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The cover design is an original artwork by Paul Padgett, Assistant Professor of Art, West Liberty State College. The scene portrays four significant Wheeling landmarks: The Wheeling Suspension Bridge, built in 1849, world’s oldest suspension bridge still in use; the Sweeney Punch Bowl, made in 1844 by the Sweeney brothers of Wheeling for Henry Clay, the world’s largest punch bowl; West Virginia Independence Hall (Old Customs House), site of the declaration of the state’s independence from Virginia in 1863; and the Madonna of the Trail on National Road.
THE CRASH OF THE SHENANDOAH

by

Robert W. Schramm

"At Four o'clock one evening of a warm September day,
A great and mighty airship from Lakehurst flew away.
The mighty Shenandoah, the pride of all the land.
Her crew was of the bravest, Captain Lansdowne in command." 1

song "Wreck of the Shenandoah"
Maggie Andrews

On September 4, 1923, the airship Shenandoah made its maiden flight. As it rose into the air, so did the hopes of optimists that the rigid airship would be a new and economical means of air transport. Yet, two years later these hopes were shattered in the sensational crash of the Shenandoah near Ava, Ohio, on September 3, 1925.

Boosters felt that the airship was superior to the airplane because of its source of lifting power. The airplane derives its lifting power from its velocity alone. The difference in air pressure on the upper and lower wing surfaces results in lift only so long as air speed is maintained. The buoyancy of an airship, on the other hand, arises because the gas it contains is so much lighter than air that it will support the ship even if its engines are shut down.

On the eve of the Shenandoah disaster, all looked well for the airship. The Germans had established its military and commercial value. Visionaries in the United States looked forward to coast-to-coast and trans-Atlantic passenger service, airfreight shipping, and exploration of uncharted regions of the earth by airship.

The ZR-1, later christened the Shenandoah (Daughter of the Stars), was the first rigid airship to be built in the United States. It was also the first airship to serve as a commissioned vessel in the United States Navy. It became the world's first rigid airship to fly with helium gas rather than the highly inflammable hydrogen gas that had previously been used.

The construction plans for the ZR-1 which was assembled in the large hangar at Lakehurst, New Jersey, were almost identical with those of the later captured German Navy Zeppelin, L-49. One can visualize the construction of the ZR-1 by imagining a cigar-shaped form with circular cross-section 682 feet long and 78 feet, nine inches in diameter at midsection. The frame of the ship was built of circular rings spaced about 32 feet apart and rigidly tied together by thirteen longitudinal frame members. The entire frame was made of duralumin, an alloy of aluminum, copper, manganese and magnesium. The frame was divided into 20 sections, each occupied by a gas bag made of gold beater skin. 2

The outside of the ship was covered with a skin of cotton fabric treated with aluminum dope. A control car hung below the forward center of the ship and behind this were suspended five engine cars. Each engine car contained a 300-horsepower, Packard-built engine. All of the cars were connected by ladders to a ten-inch wide catwalk running the
length of the ship inside the frame. Also inside the frame were officers' and crews' quarters, gas tanks, water ballast storage tanks and storage areas for equipment. The total weight of the airship as completed was 33 tons of which the useful lift was between 12 and 13 tons. Its maximum speed was designed to be 65 miles per hour.

The new airship was widely hailed as an exciting new vessel. It made a series of flights over New York, Philadelphia, and Washington. Citizens caught "dirigible fever". A dancer at the Old Howard Theatre in Boston did a strip-tease with a model of the ship. Babies were named after the airship. Thousands of chambers of commerce around the United States begged the Navy Department to fly the new airship over their cities. It was during one of these "good will" flights that the airship and fourteen members of the crew met their fate.

The Shenandoah's last flight began at 2:52 in the afternoon of September 2, 1925 when it rose from its mooring mast at Lakehurst, New Jersey to begin a cross country flight. The ship proceeded southwest towards Philadelphia where it turned west towards Wheeling, West Virginia. It was scheduled to pass over eleven states and go as far west as Kansas City, Missouri. The entries from the log of the Shenandoah read 1:25 A. M. Get glimpse of lights from Wheeling Steel Mills in the distance and pick our course across center of city as we drop and decide that circling is not practical, owing to dense visibility. 1:55 A. M. Pass over Wheeling and across Ohio River, being greeted with whistles and bells as we cross city and view red flares set off on top high hill. We return honors by lighting up the ship from stem to stern.

The Wheeling Intelligencer reported that the ship would be greeted by "whistles of every manufacturing concern, church bells, and chimes and other noise makers. A salute of twenty-one guns will also be fired from Fort Fincastle on Wheeling Hill."

Shortly after 4:00 A. M. near Ava, Ohio, the airship encountered severe weather conditions associated with local thunderstorms. It was subjected to two successive periods of rapid ascent which could not be checked by the controls. The ship rose nearly 4000 feet reaching a peak altitude of over 6000 feet. This rapid rise greatly expanded the gas in its cells. Since the gas could not leak off quickly enough through the escape valves, it exerted considerable pressure against the frame of the ship which in turn probably weakened the structure.

In an effort to save the ship, the crew opened gas valves manually. This caused the ship to fall rapidly to 3000 feet where it began another uncontrolled ascent. At this point a violent gust of wind twisted the frame which broke near the forward part of the ship causing the control car to be wrenched free and to fall away from the hull. The after part of the ship then fell rapidly to the ground, but the forward section stayed aloft acting like a free balloon. It drifted about twelve miles south where it was brought down by crew members and one officer in that section. They kept this section of the ship on the ground by puncturing the gas bag with a shotgun borrowed from a farmer in whose farmyard they had landed.

The Shenandoah is gone. Parts of it were recovered for evidence to be used before the Court of Inquiry and other parts were carried off by souvenir hunters. The rest of the wreckage was cleared from the site by the Aluminum Company of America by the end of September, 1925.

Alcoa paid the Navy 20 cents a pound for the scrap metal. Perhaps the melted-down metal from the skeleton was used in the construction of more modern aircraft, or maybe it became part of a set of cookware in someone's kitchen.

The Court of Inquiry met amid an atmosphere of controversy. The most prevalent argument was that the Navy should not have authorized the flight at that time of the year because of weather conditions. The captain, Lt. Com. Zachary Lansdowne, recommended postponement of the trip because of the weather. But, he did make the flight and he had an unexercised option of changing course before the full impact of the storm struck. But, it is doubtful that he knew of the rapid advance and intensity of the storm until the ship was well into it.

Rigid airships fly no more, but lighter-than-air craft still exist in the form of non-rigid airships maintained by the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company. In the past fifteen years there has been speculation about the feasibility of reviving the airship as an economical method of transporting air freight. Little question exists about the scientific feasibility of the airship.

