee voted against a provision prohibiting slavery in the western territories. That Lee had become a thoroughgoing reactionary may be gathered from Professor Chitwood’s coverage of the postwar years.

After the Federal Constitution was adopted Lee tried to defeat its confirmation in Virginia on the grounds that it threatened the liberties of the people. With the support of Patrick Henry who wished to thwart Madison’s election, Lee was elected to the Senate of the first Congress. Senator William Maclay of Pennsylvania felt that Lee was determined to undermine the Constitution at all costs. “If I really wished to destroy the new Constitution, . . . I would follow exactly the line of conduct which [Lee] has pursued,” wrote Maclay. Lee’s most formidable assault on the powers of Congress occurred when he opposed federal duties, while advocating the principle of requisitions which had wrecked the government under the Articles of Confederation.

By this brief review, it should be apparent that Professor Chitwood has written a penetrating study that will place it among the more important biographies for the Revolutionary period. The main criticism may be that Professor Chitwood is too sympathetic with Lee who cannot be classed with statesmen of the caliber of Jefferson or Madison.

The evolution of musical instruments is a fascinating subject involving a high degree of artistic and technological interaction, and as such deserves to be better known among historians. As the largest and most complicated of such instruments, pipe organs are of special interest and significance. In this well-researched and informative book, William H. Armstrong has recounted the career of the most important early American organ builder, David Tannenberg, and in doing so has not only made a contribution to the history of music but has also increased our knowledge of how various European arts and technical skills were transplanted to the New World. His study should appeal to anyone who is interested in the formative period of American culture.

David Tannenberg, born in 1728 of Moravian parents who had fled to the estate of Count Zinzendorf in Saxony to escape persecution for their faith, emigrated to America in 1749 with a group of co-religionists who settled in the area of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. Here he came to know Johann Gottlob Klemm, an organ builder who had probably learned his trade from one of the greatest practitioners of the art, Gottfried Silbermann of Dresden, Germany. Becoming Klemm's assistant, Tannenberg absorbed his craft and also derived valuable knowledge from such sources as a theoretical and mathematical treatise on "The Secret Art of the Measurement of Organ Pipes" which had been sent in manuscript form to some friends in Pennsylvania by the German organist Georg Andreas Serge. Becoming a master in his own right following the death of Klemm in 1762, Tannenberg launched upon a career which lasted into the early nineteenth century. His creations included at least forty-one organs for congregations ranging from Albany, New York, to Salem, North Carolina, in addition to a number of instruments upon which he collaborated with other builders. From 1765 onward, his home and workshop were located in the town of Lititz, which boasted a musical culture of unusual distinction among early American communities. He died in 1804 while installing his last organ at Christ Lutheran Church in York.

In reviewing the details of Tannenberg's life, Armstrong casts interesting light on many customs of the Moravians, who regulated the everyday conduct of their members to a degree that would seem intolerable today. He also presents some poignant and revealing material about the plight of a pacifist religious minority caught up in the turbulence of the American Revolution and suffering patiently for its beliefs. But he rightfully places chief emphasis upon the magnificent instruments which Tannenberg created, of which at least eleven still survive. Twenty-two illustrations and a detailed listing of all the organs which Tannenberg made or helped to make, with stop specifications and other data wherever available, further enhance the value of this careful and authoritative study.

Lovers of organ music must lament that Tannenberg's largest instrument, built for Philadelphia's Zion Lutheran Church in 1790, was destroyed
by fire only four years later. But they can still hear other surviving specimens of his art, including his splendid final opus at York, which has been restored and is now on display at the York County Historical Society's museum in that city. I am greatly indebted to the Society for allowing me to play it during the Summer of 1968, providing me with one of the highlights of my vacation. Those unable to visit York can hear the instrument's bright, sturdy tones on a recording of American organ music (Columbia MS-6161) by E. Power Biggs, who also contributes to Armstrong's book a foreword lucidly explaining the superiority of the techniques used by the organ builders of Tannenberg's day. These methods, perfected in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by such European masters as Arp Schnitger and the Silbermann brothers, and transplanted to America by men like Klemm and Tannenberg, are enjoying a renaissance in our own time, thanks to the devoted efforts of scholars and musicians including Albert Schweitzer and Biggs himself. Thus, much to our delight, the heritage of David Tannenberg and his fellow artists remains alive.

