BOOK REVIEWS


This publication guides its user to a portion of the microfilm material held by the state's archival agency. It does not include materials such as newspapers, theses, or books which are treated elsewhere, nor does it encompass the more than three thousand rolls of microfilm county and municipal records for which a separate publication is being prepared. It does list those holdings that correspond to the Archives' Record Groups, Manuscript Groups, and Special Collections (Manuscripts).


This volume is the latest in the PHMC's continuing updating, at three-year intervals, of Pennsylvania bibliography. Like its predecessors it is arranged topically within each broad chronological division.


In the late 1940s, Alfred L. Shoemaker, Don Yoder, and J. William Frey—all three then professors at Franklin and Marshall College—dreamed of a Pennsylvania Dutch Folklore Center to collect and preserve the documents, artifacts, and oral history of the Pennsylvania Dutch. As Judith Fryer rightly observes, "This is an index to that dream." Beginning in 1949, the three began the publication of a weekly newspaper which by the 1950s had been transformed into a quarterly magazine. Its name has changed twice, but it has consistently provided the best writing on the life and culture of the Pennsylvania Dutch. The Index includes a separate surname index to genealogy and immigration articles as well as the standard author-subject-title index.


This useful guide describes clearly the materials available to genealogists at the Pennsylvania State Archives. Interspersed are photographic examples of the documents discussed. The guide is divided into the following sections: Passenger Lists (2 cubic feet); Records of Naturalization (22 cubic feet); Vital Statistics (12 cubic feet); Military and War Records (4,408 cubic feet); Occupational Records,
such as licenses, examinations for entry into professions, and accident reports (166 cubic feet); Prison Records (80 cubic feet); Land Records (75 cubic feet); Church and Cemetery Records, for a few scattered congregations only (2 cubic feet); County Records (81 cubic feet); Census Reports, including the state septennial census and farm census reports as well as federal returns (81 cubic feet); some Family Papers (521 cubic feet) if they contain genealogically oriented materials; and Miscellaneous Records (213 cubic feet) such as bankruptcies, court records, shipping records, pensions, reports of institutional population, and photographs.


This is a bibliography of both published and unpublished sources presented in broad, topical categories arranged alphabetically from Agriculture or Arts to Transportation or Water and Sewage.


Unity from Diversity is a slim volume of carefully abridged documents and not-so-careful explanatory notes. With the exception of printing only the “whereas” clause of one document (p. 33), editorial procedure is impeccable; archaic spellings are properly preserved, and extraneous matter excised to expose the essential points.

The focus is political. Beginning with the Royal Charter of 1681 and the successive early governmental frames, the collection ends with the 1776 Constitution and the emergence of the Republican Association. In between, documents illustrate the “rise of the Assembly” (paper-money legislation); territorial delineation (the “Walking Purchase,” later Indian treaties, boundary conflicts); The French and Indian War and its aftermath (a Washington letter, Quakers resign from the Assembly, proprietary instructions, frontier remonstrance, royalization petition.) One section deals with “Problems of Society;” it includes documents on slavery, indentured servitude, and the criminal law (the 1718 Act for the Administration of Justice).

The editor’s principle of selection seems unexceptional. But given a political emphasis, it seems unfortunate that the Revolutionary developments of the 1760s and early 1770s are totally neglected; the royalization petition of 1764 is immediately followed by the Constitution of 1776!

Though the editor does not say so, he may have left this hiatus because of the ready availability of Revolutionary documents elsewhere. A more serious criticism could be leveled at the editorial decision to attempt comparatively lengthy explanatory notes which not only leave less room for documents, but are also sometimes confusing or misleading. The notes, furthermore, do not always thoroughly elucidate the documents to which they are appended.

The note on indentured servitude, for example, fails properly to distinguish
between redemptions and "indentureds." (A jarring stylistic note occurs when the editor introduces the personal pronoun: "It is an open question I feel, whether servitude or slavery was the crueller institution" [p. 41]. It is, furthermore, a matter of hyperbole to place indentured servitude in the same category as slavery.) And another note, that on the "Revolt of the Paxton Boys," is just plain wrong: their remonstrance was not "actually part of the movement to make Pennsylvania a royal colony," a movement that they in fact opposed (p. 75). In the same note we are told that "Boys" was an informal plebian expression, not at all derogatory," but whoever said it was derogatory? The First Frame, we are told, was "by seventeenth-century standards . . . considered an innovative, democratizing constitution" (p. 4), when in fact, as Gary Nash pointed out long ago, William Penn was forced by the first purchasers to compose a far more conservative document than was, for example, the preceding Concessions and Agreements for West Jersey, not to speak of the far more representative institutions already constituted by earlier colonies. Harrington's influence on Penn, furthermore, is not a matter of undisputed fact.

Though some of his "explanations" are troubling, the editor has reasonably well fulfilled his goal "to print significant fragments of landmark documents, explain them, and print portions of other documents that represent or describe significant themes in Pennsylvania colonial history" (p. iii). In this connection, maps would have been immensely useful particularly in the "Territorial Delineation" section. Five illustrations, however, help make this little booklet an attractive introduction for the nonspecialist in early Pennsylvania history.

San Jose State University

THOMAS H. WENDEL


History is for everyone living and as yet unborn. It is to this audience the historian should direct his writing, not in expectation that all throughout the ages will turn directly to his account, but aware that a careful and honest contribution adds to the cumulative understanding of the past which enables each age to face its problems creatively and with reasonable hope of improving civilization. If in this assumption Homer Tope Rosenberger tacitly admits to a somewhat Whiggish optimism, he nevertheless restates for those of us both learning and practicing the craft a basic, a necessary, article of faith. At a time when confidence in the serviceability of written history, although slowly returning, remains shaken by unresolved crises, a reminder of our grandest ideal—and how we ought to strive toward it—is as welcomed as it is needed.

This call permeates _The Enigma: How Shall History Be Written?_ It does not, however, dominate it; rather, the greater number of chapters review the nature and selected past interpretations of history (1 through 4) and instruct on the mechanics and scope of historical scholarship (5 through 14). These follow and in substantial measure restate previous primers on method by Barzun and Graff, Bloch, Carr, Commager, Elton, Gottschalk, Nevins, Smith, and others. Dr. Rosenberger openly and gladly acknowledges his indebtedness, carrying forward the labors of others by synthesizing and enlarging, and most importantly, by adding to their experiences those drawn from his own highly productive career. The reviewer commends him for this expanded and updated manual on
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historiography and method, and recommends it for serious consideration as required reading in college courses on the subject.

Two particulars in the presentation deserve at least brief special mention: the plea for judicious boldness and the recognition of personal rewards. Writings on narrow subjects of limited and/or local concern are per se worthwhile but too often the historian restricts his interpretive vision to the closed perimeter of his subject. "Why write about any segment of history as though imprisoning it in a small, isolated cubicle" (p. 283)? Ideas and interrelationships are in the final analysis the lasting achievements of the historian, a truism Dr. Rosenberger warns is too frequently forgotten. There are, also, personal rewards, not only and so obviously for masters of sweeping themes but also for those of us working smaller acres. It will not serve to restate these in a review. Instead, read chapter 16 and the epilogue. They renew our resolve as practicing historians as substantially as the statement of a historian's faith vitalizes our purpose.

To sum up, The Enigma is a refreshing volume, timely, comprehensive, sobering, encouraging, exciting. For new students of history it is in addition instructive in the basic techniques, pitfalls, and possibilities of the craft. It is indeed an important volume if only because it reasserts the worth of written history and may redirect, thereby, our best energies.