Modern technology could produce a safe, economical, lighter-than-air ship. A nuclear powered craft of this type would provide inexpensive, long range carrying capability. Would it be safe? In order to answer this question one need only consider the record of the German Graf Zeppelin (LZ-127) which flew around the world in 1929. It made 144 trans-Atlantic crossings, 590 flights, and flew 1,053,000 passenger miles without a single accident before it was scrapped.

NOTES

1 This popular ballad of the times was available on Victor Talking Machine record and player piano roll.

2 A section of steer intestines used since the middle ages by goldsmiths for the hammering of gold leaf because of its extraordinary strength.

3 Excerpts from the log of the Shenandoah appeared in the September 4, 1925 edition of the Wheeling Intelligencer. A reporter from the Intelligencer recovered the log from a souvenir hunter and placed it in a bank vault in Wheeling. It was then purportedly turned over to the Navy. However, a letter from the Department of Navy (19 July 1967) addressed to Congressman Arch Moore, who made inquiries on my behalf, states that the logs from 1 August and 3 September, 1925, are not available and were "perhaps lost in the wreckage".
THE WHEELING SAENGERFESTE OF 1860 and 1885

by
Edward C. Wolf

When the citizens of Wheeling arose Monday morning, July 20, 1885, they found a large, imitation granite triumphal arch about thirty feet high stretching across Market Street just below Twelfth. The keystone was decked with the German and American colors and bore the name "Maennerchor," with the date of the organization of that Wheeling singing society. The names of two other societies, the "Beethoven" and the "Mozart," were on their respective sides of the arch, while at each end shields crowned the columns and bore words of welcome.

What was the occasion? It was the opening of a four-day district Saengerfest, and Wheeling was hosting German singing societies from Pittsburgh, Allegheny City (now northside Pittsburgh), Steubenville, Marietta, and Parkersburg. The German-American citizens of Wheeling spared no pains to welcome their friends and relatives, and the Wheeling Register headed one story: "Willkommen. The First Day of the Greatest Musical Event Ever Transpiring in the Upper Ohio Valley." The city was gay with bunting and evergreen, and imposing decorations were erected along both Market and Main streets. The Intelligencer for July 21 reported:

The City Building Opera House, Lincoln club rooms, McLure House, and the halls of the various singing societies, are decorated so lavishly and artistically as to deserve special mention. Among the others it would scarcely be fair to distinguish, all are so creditable. The prevalence of evergreen is noticeable. In some places miniature groves of trees have been constructed in front of houses, and in others the houses themselves are fairly buried in evergreen. Awnings are converted into bowers and doors are arched over with pine or moss.

Flags and bunting are everywhere in profusion. The black, white and red and the red, white and blue cover half of the central parts of town, while lyres and shields inscribed "Willkommen" are on every hand.

Across the streets are stretched mottoes, poetic quotations and words of welcome...

The Saengerfest was a colorful part of American life in areas with large German populations during the last half of the Nineteenth Century. It was a combination music festival, reunion, and general celebration for Americans of German descent. In 1885 a large percentage of Wheeling's citizens were either first or second generation German immigrants, and the German language was so prevalent that West Virginia's only German newspaper, the Wheeling Volksblatt, was published in both daily and weekly editions. Thus, it was only logical that Wheeling should serve as host city for a regional festival.

Actually the 1885 Saengerfest was the second such festival to be headquartered in Wheeling. The first festival was in 1860 and was intended to inaugurate a series of annual music festivals to be held in various cities in the tri-state area. However, the Civil War intervened, and it was a quarter century before the "Nail City" — as Wheeling was then called — again hosted the singing Germans.

Let us now turn our attention to a more detailed account of these two festivals, and by so doing obtain a colorful vignette of one aspect of Wheeling's social and cultural past. The account of the 1860 festival which was printed in the 1885 Saengerfest Guide states that a number of music-loving German citizens of Wheeling attended a music festival in Columbus, Ohio, in 1859, and conceived the idea of sponsoring a similar event in Wheeling. Accordingly a committee comprised of F. Conrad, president; Louis C. Stifel, secretary; Louis Gaus, treasurer; and with I. L. Stroehlein, Henry E. Colonius, George Schwarzbach, and Louis Franzheim serving as financial advisors, set about to organize a Wheeling festival. In addition, Alonzo Loring, John Zeeckler, and Nicholas Zimmer greatly furthered and supported the planning.

The Saengerfest opened on Tuesday, August 21, 1860, and concluded with a gigantic picnic and ball on Friday, August 24. The festival attracted wide interest, and both the steamboats and railroads ran special excursions to Wheeling to accommodate travelers from a distance. Participating societies included the Germania, Maennerchor, and Harmonie from Pittsburgh, Eintracht from Chillicothe, Harmonie from Zanesville, Germania from Parkersburg, Saengerbund from Tiffin, Harmonie from Marietta, and the Maennerchor Quintet from Columbus, plus the Maennerchor and Harmonie from Wheeling, the two host societies. An account in the Marietta Republican, as reprinted in the Intelligencer for August 14, stated that the Marietta Harmonie Society of twenty singers had been preparing for the Wheeling festival for some time, and they hoped to win the massive silver goblet which was to be awarded as first prize.

The German citizens of Wheeling arranged a warm reception for their visitors, and the account in the Intelligencer for August 21 bears repeating:

A GOOD TIME ANTICIPATED. — There is scarcely a German matron or a German maiden in the city, that has not been industriously engaged for the last two weeks in making wreaths of artificial roses and evergreens, mottoes, emblems, and all sorts of tasteful ornaments to be displayed on the occasion of the Festival of the German Central Singerbund [sic], which commences tomorrow. The men, too, have not been idle in their efforts to make everything look pleasant and beautiful to their countrymen from abroad. We see load after load of cedar and oak branches, and umbrageous forest clusters coming in from the country, and in all parts of the city, the work of wreathing and festooning is going on. Some of the enterprising beer saloons are building bowers in front of their doors and displaying flags and all manner of appropriate and attractive mottoes.
The maids and matrons, and men, have ornamented the Washington Hall in a very tasteful manner. The stage is gaily decorated with flags and rare mottoes, and the walls are hung with mottoes, both in English and German, and surrounded with pine twigs and roses of all colors. Places are already assigned in the Hall for the occupancy of all the societies expected to arrive, and above each place is a shield bearing the name of the society.

There is stretched across the street from the McLuire House to Washington Hall, a string of cedar branches, in the centre of which there is a wreath bearing the word Welcommen [sic], (Welcome,) and from the Hall across Market street there is another string bearing the words Haupt Quartier, (Head Quarters.)