State University of New York at Buffalo
W. David Lewis


This volume, by a Professor Emeritus of Art History at the Pennsylvania State University, is a thoughtful, attractive survey of four of the major visual arts during the first fifty years of the American republic. Made up of almost equal parts of text and illustrations, the volume consists of four essays on architecture, painting, prints, and sculpture organized chronologically around topical themes sensitively interpreted against a background of social history. The result is a broad, comfortably viewed panorama which offers the student of American culture not familiar with its history a rich perspective on the early Republican era.

In two different ways the volume serves a double purpose. It is a catalog of a temporary exhibition of early American art held at the William Hayes Ackland Memorial Art Center in Chapel Hill in November, 1968; and it is a readable period survey that should be useful to many persons unaware of its origin. In the second place, as the title and sub-title suggest, it is both a survey of art during the young republic and a salute to William Dunlap who published a two-volume History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States in 1834. The book adopts the topical scope of Dunlap's volumes, the cut-off date of his publication, and the spirit of his undertaking without trying in any detail to parallel his organization or evaluate his conclusions.

Arts of the Young Republic begins with the commissioning of Jefferson's Virginia State Capitol at Richmond in 1785 and closes with the commissioning of Greenough's marble statue of Washington in 1832. Emphasis is not so much on the chronological development of styles and regional schools as on "the growth of the fine arts, now for the first time functioning as an
integral element of the national culture.” Developing public interest in art, expanding opportunities for the artist, increasing professionalism and expertise that closed the gap between the quality of work done in the United States and abroad are deftly suggested, while the social forces behind these developments are kept constantly in view—transatlantic influences transmitted through American artists returning from study in Europe, and European artists working here, the effect of the new classicism, the romantic view of nature, the fresh wave of nationalism that accompanied the War of 1812, and Jacksonian Democracy; the establishment of the new national capital, the cult of George Washington, and the opening of the Erie Canal.

Painting receives the most space. Major themes are the growth of academies, of public exhibitions and government commissions; the social forces underlying the fortunes of history painting, portraiture, landscape, still life, and genre. A pleasant surprise is that the second longest treatment is given to the rise of printmaking. The uses of line engraving, the mezzotint, the aquatint, and especially the lithograph are traced, and the growth of public interest in “pictorial metaphor,” representations of heroes and heroic events, city views, scenic views, “architectural portraits,” and political cartoons. A good case is made for the judgment that printmaking was “the liveliest of the arts of the time, quickly and clearly reflecting aspects of the national development while satisfying the picture-loving customer.”

Main themes in the discussion of architecture include the growing professionalism of architects, the expanding need for governmental buildings at the national, state, and municipal levels; the multiplying commissions for banks, commercial structures, churches, colleges, and residences. Against the main thrust of “the ideal of classic grandeur” are noted “Adam Classicism,” the Greek Revival, and the “neo-Medieval.” The section on sculpture, judged “the most retarded field of the arts of the early United States,” is the briefest.

The intent to present a popular rather than an academic work is borne out by the absence of footnote references, bibliography, and a list of illustrations. There are quotations from contemporary judgments by Dunlap and John Neal, and from recent evaluations by E. P. Richardson, James T. Flexner, Alan Gowans, Nikolaous Pevsner, William Murrell and Harry T. Peters which some readers might like to locate, but the loss is forgiven for the gains. There are a checklist of lenders to the exhibition and an index of artists. The 194 black and white illustrations, nearly half of which are full-page plates, are generally good but uneven: the photographs of the North Carolina State Capitol by Town-Davis, and of the Roman Catholic Cathedral at Baltimore by Latrobe utterly fail to convey the qualities stressed in the text, while that of The Woodlands, William Hamilton’s home overlooking the Schuylkill River, is displeasingly dark. Many readers will probably miss the convenience of plates incorporated into the text.

