
Though Pennsylvania must be labelled urban in terms of population, many Americans—victims of false impression and extreme generalization—regard the state as an unending vista of skyscrapers and steel mills. Pennsylvanians themselves sometimes fail to appreciate the rural charm of their own state. The author notes, with a degree of sadness, the example of people who have sought escape from a Pittsburgh environment by building a cottage in Ireland, when they could have found a region of quiet beauty without leaving the state of Pennsylvania.

Dr. Stevens feels that literature about Pennsylvania has contributed to the situation by failing to deal with the great variety to be found in the Pennsylvania landscape, and the main purpose of his book is to emphasize the wide range of experience offered by this commonwealth. He describes in brief, pithy vignettes a wide variety of Pennsylvania phenomena, including glimpses of several regions of the state (for example, the valley of the upper Susquehanna), historic sites such as the Daniel Boone homestead, steel mill and city scenes, Penn State’s Nittany Lion, dairy farming, the Amish, a Russian Orthodox Church in the Anthracite Region, the old Searights Toll House, Old Economy, Elfreth’s Alley (the oldest occupied street with original residences in the country), Glenn Burn mine, Frank Lloyd Wright’s masterpiece at Bear Run, and many more. Each section is illustrated with photographs, many of which are in full color. Karl Rath, who did most of the color photography, George F. Johnson, and other photographers, have produced illustrations characterized by as much variety and beauty as Pennsylvania itself.

Dr. Stevens grew up on a farm in Potter County in northern Pennsylvania, was graduated from Penn State University and received a Ph.D. from Columbia University. After eleven years of history teaching at Penn State, he was state historian of Pennsylvania for another nineteen years, and since 1956 has been executive director of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. He has written a dozen books on Pennsylvania and its history. And he loves his native state. It would be difficult therefore to find a subject and an author more suited to each other. Whether describing a historic site, an industry, a region, or farm chores, he speaks with knowledge and experience.

It should be noted, however, that despite this background, this is not a history of Pennsylvania, but a series of glimpses of the state as it is today and, in the author’s words, as it “hopefully will continue to be.” And
yet it is not "chamber of commerce" literature, which is usually a bit more hurried and slightly antiseptic, though any chamber of commerce would be fortunate to possess a work of this quality.

Five dollars and ninety-five cents may seem to be a fairly high price for a book of ninety-four pages, but color photography is expensive and the unit cost of limited editions (which I assume this to be) is always higher. If this book were produced in a paperback edition in large quantity, the unit cost would drop, and the book could be widely distributed (perhaps by the state itself), thus offering to additional readers these fine literary and photographic descriptions of a great state.

New York State Historical Association

Empire and Interest; The American Colonies and the Politics of Mercantilism, By Michael Kammen. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1970. Pp. 186. $4.95. $2.95 Paper.)

This small book, greatly influenced by Namier and Bailyn, breaks significant new ground. An example of a "new analytic materialism"—to use J. H. Plumb's words—it seeks to explain British imperial economy in terms of "interests": economic, religious, social, local, bureaucratic. Although the enormous difficulty in defining their scale, organization, and influence is obvious, the groups Professor Kammen names had a significant impact on British policy, domestic and imperial, from the Restoration to about 1800. How did this happen? How particularly did "interests" contribute to the disruption of the First British Empire? Kammen's answer, in broad terms, states that mercantilism, highly organized in theory, but loosely administered in practice, called forth groups working to influence official policy. Their success or failure depended directly upon the strength or weakness of the government at any given point in time.

In Kammen's judgment, Namier's interpretation depends too greatly on the interweaving of family and parliamentary groupings. Sir Lewis thus misses, it is said, the more dynamic elements in public life, the broader "interests": regional, national, and imperial, which were more substantial and important in the determination of imperial policy than Namier's categories. Among the fifty or so Kammen examines several types emerge: religious, social, and political; organized and informal. Examples are furnished by the City of London, the Corporations of Brickmakers, and of Soapmakers, the shipbuilders, the great trading companies, and various colonial interests which frequently overlapped and fed into groups based on the Mother Country.

By the 1740's a fundamental change was evident. Whereas in the last thirty years of the seventeenth century and the first thirty years of the eighteenth, economic and social "interests" aiming to dominate official policy were effectively put aside during periods of international crisis, this ceased to be the case after 1739. A preview was furnished by Sir Robert Walpole's stinging defeat at the hands of the merchants in the excise controversy of 1733. Between the Treaties of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) and
of Paris (1763) a portentous "transformation" occurred, Kammen argues. Rejecting Professor Lawrence Gipson's picture of a tranquil, stable empire at mid-century, he detects a process of "interest fragmentation, realignment, and aggressive behavior" preparing the familiar political instability under George III. It was finally "interest" and instability, it is said, which furnished the ingredients of the volatile mixture which blew apart the First British Empire.

For twenty years after 1763, "interests"—especially those having to do with trade—dominated British politics. During the same period, North Americans, handicapped by distance from the metropolis and by inadequate means for presenting their case there, found themselves put on the defensive and fatally weakened by more powerful interests at "home." Presently the only path remaining appeared to them to be the road to independence.

Ironically, "interests" also characterized the politics of the new nation; and it was not until the nineteenth century that government came to be regarded as the guarantor of a truly national interest. This was the "transformation," Professor Kammen concludes, of the revolutionary experience in America.

The book is in effect an outline; and its author is well aware of it. The interpretation will finally stand or fall upon massive new research into many kinds of sources. While the hypothesis remains to be proved, Professor Kammen deserves praise for stating a difficult and complex problem clearly and succinctly, and for giving at least in general terms a plausible and convincing answer.