We saw yesterday at Mr. C.P. Brown’s the silver goblet which is to be presented to the best singing society — home societies not being allowed to compete. The concert at the Athenaum on Thursday evening will be a grand affair and the picnic on the Island, Friday, will draw an immense number of people. The whole is to conclude with a grand ball as set down in the programme.

The opening reception-concert and the prize concert were both in Washington Hall. The grand concert at the Athenaum (located on the southeast corner of Market and Sixteenth) featured a combined chorus of 22 singer and a 34-piece orchestra, principally from Wheeling, but with a few additions from Cincinnati and Pittsburgh. Young Brass Band from Pittsburgh, a band from Marietta, and the Wheeling orchestra played for the concert, parade, hall, and picnic.

The grand concert on August 22 was directed by Prof. C. Paudert of Cincinnati, and had the following program: Overture to Cenerillon by Rossini; “Hymn to the Wine” by Rietz, performed by the combined chorus and orchestra; “Solo for Trombone” by David, with Louis Paudert of Cincinnati as featured soloist; “Battle Scene” by Fischer, sung by the combined chorus with orchestra; Overture to Monteclli et Capulet by Bellini; and closing with the “Hunter’s Song” by Evers for the combined chorus and orchestra.

This concert must have been quite successful, since the Intelligencer for August 23 reported that it was well attended, and despite the large number of singers in the massed chorus there was only “the most perfect harmony.” However, many persons considered the admission price of one dollar to be rather high, so they chose to occupy curbstone seats outside and partake of the sounds which drifted from the hall.

At the prize concert Thursday evening the Eintracht Society from Chillicothe won the competition and received the large silver goblet. The Intelligencer reported that “the Grand Prize Concert was all that could be desired. All the Societies acquitted themselves creditably in presence of one of the largest audiences ever assembled in Washington Hall.”

The last day of the Saengerfest was devoted to a parade, picnic, and ball. Although Friday morning dawned rainy — “if it can be said to have dawned at all” — as the Intelligencer put it, the skies cleared by nine o’clock when the parade formed on Monroe (Twelfth) Street in the following order: Virginia Riflemen (Company B), the new Company C with their bright new uniforms and arms, the Turners, the different singing societies and bands, and the German Beneficial Society.

Each society bore its banner and carried an “innumerable variety of emblems and wreathes” within its ranks. The parade itself was at least a mile in length and wound through the principal streets before proceeding across the suspension bridge to the fair grounds on Wheeling Island for the picnic, which featured addresses by Rev. William Helfer and the Hon. Sherrard Clemens, plus a varied lot of amusements, dancing, and singing.

According to the account in the 1885 Saengerfest Guide admission to the picnic was ten cents per person, and the gate receipts of $756 indicate that approximately 8,000 people attended. However, the Intelligencer for August 27 reported gate receipts were $232 and about 3,500 were present. The Intelligencer then adds that beer and wine tickets were sold at five cents each, and since $583 of tickets were sold, this indicates about 11,600 horns of wine and beer were consumed. Obviously the picnic was well supplied with liquid refreshments!

Friday night’s ball at Washington Hall started auspiciously enough, but as the dancing waxed into the wee hours of Saturday “outside elements” began to make trouble. As the Intelligencer said the following Monday, “The Germans would have done well enough by themselves, but they admitted everybody who had a ticket, and those who left at an early hour gave their passes to others who came in upon them. There was plenty of wine and lager beer (which will intoxicate) and these fellows poured the liquid down their throats by the quart.” The Intelligencer account of the trouble reads:

ROW AT THE GERMAN BALL. — At an early hour on Saturday morning a row occurred at the German Singerfest ball at Washington Hall. The Hall was crowded to excess and it was with the greatest inconvenience that waltzing could be indulged in with any pleasure without jostling the eager throng. A considerable quantity of a certain belligerent outside element got in among the Teutons some how or other and after the supper at the McLuire House, and the return to the hall it was evident it was beginning to boil. There were sundry hasty movements in the barroom and in different parts of the hall, which boded no especial good. Our informant saw two men dividing a heavy chair between them and thinking that the atmosphere was becoming, to say the least of it, a little insalubrious, he took the near cut for out doors, followed by a good many others, and is therefore unable to furnish an exact account of the proceedings. He didn’t wait to see what the men were going to do with the chair. He had no curiosity on the subject. We learn, however, that a barkeeper got the roof of his head scaled by a lager-bier glass thrown by some outsider and that the aforesaid outsider got somewhat chawed up. About this time a pistol shot was
fired down on the sidewalk and a fight was going on in the street, which with a general moving and shouting about made things so unpleasant that it was thought advisable to stop the ball at an earlier hour than it would otherwise have been stopped.

Except for the rowdism at the ball, the 1860 festival proceeded remarkably smoothly when one considers that several thousand persons were involved in the various concerts, parade, picnic, and ball, not to mention several thousand more onlookers. The Intelligencer for August 25 aptly stated:

We listened to their songs, and they fired us; we shouted with their shouts, and were glad with them; we caught the real spirit of the German "fes," and enjoyed ourselves as we have hardly ever done before. There was a hilarity, a joyousness, a jubilancy and a fraternal harmonious feeling, such as we never saw before. It was a grand lesson in social entertainment taught us formal Americans and it can hardly fail of impression and effect.

The Saengerfest of 1885 was in many respects a more sophisticated event, perhaps because Wheeling did a lot of "growing up" both culturally and physically during the intervening years. The special, bilingual Saengerfest Guide, which was published for the 1885 festival, was actually a book in which the first 72 pages gave a history and description of Wheeling, including several pen drawings, printed the programs for the three principal concerts and the texts which were sung, gave biographical sketches and pen drawings of the main performers and the officers of the festival committee, and listed the members of each of the participating societies. The second part of the book contained 62 pages and consisted of musical anecdotes, advertisements, and poetry.

From this brief description it is obvious that the Saengerfest Guide is a veritable gold mine for historical information concerning Wheeling of the 1880's. In the section of the guide which gives a history and description of the city, the writer is unabashedly pro-Wheeling, even to the extent of making a virtue of the smoky air. The writer states, "The coal smoke makes Wheeling at first, objectionable to the stranger, but barring this drawback there is hardly a pleasanter location for a city in the world... The verdict of eminent physicians is, that coal smoke is favorable to lung and cutaneous diseases, from the large amount of carbon, sulphur and iodine contained in it. It is also antitoxic, which accounts for the few cases of remittent and intermittent fever in this section of country." Apparently the Environmental Protection Agency of today has overlooked these virtues of air pollution!

