
As much as we might wish it otherwise, battles have played a major role in determining the course of history. Professor Leach of Vanderbilt University has given us a lucid summary of military campaigns in the British North American colonies from the landing at Jamestown to Pontiac’s uprising. The most valuable portions of the book are the descriptions of battles and the analyses of British strategy. Fortunately, Leach has avoided the stylistic imbalance of many of today’s military historians who insist that warfare must be closely tied to international diplomacy. This volume is both a handy reference source for military events and a study that gives perspective to a myriad of combat engagements. Although, for example, everyone has heard of Braddock’s defeat—and historians recognize that it led the British to reevaluate their methods—the bloody encounter on Lake George sixty-three days later is worth recollecting because it placed limits on the success of French arms in 1755. The author has drawn wisely from contemporary accounts and from some of the best twentieth-century scholarship.

Placing a heavy emphasis on strategy, Leach summarizes most of the British campaign plans and some of those of the French and Spanish for the years in which heaviest fighting occurred. For seventy years the British fostered plans to conquer New France. Despite repeated failures, succeeding commanders always returned to roughly the same master plan, a two- or three-pronged campaign aimed at the heart of Canada. One might conclude from Leach that the years 1753 and 1754 were not the turning point beyond which an Anglo-French détente became impossible; the life-and-death struggle began in 1689. Apparently that is what he means, but it is not a view shared by all historians.

Most of the strategic decisions recounted in Arms For Empire are those made by the commanders on duty in North America. But were the strategists in London able to assert any control over the situation after the year’s campaign had begun? It would be interesting to have this point answered, especially in the case of Pitt whose name is traditionally synonymous with the conquest of New France. In general, when evaluating strategy in America, Leach has emphasized the interdependence of events that occurred at widely separated locations. In more than a few cases one could rebut his assumptions by arguing that military strength could not be shifted quickly from one American theater to another, or that the capture of specific fortifications did not necessarily mean that surrounding areas came under the victor’s control. In other words, localization may have been more important than the reader is led to believe.
A colonial military system emerged as a result of combat with the Indians prior to King William's War. The traditional English shire militia was the foundation of the system. It was adapted to meet circumstances and, in the final analysis, proved adequate. Although the cost of military operations often provoked the colonists, the forces raised from the native population were never considered the instruments of repression. During the crucial French and Indian War many colonies were placated when they received financial compensation from England for their military spending. In general, the amateur colonial generals—so prevalent until 1755—did as well as might have been expected.

Punitive expeditions, encirclement tactics, and frontier fortifications, all, according to Leach, fitted naturally into the system derived from militia. He argues that there was no basic change in the system from the late seventeenth century through 1763. He tends to overlook the increasingly professional nature of the forces raised in the colonies. In fact, by 1755 it is inappropriate to apply the term "militia" to the forces serving colonial governments because they were often established on an annual basis. There are other weaknesses in Leach's thesis. Very definitely in Pennsylvania, and to some extent elsewhere, private frontier self-defense developed before the militia experienced combat. Perhaps pioneer living was more effective as military training than the partially ceremonial drill on the New England village green.

Leach uses a straightforward descriptive style. Quantitative analysis is kept to a minimum, although the strength of forces and of military matériel are often stated where appropriate. A surprising omission is his failure to evaluate the numerical disadvantage and supply shortages of French Canada as the French and Indian War moved into its final phase. These matters are mentioned but are classified only as factors contributing to defeat; the disadvantages are astonishing when placed beside the comparable figures for British North America.

Although he often criticizes strategic decisions, the author seldom moralizes. This is especially noticeable when he describes Indian affairs. The Indians were simply overwhelmed by European culture. In addition to the fur trade they were drawn to the French because Roman Catholicism attracted them; they were drawn to the British because England supplied trading merchandise more cheaply than the French. Indian tribes were frequently at odds with each other, though Leach does not rule out the possibility that they could act in unison, more or less on a conspiratorial basis.

For Leach, American patriotism—"Americanism"—may be said to have begun as resentment against British officers during the Cartagena campaign in 1740/1741. But he does not pursue the matter in depth. In fact, intellectual and psychological factors do not receive much attention. Terror, panic, and the vengeful barbarism they provoked, are the psychological matters mentioned most frequently. But Leach does believe that there was a distinct American frontier attitude and that it was so pronounced that it separated English from colonial mentality.

Other matters are only briefly touched upon in this book. Rivalry between
the English colonies is not considered in specific terms. The economic basis for British desire to expand into Florida and Louisiana is not clear, nor is a distinction made between settling farmers and transient traders. Leach's other works suggest that he knows far more on these subjects than he has been able to work into *Arms For Empire*. It is a very good book, however, for the study of military events.

*Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission*


The American Revolution has long been an object of interest to scholars and laymen alike. Its fascination has invited investigation by a notable list of publicists, beginning with contemporaries of the event and extending down to the present. Inevitably those who have succumbed to its lure have produced varying theses regarding the nature and the true meaning of the movement. In some instances there are clear and unresolved contradictions in the conclusions reached. In any event, the issue continues to challenge the interpretative capacity of its devotees, and the approaching bicentennial of the event will undoubtedly stimulate renewed efforts to fathom its significance.

In the work under review James Kirby Martin has responded to the continuing attraction of the subject. He notes that the task he set for himself was to provide answers to three questions: why did some men rebel and others refuse to do so, what prompted their decisions, and what were the effects of the actions? These are, of course, age-old questions, and the unwary student might assume that little of importance can be added to the available collection of answers. Nothing is farther from the truth. A reading of Dr. Martin's text proves once again that the mysteries of history have not as yet yielded all their secrets. Here we have a fresh, stimulating study, replete with new and suggestive insights.