Bloomsburg State College

CRAIG A. NEWTON

The Indian Peoples of Eastern America: A Documentary History of the Sexes.

James Axtell has been researching and writing for more than ten years toward a magnum opus on the effects upon the minds of individual persons of contact between the cultures of Europe and America—native America, that is. In preparation, he has intensely studied the vast literature of observation and interpretation of Indian cultures. This anthology, a carefully pruned offshoot of the grand project, is greatly superior to the average of its kind.

Axtell has not attempted in this book to survey the field of culture contact. His interest lies in persons, and his theme is "the life cycle of the Indians of eastern North America;" he has made "a collection of sources small enough to be affordable in time and cost, yet large enough to offer a field for purposeful rummaging." The selections are mostly from seventeenth and eighteenth-century sources. Intended primarily for students, they are held together and given coherence by Axtell's informed editorial comment throughout. His comments are written in an enviably smooth and winning style, and they shed enough light so that the general reader can enjoy the book without mystification.

The life cycle of the book's theme starts familiarly enough with sections on Birth, Coming of Age, Love and Marriage, and Working. It seems to slide from psychology to other realms with Peace and War, and Heaven and Earth, before ending inevitably with Death; but these diversions are only apparent. Personal involvement in war and religion is primary here as elsewhere, and certainly both were prominent in any Indian's life cycle.

Many myths prominent in history are punctured here. Axtell's Indian women do feel pain in childbirth though cultural sanctions require them to suppress
expression. Men and women alike work hard and long. Their religions are genuine. We are reminded that biased observers’ slurs on Indian superstition mean only that “one man’s superstition is another man’s religion” (p. 171). Axtell does not come out with a chip on his shoulder. For the most part he lets the sources make the argument.

One of those sources has something to say about another myth that has been eagerly seized by anthropologists. The notion that Indians will do anything to satisfy a dream wish is given come-uppance by Jesuit Pierre de Charlevoix who saw how the dreams worked in practice. When a dream was excessive, as when a man dreamed of slitting someone else’s throat, a second person had “presence of mind immediately to oppose to such a dream another which contradicts it. ‘I plainly see,’” says the first dreamer, in that case, ‘that your spirit is stronger than mine, so let us mention it no more’” (p. 188). The so-called savage mind had a practical side—or is it the lesson that spirits are infinitely manipulable?

The only serious omission that I detect in this “history of the sexes” is mention of berdache, the institutionalized male homosexuality observed in many tribes. It seems like unnecessary squeamishness. Students are exposed to plenty of gay literature in English class; history should face the issue too.

The preponderance of the selections are about the Northest. John Lawson and Robert Beverley have something to say about the Carolinas and Virginia, but half the collected writers are French, and most of those are Jesuit missionaries. The only non-French missionaries in the book are the Moravians Zeisberger and Heckewelder. Although William Wood, Edward Winslow, and Roger Williams report on New England’s Indians, John Eliot and his Puritan missionaries are not to be seen. The selection is one that students of culture must approve, and it tacitly demonstrates that missionaries, like other people, are not homogeneous. Jesuits and Moravians—a strange pair—studied and adapted to the cultures of their intended proselytes in order to make conversion quicker and more sure. Enemies attacked them for thus “insinuating themselves.” A modern student can only be grateful.

The Newberry Library


Pennsylvania has a rich heritage of ancient cultures. In the prehistoric millennia it witnessed successive waves of native peoples across its lands. In the early colonial period, it served as homeland for the Susquehannock, Delaware, and Erie. Later, the powerful Iroquois extended the confederacy’s pervasive influence south along the Susquehanna River and among those tribes displaced by the advancing colonial frontier.

It is fortunate, therefore, that the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission has sponsored this booklet, Discovering Pennsylvania’s Archaeological Heritage, by Barry C. Kent. Prior to this publication, Pennsylvania archaeology lacked a broad treatment written for the general public. This pamphlet is directed toward the individual who has little or no background in the field. Thus, it leads the reader, step by step, through the basic concepts of anthropology and archaeology. It explains archaeological terminology (i.e., “a
stratified site is composed of more than one level or layer of soil, each of which may contain artifacts from separate occupations or components"), and it details the processes used by archaeologists to unravel the mysteries of our past. Through a lucid, comprehensive narrative, which has been accompanied by a broad selection of graphs, sketches, photographs, and bibliography, Kent presents a lively account. The visual presentation lacks a good detailed map of the state, but this is its only weakness. It is both intriguing and inviting, and encourages the lay reader to probe further into Pennsylvania's remarkable past.

By translating these technical concepts into a very readable booklet, Kent has accomplished one of the goals that humanists often fail to achieve. He has served as a liaison between scholars and the public. He has brought an awareness of our common heritage, of our shared past, to those people seldom reached by the humanist. For this accomplishment, both Kent and the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission should be applauded. This book should accomplish for archaeology what the earlier account by Paul A. W. Wallace, Indians in Pennsylvania, accomplished for Indian history. Pennsylvanians should read with interest of the traditional efforts of archaeologists to uncover ancient ruins, and of the more recent counterpart to this task—the growing role of historical archaeologists in historic restoration and preservation.

University of New Mexico

MARGARET CONNELL SZASZ


Now is the time for all good Pennsylvanians to come to the aid of a tercentenary marking the grant of the colony to William Penn. The pamphlet under review represents a contribution to the observance by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. Incorporating a point on which students of the middle colonies are increasingly vocal, Mr. Trussell in both his subtitle and text emphasizes a belief that "in a number of important respects, the patterns which the country as a whole would eventually follow were initiated in Pennsylvania."

Penn is delineated as a complex figure whose theories and actions not infrequently seemed contradictory. A subordinate purpose of the study appears to be to explain those apparent anomalies. The work proceeds chronologically and topically, giving attention both to Penn and to the socio-political and highly personal contexts in which he functioned in Britain and America.

Despite its relative brevity the essay catches the developmental quality of Penn's relations with his father, his family, his coreligionists and key figures such as the Fords, successive deputy governors, agents, etc. The section treating the later years shows clearly the compounding of problems in all areas of Penn's activity and recognizes his increasing incapacity to resolve problems or cope with reality in management of his personal affairs or those of his province. The human tragedy and frustrations of those years as well as their contrast with his period of creative vision and idealism is apparent. In many respects, then, this is a credible effort written with awareness of modern scholarship regarding Penn and his province. It should be particularly useful in school and general libraries.
since it is a convenient compendium of information derived from sound secondary sources.

Although the author recognizes his readers' needs for considerable background and seeks to provide it, the essay fails to distinguish successfully between issues unique to the Penn proprietorship and province, e.g. the "mortgage" of the province and the suspension of the proprietor's powers of government, from those common to other proprietaries or to the American colonies generally. With more than twenty biographies or monographic studies of Penn and his policies currently in print, one may wonder whether an analytical bibliographical essay as a commemorative project might have better served the needs of historians whether amateur or professional. Clearly this was not Mr. Trussell's assignment, but with the continuing proliferation of Penn materials perhaps it should have been.

Dickinson College

WARREN J. GATES


Joseph J. Kelley, Jr., who is deeply attached to Pennsylvania, has written a monumental work almost in the form of a chronicle. In fact, making allowance for the differences between thoughts of 1917 and of today, it is fair to say that this work most closely resembles Charles P. Keith's Chronicles of Pennsylvania... 1688–1748. Like Keith, he describes many details of the political process, details which the prevalent school of historical writers today, led by the academicians, sweeps under the carpet by relying on dazzling generalizations and analytical framework.