Perhaps the best way to obtain an overview of the 1885 festival is to quote the advertisement which ran in the Intelligencer several days before the festival opened. This advertisement reads:

DISTRICT SAENGERFEST TO BE HELD IN WHEELING, W. VA., JULY 20 TO 23, 1885, INCLUSIVE, MONDAY, TUESDAY, WEDNESDAY AND THURSDAY. 500

TRAINED VOICES! THE FULL OPERA HOUSE ORCHESTRA. Assisted by the Best Musical Talent from PITTSBURGH, CINCINNATI AND COLUMBUS, EMBRACING IN ALL 42 MUSICIANS. Also the following Eminent Vocal Soloists: Miss DORA HENNINGS, of Cleveland, Ohio, Prima Donna Soprano, who lately assisted at the Cincinnati May Festival; Mr. CARL KAUSCHE, Dramatic Solo Tenor of Baltimore, Md.; Miss FLORA WILLIAMS, Soprano, of Martin's Ferry, Ohio; Mrs. NELLIE SWEEENEY-PALMER, Alto Contralto, Wheeling. Prof. H.J. ARBENZ, Festival Director. Prof. LOUIS VAAS, Orchestral Director.

THREE GRAND CONCERTS! At the New and Magnificent ALHAMBRA PALACE. Seating Capacity, 4,000. MONDAY EVENING, JULY 20 — Reception Concert. Grand Chorus of the Wheeling Singing Societies, assisted by a Lady Chorus of One Hundred Selected Voices. TUESDAY AFTERNOON, JULY 21 — Grand Matinee, in which the Robert Blum Zither Club, of Allegheny, will participate. TUESDAY EVENING, JULY 21 — Grand Closing Concert. Combined Chorus of 500 Trained Voices. WEDNESDAY, JULY 22 — Monster Parade in the forenoon, in which all the singing societies and all other societies of the Ohio Valley will participate, to be followed by a Grand Picnic at the New State Park Grounds. THURSDAY, JULY 23 — Grand Excursion to Wheeling Park, followed by a Commerce. Matinee Concert begins at 2:30 P.M. and the Evening Concerts at 8 o'clock P.M. sharp.

Excursions on all Railroads and Steamboats coming into Wheeling at Greatly Reduced Rates. Sale of Season Tickets will commence Monday, July 13th, at 9 A.M., at Sheib's Music Store, 53 Twelfth Street. Sale of Single Tickets will commence Thursday, July 16th, at 9 A.M., at same place. Prices — Season Tickets, not reserved, $1.50; Season Tickets, with reserved seats for all concerts, $2.00; Single Admission Tickets, 75 cents; Single Reserved Seats, $1.00. Orders by mail or telegraph sent to Wm. H. Sheib, 53 Twelfth street, will receive prompt attention.

The 1885 festival committee included some of the most prominent members of Wheeling's German community. They were Augustus Pollack, honorable president, and nine honorable vice-presidents: Fred Happy, John Arbenz, C.W. Seabright, Conrad Seibert, Jacob W. Grubb (who was then Wheeling's mayor), H. Schumback, Wm. F. Stifel, J.H. Hobbs, and A.C. Egerter. The central committee, which served as the working committee for the festival, consisted of William Grewe, president; Charles Horstmann, vice-president; Edward Broche, recording secretary; and Julius Lohse, treasurer.
Wheeling's own Henry J. Arbenz served as music director for the festival. Arbenz was born in Wheeling June 16, 1850, and was the son of John Arbenz, who operated what was then Wheeling's largest furniture store at 1115 Main Street. He showed considerable musical talent as a boy, and in May, 1877, began the study of music at the Royal Conservatory in Stuttgart, Germany. He entered the advanced program of study at Stuttgart in July, 1881, and received his certificate on June 30, 1883, whereupon he returned to Wheeling to become director of the Maennerchor as well as to be both a performer and teacher. His applied music majors were in piano, organ, and choral conducting, in addition to completing the standard curriculum in composition, instrumentation, and form.

Arbenz returned to Europe in the later 1880s, where he married Karoline Knoblich of Karlsruhe on September 10, 1889. She was a mezzo-soprano who concertized in Germany under the name of Lilli Karen. Arbenz and his wife returned to Wheeling, where he opened the Wheeling Conservatory on Fifteenth Street in 1890. He also served as organist for Zion Lutheran Church for many years. He died on September 16, 1928, after serving as one of Wheeling's leading musical figures for over forty years.

A festival of the scope of the 1885 Saengerfest required many weeks of advance preparation by Arbenz and the festival committees. Arbenz himself traveled to Pittsburgh and other cities to conduct rehearsals of the various singing societies which were to participate. These societies and the number of singers in each as determined by the names listed in the official program included the Robert Blum Maennerchor (47), Mount Washington Maennerchor (15), Teutonia Maennerchor (28), Ohio Saengerbund (14), and Cecilia Maennerchor (30) from Allegheny City; the Germania Maennerchor (19), Germania Liederkranz (19), and Sudseite Turnersgesangsection (11) from Pittsburgh; the Harmonie (12) from Steubenville; the Maennerchor (11) from Marietta; and the Germania (18) from Parkersburg. Three of the four Wheeling societies also participated. They were the Beethoven (33), Maennerchor (22), and the Mozart (25). The Register account for July 20 indicates that additional men accompanied all the societies, so participation was somewhat greater than these figures indicate.

Because of musical jealousies Wheeling's Arion Society did not participate in the program; however, the Arion Society did host a reception — or at least in their hall at 21st and Main streets for the visiting societies and the orchestra after the "Grand Evening Concert" on Tuesday, July 21. The Mozart Society hosted a similar reception at the same time. Since Wheeling was in the midst of a July heat wave during the festival, these receptions provided opportunity for cooling liquid refreshments, and undoubtedly the "celebrated Wiener beer" brewed especially for the festival by Wheeling's Schmulbach Brewing Company flowed freely on both these and other occasions.

Unlike the 1860 festival, the 1885 concerts did not involve a formal competition among the societies. While some of the groups did present individual numbers on the Tuesday afternoon program, their primary musical purpose was to perform with the massed choir or "Grand Chorus." Since the societies were all-male groups and some of the music required women's voices, there was also a 175-voice festival chorus from the Wheeling area which included 95 women's voices.

Wheeling's Alhambra Palace Rink on the southwest corner of Chapline and 33rd streets served as the festival hall. The Alhambra was capable of seating up to 4,000 and its many windows and proximity to breezes off the Ohio River proved to be inestimable blessing in the July heat. Special excursion rates to the Alhambra were provided by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, whose track passed within a block of the main entrance; by the Elm Grove Railroad, which provided connecting service in downtown Wheeling; and by the Citizens Line street cars.

Persons arriving by boat or ferry could use the La Belle near the rink. Within the rink itself a large stage 75 feet wide by 43 feet deep was erected to accommodate the chorus and orchestra. The chorus was seated on terraced seats in a large semi-circle, trimmed with bunting. Immediately in front of the director's podium was a handsome lyre made of roses and other flowers. On each corner of the stage were two large urns containing flowers and vines, while the intervening spaces were filled with tropical plants and other flowers. The interior of the auditorium was festooned throughout with evergreen, bunting, and flags.