The author's approach to his task is unique. Instead of examining the situation from, so to speak, the bottom up, which has been the more popular method with students, he chooses to do it from the top down. That means the focus of his investigation is upon the ruling element—the political elite—in late colonial and early revolutionary society. Indeed, this focus is central to his analysis of the meaning of the revolutionary movement.

In constructing his case Dr. Martin is not primarily concerned with issues, ideologies, and events. Rather, his point of departure is biographical, calling for an analysis of the characteristics and careers of many major figures in the revolutionary drama. In pursuing this course, he isolates and quantifies a series of variables—family backgrounds, social origins, wealth, kinship connections, occupations, education, religion, age, and places of birth—that influenced the decisions made by these individuals on the eve of the Revolution. Altogether, the author examines the lives and political careers of 487 men who were intimately involved in the overthrow of imperial controls and the construction of new politics.
Men in Rebellion presents a persuasive case in behalf of the contention that the movement that led to independence issued directly from the rigidity of the provincial political system. Preferred positions in the political hierarchy were generally appointive and ordinarily reserved for men of wealth and social stature who had influential connections in England. Many of the appointees were natives of the homeland, who accepted appointments in the colonies for pecuniary reasons or as a matter of prestige. Local-born men of equal and sometimes superior stature, but without English favor, were normally denied opportunities to rise in the political scale beyond election to seats in the colonial assemblies.

Despite the fact that these two groups of officeholders, which the author denominates the lesser and higher officials, together formed an executive elite in the political structure, the frustrations inherent in the system presaged trouble. Indeed, the relationship between the two elements was marked by a constant struggle by the lesser officials to modify the system in their favor. Utilizing their growing strength in the local assemblies, they succeeded by 1763 in wringing from the upper officials recognition of the autonomy of the legislative bodies in internal political matters and a stronger voice in decision making.

It is at this juncture in the developing situation that the author's data leads him to a conclusion that has eluded others writing about the Revolution. As he sees it, when the British government inaugurated a series of programs following the Seven Years War that threatened the gains achieved by local leaders, and when the higher officials were revealed as the instruments for the enforcement of the new policies, a crisis in political power was precipitated. Assuming the lead in opposition to the Crown's designs, local officials pushed the issue to revolution, swept those with imperial connections out of office, and proceeded to the framing of new political structures that would insure the opportunity for all to compete for high office. In the words of the author, "The American Revolution from the outset was a contest for power involving men in power."

This is a major work in the literature on the subject of the American Revolution. Buttressed by charts, full chapter notes, an impressive bibliography, and a sophisticated use of quantitative data, this study adds a new dimension to older explanations of the break with England.

Muhlenberg College

Victor L. Johnson


Professor Olson's book is both more and less than its title indicates. More, in that fully 20 percent deals with material prior to 1660. Less, in that although the title suggests something that every teacher of colonial American history would greet with enthusiasm—a work placing particularized studies like those of Kammen, Greene, and Henretta in a broad context, covering Namier's work as well—what we actually have here is a specialized study based upon a theory of political parties in seventeenth-and eighteenth-century England and America. As such, the book's implied audience is
limited to the small set of historians who, like Professor Olson herself, quite rightly regard both England and America as one field of specialization. Most American historians will find themselves having to look up references to English events just as most English historians will find themselves searching for American references.

The audience problem might well have been solved by more careful editing and revising. Although it is better to get a "suggestive essay," as Professor Olson terms her book, into print too soon rather than not at all, reader frustration could have been minimized by avoiding such locutions as "it is hardly a coincidence that . . ." and "the colonial significance of. . ." in favor of firm statements of why English and American events were not coincidental, and specifying what the significance was. Hints are not suggestions. Suggestions, rather, are statements for readers to investigate.

Professor Olson's suggestions spring from her observation of changes in the dictionary definitions of "party" and "faction" given by Eliot's Dictionarie (1559), Samuel Johnson's Dictionary (1755), and the New International Dictionary (1961). Although she finds little change between eighteenth- and twentieth-century usage, between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, "the idea of peaceful political parties had taken hold." Whereas sixteenth-century parties or factions, the words were used interchangeably, represented dangers to the state, eighteenth-century parties conducted the peaceful political process. The change, Professor Olson suggests, came about through the development of an Empire which could be governed only through political parties.

She sees roughly three stages in the development. Before the 1680s colonial politics were characterized by violent dissent over theoretical issues concerning church and state organization. Between 1689 and the end of the first third of the eighteenth century, "the uncompromisable local issues that had driven colonial communities to war were drawn off to imperial settlement, leaving colonial politics a matter of spoils and interests rather than tenaciously-held beliefs." During Walpole's administration, when colonial agents found they were no longer able to effect favorable legislation, they and their principals in America found, in the opposition's rhetoric concerning court corruption, reasons for beginning to look upon Parliament as an English rather than an imperial institution. Politics once again became dissent, leading up to the Revolution. Professor Olson's observation that "as early as the 1730's there were more than a few politicians in England and America who thought their local interests best served by making the imperial machinery fail to work," sounds remarkably like American loyalists' interpretation.

Imperial politics worked, then, only during the latter seventeenth and earlier eighteenth centuries when most men in public life could view themselves as parties to the spoils of empire. Once the Walpole party controlled political corruption an opposition developed whose existence, in some way, led to the Revolution. The question is, in what way? Are we to see a causal, organic, or structural relationship between the development of court and country, tory and whig parties, and the coming of the Revolution? Professor Olson does not say.
Perhaps she does not because of an underlying assumption that the existence of political parties indicates tolerance of divergent views. This assumption has been common to us all. If we turn this assumption upside down and begin an examination of Empire politics from the point of view that the very existence of political parties depends upon intolerance of diverse views, may we not get a better formulated explanation of the phenomena Professor Olson describes as "the rise of a new type of political division within the Assembly, a division over patronage and profit which joined, if it never fully replaced, the division over issues?" Perhaps the brief success of the first British empire depended upon a greater degree of repression of divisions over issues than earlier, a degree of repression that allowed tacit agreements between the ins and outs over the division of spoils. It is possible that our concept of progress, being made through the development of political parties, has blinded us to the realities of past government.