Each of the thirty-three chapters of Pennsylvania: The Colonial Years is introduced by a pertinent and profound quotation, and some of the chapters are subdivided by similar statements from contemporary writings. The narrative itself contains a myriad of quotations, unfortunately not precisely identified. The author believes this is the best way to immerse his readers in the colonial atmosphere. The Introductory Note reveals his purpose. "Words uttered against an uncertain future best capture the pulse of the period, and allow those whose story this is to breathe life into a past that was their present."

That purpose is certainly successfully achieved for the period from 1681 to 1763. By including such matters as road petitions, minor criminal cases, weather reports, and aspects of daily life in Philadelphia a portrait of colonial society emerges. The same style seems to continue through the final 280 pages, the twelve chapters covering the period from 1764 to 1776, but the overriding issues of strained relationships with England and with the Penns obscure other events, and the quotations come increasingly from a fixed group of leaders who argued over the question of independence.

Joseph Kelley treats historical figures objectively in the sense that he limits his comments to their statements and descriptions of their deeds, and does not directly pass judgment on them. He does not, for example, go deeply into the religious thought of William Penn. Similarly, in treating John Dickinson who is quoted frequently in the final twelve chapters, an ambivalent attitude toward independence is emphasized, but the author offers no psychological explanation
other than Dickinson's naturally conservative temperament. Although many of the quotations in Pennsylvania: The Colonial Years are meant to bring out personal characteristics, the author has largely avoided narrow caricature. Also, it is commendable that he has presented numerous passages of seventeenth and eighteenth-century rhetoric without using its apparent quaintness as a source of humor. Deborah Franklin's astonishing spelling is one exception, however.

The backbone of the book is the description of events that took place in the Assembly. Almost every session has been included. The Assembly's gradual extinction in 1776 and its replacement by the Revolutionary government is explained in more detail than in most surveys of the period, and in a form that is easy to follow. The confusing story of Pennsylvania's monetary problems, a subject that spans many decades, is also easy to follow once one refers to the page numbers in the index. The space devoted to events in Philadelphia outweighs that concerned with the rest of the province and there is little description of frontier life. That is the result of the documents the author has used and of his style.

Mr. Kelley has drawn heavily if not exclusively from printed documents. In his twenty-three-page bibliographical essay he says “... the Pennsylvania Archives furnish the foundation for the entire period covered in this book” (p. 792). Whether or not Pennsylvania: The Colonial Years will popularize its subject remains to be seen. I feel that its principal value in future years will be as a device for locating where and when certain issues were considered by the Assembly, and as an introduction to the complex maneuvers that took place in provincial politics. These can easily be misunderstood from a quick reading of the primary sources. Joseph Kelley's reputation as a lawyer certainly justifies reliance on his analysis. No comparable book has been written for the colonial history of any of the other original states for many decades. Eat your hearts out, New York and New Jersey!

Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission

Louis M. Waddell


In response to a call from Lutheran congregations in Philadelphia, New Hanover, and Providence, Henry Melchior Muhlenberg (1711–1787) arrived in Pennsylvania in late November 1742. Between then and his death forty-five years later, he was a pastor and became the outstanding leader of Lutheranism in America. What Professor Riforgiato has written is not a standard biographical treatment of this man. Rather, it is an evaluation of Muhlenberg's roles in the development of the German Lutheran church in eighteenth-century British North America as well as in colonial American society.

The thesis of the work is that Henry Melchior Muhlenberg took a moderate position on most of the issues which confronted him during his American experience and that his practices were fully in keeping with his theological beliefs. Riforgiato begins with a statement of the different influences upon Muhlenberg during the first thirty years of his life in Germany. He follows with a sketch of the development of the Dutch, Swedish, and German Lutheran churches from Maine to Georgia. The third and fourth chapters develop the
thesis by discussing how Muhlenberg tried during his first decade in America to steer a middle course between the pietism represented by the Moravians on the one hand and the orthodoxy represented by the New York pastor, William Christopher Berkenmeyer, on the other. By firmly and tactfully opposing the Moravians in three provinces, he helped prevent what might otherwise have been many defections from Lutheran ranks. By the style of his ministry when he was invited into New Jersey and New York, he brought most of the Lutheran congregations in those two provinces within the influence of the ministerium, or synod, which he helped organize in 1748.

Professor Riforgiato presents Muhlenberg's policies as a parish pastor and church leader, as well as his political ideas and practices over many years, as two further examples of his moderate position. In a chapter on his theology, the author argues that this position rested solidly upon firmly held convictions, based on the Bible as the revealed Word of God and reflecting the pastor's own "cautious personality." He identifies Muhlenberg as a pietist, noting carefully that this term can properly be used to identify people in the eighteenth century with widely divergent views. Believing strongly that God is a God of order and that those who follow Him must observe the orderly conventions, Muhlenberg was decidedly a churchly or institutional pietist.

In his research the author used appropriate primary sources. For example, there are many footnote references to Muhlenberg's voluminous journals and to the reports, first published in Europe, of his activity and that of his closest pastoral colleagues, almost all of whom were sent to Pennsylvania by members of the theological faculty of Halle University. In many instances, the author uses these sources critically. In the opinion of this reviewer, he presents sufficient credible evidence to establish his thesis.

Unfortunately, there are many factual errors in this book. For example, Halle University dates from 1694, not 1674 (p. 23). The Bengal to which Muhlenberg might have gone was in the East and not the West Indies (p. 25). The Lutheran community in Baltimore was not the largest in Maryland in 1750; it was only coming into existence in that year (p. 57). It is not true that "Pennsylvania soon outstripped all other English colonies in population;" until late in the colonial period it ranked after Virginia and Massachusetts (p. 61). Lancaster was not "a flourishing town" by 1730; it was not laid out until that year (p. 100). Since John Dylander died in 1741, he did not preach in Lancaster in 1743 (p. 100). By now, every student of colonial German Lutheranism should know that there was no Reverend Gerhard Henkel (p. 109). In spite of the statement in the source the author quotes, the ministerium never "further extended its authority over congregation members by uniting Perkasie, Old Indianfield [sic], and Goshenhoppen into one congregation" (p. 170). William Kurtz was not the son, but the brother, of Nicholas Kurtz (p. 175). Michael Schlatter did not journey through Holland in 1751 "raising money for his school plan" (p. 187). He was then seeking general assistance for the German Reformed in Pennsylvania, especially more pastors; support for schools was only a part of what he was requesting. Henry Keppele was not the first German elected to the provincial assembly; several others preceded him in that body (p. 198). There is no evidence that Muhlenberg sent John Schwarbach to Virginia to become pastor of the Hebron congregation; the latter found him on its own (p. 217).

There are also numerous inconsistencies and contradictions in the book. For
example, did Muhlenberg actually have a call to three congregations in 1741–1742, or did he not? Did he become pastor of Providence or New Providence? Was Daniel Falckner ever ordained, or was he not? Was Pastor Rudman named Andreas or John? Was Zinzendorf named Nikolaus Ludwig or Nicholas Lewis? Was Schaum named John or John Helfrich?

Finally, there is also the matter of balance and interpretation. Professor Riforgiato could have improved the usefulness of his work by reducing his treatment of American Lutheranism before Muhlenberg, the pertinence of much of which to the latter's American career is not demonstrated. He could then have devoted considerably more attention to the development of the ministerium, especially as after 1760 it became less and less a gathering of largely like-minded Halle pastors (and their congregations) and increasingly a broad-based church body. To give but one more example, the author could have balanced, and also sharpened, his treatment of Muhlenberg and the American Revolution by taking into greater consideration the old pastor's repeated applications of Romans 13: 1–2 to his own situation, and by determining when, and under what circumstances, he actually took the oath of allegiance to the new government of Pennsylvania, as required by law.