Outside the hall refreshment booths dotted the streets, and the vendors called out their wares in all manner of styles and voices. Overhead two large strings of Japanese lanterns stretched from the Alhambra to the opposite buildings, and this combined with other illuminations to create a very festive atmosphere after dark. As the Register for July 21 put it, "It was like a grand fair or the market on Saturday night."

From a musical viewpoint the 1885 Saengerfest was of higher quality than the 1860 event, as is shown by the content of the programs. Undoubtedly the German-American sponsors were fully aware of their cultural responsibilities, as shown by a portion of the remarks made by Augustus Pollack at the opening concert and quoted in the Register for July 21:

While civilization gracefully acknowledges its indebtedness to our German-American citizens for the inspiration of healthy musical life in America, may it not commend to their special care THE CAUSE OF MUSIC and the possibilities of its future in this country?

What sublime treasures may be revealed in the future as compared with the grand legacies of the past, cannot be translated until America dignifies Art as its institutions dignify the citizens — until American music is encouraged and applauded at its home — until the immodest and exorbitant charges of foreign art are rebuked — until every farm and workshop resounds with the cheer of elevated song, and every beautiful landscape is made lovelier by joyous musical life — until every nursery, every school and temple of science in our grand domain of liberty, have their honored representative of the muse; and finally, until original American Musical Art — worthy of a great and powerful people, is the acknowledged and SUCCESSFUL RIVAL of the old world.

Pollack's remarks are a type of musical manifesto for Americans of German descent, and many of his hopes came true in the Germanization of
American musical life during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The “Grand Reception Concert” was scheduled to begin at 8 o’clock sharp Monday evening, but the logistics of this massive event were such that it was 8:45 before Prof. Louis Vaas could raise his baton and the augmented Wheeling Opera House Orchestra began playing Weber’s overture to *P Jerusalem*. While Henry J. Arbenz was general musical director, he conducted the orchestra only when they played in conjunction with the festival chorus, grand chorus, or one of the guest soloists. Louis Vaas conducted all purely orchestral selections.

The three Wheeling societies participating in the festival were Arbenz a handsome, gold mounted, ebony baton as a memento of his work. This presentation occurred over a month earlier on the evening of June 15 following a rehearsal in the Maennerchor hall on Market Street. The presentation date was selected so as to coincide with the young director’s twenty-fifth birthday, which was on June 16. Today this baton is a prized possession of Henrietta Arbenz Fulk of Wheeling, who is a daughter of Henry J. Arbenz.

Following the Weber overture Arbenz took his turn on the podium to direct the festival chorus and orchestra in his own arrangement of Franz Abt’s song, “Willkommen.” Then followed welcoming addresses by Augustus Pollack, Wheeling’s mayor Jacob W. Grubb, and the Rev. William Ufford, pastor of St. John’s German Protestant Church. Subsequent musical selections included Mrs. Nellie Sweeney-Palmer (daughther of A.J. Sweeney, once one of Wheeling’s most prominent residents) singing Pinsutti’s “Raff,” accompanied by Prof. Hermann Ebeling of Columbus, Ohio, at the piano; Rossini’s overture to *William Tell*; an aria from Mozarts’ *Don Giovanni* sung by Carl Kausche with orchestral accompaniment; Wagner’s “Haidenkreuz,” sung by the combined Wheeling Opera House Orchestra, and Mozart societies from Wheeling; a cavatina from Gounod’s *La Reine de Saba* sung by Dora Hennings; Miss Hennings encored with Mendelssohn’s setting of Heine’s “Leise zieht durch mein Gemueh,” and the concert closed as Arbenz led the mixed festival chorus and orchestra in Hegar’s “Hymn to Music.”

The afternoon concert on Tuesday, July 21, had to compete with a heat wave, which undoubtedly contributed to a smaller audience than had been anticipated. It opened with Mendelssohn’s “Ruy Blas Overture,” followed by the Robert Blum Maennerchor of Allegheny City singing W. H. Veit’s “Pretty Darling.” Then followed the “Cujus animam” from Rossini’s “Stabat Mater,” sung by tenor Carl Kausche with orchestra; Abt’s “Freher Wundermann,” sung by the Germania Liederkranz of Pittsburgh (not included on the printed program); Haertel’s “The Pretty Miller’s Daughter,” sung by Steubenville’s Harmonie Society; Abt’s “Calm is the Sea,” sung by the Teutonia Maennerchor of Allegheny City; Lerner’s “Saengerlust” by the choir of the Pittsburgh South Side Turnverein (not on the printed program); the aria “Batti, batti” from Mozart’s *Don Giovanni*, sung by Miss Flora Williams of Martins Ferry; H. Pfeil’s setting of “Calm Is the Sea,” presented by Pittsburgh’s Germania Maennerchor; J.S. Vendsen’s orchestral fantasy on Norwegian airs entitled “Norwegian Rhapsody,” two unprogrammed songs by Schubert and Hatton, sung by Dora Hennings, with Lossen’s “My Dream” as an encore; while Eckert’s “Schifferhled,” sung by the Ceciilia Maennerchor of Allegheny City, closed the concert. The Robert Blum Cither Club of Allegheny City was programmed, but did not perform.

Musical activities of the *Saengerfest* culminated with Tuesday’s “Grand Evening Concert.” Despite the heat, the Alhambra was filled for this program, and many of the audience were in full dress. The program was set for eight, but started a half-hour late with Wagner’s prelude to *Die Meistersinger* performed by the augmented Opera House Orchestra directed by Vaas. Thereupon Arbenz directed the “Grand Chorus” (all men singers combined, about 400 in all) and orchestra in Kremer’s setting of six old Netherlands folk songs, followed by Dessau’s “To Sevilla,” sung by Flora Williams; Wrede’s “Night Song of the Warriors,” sung unaccompanied by the massed men’s chorus; and Agatha’s aria from Weber’s *Der Freischuetz*, sung by Dora Hennings.

The evening’s “Presto de Resistance” was a complete performance of Beethoven’s sixth symphony, which both the Register and Intelligencer report was well played and enthusiastically received, although the Register thought the tempo of the opening allegro was too fast. Concluding selections included the cavatina from Gounod’s *Faust*, sung by tenor Carl Kausche; the “Chorus of Armures” from Wagner’s *Rienzi*, presented by the massed men’s chorus with orchestra; Donizetti’s “O mio Fernando,” sung by Nellie Sweeney-Palmer; a repeat performance of Arbenz’s arrangement of Abt’s “Willkommen” (not originally programmed); a duet by guest artists Dora Hennings and Carl Kausche in Luccentari’s “Una notte in Venezia”; and the concert closed with Wilhelm’s popular “The Watch on the Rhine,” performed by the massed chorus with orchestra.