The material Professor Olson covers needs investigation from the position of a set of well-formulated hypotheses covering the development of English government in the eighteenth century. Such hypotheses must be drawn from sources wider than dictionaries.

University of Pittsburgh, 

WILLIAM RAYMOND SMITH

Johnstown


Over the past two decades historical editorship in the United States has flourished as never before in our history. Thanks to the support of the National Historical Publications Commission, the Ford Foundation, and other public agencies and private institutions, the nation's scholarship has been enriched by handsome letterpress, elaborately annotated editions of prominent Americans, among them Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and the Adams family. Of these, the most ambitious project is the publication of selected papers of the voluminous manuscripts left to posterity by generations of Adams's, perhaps America's single most important political family.

At the beginning of these volumes, covering a four-and-one-half-year span, John Adams, accompanied by his young son, John Quincy, is on his way to France to join Arthur Lee and Benjamin Franklin as a member of the joint American commission to the French court; at the end of volume four, Adams is on the eve of signing a treaty with the Dutch Republic. His first diplomatic tour of these years lasted only until May, 1779, during which he submitted lengthy reports to Congress (to be published in a later series of the Adams Papers), came to distrust Benjamin Franklin (misgivings recorded in his diary, previously published), and recommended to the Continental Congress that the commission be abolished (a suggestion which to his chagrin Congress adopted by making Franklin the sole American representative in France). Having returned home in August, Adams, in the
words of his editors, "plunged into the engrossing and congenial task of drafting a constitution for his native state." This was interrupted, however, when Congress drafted him to serve as United States minister to negotiate a peace treaty with Great Britain. This, of course, he did not accomplish during the period covered by these volumes, but what he did achieve was a diplomatic coup of great importance to his embattled nation. Rendered restless by months of idleness in Paris, Adams on his own initiative embarked on a mission to the Netherlands which was, in the event, a resounding success: not only did he arrange with Amsterdam bankers for a large loan to the United States, but he also negotiated a treaty of amity and commerce between the two powers.

Whatever his public accomplishments, Adams’s private correspondence for this period is comparatively skimpy. There are, for example, virtually no personal letters for the four months from August-November, 1779, when, back in the United States, he was making his important contribution to the Massachusetts State Constitution, a gap the editors fill by an excellent essay of some 60,000 words. And an over-all appraisal of his diplomatic achievements must await the forthcoming publication of his official correspondence.

Instead, these volumes may be said to belong to Abigail Adams, his indomitable, dynamic, keenly intelligent wife. To her, left at home with the children who did not accompany their father, this was a period of recurrent anxiety, of painful deprivation, but she endured it with fortitude, though not without complaint. Following John and John Quincy’s departure in the spring of 1778, five months passed before she learned, and then indirectly, of their safe arrival in France. And, more distressingly yet, once letters from Adams did arrive they were laconic and surprisingly infrequent. Their sparsity was partly owing to the hazards of transoceanic mail service in wartime, but it was also manifestly attributable to her husband’s remissness, which as Butterfield and Friedlander remark, came close to undermining "the near-perfect rapport between husband and wife." That it remained intact was owing more to her forbearance than to John Adams’s sympathetic understanding of her situation, for, as she revealingly commented, "For myself I have little ambition or pride—for my Husband I freely own I have much."

Abigail Adams, as these volumes suggest, was the nation’s "First Lady," not only of her husband’s ill-starred presidency, but of this epoch of American history. And though she lacked the learning that informed the best of her husband’s state papers and disquisitions on political theory, her letters lead to the suspicion that had women not then been confined to the nursery and the drawing room she could have had a distinguished political or diplomatic career rivaling her husband’s. She was, in sum, one of the superb letter writers in our history; her smooth-flowing prose sparkles, revealing repeatedly the high spirits, the wit, the high intelligence of this remarkable woman. Though, like her husband, she was occasionally tediously didactic (particularly about morals and the value of diligence in study), her letters, unlike his, were seldom unrelievably and self-righteously pompous.
The third major *dramatis personae* in these volumes is young John Quincy Adams whose subsequent career, it seems to me, was the most distinguished in the family's annals. He was only ten when he accompanied his father to France in 1778; just twelve when he again set sail late in the following year. But he was, surely, one of the most precocious youngsters of that generation (he prepared a bibliography of books on the French language, for example, and while at the University of Leyden enrolled in a course on jurisprudence conducted in Latin) and his letters and the record of his schooling here published afford telling insights into the scholar and statesman to be.

A major difficulty in reviewing books of the new genre of historical editing in this country, so well exemplified by the *Adams Papers*, is to convey the richness of scholarship they provide. In these two volumes, Butterfield and Friedlander offer not only scrupulously correct texts of many hundreds of letters (itself a formidable task) but explanations of virtually every matter, both substantive and inconsequential, that lends itself to annotation. One may doubt whether the benefits to other scholars are commensurate with the editors' labors (their account of money sewed into John Quincy's breeches to cite only one example), but one cannot question their indefatigability, commendable accuracy, and impressive erudition. What one can suggest, though perhaps with gratuitous effrontery, is that if the editors were to eschew such elaborate annotation the completion of this great project (whose end not even they can see) might be hastened without any major disservice (though surely at some loss) to historians. Nevertheless, the latter have every reason to be grateful for the luxuriant feast of documents and scholarship served up in these lavishly edited, handsomely produced volumes.