Publication of this book, whose purposes are indeed worthwhile and many of whose sections are commendable, should nevertheless have been delayed until the author had the opportunity to acquaint himself more fully with the details of the large setting in which Muhlenberg lived and worked in America.

Gettysburg College

CHARLES H. GLATFELTER


From the beginning of our country's history to the present day, the Port of Philadelphia ranked as one of the nation's foremost. Among the many elements which have contributed to its success has been the existence of an administrative structure responsible for navigation improvements, channel markers, wharf limits, regulation of pilots, and similar matters which collectively ease the burden of the mariner who must guide his vessel up the often tortuous channel of the Delaware to the city proper. In the case of Philadelphia, these mundane but vital tasks were the responsibilities of the Port Wardens, a corporate arm of the state which existed from 1766 to 1907. Their story is now told for the first time by Eugene R. Slaski in this volume.

The book describes the evolution of the Port Wardens in chronological fashion. A background chapter describes the difficulties of navigating the Delaware prior to 1766, with ice flows, poorly marked channels, silting and polluting, especially around wharves, and a haphazard piloting system. To remedy these and other problems, the Pennsylvania Assembly enacted a law creating a board of seven wardens which would eventually regulate many of the activities associated with the port.

The author carries the account through the life of the Board of Wardens. Many issues are described: the lighthouse board; the conflicting interests of pilots, masters, and merchants; the licensing and regulation of river pilots; numerous legal changes which saw the board evolve into "an unwieldy, locally
appointed body of eighteen wardens with a state appointed master warden”; disputes over collecting fees, paying office expenses, removing river obstacles, and dredging between wharves; and a bewildering array of legislative changes. Political interference speeded the end of the Port Wardens, which were replaced by a five-man Board of Commissioners of Navigation for the River Delaware and Its Navigable Tributaries in 1907.

The author has done a commendable job of research, relying particularly on the Minute Books, Reports, and Letter Books of the Wardens of the Port, as well as the statutes and legislative records of the Commonwealth. Although there is little on the port operations per se and perhaps more could have been added on the specifics of political development, the book is a good history of this specialized phase of Philadelphia’s maritime heritage.

The format of the book leaves much to be desired. The binding is extremely weak, the illustrations are of poor quality, and the layout is rather cluttered. Voluminous notes are at the end of each chapter. Over a third of the volume consists of extensive appendixes which are largely from various statutes.

Those interested in this little known side of maritime history will appreciate this book.

East Stroudsburg State College  

JAMES N. J. HENWOOD


This volume brings together ten papers, several of which were first presented at the 1976 American Studies Association meetings, relating to various social and spatial dimensions of Philadelphia urban history. The essays deal primarily with five urban themes: residential and industrial spatial change; technological impacts on the urban fabric; buildings, and their function and location; community and neighborhood alteration; and public housing. The book presents aspects of both the new and old urban history, with some of the essays resting largely on the quantitative analysis of census and directory data while others are primarily descriptive and narrative; some chapters focus on buildings and structures as a means to understand urban processes, and others are more oriented towards neighborhoods and institutions. Thus, the main unifying element is a concern with Philadelphia as a changing urban place rather than a common methodology.

As in many collected volumes of this type, the essays vary considerably in terms of the depth of their analysis and the contribution they make to our understanding of historical processes. Two of the stronger essays were written by the editors, and provide introductory and concluding statements. In the initial essay, Howard Gillette, Jr., argues that consolidation, rather than fixing the city’s social cleavages as Sam Bass Warner, Jr., has maintained, actually provided a set of institutions for urban rationalization. In the final chapter, William W. Cutler examines the cycling of centralization and decentralization in Philadelphia and concludes that while suburban growth continues, the “city remains alive in the region.” Also making an important contribution to our understanding of spatial patterns in relation to economic development is the
chapter on work and residence by Stephanie W. Greenberg. The most quantita-
tive and formalized of the essays, it argues that industries and employment
opportunities were at least as important in determining residential patterns in
nineteenth-century cities as ethnicity and social class.

Two essays in the volume are directly concerned with the impact of
transportation technology on the Philadelphia urban environment. Jeffrey P.
Roberts performs the needed task of exploring the effect of the railroad on the
downtown of a major American city (Dyos and Kellett have written of the
impact of the railroad on cities in Great Britain; Carl Condit has explored part
of this question for Cincinnati), while Margaret S. Marsh explores the impact of
the “El” on northwest Philadelphia. But, while both essays are useful as
introductions to the subject and add to our understanding of the interaction
between technology and the city, neither treats its subject with the depth and
discipline reflected in the Greenberg study of work and residence. Roberts’s
interesting but primarily descriptive essay, for instance, suffers from the absence
of a quantitative and micro-examination of changes in land use and land values.
Margaret S. Marsh’s chapter on the impact of the “El,” in contrast, examines
changes in land use and building patterns, as well as demographic alterations,
but fails to consider the “El’s” environmental effects.

The Marsh essay on the “El” considers neighborhood change, and this is also
the subject of chapters by Dennis Clark and Meredith Savery. The Clark Essay
is the most superficial in the volume and offers little more than a description of
the contrasts and tensions between two adjoining neighborhoods—one upper
class (Rittenhouse Square) and the other working-class Irish (“Ramcat” or
Schuylkill). In contrast, the Savery chapter attempts to use developments in two
Philadelphia neighborhoods as a means to test conceptions about urban stability
and change widely accepted by policy makers in the 1970s. Savery examines
Strawberry Mansion and East Mount Airy, and finds them marked by a high
degree of residential turnover and some ethnic discontinuity (especially in
Strawberry Mansion). Socioeconomic levels, however, remained remarkably
stable, with housing and land use furnishing the base for continuity. Savery
concludes that mobility and homogeneity marked her sample neighborhoods
through their existence and that, if typical of others, they furnish a poor base for
a workable urban policy.

Three essays in the volume are concerned with buildings, although from very
different perspectives. In a primarily descriptive essay, Deborah C. Andrews
examines the architectural styles and changing locations of bank buildings in
nineteenth-century Philadelphia and demonstrates how architectural styles
were tied to changing bank functions. In a rather unique study, George E.
Thomas studies the distribution throughout the city of the structures designed by
eight architectural firms, relating architectural styles to alterations in social life.
And, finally, John F. Bauman provides an interesting chapter on Philadelphia’s
“mongrelized” 1930s housing program that focused on a slum elimination
rather than the formation of stable neighborhoods.

Taken as a totality, this volume provides a valuable addition to the literature
of urban history and a useful companion to the recently published work edited
by Theodore Hershberg on work, space, family, and group experience in
nineteenth-century Philadelphia.

Carnegie-Mellon University

JOEL A. TARR
Based on extensive research in both primary and secondary sources, *Prisoners of Hope* tells the story of the courtship and marriage of Elisha and Elizabeth Beach Swift, their attempts to go to India as missionaries for the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and their eventual settling in Pittsburgh, where Elisha Swift served as both pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church and Secretary of the Western Missionary Society. Later in his life, during a period not covered by this volume, Swift helped found the Western Foreign Missionary Society, which eventually became the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions. Interwoven with the Swifts' story is information on the history of Princeton Seminary, the foreign missionary work of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the founding of missions to the Indians in western New York and Pennsylvania, and the attempt by the American Colonization Society to resettle blacks in Africa. Individuals whose memoirs or correspondence are quoted include Ashbel Green (Elizabeth Swift's uncle), Archibald Alexander, Jeremiah Evarts, Samuel Worcester, and various members of the Green, Beach, and Swift families.