After closing remarks by festival president Pollack, the chorus and orchestra followed the audiences outside, where the G.A.R. Band of Pittsburgh headlined a procession which marched to Mozart Hall for a concert. Thus ended the musical portions of the “Fest of 1885.”

“The harmony is hushed, but the fun is only about to commence; the last salutes of the Saengerfest die away and are succeeded by a commerce, parade, picnic, a Sommernachtsfest and pleasure galore” so began an *Intelligencer* account on July 22. Wednesday’s parade was truly a grand affair, and all the festival participants were joined by various bands, lodges, G.A.R. posts, the Wheeling fire department, and numerous carriages. Bands included the G.A.R. Band of Pittsburgh, the Wheeling Opera House Band, Parkersburg City Band, Aetnaville Band, St. Caecilia Band of Belleire, Mayer’s Band (of Wheeling), and the Wheeling G.A.R. Drum Corps.

The parade was scheduled to begin at 9 a.m., but like most of the *Saengerfest* it was late getting started, and it was about 10 o’clock before the procession got underway. The line of march was truly formidable, starting at 16th and Chapline, and moving up Chapline to 11th, then to Market and up Market to 7th, over to Main and down Main to 24th, then over to Chapline and down to 38th, returning via Jacob, Eoff, and Chapline to 20th, over to Market and up Market to 10th, then via the suspension bridge to the island and down Front to the fair grounds. (Newspaper accounts are not in total agreement on the line of march, except that it started at 16th and Chapline and covered Main, Market, and Eoff from 7th down to 38th and back to 10th). The long line of march, combined with temperatures ranging from 94 degrees to 97 de-
degrees in the shade, caused numerous marchers to drop out before reaching the suspension bridge.

The picnic on the fair grounds attracted four to five thousand. Various bands, orchestras, and other musical groups provided continuous entertainment, and the different societies set up their individual stands to provide food and many, many kegs of "cooling amber liquid." The picnic was a grand success and was not marred by any unfortunate incidents.

Thursday's activities included a business meeting at the Maennerchor hall in the morning, at which a district Saengerbund was formed. The district was to include all societies in eastern Ohio, western Pennsylvania, and northern West Virginia, and a festival was to be held in alternate years, starting with Allegheny City in 1887. Thursday afternoon was devoted to a ceremony at Wheeling Park, followed by a Sommernachtsfest and grand fireworks display that evening. At least five thousand visited the park in the afternoon, and the crowds were even larger in the evening. The Elm Grove Railroad ran trains in two sections every hour both ways, and the supply of summer cars was too small to accommodate the crowds, so closed cars had to be brought out.

At the park the order of events was "eat, drink, and be merry," and according to the Intelligencer "everybody followed the programme very closely." Various bands and the Opera House Orchestra provided music. The Intelligencer account on July 24 concludes:

Taken altogether the Sommernachtsfest was a glorious success, and a fitting finale to the great feast of song and pleasure which will make the early half of this week a series of red letter days in the memory of all who were fortunate enough to enjoy the festivities. All honor to the German-American citizens of Wheeling for their self-sacrificing labors and donations to foster the love of music and innocent enjoyment.

Thus ended the 1885 Saengerfest. To close on a lighter note, here are a few "Fest Notes" and "Saengerfest Scraps" from issues of the Intelligencer for July 21 and 22:

One country, one flag, zwei beer!

Wheeling ought to have an orchestra like that all the time.

The scene outside the Fest hall last night was a show in itself.

"William Tell" has a firm hold. It was unusually well played last night.

The Elm Grove road will take country people out after the concert to-night.

The B. & O. runs trains at convenient intervals at 10 cents for the round trip.

The hall is away ahead of that in which the Pittsburgh May Musical Festival was held.

Yesterday was the hottest day of the season — yet the Fest hall was quite comfortable last night.

The Robert Blum Maennerchor is comfortably quartered at Louis Frick's, corner of Market and Sixteenth streets. They are a fine body of men.

The picnic will be a rouser.

Everybody will enjoy the parade. That doesn't cost anything.

Tom Perkins, the tonsorial artist, has his window inscribed, "Willkommen! [sic] The only German colored barber in town!"

I wish to thank Mrs. Henrietta Arbenz Fulks of Wheeling for making available to me a copy of the Saengerfest Guide, Official Text-Book and Program of the District Saengerfest, Held at Wheeling, W. Va., July 20-23, 1885 (Wheeling: Louis Lepper, 1885), and a scrapbook with Saengerfest clippings from the Wheeling papers. These materials were supplemented with issues of the Intelligencer during August, 1860, and the Register and the Intelligencer during July, 1885, to provide the sources for this study.
GREAT EDUCATOR OF THE UPPER OHIO VALLEY — 
PAUL N. ELBIN

Kenneth Robert Nodyne

Dr. Paul N. Elbin was President of West Liberty State College for thirty-five years, from 1935 to 1970. His life symbolizes what he said of Beethoven in his book "The Paradox of Happiness." He has found "joy in the struggle."

A native of Cameron, West Virginia Elbin came to West Liberty fifty years ago to teach English and Speech and serve as chaplain. Turning down opportunities to teach at West Virginia University and Bethany College, he became President of West Liberty State College in 1935. At the age of thirty, he was the youngest college president in the country. Elbin's struggle was to create a quality state supported institution of higher learning in the Upper Ohio Valley. In this effort he was to achieve great success. During his presidency, West Liberty State College moved from being the smallest state college, in West Virginia to the largest state college, outranked in size only by West Virginia University and Marshall University.

A mere ten years before Elbin's presidency, West Liberty State College was on the verge of extinction. The problems of the college led to an effort to move it to Wheeling, Glendale, or Moundsville during the 1920's. Under Elbin's predecessor, J. S. Bonar (1926-1933), these problems were surmounted. A $100,000 building program was begun and Curtis Hall was built. Electricity and a local water supply system were brought to West Liberty. Enrollment grew, and as a response to this, McColloch Hall, the east wing of the present Main Hall, was built. The college was transformed from a Normal School to a Teachers College. Bonar did his work so effectively that he earned the nickname "Bonar the Builder."

Dr. Elbin was well equipped by background and training to take up the duties of President of West Liberty State College in 1935. He was born on April 21, 1905 to Harry and Nellie Nowell Elbin of Cameron, Marshall County. As a lad he attended schools which were serviced by teachers trained at West Liberty State College. Elbin completed high school and college in six years, graduating from Ohio State University with a Bachelor of Arts degree. After a one year stint of teaching at Cameron High School, Elbin went to Teachers College, Columbia University and received a Master of Arts degree in 1928. The next September he took up his teaching duties at West Liberty State College.