Dr. Dickson does not offer significant new facts or new judgments about individual works of art or artists. However, what he does offer is of
first-rate importance—a first-time summary of the major arts of one of
the most important periods in our national development presented in such
depth that the student will be able to form judgments of his own. He will
almost surely agree with Joseph C. Sloane's opinion, stated in the Foreword,
that "it is honestly remarkable that there was so much fine American art
available to establish her identity as a nation," and he will have the ma-
terials with which to weigh Mr. Sloane's more intriguing judgment that
"the arts of the United States at their best were as good as all but the
very finest in Europe." The Arts of the Young Republic is written with
clarity and force, with self-confidence and insight. It illustrates not only
the value of period studies of the arts (not too common), and the special
cumulative value of treating simultaneously several of the arts and their
interrelationships, but also the importance of exhibitions designed to result
in readable culture studies.

Winterthur Museum

E. McClung Fleming

James Truslow Adams: Historian of the American Dream. Edited by Allan

This affectionate memoir with selected correspondence is an engrossing,
valuable, yet depressing work. The sadness lies in that while Adams always
worked extremely hard writing, editing, or contributing to over thirty
titles, he published his major contributions relatively early in his career.
By 1930 his New England trilogy, Provincial Society, and The Adams
Family, works which built Adams' reputation, had already appeared. While
most of his subsequent works educated mass audiences and proved financially
lucrative, they did little for his image as a leading historian. The tragedy
is that Adams with his prodigious energy, superb narrative skill, and out-
standing capacity for fresh interpretation did not turn to a new theme
worthy of his talent but frittered away his gifts on a number of potboiling
schemes. Though he needed to do some potboiling, he was overly concerned
with his and particularly his young wife's security.

Adams' family life and early training no doubt contributed to his anxiety.
Born into a prominent family (not related to the New England Adamses),
he had a great-great-grandfather who was a friend and neighbor of Wash-
ington and grandfathers who amassed fortunes in New York. His father
was not rich but merely comfortable and was consequently a bitter, morose
man whose economizing kept Adams at home attending Brooklyn Poly-
technic Institute rather than going away to an Ivy League college. Acutely
aware of what it meant to live without wealth, Adams sought it; and
when thirty-five retired to write having already garnered on Wall Street a
modest fortune of $100,000. Though successful, he was too scholarly,
contemplative, and sensitive to be at home in the business world. Shy and
retiring (dreading public speaking), he also avoided an academic connec-
tion. For the rest of his life he derived his income from his savings and
writing. Scholarly work, however, did not pay well. He never forgave
the Macmillan Company for paying contributors to the History of Amer-
PENNSYLVANIA HISTORY

ican Life series a mere $1,000, which barely paid his research expenditures. But his *Epic of America* did earn $80,000 and in time he commanded $500 for each magazine article, so that Adams, who paid $13,000 in taxes in 1933 and $6,000 in 1939, only imagined himself to be under financial pressure. Yet if this volume reveals something poignant in Adams' failure to utilize to the utmost his gifts, it also records his considerable accomplishments as a historian and emphasizes his honesty, independence, respectability, humanity, and fundamental decency. He was also a very lonely man, who did not achieve happiness and freedom from a domineering sister until he married when almost fifty.

The most significant portion (about two-thirds) of this volume is a generous sampling of Adams' extensive correspondence. Most of these letters (written from 1918 to 1947) are to and from Allan Nevins, M. A. DeWolfe Howe, and Worthington C. Ford; but his correspondents also include Jan Smuts, Fiorello H. LaGuardia, Burton K. Wheeler, Wilbur Cross, William Allen White, Nicholas Murray Butler, Van Wyck Brooks, Claude Bowers, Carl Becker, and Lawrence Henry Gipson. The letters detail Adams' working methods and the economics of publishing works of history, and they repeat gossip and anecdotes about publishers, editors, historians, and public figures. Although Adams liked Albert Boni and Scribner's for their generosity, he had little use for the publishing houses of Macmillan; Little, Brown; Houghton, Mifflin. Adams, furthermore, did not take criticism well, particularly if it came from Ph.D.'s connected with universities; unfavorable reviews provoked him to accuse Carl Becker of inaccuracy, to inquire about the "Assoc. Prof. [J. R.] Strayer who wrote such a fiendishly nasty review about me," and to refuse an invitation to tea from Arthur M. Schlesinger. Indeed, Adams regarded both Schlesinger and Dixon Ryan Fox, editors of the unprofitable (for Adams) *History of American Life* series as experts in American history but uncultivated "barbarians."