The superb index compiled by the editors deserves a separate paragraph.
anthologies. Thus, in addition to Davis's introduction, Haller provides a final section entitled "Recurring Themes," and several authors attempt to relate their chapters to others in the book. Weigley's study of attempts at creating "public order" in the 1850s is especially timely in this regard as it comes after articles on urban violence and ethnic antagonism which were so pervasive in the 1830s and 1840s. It would be interesting to find out if such attempts were made in subsequent decades.

The collection clearly establishes its theme that Philadelphia was not peculiarly the "city of brotherly love." Racial violence, fear of the poor, slum landlords, extensive population turnover, and ethnic division were as typical of Philadelphia as most urban areas. Haller, in his concluding remarks, suggests two major themes: the adaptation of ethnic groups to the city and the relationship of social change to crime and violence in the city. Haller writes that out of the heterogeneity of ethnic groups and contrasts of wealth and poverty arose group violence, youth gangs, prostitution, and gambling.

If a criticism is to be made of the entire effort, it is that it attempts to cover too much ground. Such ambitious intentions often lead to stimulating conclusions and suggestions which are not entirely justified on the basis of the evidence presented. Thus, Theodore Hershberg labels his own pioneering study of ante-bellum blacks as a "preliminary progress report" and attempts in a few pages to deal with the deterioration of the ante-bellum black community, a comparison of ex-slave and free-born blacks, and the value of the urban perspective in black studies. Only the comparison between ex-slaves and free-born blacks is adequately treated. Golab also deals with Poles, Italians, and Jews, yet only Poles are seriously examined.

Sutherland's treatment of housing similarly deals with the impact of building and loan associations and Jewish and Italian landlords. His suggestion that Jews and Italians achieved vertical mobility by becoming landlords does not follow from his evidence which indicates only that they predominated in such endeavors.

Varbero's account of Italians in the 1920s tries to cover two areas: education and immigrants, and Italians and the Catholic church. In his analysis of education, for instance, he claims middle-class Italian children finished high school more often because the Italian "middle class" was more "education oriented." This suggestion not only overlooks the economic necessity of child labor on the part of the working class but does not necessarily follow from statistics which only prove middle-class Italians attended school more than those from lower-class homes.

Even Haller, in his concluding remarks, feels compelled to go beyond his two basic themes—ethnicity and crime—and suggest the emergence of a white, Protestant "ethnic group" and a "triple melting pot" of blacks, Catholics, and Jews. Such conclusions, however, do not follow from any systematic investigation in the volume itself.

Nevertheless, such speculation is certain to stimulate much more thinking on the historical urban experience. And the entire study not only corrects the historical image of Philadelphia but stands out as a superiorly integrated collection in the vast wasteland of historical anthologies.

No doubt this overly slim and generally disappointing volume will offer aid and comfort to those who have contested against the mounting evidence, that Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., was basically right from the start. However, if carefully analysed, The Politics of Jacksonian Finance lays bare some of the more crucial conceptual errors in Schlesinger’s approach by so faithfully and boldly repeating them at this late date.

This is a most difficult book to review because in it the author makes three generally inconsistent claims about Jacksonian financial policy. That which seems the most promising to this reviewer is presented as an afterthought in the book’s conclusion. There McFaul argues that Jacksonian proposals for dealing with federal funds were dictated by political necessity rather than by a consistent economic philosophy. Yet, the reader of the first 209 pages may find himself a bit dumbfounded when McFaul announces in line with this thesis that, "Jacksonians were more interested in denouncing banks than regulating them." The problem with this reasonable interpretation is that it contradicts the burden of McFaul’s earlier and more fully developed arguments.

In the first two chapters he takes issue with the thesis he ascribes to Bray Hammond that the state bankers opposed the Bank of the United States and that the Jacksonians formulated their policies in line with the interests of their allies among the state bankers. While admitting that this thesis may be valid for the years from 1829 to 1833, he shows that the bankers were not unified and thus could have had little effect upon Jacksonian policy during the following five years upon which his book focuses. The larger point his evidence makes, but that he does not emphasize, is that there was no "bank interest" at this time. Bankers, like doctors, were a heterogeneous lot, as yet unorganized. Many of sterling reputation knew not what they were doing; others, regardless of social stature, were out and out frauds; and many at the edge of legal respectability conducted quite useful and lucrative businesses. The idea that they acted as a unified pressure group to dominate either party in the interest of a consistent policy never did have much to recommend it.

Although McFaul’s evidence does not do anywhere near as much damage to the "entrepreneurial myth" as he seems to believe, he feels free at this point to press his major thesis in chapters three through seven. Here he argues that Jacksonian policy during the years under examination reflected the abandonment of "laissez faire" and consistent efforts to "regulate" the nation’s economy through federal and state action. In particular he emphasizes the degree to which the Treasury took over the central banking functions previously exercised by the BUS. Although the concepts of "central banking," "regulation," and "laissez faire" are central to his definition of the situation, he never attempts to clarify them. This is important because he uses each in a confused and sometimes inaccurate manner.

It is debatable whether or not the BUS should be considered a central bank or even a proto-central bank. That being the case, to say that the
Treasury, in its attempts to insure that federal moneys would not be mishandled by the deposit banks, acted like a central bank because it took over a few of the functions of the BUS, is obviously stretching a point. To confuse the actions of state banks like the Bank of Virginia with central banking activities is a far more serious error and leads one to question just what it is that McFaul means by "regulation."

Unfortunately he never defines his terms. Rather, he implies that any policy other than "laissez faire" represented "regulation" with whatever modern connotations the reader wishes to apply. As presented here, "laissez faire" was a doctrine so pure in its hostility to government that it would countenance no legislation of any kind affecting economic relations. Thus, any activities taken by the Jacksonians to insure the safety of federal moneys by imposing conservative banking practices on the deposit banks, or legislative and administrative actions to force rapid redemption and eliminate small notes, or even the cooperative activity of private bankers, constitute for McFaul "regulation"; and the sum total is described as a policy of "national economic regulation." He overlooks the fact that no economist at the time supported his conception of "laissez faire," and that, in fact, the English classical tradition from Adam Smith through the writers in the Edinburgh Review in the 1830s advocated just such a structure of a few "salutary laws" as that supported by the Jacksonians. McFaul's basic conceptual framework, taken over from Schlesinger, is thus quite meaningless; and the real conflicts over financial policy which characterized the period are hopelessly obscured.