Although the Swifts are an interesting couple, and their lives are relevant to the history of Presbyterian missions in the United States, the author has chosen a most peculiar, indeed unfortunate, method for presenting her information. Throughout the book, regular type is used for quotations, while the author's comments are printed in italics. While the author's choice of this method was undoubtedly dictated by her desire to tell the story in the participants' own words, the effect is merely to confuse the reader. Adding to the confusion is her practice of placing the dates of many quotations in the page margins. The reader who attempts to follow, for example, the progress of Elisha Swift's courtship of Elizabeth Beach soon becomes hopelessly lost as the author blends together quotations from letters written in 1816 with diary entries from 1815 with sermons written in 1810 (pp. 17–18). While the ostensible reason for combining "sentences from different letters" is "to achieve the best expression of ideas" (p. xiv), both the historian and the general reader (for whom the book is primarily intended) must soon become frustrated and give up any attempt to find coherence in the narrative.

Part of the problem, I suspect, is that Barnhart was not entirely certain that she was writing a book for the general reader only. If she were, she would not have included quite so much scholarly apparatus—footnotes, marginal dates, bibliographies, index—which would primarily interest specialists. In the end, her book will satisfy neither the general reader nor the scholar. The former will find the book's method confusing and distracting, while the latter will be skeptical about the author's liberties with chronology. Both will also, I think, be put off by the book's frequent digressions, unnecessarily detailed, into subjects which are at best marginal to the story. (The best example is the inclusion of detailed information about the activities of one Betsey Stockton, once a slave of Ashbel Green's, with whom neither Elisha nor Elizabeth Swift seem to have had much contact.)

The patient reader will glean some useful tidbits from this volume on such
topics as nineteenth-century courtship and marriage practices and the problems of frontier life. Still, one is left feeling that historians and general readers would have been better served had Barnhart decided to honor the Swifts (they were her great-great-grandparents) by publishing an edited collection of their correspondence and writings.

University of New Mexico

Anne M. Boylan


How can we break the Confederate line between Petersburg and Richmond? Resolving that question possibly could bring the capture of Richmond, the defeat of Lee's army, personal glory, and, conceivably, the presidency. Some of the best commanders the Union had remaining in 1864-65—Grant, Meade, Burnside, and Butler—understood the implications of the problem and directed their energies for 9 1/2 months to finding the solution. Here are two books that address the Petersburg problem and correctly call the significance of the siege and campaigns there to our attention again. Neither book offers a comprehensive analysis; both, instead, deal with a specific Union offensive at the siege line. Interestingly, each book comes to the Petersburg campaign from extreme literary vantage points. *The Crater* is a piece of historical fiction while *Richmond Redeemed* is an example of classic military history. In their way they deal expertly with the basic military problem, the internal politics and jealousies of the Union army, the hatred for black soldiers, and the anguish of battle.

With *Richmond Redeemed* Richard J. Sommers makes an explosive leap into the front ranks of Civil War military historians. His book is in the classic tradition of military history by focusing on strategy and tactics, theater commanders and frontline soldiers, weaponry and logistics, terrain and weather. He skillfully weaves the intricate detail of the engagements into the larger picture.

Sommers argues that historians have treated the Petersburg campaign too superficially by focusing on its beginning, episodic engagements like the battle of the Crater, and, then, the final Union breakthrough of the rebel line. Sommers contends that historians need to consider the siege of Petersburg as a series of nine offensives by which the Union attempted to break the rebel line. This book deals with one of those attempts, the Fifth Offensive, September 29—October 2, 1864. The Fifth Offensive was a two-prong attack, the battles of Chaffin Farm and Poplar Spring Church, designed to stretch Lee's army to opposite ends of the siege line. The Union commanders hoped that this dual assault would enable the Union army to break the siege line at one point and capture either Richmond or Petersburg.

Ben Butler, commander of the Army of the James, had the responsibilities for the northernmost attack of the exterior fortifications of Richmond. Butler, ambitious and opportunistic, envisioned that a victory in this assault would launch his campaign for the presidency. But he learned, if he did not already know it, that success depends upon a juxtaposition of many disparate circum-
stances, and luck was not with him that time. The Union assault around Chaffin's Farm south of Richmond broke the exterior rebel lines but bogged down and was finally stymied.

Since Richmond was the primary target of this offensive, George Meade and the Army of the Potomac had the principal responsibility of feigning a major assault south of Petersburg. As Butler's effort fizzled, the battle of Poplar Spring Church assumed greater importance. The Union army enjoyed more success on the southern assault, but they, too, were unable to open any major avenues through the rebel line. By October 2, the Fifth Offensive sputtered to an end.

Sommers devotes a final chapter to an assessment of this campaign, rating commanders and analyzing strategic development. This chapter reveals a thoughtful, mature military historian at his best. Sommers argues, for example, that though the Fifth Offensive failed to achieve its initial objectives it was successful in conquering strategic sectors and tightening the noose around the rebel cities. The author also assesses the leadership of several minor commanders giving especially high marks to the defensive efforts of Wade Hampton, CSA. More interesting is Sommer's analysis of Meade, Lee, and Grant. Meade, the author concludes, "would never have lost the war in Virginia, but, unaided, he would never have won it, either" (p. 437). Lee, on the other hand, continued to demonstrate audacity and aggressiveness. But, as Sommers makes clear, Lee understood that his options were becoming increasingly limited. For Grant, the author reasons, the Fifth Offensive was part of a developing strategy of attrition. Performing like a brilliant grand strategist, Grant delegated tactical responsibility to field commanders, worried little about lost opportunities, and devised new probes to break the rebel lines.

The book delineates the Fifth Offensive exhaustively. For the pure military historian the book will be a delight. The general reader, on the other hand, will be overwhelmed by the details. To assist scholar and layman, excellent maps with commentary are available. Two appendixes, fifty pages long, offer the order of battle and body count. Endnotes and bibliography amounting to 128 pages attest to the vigor and thoroughness of research.

Despite the author's passion for intricate detail, his approach is not mechanistic. He maintained a keen awareness of human nature under stress. He writes so that the commanders are three dimensional and lifelike. He portrays the agony and exhilaration of battle, and is attentive to terrain, weather, accident, and good fortune.

In stark contrast, Richard Slotkin's The Crater is a fictionalized account of the Union Army's tunneling under Confederate lines during the Petersburg siege and the battle that ensued on 30 July 1864. Rarely does a professional journal review a historical novel but in this case the exception is well justified. This book merits the concern of this journal because the soldiers who constructed the tunnel were Pennsylvania coal miners, the famed Forty-eighth Pennsylvania Regiment. Secondly, a professional journal should consider this book because it is based on substantial research by a professional historian.

The Crater is a fine example of superior historical fiction that can be written. Unlike the "quickie" historical novels that are so popular but yet are shallow in plot, character development, or historical analysis, this book is based on solid historical research and incorporates the nuances of personal relationships, attitudes, and dialect that a historian would know that existed. Slotkin creates no
inane or irrelevant plot but hews to the line of principally telling the story of soldier life in the trenches, the construction of the tunnel, and the battle of the crater. He intersperses his story with relevant dispatches and orders from the official records to assist the reader in following the chronology of events. Though Slotkin obviously constructs a dialogue, admits to creating a few “official documents” and alters the Southern regiments that were entrapped in the crater, this reviewer does not feel that the integrity of history is besmirched. As a novelist, Slotkin is a good wordsmith, develops characters well, and plots a clear and logical story line. As a reader encounters one character after another, black and white, Northern and Southern, he anticipates that these people will meet in the battle of the crater and eagerly looks forward to that confrontation.