Less amusing but more engrossing and important than Adams' prejudices are the perceptive observations Adams exchanged with his circle of friends located in Boston, New York, Washington, London, and Paris. Adams in 1926, for example, predicted the collapse of the boom in two or three years. After marrying in 1927, the Adamses spent most of their next nine years in London, where he ground out copy at a prodigious rate and kept a wary eye on European and American developments. Though his private life was happy, politics at home and on the continent discouraged him. A financial conservative who hated inflation and believed in a balanced budget, Adams abandoned Roosevelt after initially supporting him. To Nevins' comment that Roosevelt "kept the country moving," Adams retorted "he has given it diarrhoea." But the rise of Hitler and the coming of World War II overshadowed all else, and Adams strongly supported Roosevelt's moves to aid Britain. Throughout the selected correspondence are letters by eyewitnesses that evoke the spirit of the times. Will D. Howe on March 9, 1933, captures the country's "stunned" condition during the first days of
the New Deal, while Worthington C. Ford describes Paris under “alerte”
during the early days of World War II.

In editing this volume Allan Nevins skillfully plays the dual role of histori-
ian and friend. By being not only appreciative but also judiciously critical
when the occasion demands it, Nevins has enhanced both his own reputation
and that of his dear friend James Truslow Adams.

Brooklyn College of The City University of New York

Ari Hoogenboom

Lords of the Loom: The Cotton Whigs and the Coming of the Civil War.


Pp. 214. $7.50.)

The Civil War remains a pivotal point in our national experience, repre-
senting as it does the breakdown of a federal system which had existed in
uneasy equilibrium for almost a century. The reasons for this breakdown
will be explored as long as historians ask the question why. As in the
decades before 1861, there are today extremism, violence, and strife—and
impatience with the slow process of politics. Again we ask who—moderates
or extremists—will prevail, and whether in certain types of situations dis-
order, violence, and civil strife do not seem inherent to American society.

Relying, most importantly, on the activities and correspondence of cotton
textile manufacturers in Massachusetts in the decades before Fort Sumter,
Professor Thomas O'Connor, Chairman of the History Department of
Boston College, has told of the failure of a group of intelligent and
politically active moderates who were crushed by the extremism of the
1850's. He has told the story clearly, interestingly, and well, making clear
how certain business leaders sought to halt the rush to the abyss of civil
conflict and thus acted as a force for peace rather than war. Quite rightly
he deplores the comparative neglect of the role of business leaders in the
history of antebellum America, particularly the treatment of conservative
Northern Whigs “as a group of ossified Brahmins,” and approves of
Parrington's admonition to consider both “the Puritan and the Yankee”
as “the two halves of the New England” mind.

O'Connor's study is based on extensive use of manuscript sources (espe-
cially those in the Massachusetts Historical Society), newspapers, printed
primary sources, and basic secondary materials. For background, there is an
excellent brief account of the industrialization of New England and of the
growth of the Boston merchant aristocracy. This is followed by a discussion
of the decline of the Cotton Whigs in the face of the rise of the younger
Conscience Whigs. (Throughout the author makes abundantly clear why
politics should be studied at the state and regional levels.)

The volume concludes with a concise summary of the argument. Here
we are told of the Cotton Whigs that “the very fact of their efforts is
historically significant,” showing “quite clearly that at least one influential
portion of the North did not regard the economic differences between the
North and the South as essentially divergent or necessarily antithetical.”
While personally opposed to slavery, “time and time again they demon-
strated their willingness to forego their personal convictions in order to maintain the political unity and economic stability of the nation." This, we are assured, was not basically due to selfish reasons "but to an overwhelming desire to preserve the constitutional structure of the American Union—as he saw it." Since the willingness of the Northern industrialist to compromise with the South did not permit him to support policies which might lead to the spread of slavery, the Kansas-Nebraska Act produced—through emigrant aid societies—a major involvement, with the result that:

For the first time in more than twenty years, the business community of the Northeast had departed from its traditional position of strict neutrality to take a direct and active part in the struggle to prevent the expansion of slavery into the territories.