Lehigh University

WILLIAM G. SHADE


This work is both an epitome of Allan Nevins's eight-volume Ordeal of the Union and a sketch of Nevins's life, works, and philosophy of history. In addition, we have interstices provided by another renowned scholar, E. B. Long, who, in many ways has made possible through his service as research assistant not only the last two volumes of Nevins's magnum opus, but also the popular products from the pen of Bruce Catton. Thus, this one-volume selection of Ordeal of the Union will prove useful to classroom instructors and general readers, as well as devotees of both Nevins and Long.

Readers may recall that the original eight-volume set has been widely acclaimed as one of the most ambitious and successful works ever undertaken by an American historian. Nevins was able to capture the high drama of the conflict which swept across the United States from 1847 to 1865, and he did so by utilizing research in both primary and secondary sources. In the years which witnessed publication of this great project, Nevins himself matured in his observation of men, events, and the question of the inevitability of the Civil War. Long's introduction to the one-volume piece yields a vignette of how a historian evolves during his professional career. This introduction alone is worth the attention of aspiring historians, and it may well stand as a monument to the greatness of Allan Nevins.
Long has attempted to collect fourteen chapters from *Ordeal of the Union* which best encompass the substance and main themes of the original eight volumes. Notwithstanding the usual editor and reviewer complaint that no synthesis can adequately substitute for the original, the reader can gain a taste of what he might find in the complete set. Capturing only about one-tenth of the original 129 chapters and over 4,000 pages, Long has attempted to follow Nevins's balance as to the Confederacy, military, political, and socio-economic aspects of the over-all subject. The editor admits omission of lengthy coverage of foreign affairs—a regrettable gap which will undoubtedly draw criticism from all reviewers.

Long may even have injected a bit too much of himself into the interstices. Surely Nevins's developing concepts and unique conclusions are sufficient to stand on their own merit without editorial elucidation and, perhaps, obfuscation. Nevertheless, the editor has maintained Nevins's balance which avoided excess stress on the old style of military history, i.e., battles, glory, and the minutiae of unit movements. Nevins was a precursor of the modern brand of interpreter of military affairs. His main treatment of the military was to demonstrate the significance of events, the leadership, and the political, emotional, and social effects of warfare.

The American Civil War has been viewed in many quarters as the nation’s epic struggle whereby “a Mature Nation” emerged from an unorganized collection of sovereignties. Certainly the sheer immensity of the struggle, the impact upon the unsung common men and women of the era, and its importance in the course of human history have enraprured many interpreters such as Allan Nevins. To Nevins, “History becomes a more formidable subject every year.” However this never daunted the Pulitzer Prize winner for: “Why and how are the best historical works written? They are planned because the author has a vision, or an approach to one. The subject takes hold of him, inspires him, and lifts him to a plane where he sees as in a golden dream the volume he intends to write.” Allan Nevins has left such a legacy to future generations in his *Ordeal of the Union*. E. B. Long has provided a provocative aperitif to the full work.


*B. Franklin Cooling*


This survey of the years 1848-1877 was designed by its author, chairman of the department of history at the University of Akron, to appeal to “the general reader or the undergraduate student,” by avoiding, on the one hand, excess detail and sophistication of argument, and, on the other, the merely factual presentation of an “outline.” It will thus bear comparison with other works, such as those by Randall and Donald, Roy F. Nichols, Thomas O’Connor, and others, designed for college undergraduate courses on the Civil War and Reconstruction. What sets this volume off is its emphasis and organization. In the ante-bellum period the author places minor emphasis upon some subjects of recent historical scholarship, such as the
study of racism. These subjects, the author says, were common to both sections and tended to unite Americans; his purpose is to highlight what separated North from South.

These divisive factors he finds to be slavery and political activity. Concerning slavery, Northern opposition is carefully noted as rising from various sources—moral abhorrence, hatred of Southern political domination, fear for civil liberties, among others—without indicating which source predominated. The role of black abolitionists is emphasized, again reflecting recent scholarship. Opening an analysis of the breakdown of the ante-bellum political process with a discussion of the Compromise of 1850, Professor Jones avers that the Fugitive Slave law was a constant point of agitation in the North. In the Kansas-Nebraska bill, Stephen A. Douglas "shoveled the final clods on the grave of the Compromise of 1850" to advance the cause of central and northern railroad routes. The Republican party, a vehicle for opposition to slavery on moral grounds, was strengthened by events in Kansas Territory, here given a lengthy analysis. In the remainder of the decade the South is depicted as increasingly frustrated by incidents such as the failure to acquire Cuba, and John Brown. By the 1860 election the South finds intolerable the Republican threat to the doctrine of power which it had formulated under the rubric of "state sovereignty."

The volume's organizational appeal appears in the portion dealing with the war itself. Opening with chapters on each belligerent's war effort, common problems of raising, equipping, and feeding armies, financing the war, dealing with opposition to the war, and politics are described. Jefferson Davis's faults outshine his virtues, and, at least on the home front, the Confederacy lost the war as much as the Union won it. The first three chapters on military events are organized as "theaters of operations" rather than chronologically. The chapters dealing with the Eastern and Western theaters are well illustrated with major battle maps and written primarily from the viewpoint of the problems the North had to solve in order to achieve victory. Most interesting is the chapter on the war in the trans-Mississippi West, a usually neglected area. Emphasis in this chapter is given to the Indian problems and draws on the author's monographic study of the war in the Northwest. The final military chapter describes naval operations on both inland rivers and the high seas. In concluding the war unit, American diplomacy with England and with the remainder of Europe is surveyed. England remained neutral, the author demonstrates, not because King Corn dethroned King Cotton but because of fears of a European war, the shifting American military balance, and the Emancipation Proclamation's moral impact.