Southern Methodist University

Charles R. Ritcheson

Journal of a Tour in Unsettled Parts of North America in 1796 & 1797.

By Francis Baily. [Jack D. L. Holmes, editor, and John Francis McDermott, general editor, Travels on the Western Waters Series, III.] (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University, 1969. Pp. 336. $15.00.)

This third volume in the "Travels on the Western Waters" series, under the general editorship of John Francis McDermott of Southern Illinois University, features the perceptive, eyewitness account of frontier existence written by Francis Baily (1774-1844), a young Englishman of twenty-two, who took his grand tour through America during the years 1796-1797. Arriving at Norfolk in February after a short layover in the West Indies, Baily visited most of the major eastern cities south of New England during 1796, and then caught boat rides down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers to New Orleans, and returned to New York City by way of the Wilderness Trail or Natchez Trace during the latter half of 1797. Although many of his original journals of the tour were lost, those that remained were published by his close friend Augustus de Morgan in a rather obscure 1856 edition behind a seventy-five page memoir of Baily's imposing scientific-astronomy accomplishments during his later career.

Editor Jack D. L. Holmes, of the University of Alabama, has reorganized the 1856 edition into ten manageable chapters, and the result is
a book filled with delightful reading as well as social insight. Baily's keen descriptive abilities are always present when he discusses such far-ranging topics as the weather, history, religion, geography, food, medicine, Indian life, or the effects of the frontier on personality.

Not only the details of frontier life, but the predilections of the author soon become quite apparent as the odyssey continues. Baily disliked slavery and the slave trade immensely, and in one passage linked the institution of slavery mainly to the "disposition towards indolence and love of ease" produced by climate among the masters. He absolutely abhorred what he categorized as "despotic" Spanish officialdom in the lower Mississippi Valley, and in fact, made careful diagrams of the New Orleans defenses in hopes they would be of some military aid to the Americans in the near future. Baily is, at times, somewhat taken back by the squalor of frontier existence, but more often, he romanticizes the simplicity of life in the wilderness. Although he graphically narrates his tremendous struggles against nature on water and in the wilderness, few readers can overlook the romantic passages describing the grandiose and the beautiful in unspoiled nature. Baily is, at once, a scientist and a romantic. Early in the tour, he is occasionally the aloof and very English critic of American life and culture. But before the tour is over, his descriptions and reactions reveal a man whose traditional ways of life and thought have been largely remolded by his frontier experience.

Editor Holmes has done an excellent job of reorganizing the Baily journal, and locating many obscure place names and persons mentioned within the narrative. In his introduction he provides a good account of the varied business and scientific careers of Francis Baily in later life, and also describes how the Baily journals first came to light. Professor Holmes' many recent publications concerning the Mississippi Valley under Spanish control, especially his biography of Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, governor of Louisiana at the time of Baily's visit, enable him to provide many insights into the statements and personality of Baily. The absence of a clear map of Baily's travels, and the location of the many explanatory footnotes so far from the central narrative are two mechanical deficiencies of an otherwise well-edited publication.

In comparison with the many other European accounts of America that became popular in the nineteenth century, Francis Baily's first-hand description of a young country entering the early stages of civilization, and of the people involved in this process, is certainly one of the most vivid to have appeared.

Mansfield State College

DAVID PELTIER


Philip William Otterbein was a German Reformed clergyman who came to America as a missionary in 1752. Although he served congregations in
Pennsylvania and Maryland, he is remembered primarily as an evangelist who was instrumental in the emergence of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ, now a part of the United Methodist Church. In his preaching tours, ecumenism, and evangelism emphasis, Otterbein's work among the German settlers was similar to that of other preachers of conversion who labored among the English and Scotch-Irish people.

Nevertheless, Otterbein was no ordinary revivalist. Despite innumerable journeys to the heavily German areas of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland, he served a Reformed congregation in Baltimore for thirty-nine years, from 1774 until his death in 1813. When attacked by ministerial colleagues who opposed his style, he replied gently and humbly. The Methodist bishop, Francis Asbury, considered Otterbein one of the most outstanding scholars in America. Eventually, several of Otterbein's associates in evangelistic work severed their ecclesiastical ties with older groups and completed the organization of a new denomination.

Arthur C. Core, Professor of Church History at United Theological Seminary, Dayton, Ohio, has assembled in this brief volume Otterbein's writings, including sermons and letters. Although not many have survived, the documents provide broad chronological coverage of Otterbein's career in America, extending from 1752 to 1812. Most informative on Otterbein's theological emphasis is his pietistic sermon, "The Redemptive Incarnation and Glorious Victory of Jesus Christ over Death and the Devil," published in German in 1763; however, his undated "Letter Concerning Sanctification, Justification, and Church Discipline" reveals the moderation of his pietism. Although A. W. Drury included a few of Otterbein's writings in his biography, The Life of the Rev. Philip William Otterbein (Dayton, Ohio: United Brethren Publishing House, 1884), most are published here for the first time.

In addition, Professor Core includes three interpretive chapters, written previously by other scholars, and his own introductory essay, each carefully documented, indicating dependence on primary sources. All are revisionist and reveal the more recent interpretation of Otterbein as a pietistic ecumenist within the comparatively broad traditions of the German Reformed Church, rather than a schismatic founder of a new denomination. While Paul H. Eller concentrates on Otterbein's associations with Asbury, William J. Hinke and Raymond W. Albright consider Otterbein's career comprehensively. Professor Core's contribution is comprehensive also but contains more information on Otterbein's European background, especially the theological milieu which influenced him in the Palatinate.