The nativist American Party proved only a way-station in the efforts of the Cotton Whigs to maintain an independent position between northern and southern extremes and to prevent the "polarization of political views" based on "geographical divisions." John Brown's raid "brought the hopes of conservatives crashing down upon their heads." The Constitutional Union party, launched in Massachusetts, also failed. Thus: "As far as the cotton manufacturer was concerned, the Civil War came about despite his efforts—certainly not because of them...." In part the failure was due to a lack of cooperation among the merchants of Northern cities; Professor O'Connor strongly implies that had common cause been made, peace might have been maintained and the Civil War avoided. To the very end, certainly, powerful business elements worked toward conciliation. But whether the combined efforts of business leaders could have forestalled a conflict which was the product of so many diverse forces must remain anybody's guess.

In discussions of politics the word of the hour today in many quarters is "relevance." Professor O'Connor's study has much that is relevant to say about a basic situation which involves the impact of moral issues on politics, and the tendency for extremism to dominate men's minds in times of crisis. This is a meaningful and sobering account of a subject of major importance.

Muhlenberg College

JOHN J. REED


This is a collection of twelve essays on the "age of industrialism" and "social structure and cultural values." The essays are examples of the "new" history in the sense that many of the authors use the concepts and language of the behavioral sciences and economics. (One contributor, an economist, apparently unaware of the prejudices of historians, even included mathematical formulas!) Their quality naturally varies, but the range between the best and the worst is considerably wider than in most works of this type.

To this reviewer, two of the essays stand well above the rest. In a case study of Paterson, New Jersey, Herbert G. Gutman focuses on the rela-
tions between the new industrialists of the 1870's and the older, established residents. Gutman contends that, contrary to the usual assumption, economic power was not easily translated into social and political power. The factory owner, at least in Paterson, “met with unexpected opposition from non-industrial property owners, did not dominate the local political structure, and learned that the middle and professional classes did not automatically accept his leadership and idolize his achievements.” The Paterson experience deserves careful attention and should be compared with the experiences of other cities. Indeed, if there is a chink in Gutman’s armor, it is that he draws too much from the experience of a single city. Equally stimulating is an essay by David Brody on the professionalization of American trade union leaders. Brody argues that pure and simple unionism and the American social milieu led to the rise of full-time professional labor leaders, men who were versed in the mechanics of bargaining and who had the political savoir faire to keep their constituents satisfied. The union hierarchy, moreover, offered real opportunities for upward mobility.

Of the other papers, none is of comparable quality, although a number deserve special mention. Richard Weiss’ analysis of Horatio Alger’s yearnings for a simpler past is fascinating, but will tell most historians little they did not already know or suspect. Ari Hoogenboom’s detailed study of the membership of the United States Senate will surely evoke the reader’s admiration, for the author has gone to great pains to accumulate a wealth of information about the men who served in the upper house of Congress. But, alas, after examining a variety of personal characteristics of Senate members, he finds that “the impact of industrialism has been remarkably small” and the senators of 1940 differed little from those of 1860. David Reimer describes the reaction of the Protestant churches to social change; his main theme—the rise and fall of the social gospel—will surprise few readers. Editor Jaher’s contribution, an analysis of the changing attitudes and activities of the Boston Brahmins in the nineteenth century, is long and overburdened with quotations, but should be read by historians interested in the fate of early nineteenth century economic leaders. Essays by Leonard Dinnerstein on Atlanta in the progressive era, Gunther Barth on “metropolitanism” in San Francisco and Denver, and John G. Cawalti on the World’s Fairs of 1876, 1893, and 1933, offer new and useful information on their subjects but suffer from the same defect: the authors assert more than their evidence warrants. Their findings may be sound, but their conclusions are unconvincing on the basis of what is presented.

Finally there are several essays, unfortunately grouped at the beginning of the book, which contribute little to the volume. Included in this category are papers on immigration and the Negro, notably only because they contain more than the usual number of pejoratives in describing the evils of industrialism, and an essay on economic growth “under laissez faire,” which is more of a commentary on current writing on economic growth than an analysis of historical developments and is embarrassingly out of place in this volume.