Reflecting contemporary historians' interests, two chapters are devoted to the first three years of Reconstruction and only one chapter to congressional Reconstruction in the South after 1868. The radical Republicans are depicted as the driving force in Reconstruction; they are motivated by a mixture of concern for the safety of Southern blacks, "practical business objectives," and fear of national Democratic resurgence. Andrew Johnson's inflexible verbal opposition to congressional Reconstruction brings his impeachment; the President's very real power to interfere with congressional
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policies, a conclusion of recent scholarship, is given less emphasis. The failure of Southern Reconstruction governments is attributed to a lack of the federal military support necessary to thwart organized white terror. The final chapter discusses Grant-era politics, neatly combining domestic problems—scandals, monetary issues, and financial panic—with foreign policy—the effort to acquire Santo Domingo and the Alabama claims—and concluding with an analysis of the changes in the nation since the antebellum era. The bibliographical chapter is selective; the comments are terse; and the availability of titles in paperback is indicated.

Each specialist consulting this volume will compile his own list of factual errors, from which no work of this sort seems free, and of interpretations with which he differs. But on the whole this volume incorporates much recent scholarship in a logical and readable fashion. It should well satisfy the needs of those for whom it is written.

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David E. Meers


The approaching bicentennial year will no doubt call forth a considerable number of books about the 1876 Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia. Some will surely be larger and more pretentious than this one, but none is likely to be as carefully and intelligently constructed, nor have so much to say that is fresh and original.

It is fairly well-known that the ten English, American, and French world's fairs, starting with the 1851 London Crystal Palace Exhibition and running through the 1900 Paris Exposition, were of great and lasting importance as promoters of technological diffusion and of artistic and cultural exchange. Great museums—the Victoria and Albert, U. S. National Museum of History and Technology, and others—are legacies of these world's fairs; the Eiffel Tower in Paris was built by Gustav Eiffel for the 1889 Paris fair; the first Ferris Wheel, also named for its builder, was a central feature of the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago; and first international notice was taken at world's fairs of such diverse technical accomplishments as the American system of mass production, Bessemer steel, Corliss steam engines, and iron and glass buildings. Yet much of our knowledge of these expositions is slight and misleading, more than a little downright wrong. The era of the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition has been so uniformly denigrated by art and architectural historians that whole generations of architectural students have seen no reason even to glance in its direction.

In a short but devastating chapter, Maass shows clearly that the fatuous statements of architectural historians regarding the crudity and bad taste of American art and workmanship at the centennial were based largely upon prejudice, certainly not upon study. The generally accepted criticism, uncritically copied and recopied by later historians, was written in the first decade of the twentieth century, separated from the centennial by a generation (and a generation gap); it reflected esthetic judgments of the
younger generation but said little about the centennial in its historical context. Maass explains that quite the opposite conclusion was reached in 1876 by Europeans. He writes that "the Europeans marvelled at the planning of the centennial, they admired the superb grounds, and they praised the ingenious design and attractive finish of American products." Maass demonstrates convincingly that the eventual world dominance of the United States as "an economic, political, and even cultural super-power . . . was, of course, not caused by the Centennial, but it first became manifest at Philadelphia in 1876."

Maass, the expatriate European, has not only shown us unsuspected American impact upon Europe, using continental sources many of us were unaware of; he has also used sources readily available in English to enlarge our views of the centennial.

The remarkable story of the young German-born chief engineer and architect, Hermann J. Schwarzmann, just thirty years old in 1876, has not even been hinted at in any earlier work on the centennial. Born in Munich and trained in the Bavarian Royal Military Academy, Schwarzmann immigrated to Philadelphia in 1868 and became an American citizen in 1875. Between 1869, when he was appointed assistant engineer of the Fairmount Park Commission, and the opening of the Centennial Exhibition seven years later, he surveyed much of the newly acquired park land; produced voluntarily and outside his duties as engineer a general plan for improvement of the "Old Park," which was adopted by the Park Commission as superior to the plan submitted by Olmsted and Vaux, prestigious designers of New York's Central Park; laid out the present Philadelphia Zoo; surveyed the area and drew the plan for the 450-acre exhibition grounds, including provisions for water supply and drainage; designed Memorial Hall and Horticultural Hall, the two permanent buildings of the centennial (the latter was demolished in 1955); and designed 32 other buildings of the total of 249 that were built for the exhibition. After the Centennial Exhibition, Schwarzmann moved to New York, where in the ten years of work left to him he received no outstanding commissions. By 1886 he was ill with general paresis, and in 1891, when he was 45 years old, he died.

Maass searched widely and found many of the sources of elements and conceptions that Schwarzmann used in his principal buildings. In so doing, Maass has made the significant point that such borrowings and adaptations were possible in the third quarter of the nineteenth century because those years marked the opening of an age of mass communication through magazines and journals illustrated with elaborate and finely detailed wood engravings. The numerous illustrations reproduced in this book, both in the text and in the supplementary section of plates, supply attractive evidence of the informative qualities of wood engravings.