The character development of the various soldiers is, in fact, one of the stronger features of the novel. Slotkin does not portray the armies as men of idealism and romance. Instead, the armies are accurately seen as consisting of skulkers and cowards as well as idealists and heroes. In addition, one sees the ethnic diversity of the Union Army and the surface prejudices of that era. Irish resent Welsh and vice versa, and all hate and distrust the blacks. Similarly, in the rebel army, prejudices and antagonisms between the Southern officers and the “poor white” soldiers exist. One gains, too, an incisive perspective on the politics of the army as Generals Burnside, Meade, Warren, and others vie to become the commander who breaks the Confederate line at Petersburg. The internal politics thwarted the construction of the Union tunnel and contributed to the eventual Union failure in this battle.

A key group in this story was the Forty-eighth Pennsylvania Regiment which consisted of Pennsylvania Welsh and Irish miners from the Schuylkill anthracite region. Some soldiers from this unit halfheartedly suggested to their commander, Lt. Colonel Pleasants, to use their mining expertise to construct a tunnel under the Confederate line. Pleasants passed this suggestion on to General Burnside who envisioned that the explosion of such a tunnel would crack open the Confederate line and allow his corps to lead the way to victory. To enhance the celebrity of his imagined victory, Burnside ordered that the black units in his Fourth Division would lead the assault. General Meade, commanding general of the Army of the Potomac, and the army engineers were skeptical that the tunnel could be constructed. Logistical support consequently was minimal, but the Forty-eighth Pennsylvania proceeded to build one of the longest tunnels used in military engagements. They exploded it under Confederate lines on 30 July 1864 and the “battle of the crater” ensued.

Slotkin’s battle scenes are expertly drawn, too. Maps and a clear description assist the reader, but the strength of the writing is the portrayal of man engaged in battle. The author writes vividly of horror, fear, death, cowardice and, in some instances, of heroism. The reader gains an appreciation of the reasons for the failure of the Union Army to capitalize on the explosion of the tunnel as soldiers were caught unprepared to climb out of trenches eight feet deep, as generals remained away from their troops and failed to lead, and as supporting units failed to reinforce the initial assault wave. Though the black troops performed admirably, nonetheless, they became entrapped in Southern crossfire and then in some instances were killed by Northern white soldiers. Southern soldiers, on the other hand, countercharged with the intention of butchering black soldiers.
Each book will appeal to a different reading public. Slotkin's account will be more widely read but Sommers will attract the military scholar. For this reviewer it is interesting to note the variety of history and how superb historians in their particular ways can produce excellent histories.


Arnold M. Shankman concludes in *The Pennsylvania Antiwar Movement, 1861-1865,* that the opponents of the Civil War in Pennsylvania sought primarily to reunify the nation while simultaneously attempting to reaffirm the constitutional liberties which they believed the war jeopardized. These wartime critics, Shankman discovered, fell into two categories, those whom he labeled the “extreme peace faction,” that is, “the peace at any price” group, and a more moderate group, the “peace Democrats.” Not surprisingly, the bulk of the opposition existed within the Democratic party, although, Shankman notes, the Democratic party also incorporated a third faction, the War Democrats, who generally supported the conduct of the war.

Other historians, such as Joel Silbey, Christopher Dell, and Jean H. Baker, have also recently examined the wartime role of the nation’s Democrats. Shankman agrees with them that the Democrats, rather than constituting a treasonous group, represented instead what he considers a “loyal opposition” (p. 15), a group whose “concerns for civil liberties deserve to be remembered” (p. 9).

Perhaps nothing testifies further to the depth of that concern, according to Shankman, than the political strength the Democrats exhibited during the war. In 1863, for example, George W. Woodward, the Democratic nominee for governor, lost to Republican incumbent Andrew G. Curtin by less than 16,000 votes. Abraham Lincoln in 1864 defeated George B. McClellan in Pennsylvania by over 20,000 votes, but without the benefit of the soldier vote Lincoln’s margin amounted to less than 6,000 votes. Significantly, too, Shankman argues, the Democrats controlled the state’s House of Representatives in 1862 and 1863, and, in the Senate, they gained steadily on the Republicans until by 1864 they held sixteen Senate seats, only one less than the Republicans.

Shankman’s effort to demonstrate antiwar strength through Democratic votes, however, poses some problems for his thesis. While opposition to the war was concentrated primarily in the Democratic party, antiwar sentiment and the Democracy were not always synonymous. Shankman himself reveals this point. For instance, he recognizes that General McClellan never stated publicly his opposition to the war. Indeed, McClellan advocated continuing the war until the Union was restored, and many of his votes in 1864 represented support for this continuation. A similar situation existed in 1863. Although Shankman suggests that Woodward’s large gubernatorial vote reflected Pennsylvania’s antiwar sentiment, he himself emphasizes that Woodward avoided throughout the campaign speaking against the war. At the same time, Shankman acknowledges that Woodward had provided financial assistance to a regiment of Pennsylvania volunteers and that he had urged Pennsylvanians in 1863 to drive the Confederates from the state.
Shankman's evidence does reveal, however, that the Democratic consensus evident in these strong party showings resulted more from the party membership's aversion to black freedom than from opposition to the war. The Negrophobia dominating Pennsylvania's Democratic politics during the Civil War raises serious questions regarding the depth of the party's so-called "concerns for civil liberties." Unfortunately, Shankman sidesteps these crucial questions, accepting the more narrowly conceived Democratic definition of civil liberties. Notwithstanding this omission, Shankman has provided historians with a clearer picture of the antiwar movement in Pennsylvania and the virulent racism fundamental to it.

On the other hand, far too many typographical errors mar the book, including at least two which change the entire meaning of the sentences in which they appear. For example, on one occasion Shankman wrote "willing" when he meant "unwilling" (p. 143); on another, he wrote "to defend" when he meant "to oppose" (p. 168). Moreover, in the text Shankman wrote that excluding the soldiers' vote, Lincoln defeated McClellan by only "391 votes" (p. 197), while the figures provided in Table 8 show that Lincoln's home vote margin was actually 5,703 (p. 201). The book deserved a closer proofreading.

York College of Pennsylvania

PHILIP L. AVILLO, JR.


George Korson was the leading folklorist of America's coal miners. Born in 1899 in the Ukraine of Jewish parents, Korson and his family emigrated to America and settled in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, in the center of the anthracite coal fields. After World War I, Korson briefly attended Columbia University and then, in 1924, became a reporter for the Pottsville Republican. Assigned to cover coal miners and their families in Schuylkill County, Korson developed a keen interest in collecting their songs and folklore and began a folklorist career that lasted until his death in 1967.

In addition to his books and articles, Korson contributed to the field of American folklore by founding and directing the Pennsylvania Folk Festival (1935-1938), serving as president of the Pennsylvania Folklore Society (1957-1960), and (with his wife Rae) starting the Library of Congress archives of miners' songs and ballads. Korson also edited Pennsylvania Song and Legends (1949), an original collection of essays on Pennsylvania folklore. Although Korson was an "amateur" folklorist (he never received any formal training or education in either folklore or anthropology), his work is significant for several reasons. Prior to Korson, American folklorists focused on rural, peasant folk cultures such as those of the Pennsylvania Dutch region or the Ozarks. Korson was perhaps the first to examine the lore of industrial workers. Furthermore, he presented his findings within the context of the mine patch and the miners' culture, providing the historical background essential to an understanding of the environment from which the folklore emerged. Though trained as a journalist, he nevertheless possessed the historian's concern for time and place. His work, therefore, contains much of value to the social historian.