The inclusion of an article on economic growth also raises questions about
the theme of the book itself. Though the subtitle "essays in social structure and cultural values" is supposed to tell the reader what the "age of industrialism in America" is really about, the editor's concern that his book contain nothing about industrialism per se apparently led him to try to cover his tracks with the essay on economic growth. But if industrialism—and not just the response to it—is to be studied, why are there no essays on technology or entrepreneurship or business administration? This conflict will annoy those persistent individuals who read the book from cover to cover. For the majority who have less time and patience, the essays listed above, especially those by Gutman and Brody, will provide new information and occasional insights.

Eleutherian Mills Historical Library

DANIEL M. NELSON


Richard O'Connor's expressed purpose is "to attempt a discovery of what social and historical impact the German-American has made on the United States—admittedly not as a scholarly exercise, because the author leaves that task to the academic historians and social scientists, but as an informal inquiry into the subject."

O'Connor does this, and more. The book is an interesting, informal, but authentic presentation of men and events, combining history, narrative, biography, characterization, and influence. It is more than a mere enumeration of outstanding names or a recital of events. Under striking titles and subtitles the narrative skill of the author weaves the varied contents into a product which reads almost as fluently as a novel. German emigration to America, Zenger and freedom of the press, the Pietists and "A Goodly Life in the Wilderness," the Germans and the American Revolution, Herkimer and "My Wounds Stink," Carl Schurz and the Forty-eighthers, the Irish and the Germans, the German opposition to slavery, entrepreneurs like Astor and Spreckels, "Angel Voices in the Wilderness" and Rapp, the feeling between German and Russian Jews, the prestige of Germany after the Franco-Prussian War and "The Pursuit of Excellence," German Gemütlichkeit and joviality, the eccentric Schaefer who stole first base and the ingenious Steinmetz who sent Ford an unusual bill, Marx and German-American "radicals"—these and other materials O'Connor weaves into a total picture.

The two major parts of the book are called: (I) Settlers and Citizens; (II) Citizens and Dissidents. To O'Connor German history on the continent is a "study in the process of assimilation," for, says he, "No other minority has so vigorously spanned the ethnic rainbow." He has covered well the period of the two world conflicts, especially World War I, which Albert B. Faust obviously could not include in his two volumes, The German Element in the United States (1909). The attempts by many German-Americans to keep the United States neutral in the war against the Central Powers were all of one piece with the story of much earlier efforts to
establish a New Germany here, for Germany still seemed to be the spiritual home of many Germans in America. “Within the hours it took to bring the United States into the war [World War I], German-Americanism disappeared forever.” “If assimilation is the goal of all minorities, the German-Americans have succeeded beyond all others,” avers the author.

But this reviewer must say that the Pennsylvania-Germans had decided to become Americans through and through long before the two World Wars. Since O’Connor uses the term Pennsylvania-Germans for some specific German-Americans, he must be quite aware of such a category. It seems to this reviewer that the failure to make a pointed, clear distinction from the beginning of the book through definition and otherwise, is a weakness in the presentation, for now and then it reduces the accuracy of the author’s assertions. There is a marked difference, for example, in the characteristics and attitudes of those Germans who came here before the first decade of the nineteenth century (before 1808), plus their numerous descendants, and those who belonged to the Forty-eighters, the Turner groups and others. The term Pennsylvania-German neither includes all the Germans who reside in Pennsylvania nor excludes those who live outside the state.

It is rather surprising that in the “Bibliography” O’Connor lists only Ann Hark’s Hex Marks the Spot for his Pennsylvania-German source. One would expect to see there at least a listing of Fredric Klées’ The Pennsylvania Dutch (Macmillan, 1950), a minimum essential for information on the ethnic group. He does include Mittelberger’s Journey to Pennsylvania. No wonder he strongly associates “a fascination with the occult” with the Pennsylvania-Germans and links “hex” signs on barns with an effort “to ward off witchcraft,” even though the designs, lacking their primitive symbolism, have long since become mere decorations, “chust for nice.”