In passing, we learn that the Dewey decimal system in libraries derives—in fact was copied by Melvin Dewey in 1873—from the classification scheme proposed for the exhibits at the Centennial Exhibition. Finally, Maass has located the source of our knowledge that the Emperor of Brazil picked up Bell's telephone, being exhibited for the first time at the centennial, and promptly dropped it with the exclamation, "My God, it talks!" Maass informs us that in 1923, a teacher in Brooklyn who wanted to stimulate pupils'
The tragic events surrounding the Yablonski murders in 1969, coupled with concurrent revelations involving widespread illegal monetary and appointive arrangements, provided the catalysts which influenced labor lawyer Joseph Finley to examine labor's "corrupt kingdom," the United Mine Workers of America. Finley's work would appear to have gained new significance in the context of the series of events which have occurred since his book was published. These would include the election of Arnold Miller to the UMW presidency, the conviction of W. A. "Tony" Boyle for murder, the series of reforms initiated by the UMW's new leadership, and perhaps most importantly, the emergence of coal as America's most abundant and readily available power resource during a time when there is a national fuel crisis. Finley's book raises serious questions about the coal industry's ability to handle such a crisis while providing equity and safety for the nation's miners. The Corrupt Kingdom presents a chronicle of the myriad successes and failures of labor's most colorful trade organization—but its conclusions are not positive and more than a little depressing.

Although the author provides a brief summation of mine union history, the focal point for this study is clearly John L. Lewis. Lewis's emergence as UMW head, his battles with John Brophy, the consolidation of power in the 1920s and 1930s, the war years, and the decline of coal's influence in postwar America are surveyed by Finley. But his emphasis is upon Lewis's leadership qualities and how his domination has affected recent events. This includes the misuse of welfare and retirement funds and the legacy bequeathed to Tony Boyle. Finley's central thesis is that Lewis, the miner's most revered and greatest hero, "the titan who had won their greatest battles, had bequeathed them their disasters." The author asserts that the "conduct and policies of John Lewellyn Lewis" lead directly to the UMW's present problems. His legacies are violence, despotism, and calculated entrepreneurship which did not benefit the great majority of workers. Finley's harsh conclusions are frequently coupled with an equally glowing acknowledgment of Lewis's insight, statesmanship, political awareness, practicality, and his unparalleled record as a leader of men. Indeed much of the information offered is presented by the technique of counter balancing arguments, i.e., labor violence versus business violence, union intransigence versus government intransigence, and the benefit of pension funds versus the corruption of that "good" system. He correctly delineates the complexities and ambiguities of the UMW's role in recent American history. The author eventually concludes that Lewis's successors were not his equals. They were men of average and below average ability. Lewis could handle his absolute powers and produce some good—his successors could not. His
discussion of "Boyle-Mania" is both amusing and illustrative of this argument.

There are many things about this book that professional historians will not like. The author's basic arguments are camouflaged by his writing techniques: chronology and basic arguments are sometimes confusing; there are no footnotes; the bibliographic sources for each chapter are meager and infrequently come from manuscript sources; and numerous attempts to moralize are distracting and often irrelevant. A more substantive criticism can be made concerning the author's failure to examine grass roots attitudes of the miners. Many generalizations, often inaccurate and already supplied by Saul Alinsky, are accepted without question. For instance, Lewis is described as the great leader the "miners trusted and loved." They also feared him. Numerous dual union movements indicate discontent and resentment—much of it aimed at Lewis. One could also argue that frequently grass roots opinion forced Lewis to take a certain position; Lewis sometimes followed grass roots demands. He was not always the omnipotent leader.

The Corrupt Kingdom, despite its analytical and technical shortcomings, is thought provoking and will interest the scholar as well as casual reader. Mr. Finley has scratched the surface. This pertinent subject in contemporary America deserves further scrutiny.

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J. R. Sperry


American historical writing has undergone extensive alteration in the last several years. Quantitative history and psycho-history have added new dimensions to the study of the American past. But more than this, the attitudes of American historians have changed under the New Left's onslaught against what they call "elitist history" and because of the demands of such minorities as blacks, Indians, Chicanos, and women. The history of the United States is no longer seen simply as the story of the WASP. New history texts show the increasing recognition of the role of minorities in the American past.

It would certainly be inaccurate to say that ethnic history is the result of this movement. There have long been classic works in the area of the old and new immigrations. Still, it is accurate to say that ethnic history has been stimulated by the new climate of acceptance which recognizes the heterogeneity of the American past. Where previously historians concentrated on the oneness of the American nation, they now see that the nation's diversity is also a necessary field of inquiry. The history of the United States can only be understood completely if its oneness and its diversity are studied.

The Ethnic Experience in Pennsylvania is a result of this altered historical thinking. Here are presented a series of twelve essays discussing various immigrant groups and their relationships to the Keystone State. The book is
not meant to be definitive (according to its editor) but rather is an attempt to present case studies and to indicate the various approaches ethnic historians apply to their task (quantitative, folkways, and so forth).

There are both inherent and avoidable problems with this work. The quality and worth of the essays are, to put it mildly, uneven. Several are incisive, well-organized, well-written, thoroughly researched presentations. Some are rambling and discursive, but still valuable. A number are poorly written accumulations of data in search of a point. (The study of ethnics is past the stage where facts need be indiscriminately listed whether they are significant or not.)

The basic difficulty with this book is its very premise. It has no unifying principle other than the fact that all the essays deal in some way with ethnics in Pennsylvania. One must question the necessity for the repetitious treatment of the Croatians in several essays while the Poles, a much larger group, are treated in only one (albeit an excellent one). One must wonder too why a book on Pennsylvania ethnics never once mentions Erie, a city whose varied ethnicity is still very evident today. A specific theme and better planning would have avoided these and similar pitfalls. A concluding essay summarizing the main points would have also been helpful.