In 1929 Dr. Elbin married Helen Pierce, daughter of the pastor of Cameron's First Christian Church. His marriage came after a long courtship which began at the age of fifteen. He relates that when he proposed to his wife-to-be at the age of fifteen, she told him he could count on marrying her.

At the same time, Elbin continued his education. Taking several leaves from his duties at West Liberty, he continued his studies towards the Ph. D. in education at Columbia University. In 1932 he published his dissertation entitled "The Improvement of College Worship." The dissertation dealt with two areas that have been the focus of Elbin's life ever since: education and religion.

Elbin's interest in continuing his religious education was demonstrated by his studies at the Divinity School of the University of Chicago and at Union Theological Seminary, New York. In 1936, he was ordained into the Methodist Church. Twenty years later he changed his affiliation to the Presbyterian Church.
His many faceted career has been in the best tradition of the professional educator: teacher, scholar, clergyman and administrator. While carrying on thirty-five years of busy administrative duties, he has also found time to publish works which reflect his role as an educator, teacher and clergyman. In addition to his doctoral dissertation, Elbin has published six books: "The Enrichment of Life," "Worship for the Young in Spirit," "The Bible Question Bee," "Brotherhood Through Religion," "Fifty Devotional Services," and "The Paradox of Happiness."  

His most recent book, "The Paradox of Happiness," reflects his philosophical outlook at its fullest development. It is the work of the mature and active mind of a Christian intellectual. Few who read this book will fail to be impressed by the vigorous spirit manifested in this work. The sense of "joy in the struggle" runs through the book from Elbin's discussion of "Happiness Cannot Be Guaranteed" to "Death Need Not Be Feared."  

The book expounds the virtues of idealism and healthy optimism. He upholds five absolutes of life which inspire men: the assurance that there is beauty, satisfying work, love, bravery, and intelligence in the world. This underlying enthusiasm for life and for the virtues of life is nowhere more apparent than in his attitude towards death. Elbin's answer to the question of what he would do if told that he only had one year to live is characteristic of the joy in the struggle with which he has faced life. He writes that if he was told he only had one year to live "I would not believe it. At least I would not accept it as final I would fight for life."  

His joy in the struggle to assure quality education for West Liberty State College is illustrated throughout his career. One of the achievements of the early years of his administration was the attainment of accreditation for the college. This achievement was the result of the joint effort of administrators, faculty, and students.  

The long years of depression and war stymied plans for the growth of the college until the post-war years. Nevertheless, these years saw the beginning of several important programs at the college. One of these was the Dental Hygiene Department which went on to become one of the most well known dental hygiene programs in the eastern United States.  

A sign of the future progress to be achieved during the Elbin years came during the first five years when the Downtown Center of West Liberty State College was created in 1938. During the first year ten courses were offered with 208 students. This was the nucleus of the future Wheeling campus of West Liberty State College which became West Virginia Northern Community College in 1973. The Downtown Center was in Wheeling High School at first. Then it moved to 2227 Chapline Street. In 1964 the Hazel-Atlas building was acquired and adapted for class use by 1966.  

The success of these early programs spurred Elbin's dreams for expansion of both the facilities and the programs of the college. A sign of progress was heralded during World War II when West Liberty became the first state college to drop the word "Teacher" from its title in anticipation of a wider mission to come. Other state teachers colleges soon followed suit. By June 1943, all the state teachers colleges in the state changed their names.  

An indication of the underlying humanitarian tone of the Elbin tenure is illustrated by the attitude taken towards Japanese-Americans during World War II. In 1942, the Federal War Relocation Authority tried to get Eastern colleges to enroll Japanese-Americans interned in Western relocation centers. Elbin agreed to accept Japanese-American students. His decision aroused the ire of several Wheeling patriots and an American Legion Post. The newspapers split on the issue: The Wheeling Intelligencer favored the policy, but the Wheeling News-Register opposed it. The question aroused more controversy than necessary, as no Japanese-Americans applied.  

Expansion of facilities for the students was continued. On January 5, 1942, the state's first student center at a state college was opened. The center was located in the basement of McColloch Hall. On opening day, there was free dancing and free ice cream, served by President Elbin behind the counter as a "soda-jerk."  

As the war went on, the number of students at West Liberty declined. The lowest enrollment was reached in 1944-45 when there were 100 students. Ninety finished the year, of whom only eight were men.  

Due to the decreased pressures of college administration during the last years of the war, Elbin wrote a number of articles in national magazines, including Parade, Christian Century, NEA Journal, Christian Science Moniter, College and University Business and many others. The period saw the publication of three books: "The Bible Question Bee," "Brotherhood Through Religion," and "The Enrichment of Life."  

West Liberty State College responded to the post-war pressures of skyrocketing enrollments due to returning G.I.'s in the same fashion as many colleges across the country. Twelve Army residence trailers were purchased and placed on the site now occupied by the gymnasium. Five one story barracks were also acquired. West Liberty had a unique problem: a water shortage. Two five ton tank trucks were obtained from Fort Meade, Maryland to haul water from Wheeling.  

The post-war building program began with the construction of College Hall, in 1950, around the shell of an army theatre. This building replaced Academy Hall as the college assembly hall. Academy Hall was the last building left over from the Normal School days.  

In 1956 Elbin obtained $500,000 to build a Physical Education Building. The next year an additional $100,000 was appropriated for the educational wing of the building. The old gymnasium was rebuilt and fitted with a brick facade to become the Ballroom of the present College Union in 1959.  

The fabulous growth decade of the 1960's began propitiously. In 1959 the legislature appropriated $1,200,000 for the construction of Main Hall
between McCulloch and Curtis Halls. This project had been promised by the state legislature since 1925. Elbin recalls annual trips to Charleston to plead for the long-promised building. Finally, in 1961, the building was completed, about the same time Rogers Hall, a residence hall for women, was built.

The decade of the 1960's was one of mushrooming growth in the student body and rapid expansion of the college plant. A second women's residence, Boyd Hall, was built. Other building followed: Hughes Hall, a residence for girls; Curtis Hall, Bonar, and Bartell Halls, as men's residences; the stately Hall of Fine Arts; Krise Hall, a residence hall whose construction began during the Elbin administration, and the Paul N. Elbin Library, named in his honor by a grateful faculty.

The Elbin library is the most impressive college library in the greater Wheeling area. Elbin's proudest accomplishment was the building of the inspiring Inter-Faith Chapel. He is committed to the idea that people of all faiths and philosophies ought to have a place for meditation.