Although Professor Core uses scholarly apparatus throughout, he has compiled a practical book as well. His stress on Otterbein's ecumenism not only reflects a current trend in American Protestantism generally and in the denomination which claims Otterbein as its founder, but encourages it. Also, it is clear that Professor Core and authors of the other secondary accounts are sympathetic to Otterbein's experiential religion and consider it exemplary. Scholars who prefer objective detachment will find the tone of these passages more laudatory than is consistent with their standards. For them, the inclusion of Otterbein's writings is a redeeming feature.
This compilation of documents and interpretations illuminates not only Philip William Otterbein but also the German-Americans who constituted one of several important ethnic minorities. Professor Core's consistent relation of Otterbein to leaders of other groups contributes to an understanding of their similarities as well as their distinctive characteristics. In addition to English Puritanism, the pietistic heritage which Otterbein and other German colonists brought with them was an important ingredient in early American religious life and deserves more scholarly attention than it has received. Professor Core's book helps to fill this void.

The Pennsylvania State University

JOHN B. FRANTZ


Although this is his first scholarly monograph, Carroll Pursell is no stranger to those interested in the history of technology. Author of many articles and, more recently, editor of a valuable collection of Readings in Technology and American Life, he is a leading spokesman among historians who emphasize the importance of studying technology as a component of socio-economic change and, as such, relating it to our total national experience. It is not surprising, then, that this so-called "externalist" theme clearly emerges in the present study.

Eschewing great men and dramatic breakthroughs, the author has chosen to treat his subject from a developmental point of view. His purpose is threefold: "to show when and by whom steam engines were brought to America; the extent and nature of their application here; and, so far as possible, the changes which they imposed upon the existing patterns of American industry."

Beginning in 1753 with the installation of a Hornblower-built Newcomen engine at John Schuyler's copper mine near Passaic, New Jersey, the author traces the evolution of steam power up through the coming of the Civil War. Although the marginal utility of the Newcomen design failed to generate interest or demand in the colonies, the situation changed appreciably with the appearance of James Watt's classic condensing engine. "More powerful, more efficient, and equipped with rotary motion," it held the solution to two fundamental economic problems which faced the new nation during the post-Revolutionary period, viz., the encouragement of manufactures and the improvement of transportation facilities. Applied first to river navigation in the late 1780's, early steamboat projectors like John Fitch and William Longstreet encountered many technical difficulties and eventually met with failure. Nevertheless, steamboat experimentation and engine building continued undaunted under Nicholas Roosevelt, Robert Fulton, Oliver Evans, and numerous others. These men undoubtedly learned by experience, but they also relied heavily on British engineers whose services as consultants, shop foremen, and independent enginemakers became a key factor in assimilating and converting Watt's improvements to prac-
tical uses between 1800 and 1830. According to Pursell, "their frequent immigration kept America abreast of English developments, and they trained a generation of American mechanics to build and operate engines.” Hence, as carriers of know-how, transplants like James Smallman, Benjamin Latrobe, and Daniel Large induced a cross fertilization of ideas and, in a sense, "brought the Industrial Revolution to America.”

Countering oft-repeated statements that steam power did not become an important factor in industry until after the Civil War, Professor Pursell assembles an impressive array of evidence to show that stationary engines "were found in every part of the country” by 1838. Applied to steamboats and locomotives and "used in every conceivable type of manufacture from printing presses to gunpowder mills,” steam had a profound effect on the course of industrial development. Although its advent aided rather than created new industries, Pursell contends that the steam engine nonetheless exercised an important “liberating influence.” First of all, as an engine could be made to provide a specified amount of power at virtually any site, it freed manufacturers from the "geographical imperatives of waterpower.” This was especially important to power-starved communities of the trans-Appalachian West and, among other reasons, explains why Pittsburgh became a leading center of engine building and utilization during the second decade of the nineteenth century. Secondly, Pursell observes that, by allowing industry to concentrate in towns and cities, “the steam engine was largely an urban phenomenon.” Finally, he argues, the ever-increasing demand for engines not only stimulated coal and iron production but "had broad implications for the whole metal-trade industry” as well.

One salient feature of Pursell’s work is that its chronological scope and broad ranging coverage enables him to make important judgments about the nature and impact of the steam engine which normally evade biographers and other, more narrowly focused, students of the subject. One example is the urbanizing effect it had on the location of industry. Another concerns the similarities which existed between early enginemakers. All of them experienced common problems related to labor, finance, communications, and public patronage. Moreover, as competition proved keen and the demand limited, even leading manufacturers maintained diversified interests, “producing engines as a part of a larger and more general ironwork business.” In fact, Pursell notes, a number of men like James P. Allaire of New York and Joseph McClurg of Pittsburgh were iron founders long before they became engineers.

Thoroughly researched and packed with sagacious insights, Pursell's study leaves little room for criticism. However, this reviewer wishes that more emphasis had been placed on the transmission of new mechanical innovations between the steam engine industry and other technologically-related sectors of the economy. Also, those persons who thrive on a “nuts and bolts” type of analysis will bemoan the fact that Pursell has included a minimum of technical detail. Although he devotes a chapter to “Developing Engine Design” and provides illustrated descriptions of the Newcomen, Watt, and Evans types, little is said about boilers, valves, or systems of control. Yet, considering his objectives, the author
cannot be seriously faulted on these points. For the most part he has done a very creditable job. Finally, as Philadelphia and Pittsburgh played prominent roles in the development of early steam engineering, Pursell's compact volume should be of particular interest to readers of this journal.

Ohio State University

MERRITT R. SMITH


Thomas Jefferson endures as a timely and a timeless subject of historical investigation. In this, the fourth volume of a comprehensive biographical study, Dumas Malone continues to capture the versatility and personal qualities of Jefferson better than any living scholar. This volume, however, also contains an excellent analysis of the broader circumstances of Jefferson's first term in office. Consequently, it is more than biography; it is the best modern historical account of Jefferson's first administration.