Angus Gillespie, professor of American Studies at Douglass College and director of the New Jersey Folk Festival, discusses Korson's career with obvious
sympathy and understanding. Unfortunately, the author is not altogether successful in placing Korson within the larger historical currents of the day nor in explaining some of the limitations of his work. Gillespie argues that, like other industrial folklorists, Korson confronted a choice between a “Marxist view and a corporate-liberal view of American society, in other words, a choice between revolution and reform” (p. 6). Gillespie believes that Korson’s close association with the United Mine Workers of America convinced him of the correctness of the corporate-liberal position. Hence Korson neglected radical folklore critical of capitalism and UMW leadership. This thesis is unconvincing on several counts. First, like other artists and intellectuals, folklorists were faced with many more choices than the revolution or reform dichotomy that Gillespie establishes. Second, the United Mine Workers contained a strong leftist tradition. While the official union position during much of the twentieth century may have been corporate-liberal, Korson’s inclusion of radical folklore would have found a very receptive audience among many rank-and-file coal miners. That he omitted such lore is perhaps due instead to his friendship with UMW president John L. Lewis, who was quite supportive of Korson’s work and who fought many battles with radicals in the union. Lastly, the author fails to support his contentions by illustrations from Korson’s writings. It seems likely that Korson’s ideology consisted primarily of a strong concern for the well-being of the coal miners that he studied. Beyond that he did not venture into the nature of the American economic system.

Despite these shortcomings, this book is a thorough investigation of George Korson’s career. It contains a wealth of material about Pennsylvania history and the folklore of its coal communities.

*Rider College*

JOSEPH M. GOWASKIE


“Storytelling was good enough for Jesus, it is good enough for me,” was one of the reasons the author’s mother Maggie gave for perpetuating this family tradition of exhortation and instruction. The genealogy begins with great-grandmother Caddy, kidnapped into slavery and bearing two children fathered by former slaveholders. A son, Albert, would marry Kate, herself sold away from her mother in infancy. Several of Albert and Kate’s children, including Maggie, were light enough to “pass for white” and left Virginia for Philadelphia around 1915. Passing was a survival strategy, but one did not thereby deny ancestral blackness nor disappear into the white world. The family stories would ensure that they did not forget their color.

Caddy originated the family’s storytelling, which was meant not primarily for amusement, but to “counteract the poison of self-hate engendered by racism.” Her narratives of enslavement, as related by granddaughter Maggie, conveyed lessons in self-acceptance:

Caddy was only eight years old when she was sold on the block. . . . She would run away. When she was caught, she was usually hung in the barn and whipped across her naked back with a cat-o’-nine-tails. This didn’t stop Caddy from running. . . . It would take more than a cat-o’-nine-tails to make Caddy cry in front of white trash.
Respectability was important, too, and Caddy was proud her children’s white fathers were not “trash,” but aristocrats. But this was no worship of whiteness, nor did she condone obsequiousness. “How Caddy Taught William Not To Be A Coward” has lessons in self-defense, pride, and dignity. The author notes that such tales could only lessen, not eliminate, internal conflict and feelings of inferiority. This was the same process by which slaves psychologically reduced the stature of their masters in projecting examples of at least partial black mastery over their environment.

Maggie’s generation in Philadelphia heard story-lessons from both Caddy and Kate. Mother and daughter could disagree: Caddy taught that “trash” should be hated, while Kate emphasized that everyone was a child of God. This issue aside, both similarly conveyed coping strategies as well as the human frailties of ancestors and others. Caddy also disciplined her grandchildren, furnishing stories of “whipping and a promise.” As Maggie told it:

She would whip us, then she would promise us another whipping the next week for the same thing. And she made us promise to remind her that she owed us a whipping. Well, we were scared not to remind her because if she remembered, well it wasn’t no telling what she would do because we broke a promise.

Racism was exposed in the stories as well. “Philadelphia: The ‘Titty’ of Brotherly Love” related the humorous yet ironic tale of the streetcar conductor who put a breast-feeding mother and infant off his car. In “A Heaven Full of Hoodlums” Maggie’s grief over the death of a teenage son is made more bitter by those who continued to live. Kate’s reply, preserved and repeated by Maggie, was:

You think God wants only hoodlums and old folks up there in heaven with Him? Maggie, don’t you think that the good Lord wants some young folks and some good folks up in heaven with Him as well as a heaven full of hoodlums and old people?

The last group of stories relates light-skinned, blue-eyed Maggie’s encounters with whites who freely shared their antiblack prejudices with her. On one occasion she engineered the firing of the manager of her integrated apartment house when he confided his racist views. And when a white neighbor whom Maggie nicknamed “Stella Dallas” asked how many “niggers” lived in the building, Maggie revealed her own identity to the neighbor’s consternation:

I never will forget the look on her face, she was so nervous. She said, “Marge, are you a ‘nigger?’ ” I said, “No, I am not a ’nigger,’ I am a Negro and all my children are Jews!” I figured that if she hated “niggers” she hated Jews too, so that’s why I said that.

Prejudice came from blacks, too; as a child Maggie was disliked because she was so light. After combing a playmate’s hair, Maggie asked her to reciprocate, but was refused:

She said I had white folks’ hair and that lice lived in white folks’ hair and they couldn’t live in real black folks’ hair because they would smother to death!
Catherine Morgan’s family stories, told and retold to fit new circumstances and convey new meanings, are today being passed along to a new generation. They are still relevant, she believes, because too many black children still grow up in a world of “Goldilocks and Shirley Temple curls.” Today’s hearers of these tales are still exhorted to be men and women, not stooping, mumbling, grinning caricatures.

An “Afterword” by Otey M. Scruggs shares some parallel family traditions and emphasizes the continuities of black parenting and role modeling.

San Diego State University

THEODORE KORNWEIBEL, JR.


This is a major work which will endure as a readable biography of Alexander Holley (1832–1882) and a valuable history of the rise of Bessemer steel manufacture in nineteenth-century America. It is perhaps unnecessary to note that Pennsylvania iron and steel works, the core of the American iron and steel industry at the time, are often central to the story.

McHugh has reconstructed Holley’s life largely from contemporary printed sources, since only a few personal papers remain. Yet she has a flair for uncovering personal details which I believe most readers will find engaging and which render this lengthy, small-type book digestible. Moreover, she branches off from the main story several times to sketch the lives of other major figures in the early years of steel, such as Henry Bessemer, Alfred Kelley, John Fritz, Captain Bill Jones, and Sidney Gilchrist Thomas. There is an appendix provided just to tie up the loose ends of their lives.

The author effectively describes the technology of the early steel industry, and includes adequate descriptive material as well as several well-chosen and appropriately annotated illustrations. However, as she traces developments through the phases of invention, innovation, and establishment there is less with which to be satisfied, primarily because she has accepted a particular myth about inventors. All of McHugh’s central characters are obsessed with a vision of technical progress for which they suffer ridicule and financial embarrassment, struggle against innumerable obstacles to achieve their goal, and upon attaining success either fail to become rich or receive less public acclaim than is their due. McHugh even fits the famous and fabulously wealthy Henry Bessemer into the last phase of this typology.

Another annoying feature, though minor given the biographical focus of the book, is the patronizing attitude toward the iron and steel workers who installed and operated the Bessemer works. Time after time they are described as difficult to manage and unwilling to accept innovation, yet extravagantly loyal to their superiors. This viewpoint, undoubtedly held by much of the managing class of which Holley was a member, seems inconsistent with America’s role in the late nineteenth-century leader in iron and steel production and technology.