In 1970 Elbin retired as president of the college due to state policy requiring college presidents to retire at age 65. He referred to this as "statutory senility" and pointed out that many people continue to be very active well beyond the arbitrary retirement age. As usual, his wisdom was ahead of his time. Eight years to be exact. In 1978 Congress extended the compulsory retirement age to 70.

Elbin's "retirement years" have been anything but that. As he said in his 1970 Convocation Address "Exit 65", he did not take the retirement exit. He has transferred his vigorous pursuit of the "joy in the struggle" to other endeavors. He has transferred his efforts, but he has not reached the end of the line. Elbin taught at West Liberty for a year after retirement as college president. For three years after that he taught at the Belmont County campus of Ohio University.

His lifelong interest in music gave him another opportunity to serve the community when he became President of the Wheeling Symphony Society in 1973-75. This tenure was marked by an aggressive fund raising campaign which saw a deficit of $15,000 converted to a surplus of $12,000. During these years the symphony also achieved metropolitan status.

The years since have seen Elbin serve as acting pastor of a number of local churches and the publication of his book, "The Paradox of Happiness." Presently, he is interim pastor of Westminster Presbyterian Church in Steubenville.

Elbin's continuing joy in the struggle is symbolized by his constant commitment in all phases of his life to the spirit of the song writer, Man-Zucca, which he quotes in his most recent book:

I love life
So I want to live
And drink of life's fullness
Take all it can give.

NOTES


5. Ibid., pp. 50-57.


7. Ibid.

8. Taped interview Elbin-Nodyne.


10. Ibid., p. 64.

11. Elbin, Paradox . . . ., front leaf.

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid., pp. 15-23.


15. Reuter, pp. 79-80.


17. Ibid.

18. Reuter, pp. 84-87.


22. Ibid., p. 93.
BOOK REVIEW


Thomas Jefferson lived as somewhat of an enigma in American History. The author of the Declaration of Independence, with its stress on freedom and equality, he was one of Virginia’s largest slaveowners. Firmly believing in the small, free farmer, Jefferson lived from the labor of black slaves. Convinced that agriculture was ennobling, he saw no nobility in the labor or character of black Americans. These paradoxes, these inconsistencies, are the subject that John Chester Miller attempts to clarify in *The Wolf by the Ears*.

The result is as inconsistent as the subject, which Miller seems not to know how to approach. In the end, he chooses the method of topical rather than chronological, chapters. The result is unsatisfactory, being especially weak in transition. Furthermore, some chapters completely fall to come to grips with the promised subject matter.

Miller seems equally unsure of what position to take on the Jeffersonian character. Much of the first part of the work is spent in a defense of Thomas Jefferson, an approach that was apparently given up toward the end. In particular, Miller seems anxious to refute the story of Jefferson's reported liaison with Sally Hemings (see Fawn Brodie’s *Thomas Jefferson: An Intimate History*, New York, 1974).

Properly criticizing Brodie for supporting her contenions with flimsy evidence, Miller’s arguments are just as tenuous. Miller constantly insists that there could have been no relationship between Jefferson and Sally, and about race relations. As additional evidence, he departs from the subject matter of the book by giving great attention to Jefferson’s generally innocuous relations with other women. This is stretched far beyond the point of credibility in examining Jefferson’s self-admitted indiscretion with the wife of classmate John Walker. Finally, in attempting to rescue Jefferson’s reputation from Ms. Brodie’s pen, Miller attacks the reputation of Samuel Carr (Jefferson’s nephew) on rather unsubstantial grounds.

In the final analysis, it is these chapters which stand out as weakening the overall merit of Miller’s work. In the last few chapters, too, even Miller can no longer explain away the vast gulf between Jefferson’s statements and his actions. It is through these that Jefferson emerges as an insincere opponent of slavery who lived in relative comfort because of the labor of those he believed to be inferior to himself.

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BOOK REVIEW


This is a compact, well-written account of Kentucky in the Civil War, but in order to retain its compactness, Harrison had to stress the Civil War in Kentucky whereas an emphasis on Kentucky history would have required a broader treatment. This focus permitted Harrison to generalize more and virtually eliminate statistical tables, which are found more abundantly in the larger book by E. Merle Coulter, *The Civil War and Readjustment in Kentucky*. Harrison reads well on the vital subject of the importance that Kentucky and the other Border States figured in Lincoln's strategy of holding them in the Union and forcing the thrust of fighting closer to the Tennessee border. President Lincoln's famous quip is called to mind: "I hope to have God on my side, but I must have Kentucky." This state of supreme importance with its 400 mile border on the Ohio River was ninth in national population and held seventh position in agricultural production. Kentucky was the gateway to the South which in Federal hands eased greatly the military problem of penetrating the middle and deep South. The Whig tradition created by Henry Clay helped insure Unionist support but insisted on no tampering with the peculiar institution.

As a Centennial account of the Civil War in Kentucky this is a "stripped-down" version of larger histories but in every way Harrison retains the essentials of his three major aims: an examination of Kentucky's struggle over secession with its unique phase of "neutrality", a discussion of the formal military operations and the considerable guerilla warfare, and an analysis of the impact of the war politically, psychologically, and socially on the state. On all three counts, his narrative is more than adequate, considering the confinement of 116 pages of text. He vividly demonstrates that it was in Kentucky that the fact of fratricidal strife divided families. Here George D. Prentice, editor of the pro-Union Louisville *Daily Courier*, grieves the loss of two sons who fought and died for the Lost Cause. In Kentucky the issues of loyalties to section or nation ran deeper than in most places, and matters relating to states rights, secession, slavery, abolition, and federal power touched raw nerves. Most Kentuckians, both loyal and secessionists, felt keenly about the national government's attempt to obtain emancipation and Black service in Union armies.

The nucleus of the book is concerned with military operations and with decent and interesting accounts of battles and skirmishes. While Perryville (October 1862) represented the last major engagement, the fighting by no means stopped. Guerilla fighting continued with the bushwhacking activities of Quantrill's notorious raiders persisting to the bitter end. Kentucky, of course, was held in the Union and close to 100,000 men served in blue, but there was a rump Confederate government in Bowling Green, 30,000 served in gray, and Kentucky itself had representation in the Confederate Congress in Richmond. The Lincoln administration forced the war issues of emancipation and abolition, which

was not what loyal Kentuckians thought they were fighting for. These issues greatly strengthened the Democratic party in the state which defeated Lincoln in 1864 by a margin of over two to one. By the end of the war Lincoln was hardly a favorite son, and with the accomplishment of abolition of slavery, Kentuckians reacted with the bitterness of a state that had been "defeated." This issue had the same psychological effect on them which Reconstruction had on the former Confederate states. Kentucky felt that it had lost more than it had won. As one perceptive Kentuckian observed years later, "Kentucky joined the Confederacy after the war."

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