While generally sympathetic to all of Jefferson's political actions, Malone appreciates the paradoxes of Jefferson's personality and presidency. Jefferson, like most of the men of the American Enlightenment, believed in the sovereignty of the people but was suspicious of direct democracy. He was an egalitarian when speaking of human rights, but an elitist when discussing human talent. He believed in balanced government, but "he exercised influence on legislation which has been rarely matched in presidential history and which probably went considerably beyond his own original expectations." Jefferson believed that the judiciary should be representative, but he was unable to determine how to make it representative without destroying balance within government. Finally, he manifested genuine nationalistic patriotism while his greatest success came as a party leader.

Malone evaluates Jefferson's behavior within the frame of reference of a consensus historian. The major key to Jefferson's behavior is not economic interest or sectional identity, but the moderation of Jefferson's genteel life style. In the context of political victory in 1801 Jefferson based his consensus on the belief that "all Americans favored a republic rather than a monarchy and accepted the federal system of government, as contrasted with consolidation on the one hand and state sovereignty on the other." His positive view of individuals moderated his philosophical negativism toward government. Thus, the image of Jefferson that emerges in this book is not that of an idealist, but the picture of an effective administrator and political leader.

Jefferson based his executive philosophy on the principle of harmony which governed his relations with all branches of government. He commanded loyalty from his subordinates, while he maintained full leadership of his official family. He sought harmony with the legislature which he achieved, not through corruption but through the mature leadership of his party. While Malone has an excellent account of the struggle with the Court, the significance of this conflict is reduced by removing it from the realm of constitutional ideology and placing it within the limits of partisan politics.
Malone's interpretation comes close to the hypothesis that there was no substantive difference between Jefferson and John Marshall.

One of the many interesting episodes of Jefferson's political and personal life related by Malone is the tale of Sally Hemings. The accusation that Jefferson had sexual relations with one of his slaves was made in 1802 by James T. Callender who used it to discredit the character of the President. Malone tries to discount the episode as a product of partisan political invective, but he could not ignore it entirely because Winthrop D. Jordan has suggested recently in *White Over Black* that Jefferson did exploit Sally. Scholars interested in the problem of slavery in American life will find, according to Malone, that Sally was probably the child of a connection between John Wayles and his slave Betty Hemings. John Wayles was Jefferson's 'father-in-law.' Through inheritance, Jefferson became the owner of Sally who technically was the half-sister of his wife. Moreover, Sally became, not the mistress of Jefferson, but the mistress of Peter Carr, a favorite nephew. While trying to defend Jefferson from contemporary and modern critics, Malone has provided more concrete evidence for their accusations. It seems immaterial whether Jefferson exploited Sally or whether he permitted Peter Carr to do so. Moreover, the possibility of Jefferson's direct involvement cannot be denied, as Malone tries to do, by suggesting that Jefferson's gentlemanly life style would not permit sexual relations with slaves. Fastidious gentlemen have been known to enjoy themselves.

Another point that relates to the issue of Jefferson and slavery is clearly misleading. In his otherwise excellent account of the numerous problems relating to Louisiana, Malone's discussion of the slave trade in the new territory is inaccurate. The law of 1804 that established American government in Louisiana outlawed both the foreign and domestic slave trade to New Orleans. This restriction, because of numerous complaints, was partially rescinded when Congress reorganized Louisiana in 1805. Malone, however, commenting about the 1805 law states that "the slave trade was not mentioned, but the prohibition of it in the act of the previous year . . . remained in force despite the strong objection of leading inhabitants to it." Actually the 1805 law maintained the prohibition of foreign importation, but it opened the domestic trade from other slave states. Opening the internal slave trade silenced the pleas from Louisiana for more slaves.

Regardless of these minor errors, the total scholarly quality of Malone's treatment of Jefferson's first administration will not be surpassed for a long time. The work is based on all available primary sources and the relevant secondary material. The result is a rich historical account presented in an attractive edition with numerous illustrations.

*Temple University*  
Howard A. Ohline


The significance of William Gilpin in history is as a western nationalist, rather than because of anything he did in a variety of careers, as the author
indicates in the title. He publicized the west and its opportunities for every man for the taking. Emphasizing the geographical position of America and the grasslands in relation to Asia, he has been called “America’s first geopolitician.”

Before finding his niche in society, William Gilpin engaged in many pursuits. Born in a cultured Quaker home on the Brandywine, near Wilmington, Delaware, in 1815, he was educated at home and in an English boarding school before attending the University of Pennsylvania, from which institution he was graduated at the age of seventeen. Like his father and uncle, he might have turned his attention to the manufacture of paper, merchandising, and land speculation, but instead he chose West Point, but only briefly. Then he studied law, but he was attracted to the Seminole Wars and received a commission as a second lieutenant. This was the first of four stints in the army. Later he fought in the Mexican War, pursued Indians in the Southwest, and became Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Colorado at the beginning of the Civil War. His career of a year there added nothing to his reputation.

His experiences led him to appreciate the possibilities in the west on the expanding frontier. He tried journalism, law, and politics in Missouri. He accompanied Frémont's expedition to Oregon in 1843 and played a leading part in having settlers draw up a memorial to Congress to establish a Territory of Oregon, a document which influenced Polk's message to Congress on the subject. Material he provided congressmen about Oregon was distributed in government documents by the thousands.

In connection with his writing on Oregon, he first outlined what he saw as the destiny of the west:

The untransacted destiny of the American people is to subdue the continent—to rush over this vast field to the Pacific Ocean—to animate the many hundred millions of its people . . . to set the principle of self-government at work—. . . to set free the enslaved—to regenerate superannuated nations—. . . to unite the world in one social family—. . . to absolve the curse that weighs down humanity, and shed blessings around the world. Divine task! immortal mission.