O’Connor states incorrectly that the “Bible readings [by the Amish] are conducted in Pennsylvania Dutch, a Low German dialect.” It is rather the High German Bible they read—with a dialect influence in pronunciation and intonation, to be sure. Pennsylvania German, popularly called Pennsylvania Dutch, is definitely not a Low German dialect: it is a High German Mundart, basically the Rheinpfälzisch spoken in the Rhenish Palatinate and the Oberrhein. Another false transfer is made when Bertold Brecht’s fictional heroine of the Thirty Years’ War, Mother Courage, is shifted to the Hundred Years’ War. Misspellings and incorrect accents could have been caught if O’Connor’s text had been proofread by one familiar with the German language.

In spite of some defects O’Connor’s The German-Americans is worthwhile reading, informational and generally authoritative. On the very first page the reader senses the author’s quality of expressiveness and interesting imagery when the latter characterizes “A Nation of Migrants” in Chapter 1: “Not the menacing Prussian eagle but the Wandervogel is the German national bird. The German is a migratory creature.”

Susquehanna University

Russell W. Gilbert

Katz's biography of Belmont, for all its merit, is restricted by its narrow political interest. The decision to write a political biography may have been a matter of choice or partly determined by the limited quantity of information that Katz had to work with, but whatever the cause, it becomes evident in reading this more than respectable effort to follow Belmont's political career that the dimensions that the behavioral sciences offer to the biographer may not be ignored with impunity, particularly if the author allows himself the freedom to assess his subject's motivations and goals.

Belmont served as chairman of the Democratic National Committee through the most discouraging period of the party's history, from 1860, beginning with the candidacy of Stephen Douglas, until 1868 when the party, emulating the Liberal Republicans, acquiesced in the bizarre candidacy of Horace Greeley for the presidency. The value of this book is in the view that it offers of the anguish of the party of Jefferson and Jackson during the Civil War and Reconstruction from the vantage point of its national chairman. It provides insights into the frustrations of a loyal Democrat, who was also loyal to the Union. Between presidential elections of 1860 and 1864, Belmont, in an informal way, used his European connections in the service of Lincoln's administration by adding to its fund of knowledge on the state of public opinion regarding the Civil War in England and France and by explaining the administration's purpose and resolve to highly-placed Europeans. While these efforts were of little practical consequence on either side of the ocean, they offer insights into the torment of Unionist Democrats who opposed the peace wing within their own party and were merely tolerated as the loyal opposition by an administration which was, however, grateful for its loyalty. Belmont was a Unionist along with so many other New York merchants and bankers when the threat of secession loomed; he was a reunionist and an adversary of Black Republicanism during reconstruction. Clearly, as Katz indicates, if Belmont learned anything in politics, it was how to accept defeat.

Missing in this study, however, is any serious discussion of Belmont's career as a banker, although the reader is never allowed to forget that banking provided Belmont with both the resources and leisure for his political activity. Contemporaries never dissociated Belmont's career in international banking from his political activities, and frequently commented on it in anti-Semitic language in the style of Horace Greeley. The fact is that Belmont, in association with the Rothschilds, was part of the early development of the North Atlantic economic community in which Prime, Ward, and King; Nevins, Townsend; Baring Brothers; Lloyds, and many other banking firms were involved. A reasonably extended discussion of this important aspect of American economic development and Belmont's part in it seems justified under the circumstances. There is slight analysis, if frequent reference, to Belmont's position and to the prevailing schizophrenia in the Democratic party on the question of money in the postwar
Belmont responded as a banker to the soft money "heresy" of mid-Western Democrats, and as a politician, in 1872, he viewed the vice-presidential nomination of Congressman Pendleton, spokesman of the soft money forces, and running mate of Horatio Seymour, an eastern hard money advocate, as partisan madness. All this Katz points out, but for an analysis of the issues behind this portion of the narrative, the reader will have to turn to Sharkey, Unger and Cohen.

Katz missed a significant sociological theme that Belmont's contemporaries should have goaded him to consider, namely, that of the Jew in Christian America. How successfully Belmont made the transition from a German synagogue to the Church of the Ascension in New York City, how he maintained himself in his family in relation to his wife, children and in-laws, as well as among friends, when despite conversion, he was the frequent target of Christian intolerance, are questions that are never considered. This is an omitted non-political dimension, perhaps, beyond the scope of Katz's interest, or for which he lacked information. In any case, it points up the narrow restrictions of a political biography by raising the general question of the limitations of Katz's methodology. For example, Katz concludes that Belmont's "most passionate concern" was the survival of the Democratic party. The passions of men take different forms and objectives, determined by their personalities, and by rational and irrational drives that they are subject to in varying degrees. It is conceivable that in Belmont's case he was driven toward achieving the objective that Katz indicated, but it will take a deeper analysis of Belmont's personality before Katz's conclusion is generally accepted.