All this aside, there is much that can be learned from this book. James P. Rodechko shows the difficulties which prevented the Irish from organizing in the anthracite fields. Caroline Golab, in discussion of factors in Europe and America, indicates why Poles did not move to Philadelphia in any large numbers. Carl Oblinger discusses the making of a pauper class among blacks during the ante-bellum period. Michael P. Weber agrees with the Thernstrom thesis when he shows that, in Warren, immigrants were not as mobile as native workers. Richard N. Juliani discusses the "paesani" principle and its influence on Italian settlement in Philadelphia. Maxwell Whiteman shows the development of the Association for the Protection of Jewish Immigrants resulting from the interaction of European and American events. John E. Bodnar, the editor, discusses the problems of disunity among Slavic immigrants in Steelton. There are also essays on the Old Amish, Italian folkways, Rusins, Ukrainians, and Croatians.

The key points that emerge from these essays are the interaction between European and American societies in the immigration phenomenon, the inter-immigrant hostility, the importance of their religion and culture, their highly significant economic necessities and motivations, and the prevailing American economic conditions both upon their arrival and after. The European immigrant to the United States was materially changed by and materially changed American society. He was not melted down to form a new American; his Americanism was the result of his past, his experiences, and his outlook. The United States became a different place because of this immigrant presence and because of his interaction with American society.

This is a book with definite weaknesses, but it makes a contribution nonetheless. It shows again the richness and potential of an important field of historical study. It can only be hoped that these scholars (mostly young) will continue their researches and will be joined by other serious students. There is much work yet to be done.

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JOHN F. MARSZAŁEK, JR.

My father frequently reminisced about growing up in Bill Vare's Philadelphia. He often recalled the visit to the city of German Prince Henry. According to this story, Vare, who controlled the city street cleaning franchise, inquired as to which side of the touring carriage the prince would sit. Upon learning, he promptly commanded his street crew to sweep only that side of the parade route.

Alfred Steinberg's The Bosses recaptures the color and zest which spiced those cracker-barrel styled anecdotes. In The Bosses Steinberg highlights the careers of six twentieth-century politicians: Frank Hague of Jersey City, Ed Crump of Memphis, Huey Long of Louisiana, Boston's James Curley, Gene Talmadge of Georgia, and Tom Pendergast, the boss of Kansas City. Steinberg portrays each boss, first sketching his formative years, then his climb to political prominence, and finally his infamy told as a chronological litany of misdemeanors and outrages against the sensibilities of middle-class democracy.

In fact it is Steinberg's contention that "at no time in American history have local bosses been collectively more powerful and more debilitating to democratic principles than during the 1920s and 1930s." While "boodle" characterized the rapaciousness of nineteenth-century bossism, the lust for raw "dictatorial" power marked the bossism of the twentieth. Steinberg traces this phenomenon of crass politicians wantonly subverting the temples of republican government to the dashed idealism inherited from World War I.

Unfortunately, the author fails to supply any of the analysis necessary to support this thesis. Instead of an integrated, insightful probe into the nature of prewar as opposed to postwar bossism, Steinberg subjects his readers to a remarkably pedestrian cataloging of boss escapades. Admittedly the facts and anecdotes of these escapades are interesting: "Mistah" Ed Crump arresting readers of the New Republic; Boston's Curley affronting Brahmin propriety by regaling city hall with shamrock-emblazoned shutters.

While recitations of boss excesses can be intriguing, such detail obscures pertinent historical questions. For example, while Steinberg infers the significance of racial politics in the Crump, Talmadge, and Long machines, he neglects investigating race and rusticity as factors distinguishing Southern boss politics. Steinberg indeed mentions Tom Watson but fails to utilize the Populist tradition to appraise the ingredients of Southern bossism, if "bossism" is the right label.

More importantly, the author's main thesis remains unanalysed and unconvincing. While there is truth that the nature of boss politics changed in the post-World War I period, it cannot be assumed that postwar bossism was "more debilitating." None of the studies of late nineteenth-century politics portrays bosses as particularly indulgent of civil liberties or republican principles; they dispensed "favors" and "two-bits" in return for
votes, and freely enlisted club-wielding hooligans as well as the police to make election day a shambles not a celebration of democracy.

Steinberg in his prose tintypes of "typical" twentieth-century bosses disregards a constellation of events and forces which between 1890 and 1920 transformed American society. Consider the arrival of the giant corporation and the diffusion throughout society of bureaucratic organization and technique. Note the "new immigration" and the fact that by 1920 the automobile was exerting a decentralizing effect on the metropolis offsetting the centripetal impact of nineteenth-century rail transportation. Progressivism, meanwhile, had carved out a new energetic and interventionist role for government in socioeconomic affairs.

Following Robert K. Merton's thesis on the "latent function of the machine," while the role of the boss in the twentieth-century social system remained essentially unchanged from the nineteenth, the galaxy of new variables compelled the boss to reassess and restock his arsenal of political strategies. Curley, Pendergast, and Hague were not immune to the dynamics of bureaucratization and social differentiation. The interest that the bosses evinced in communications, economy, and their obsession to orchestrate contract dispersals rather than direct a three-ring boodle circus distinguished the prewar from the postwar bossism; William Marcy Tweed controlled a "ring"; Curley, Pendergast, and Hague a "machine."

One last observation concerns Steinberg's treatment of boss politics and the New Deal. Steinberg argues, as do many contemporary historians, that the political machine survived the New Deal intact. True, local politicians often converted New Deal programs into lucrative patronage pies; however, the New Deal did effect a change. For example, in cities like Pittsburgh and Philadelphia the machine after 1936, while viable, confined its efforts to "control" local offices, and in Pittsburgh the machine was transmuted from a Republican to a Democratic organization nourished on New Deal fare. The city bosses of post-World War II, David Lawrence and Richard Daley, were a much different breed from a Crump or a Hague.

Steinberg has captured the color of political personality, that essence which makes Richard Daley a fascinating television subject. Unfortunately, historical insight cannot be fashioned out of anecdote. True insight is a coefficient of analysis. To the degree that Steinberg's The Bosses abjures analysis, it can hardly be called good history.

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