Believing what he wrote about the destiny of the west, he acquired a great tract of land in Colorado and spent the rest of his life disposing of it through land companies and to American and European investors. Sometimes his belief that gold and diamonds existed beneath this land was exaggerated.

Gilpin's claim to fame in history is as a forerunner of geopolitics. He foresaw the settlement of the west and the grasslands as the road to the Orient. Bernard De Voto and Henry Nash Smith have appreciated his significance as a geopolitician, an ambitious promoter of the importance of the west, and as a believer that the western plains were a grassland suitable for habitation rather than a Great American Desert.

Dr. Karnes has done a thorough job in locating materials about his subject. He places Gilpin in the context of history as typical of many easterners who went west to find their destiny, sometimes successfully and sometimes
otherwise. This new, well-written biography of Gilpin, whose life story was last told by Hubert Bancroft in 1889, was needed. While Dr. Karnes has made the most of the careers of this restless westerner, he has resisted the temptation to exaggerate Gilpin's importance.

Pennsylvania historians will be especially interested in the early chapters which deal with the Gilpin family in Pennsylvania and Delaware, and in the career of Henry Dilworth Gilpin, William's brother, who became Attorney-General of the United States in 1840.

Otterbein College

HAROLD HANCOCK


Andrews prefers history in the form of chronological narrative. He sees no particular merit to brevity, nor is he especially ready to discard what some might consider incidental trivia. It's all there. To the reader, therefore, is left the task of sorting out, sometimes, not always, what is important in achieving an understanding of the way the Civil War was reported in the South. With time and patience, however, this book yields some interesting information and conclusions about the press in the South during the Civil War to the persisting reader, and by extension, is suggestive about the relationship of the press and the military in any war.

Were generals concerned about their public reputations and sensitive to the way that the press assessed their activities? General James Longstreet, for example, wanted the record of his role in the Battles of the Seven Days set straight, and he so informed the Richmond Examiner. Did a question of a credibility gap arise as the military sought to restrict information for alleged security reasons? General Joseph E. Johnson was denounced for this sort of thing with the suggestion by a segment of the press that security measures were often used by military men in order to mask their incompetence. Did the press ever violate fundamental requirements of security? General A. S. Johnson arrested a correspondent of the Mobile Tribune for reporting the strength and disposition of his forces on one occasion, and Lee protested to the Secretary of War that the Richmond Dispatch was guilty of similar irresponsibility on another. As for the body count, its unreliability is probably as old as warfare, but is clearly demonstrable in the reporting of southern journalists during the Civil War.

The title of this book should be taken literally. Andrews follows the course of the war in the narrowest sense; the role of the military is his largest concern and what the Confederate government, or the state governments were up to at the time are subordinated to it. The result is that the reader is left following armies, and especially generals, most of the time, watching them as they were watched by correspondents, missing battles as reporters missed them by virtue of being at the wrong place at the wrong time, observing the difficulties in maintaining communication from the field to the newspaper, and occasionally being treated to a graphic description of a battle which a correspondent put together on the basis of reports of eyewitnesses rather than the witness of his own eyes.
Criticism of southern leadership flourished mightily during the war; generals, Jefferson Davis himself, members of his cabinet, the Congress, all were repeatedly denounced for specific and incidental failures of policy as the war proceeded. Even so, Andrews concludes, as others have done before him, that the press in the South was not free. Criticism of the conduct of the military and of governmental decisions of the Confederacy was tolerated, but dissent on the larger issues had been effectively silenced even before the war; no press in the South could survive if it opposed either slavery or the objectives of national independence. That there is known record of only one instance of the suppression of a southern newspaper during the war is not a testimonial to a prevailing dedication to the freedom of the press; that freedom had yielded to the pressures of conformity well before Sumter.

University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee


The title of this book and its dust jacket showing a factory emitting smoke are belied by the contents. This is a general overview of American society, and while it is pleasant for the reader to turn the pages (despite some slapdash writing), there is an absence of depth to the book. It does have a thesis: that a cultural revolution occurred due to the development of an industrialized economy. The author believes that filiarchy (rule by the young) is an important part of this change. He notes that, "However variously history may be subdivided into epochs and eras and reigns and administrations, all of recorded history falls meaningfully into two main periods: ancient history, extending from earliest recorded times to the onset of the industrial revolution, and modern history, beginning with the age of steam power and continuing through ever-accelerating stages of technological change to the onrushing present."

This is not intended as a parody of Macaulay and the view has some merit. Unfortunately Professor Ostrander does not document the assertion, nor does he demonstrate why he believes that the industrial revolution depended on the young to acquire the skills necessary to maintain and advance technology. If these points have validity the author should have discussed them in detail with adequate documentation. There are no footnotes in this book and a bibliographical essay at its end refers mostly to secondary sources.

Thus, there is no solid discussion of the economic transformation of America and no description of the nature of an industrial society. Nor is there any comparison between America and England, despite the fact that the latter country preceded and, to some extent, guided the former along the road to industrialization. Similarly, the youth revolution, which receives so much attention here, is a world-wide phenomenon and is evident in non-industrial states as well as those which have passed beyond what W. W. Rostow has called the "take-off point" in economic growth. Because of the
absence of analysis on these and other important matters, Professor Ostrander does not fail to justify his title as much as he abandons it altogether.

There has been a market for many years for "social history" without the political or economic details which some readers find tiresome. Unfortunately, most books of this description represent a blowing of froth rather than a worthwhile effort to advance knowledge, let alone contribute toward serious scholarship. In this case little effort has been made to relate facts to the central thesis. Thus the book reads like the work of a journalist rather than a historian, and it is reminiscent of Cabell Phillips' recent and discursive From the Crash to the Blitz.