This book has other, more substantial, claims for the attention of scholars. In following the political career of Belmont, Katz illuminates the travail and frustration of the Democratic party during the Civil War and Reconstruction, when it became, for many Americans, "the party of treason." Its survival, nevertheless, as a political institution capable of meeting the needs of a segment of the American people is a major aspect of Katz's account of Belmont's political history, and for this reason, above all, this book merits serious attention.

University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee

NATHAN MILLER


Biography, at least individual biography, has definite limits. The author is constantly fighting against his own ego-involvement in his subject and his life and is striving, not always successfully, to avoid being an apologist for him. Gene Lewis's biography of Charles Ellet (1810-1862), canal, bridge, and railroad engineer, though highly readable and entertaining, at times comes dangerously close to biography's pitfalls. Fortunately for history, Lewis is hauled back from the precipice of panegyric time and time again by the obvious fact that, whatever his accomplishments, Ellet was an arrogant, supercilious, and thoroughly disagreeable person to deal with.
professionally. Another major problem of biography, that of historical context, is often slighted or misread by the author, so that a person not knowledgeable concerning nineteenth-century American engineering and engineers might come away with some misleading impressions. Some examples are in order.

Lewis begins his book with the "forgotten man" introduction, explaining that although Ellet was an undoubted genius, he has somehow been relegated to the dustbin of history. Lewis makes much of Ellet's meager family background and lack of education, but does not point out that most engineers of his time were from generally comparable backgrounds and learned their "trade" on the job. Actually Ellet's trip to Europe may have given him a potentially better background than many of his contemporaries. His unstable nature, Lewis tells us, led him to shine as an innovator, but he was unable to act as administrator and finish the projects he so spectacularly initiated. But we are not told whether or not this was a common pattern to civil engineers in his time or whether Ellet was unique in this.

The classic controversies in Ellet's life centered around his attempts to introduce the suspension bridge into America, an endeavor in which he was undoubtedly a pioneer. It is here that Lewis the biographer fails Lewis the historian, however. Ellet's bridge designs were not good; his Wheeling suspension bridge did collapse and was rebuilt by John Roebling; Ellet did make a mess of the Niagara suspension bridge affair and progress was made only when Roebling took over the project. Yet the book makes us see Roebling as the opportunist, rather than the sound designer and practical administrator that he was.

It seems clear that Ellet is not within the American engineering tradition. He was quick to pull rank or superior knowledge on inferiors and equals alike, a most undemocratic posture. He sought an exalted, almost totally design-oriented role for the engineer, a role that was not provided in antebellum America where concrete and practical accomplishment were valued over elegancies of conception. All this plus ill health produced an unhappy, frustrated man. It is here that Lewis is at his best, in his description of Ellet's family life and personal problems.

Ellet's tragic end came as the result of his last innovation, steam rams for naval combat. After several years of trying to convince the government and the military that such rams were a military necessity, Ellet was finally permitted to build some, which may have been decisive in the river battle which led to the capture of Memphis in 1862. Here Ellet displayed a practicality seldom seen before. He managed to build the steam rams, improvising freely, in an incredibly short time under duress and rode one of them into battle, during which he was wounded and died shortly thereafter. Ironically, Ellet got in step with the American tempo and style only on the eve of his death. For most of his life he tried to act a European engineer's role in a vastly different American context.

All in all, the book does contribute to our knowledge, since it is the only biography of Ellet. It should definitely be read in conjunction with other
works, such as Daniel Calhoun's *The American Civil Engineer*, from which Lewis quotes freely. The work is clearly written, well documented, but unfortunately does not have a good index. The facts are there, but one sometimes has to read between the lines to find the proper interpretation and context.

*University of Pennsylvania*  

MONTE A. CALVERT