Considerable room exists for sound, attractive books dealing with the American experience with industrialism. As yet there is no parallel on this side of the Atlantic to the works of Asa Briggs, E. P. Thompson and Eric Hobsbawm in England. Nor have American historians shown the same interest in the demography of pre-industrial and industrialized societies that investigators in England and France have. These are two of many ways in which serious historians might add to our knowledge. Reading this good-natured, almost idiosyncratic volume, one is impressed with the difficulty of writing social history—and with the wisdom of G. R. Elton's observation: "Imagination, controlled by learning and scholarship, learning and scholarship rendered meaningful by imagination—those are the tools of enquiry possessed by the historian." None of the admirable qualities mentioned by Elton are much in evidence here.

Rutgers University

JOHN W. OSBORNE


I was skeptical when I first examined this book. The publisher's blurb seemed too "pat"; the Foreword by David A. Shannon and the Introduction by the author both contained at least one factual error. Moreover, since I had only recently reviewed Melvyn Dubofsky's excellent account of the Industrial Workers of the World, I doubted that much more could have been added to the story—unless it focused on the twenties, that part of the Wobbly story which John S. Gams has analyzed. I was pleasurably surprised. Professor Conlin has produced a thoughtful and highly significant series of analytical essays on various aspects of the history of the I.W.W. which either normally puzzle historians or have been traditionally interpreted incorrectly.

In his first chapter he raises the old question of whether or not the Wobblies were syndicalists. Although he concedes that the Wobblies and European syndicalists had some things in common, he points out that the Wobblies repudiated any connection with syndicalism and rejected efforts by William Z. Foster to "convert" them to it. Moreover, he carefully analyzes the differences. European syndicalists (whose languages almost none of the Wobblies could understand) advocated craft unionism, abhorred
"dual" unionism, favored a decentralized structure, and revealed an anti-political bias. The Wobblies advocated what is loosely called industrial unionism (Father Hagerty's "Wheel of Fortune" would be better interpreted as "functional" unionism), practiced dual or "supplementary" unionism, favored a centralized structure, and—while eschewing political action for the organization—did not oppose it for individuals. (Professor Conlin concedes that most Wobblies could not vote because of residency laws.)

In his second chapter he makes clear that the original quarrels within the I.W.W. were not based on ideological grounds, but were, instead, struggles for power. The first struggle was between those who wished to swing the organization into the orbit of the Socialist Party of America and the De Leonites (who were backed by those who thought of the I.W.W. as an economic organization). The second quarrel was between the De Leonites and the "industrial unionists." The victory of the industrial unionists, headed by Vincent St. John, returned the I.W.W. to first principles.

In three successive chapters he argues quite conclusively that the Wobblies were not revolutionaries and that they opposed violence, that they accepted the concepts involved in the term "folded arms," and that they seldom engaged in violence—unlike the modern "revolutionaries" who are often compared to the old Wobblies. He also points out that the Wobblies' advocacy of sabotage (a word which he says is confusing) was really advocacy of "the strike on the job." And, finally, he insists that the political strength of the Socialist Party of America was greatest where the Wobblies were most active—a conclusion that may be true but which his source material does not come close to proving. He has also added a final chapter on the I.W.W. today—a weak and sickly small group of long hairs.

My only adverse reaction concerns his frequent statement that "historians" have made certain wrong conclusions; perhaps, but he doesn't name the historians. Moreover, he seems to assume that his findings are "new." Actually I published substantially similar conclusions in A History of American Labor eleven years ago. I based my conclusions on writings which had been published before 1957. Melvyn Dubosky also has most of the same conclusions.

What makes this book important is that Professor Conlin has deliberately focused his attention on the old controversial issues involving the Wobblies, and by research and reason has managed to come to most logical conclusions concerning every issue. This is an excellent and provocative book that every labor historian and every twentieth century American historian should own. And Professor Stanley I. Kutler should be congratulated for his editing of this first volume of the Greenwood Publishing Corporation's Contributions to American History.

Temple University

Joseph G. Rayback


This well-written volume traces the development of one of Pennsylvania's
most remarkable contributions to American culture during the present century: the Philadelphia Orchestra. Coming into existence in 1900 as the result of the public enthusiasm aroused by two charity concerts held in the previous year for the benefit of widows and orphans whose husbands and fathers had died in the military campaign against the Philippine insurrectionists, this ensemble made early progress under the musical leadership of Fritz Scheel and won national publicity in 1906 by performing at the White House for President and Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt. After a brief period of decline following Scheel's death in 1907, it flourished spectacularly under the long tutelage of Leopold Stokowski, who was engaged as its conductor in 1912 and did not fully sever his connections with it until 1941. The stature which it gained during these years was preserved and enhanced under Eugene Ormandy, who shared the podium temporarily with Stokowski after coming to Philadelphia from Minneapolis in 1936 and has now been music director of the organization for more than three decades. Partly because of the unusual continuity of leadership which it has enjoyed, the ensemble has maintained a tradition of consistent excellence for nearly sixty years and developed a distinctive richness of tone that sets it apart among groups of its kind. One distinguished music critic, Harold Schonberg of the New York Times, has gone so far as to speculate that it may be "the greatest virtuoso orchestra of all time."

Kupferberg's book is cast more or less solidly in the Festschrift tradition. Its primary purpose is to celebrate the Philadelphia Orchestra's accomplishments and give due recognition to the musicians and benefactors who made them possible. Like many similar volumes, his work includes such appendices as a roster of all the members who have played with the organization since its inception, a partial list of the premieres in which it has taken part, and a discography which in this case is unfortunately limited to recordings that are currently available but does not provide detail on ones now out of print. There are also thirty-two pages of excellent and well-chosen photographs.

But the book is more than a commendable example of a fairly traditional type, for the author has attempted in a broader sense to indicate how the history of the Philadelphia Orchestra reflects the traditional and folkways of the city within which it grew. Despite the changes which it has undergone in recent times, Philadelphia in Kupferberg's estimation has been over the years a rather sedate and conservative community whose leading citizens have been imbued with a sense of "inner worth and solid substance" that has helped to foster a basic stability from which its orchestra has derived great benefit. One has only to compare the steady evolution of the Philadelphia ensemble with the fitful ups and downs of the New York Philharmonic as described by Richard Schickel to find this line of argument intriguing. The fact that only two men, Stokowski and Ormandy, have guided its artistic development since 1912 speaks for itself; other orchestras may flourish periodically under such leaders as Toscanini, Reiner, or Szell, but the Philadelphia has maintained an undeviating stature as one of the very greatest of American symphonic ensembles for nearly sixty years. Of the
country’s other comparable organizations, only the Boston—representing a community with many of the same characteristics which Kupferberg finds in Philadelphia—comes close to this record of sustained achievement.

Under Stokowski and Ormandy the Philadelphia Orchestra has manifested yet another trait which can be linked to its surrounding milieu as Kupferberg has depicted it: the cultivation of a collective sound which for sheer sensuous beauty is probably unrivaled among the ensembles of this or any other age. This, to be sure, has stemmed in good measure from the almost uncanny ability of its two great conductors to elicit such a sound, but it has also reflected the convictions of a clientele which is so deeply imbued with a sense of “inner worth and substance” that it can take certain standards of excellence for granted and feel itself entitled to something else besides. The Philadelphia concert-goer has over the years looked upon music as an art form which, whatever other values it may convey, is meant to be enjoyed. This is one reason why Ormandy, whose approach inclines toward the “soft sell,” has gotten along with the orchestra’s local supporters without a great many of the stormy episodes which took place during the tenure of his predecessor, who was very self-consciously a musical educator and frequently offended many listeners by selecting for his programs a considerable number of avant-garde compositions.

Kupferberg’s volume also casts light upon a way in which the evolution of the Philadelphia Orchestra has mirrored some of the larger historical contours of the twentieth century. More than is true of most conductors, the careers of Stokowski and Ormandy have revealed an eager willingness to embrace creatively the challenges and opportunities presented by technological change and the emergence of mass media. Under Stokowski the organization launched a long and profitable relationship with the Victor Talking Machine Company which was to result in numerous recordings that helped spread its fame throughout the world. It was also the first symphony orchestra to make a commercial radio broadcast, and by 1940 it had taken part in three motion pictures, including the celebrated production of Fantasia in which Stokowski and Walt Disney pooled their talents. Ormandy, who began his rise from obscurity as a young immigrant violinist by taking a position in the orchestra of one of Samuel L. (“Roxy”) Rothafel’s motion picture palaces in New York City, followed in the Stokowski tradition. He proved to be as much at home in the recording studio as in the concert hall, and he led the Philadelphians in the first telecast of a symphonic performance ever made, preceding by just ninety minutes a rival effort by the NBC Orchestra under Toscanini.

While not a historical monograph in the accepted sense of the word, Kupferberg’s Festschrift is a welcome addition to the all too-limited body of works dealing with an important field in which students of American culture and society should find much that is of interest. For those who are music lovers as well as historians, it should be a delight.

State University of New York at Buffalo

W. David Lewis
Students of Pennsylvania's history will find much of interest in this book. James J. "Puddler" Davis, Pittsburgh-based Supreme Dictator of the Loyal Order of the Moose (and later United States Senator from Pennsylvania), was Secretary of Labor from 1921 to 1930. Senator George Wharton Pepper, Governor Gifford Pinchot, and the Mellon soft coal interests are all discussed in several connections. Fleeting references are made to Philadelphia civic leader Otto T. Mallery, to sometime Wharton School professors Samuel McCune Lindsay and Joseph Willits, and to such politicians as A. Mitchell Palmer, David A. Reed, William S. Vare, and William B. Wilson. The latter, of course, was Davis' predecessor as Secretary of Labor and the first incumbent of that cabinet post upon its establishment in 1913. Many dramatic episodes of great strikes, such as those of 1922 in the railroad and soft coal industries, had their settings in this Commonwealth.

Zieger's reference to men and events, however, are generally subordinated to his primary concern with ideas. Essentially, this volume is a study of the pronouncements of certain prominent Republicans on those public controversies of the 1920's which involved the interests of organized labor. Problems which never attained the status of political issues, or which afflicted only the unorganized worker, are excluded. Working within these limits, Zieger undertakes to identify and characterize several types of "Republican" attitudes toward "labor."

The author discerns four more-or-less distinct patterns of response. A "progressive" category embraces viewpoints ranging from the strong anti-unionism of men such as Senator Miles Poindexter of Washington to the qualified pro-unionism of a group led by Amos R. E. Pinchot and George L. Record. What these former Bull Moosers and Wilsonites had in common was hostility to interest-group politics and a tendency to see themselves as sole custodians of the "public interest." Divisions among progressives on the "labor question" seem to have reflected differing judgments about the extent to which unions could be politically useful. Progressives who were committed to the existing major parties were generally anti-union on about the same basis as they were anti-trust. Those who were drawn to third-party or independent movements were likely to perceive organized labor as a natural element of any reform political coalition. The role of labor in such a coalition, however, was hardly one of full partnership; rather, as one member of the Pinchot-Record group privately confided: "the object of the intellectuals in politics is to be the general staff of the labor forces."

A second cluster of Republicans, nearly as ineffective as the progressives, consisted of open shop advocates led by Harding's Attorney General, Harry M. Daugherty. The open shop crusade of the early 1920's scored no lasting victories and was probably most important for the rhetorical comfort it gave to the virulently anti-union faction of the business community. Zieger's non-behavioral approach yields no clues concerning the distinctive backgrounds or roles of those businessmen who were at-
tracted to the open shop position. I suspect that anti-union views were especially prevalent among "self-made" men and that many of these individuals had a warmer personal interest in working class problems than most pro-union progressives. That some strong anti-unionists might also have been genuinely sympathetic with the working class, or even that behavior dismissed as "paternalistic" may have been preferable to most alternatives, are possibilities which have seldom been seriously considered by scholars. Now that the liberal-labor alliance has largely collapsed, it should be possible to explore such questions without undue ideological discomfort.

Zieger's third and fourth groups, the "efficiency-engineering" advocates led by Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover and the practitioners of political expediency symbolized by Labor Secretary Davis, were the ones who actually dominated policy-making throughout the decade. Zieger is attracted to the interventionist philosophy of the Hoover element, whose use of fact-finding research and dramatic industry-wide conferences represented the most innovative federal labor policy of the 1920's. Zieger's attempt to differentiate Hoover from the progressives is unconvincing and seemingly unnecessary. Why not simply face the fact that Hoover was a progressive?

As for the practical politicians, they receive the usual academic assessment: technical virtuosity in the art of survival but deplorable morals and logic.

My objections to this book are broadly rooted in the feeling that Zieger has not asked the best questions (e.g., what are the sources out in the society of those demands to which practical politicians must respond?) and has not used behavioral evidence. Taking the study for what it is, however, rather than what it is not, Zieger has done a very impressive piece of work. Based upon a University of Maryland dissertation supervised by Horace S. "Sam" Merrill, the book is superior with respect to research effort, literary style, and bookmaking craftsmanship. Minor and infrequent errors (e.g., the identification of Charles M. Schwab with U. S. Steel on p. 101 and the misspelling of Gabriel Kolko's name on p. 161 n.) in no way diminish the over-all favorable reaction which Zieger's work commands.

Lehigh University

D. C. AMIDON, JR.


Students of recent American history have waited with understandable impatience for the sequel to Irving Bernstein's The Lean Years, the first volume of his "history of the American worker." The wait, though long, has now been rewarded. The Turbulent Years is the best book on labor history to appear in the decade since the publication of The Lean Years.

The similarities between the two volumes are striking. Both are long and based on enormous research. Both bear abundant evidence of Bernstein's considerable literary talents. Both are progressive in tone and interpretation; Bernstein never hides the fact that he favors the workers and their unions. There are, however, several important differences. The Lean Years is the story of the American blue collar worker in the 1920's and early depression
The Turbulent Years, despite its 795 pages of text, is limited to the history of union organization and federal government policy during the New Deal. A third volume, on the history of the worker per se, is promised in the preface. A second difference relates to the author's choice of materials. In his first volume Bernstein is selective. Only a few representative strikes, for example, are treated in depth. In The Turbulent Years, having limited himself to the problems of organized labor, he tries to include everything. There are detailed accounts of nearly every major incident involving unions, and some of the longer chapters, such as the 72-page account of the rise of the UAW, could stand alone as monographs.

Bernstein begins, predictably, with the state of the economy during the winter of 1932-33 and the advent of Roosevelt. From this point he traces the development of the New Deal labor policy and the reawakening of organized labor. There are excellent chapters on the origins of the Wagner Act and the "revolution in labor law" in the post-1936 period. But Bernstein devotes most of his attention to the unions: their leaders, their internal fights, and above all, their organizing drives. Because the focus is on key events, the CIO leaders and organizations receive the most thorough treatment. Eight of the fifteen chapters are devoted to the organization of the mass production industries, notably steel, autos, rubber, and electrical machinery, and the schism in the AFL. Bernstein's stories are dramatic, even exciting, and will undoubtedly remain the standard accounts of those events for many years.

The chief fault of The Turbulent Years is the author's apparent unwillingness to leave anything out. In his desire to tell all, Bernstein often tells too much. Thus, he includes biographical vignettes of virtually every major labor leader and relevant New Deal official; detailed background accounts of nearly every important strike, organizational drive, and legislative enactment; and quotations that often run to a page or more in length. A more courageous editor could have tightened the narrative and reduced the length of the work substantially. One other matter which may amuse or annoy readers of generations subsequent to Professor Bernstein's is his slightly old-fashioned liberalism. Not the workers, as in The Lean Years, but President Roosevelt, the pre-1940 John L. Lewis, and the CIO generally emerge as the heroes of the account.

A glaring gap in historiography of the 1930's has been the lack of a thorough scholarly account of what was possibly the major domestic change of the period: the transformation of the labor movement and the practice of industrial relations. In this volume Professor Bernstein has ably filled that void. The Turbulent Years should be required reading for professors, students, and general readers interested in the background of present-day unionism. Hopefully we shall not have to wait another decade for the third volume.

The University of Akron

Daniel Nelson
The Negro in Pennsylvania History, No. 11 in the Pennsylvania Historical Association's Historical Studies series, has just been published. This 68-page booklet presents a comprehensive survey of the social, legal, political, and cultural progress of a people, starting with the settlement of the Delaware Valley. The author is Ira V. Brown, professor of history at Pennsylvania State University. Like the other Pennsylvania Historical Studies, it will serve as a useful course supplement for teacher and student (it contains a bibliography), and will be an enlightening experience for the general reader.

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