Perhaps the most intriguing theme of the book is not emphasized by McHugh: Holley as a crucial disseminator and transferor of technical information. During his college education at Brown, 1850–1853, Holley demonstrated unusual skills as a writer and draftsman, skills which he soon polished by working in machine shops and writing for technical publications. In 1857 Holley went to Europe with Zerah Colburn to study railway practice and on
their return they wrote a lavishly illustrated book which went through two editions. For the next twenty-five years Holley was highly regarded in both Europe and America for his verbal and nonverbal ability to inform others of the latest developments in engineering practice, and it was in recognition of his capability that he was commissioned in 1863 by iron manufacturers of Troy, New York, to examine and report on the Bessemer process in Britain. His numerous Atlantic voyages and consultations with both European and American steel companies constitute a prime instance of the significance of technology transfer to the industrialization process.

Case Western Reserve University  

Darwin H. Stapleton


Professor James Kehl has accomplished a difficult task: he has written an important book about a dull and unattractive man. Boss Rule in the Gilded Age does not, despite the jacket claim, significantly enrich our knowledge of the national political scene, but it does increase our knowledge of the political methods of Matt Quay and the Pennsylvania Republican organization that he inherited, revised, and strengthened. Self-appointed heir of the Cameron machine, Matthew Stanley Quay was the effective ruler of Pennsylvania Republican politics from the 1880s until his death in 1904.

Unlike other large states of the Northeast and Middle West, Pennsylvania had a reliable Republican majority. Consequently, it serves as a poor example of the major political development of the 1880s and 1890s: the erratic efforts of the Republican party to develop a program that would convince urban Americans that it was the party of progress and prosperity and thereby assure the Republicans a national majority. Pennsylvania politics in the Gilded Age was concerned not with program but with control. It provides an excellent illustration of the state boss and party machine, and it is here that Kehl’s study finds its emphasis and importance.

Kehl persuasively describes the manner in which Quay adapted the organization techniques of corporate business to the political scene and in the process established a working relationship with some of the more powerful industrial and transportation companies of the Commonwealth. Appreciating the vulnerability of the old Stalwart reliance on federal patronage, Quay sought more constant sources of power and money at the state level. Corporate demands for legislative favors were matched by the requirement of local politicians to retain the continued allegiance of their constituents. The exchange of favors was arranged by the party machine with Quay directing the exchange and supervising cash flow. In the process, the Republican party of Pennsylvania became increasingly responsive to the demands of corporate capitalism and Matt Quay acquired a political empire.

Quay was not the bought tool of “the interests.” The relationship was rather one of mutual dependence. Businessmen saw Quay as the effective broker who would arrange for legislative approval of their demands in return for financial contributions to the machine. Quay sought their cooperation because he wished to enhance his control over the politics of party and state. Quay made money as a result of his political power, but his primary concern was control, not gain.

Kehl’s descriptions of the boss’s personal financial manipulations center on
Quay's dealings with the banks that served as depositories of state funds. In effect, Quay demanded the right to borrow from state deposits—without interest or collateral—for his private stock market speculations.

Quay had the political morality usually associated with the Stalwart Republicans of the era of Grant. Operating as an old-fashioned Stalwart who had mastered techniques of party discipline and machine administration unknown to the Logans and Conklings, he survived into the twentieth century. His career as a federal senator extended from 1887 to 1904, but like his forebears of the Grant era, Quay abstained from authoring a single piece of important legislation and restricted his attention to those issues that could affect his control of the Pennsylvania Republican machine.

Professor Kehl suggests that if Quay "had displayed the same vision toward the issues that he displayed toward party organization, he might have become a statesman." This seems doubtful. One ends this book with an admiration for the scholarship of its author and a conviction that its subject was essentially a hollow man of confined ambition. Kehl is the first historian to have access to Quay's papers, and he has used them to increase our knowledge of Pennsylvania politics in the Gilded Age. Boss Quay remains, however, a morally shabby and surprisingly uninteresting man. Important as an example of the operations of machine politics at the state level, his personal limitations were exemplified by his definition of politics as "the art of taking money from the few and votes from the many under the pretext of protecting the one from the other."

*Lafayette College*

Richard E. Welch Jr.


On 2 November 1920, KDKA of Pittsburgh initiated commercial radio broadcasting, and the world has not been the same since. The *Modern Stentors* takes note of this momentous occasion, but the book is not about KDKA or Pittsburgh. Rather it pertains to the growth of American broadcasting in general during its first decade and a half. Ample attention is devoted to technological and commercial advances in radio, yet the crux of the study is the evolving relationship between the federal government and the burgeoning broadcasting industry.

Probably the most significant impact of KDKA's unprecedented 1920 transmission was the challenge it presented to the Navy Department's domination over wireless communication prior to that time. KDKA's impudence touched off an interdepartmental rivalry among the Navy, the Post Office, and the Commerce Department as to which would determine policy vis-a-vis the nascent radio enterprise. Headed by the ambitious, efficient, and energetic Herbert Hoover, Commerce emerged the victor. Indeed the book might well be entitled *Herbert Hoover and American Broadcasting* because of the long shadow cast across its pages by the Secretary of Commerce.

Philip T. Rosen contends that the major characteristics of the contemporary American broadcasting system—i.e., privately owned for profit (with revenues derived from advertising), oligopoly dominated, and federally regulated, but not controlled—were fixed a half century ago. Nevertheless, he concludes that the outcome was not inevitable, but instead was the result of a process involving
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interaction among businessmen, engineers, politicians, bureaucrats, and the public. Granted historians should shun the word inevitable. Given the preeminence of the corporate-ruled, free-enterprise system of the 1920s, however, the final product was fairly predictable.

Despite Hoover's being able to establish his department as the regulating entity of the radio business, by 1926 the Secretary of Commerce's paramount role was under fire. Long-time Hoover critics and his rival aspirants for the 1928 GOP presidential nomination were concerned that the Commerce chief might manipulate the use of radio to further his own political ambitions. As a consequence, Congress in 1927 passed the Radio Act authorizing the temporary, quasi-independent Federal Radio Commission (FRC) as the guardian of the airwaves. However, the founding of the FRC did not constitute a break with the past as that body wholeheartedly absorbed Hoover's policies.

Not unexpectedly then, the FRC promoted the interests of the large networks, NBC and CBS, over those of small commercial stations. Rulings of the FRC also discriminated against stations owned by colleges and universities, religious institutions, and state and municipal governments as being special interest or "propaganda" broadcasters. Even though the work of Gabriel Kolko is cited without comment in only a single footnote (and is curiously omitted from the bibliography), Rosen appears to adhere to the controversial New Left historian's thesis that federal regulatory agencies are largely the creation of giant corporations for the purpose of eliminating competition. The establishment of the Federal Communications Commission in 1934, to replace the FRC, did not disrupt the pattern pioneered by Hoover.

As this reviewer began reading The Modern Stentors, he was fearful he had discovered an instant remedy for insomnia. Luckily the tempo accelerated quickly, and the narrative became interesting, fascinating, and even exciting. Although Rosen has toiled commendably through a mass and variety of relevant primary sources, he has also relied heavily upon published works—and a surprisingly large number of doctoral dissertations—to produce a highly useful synthesis. Students of the history of mass communications or the emergence of government regulation would be well advised to add this important book to their list of "must" reading. Unfortunately the exhorbitant twenty-five dollar price tag for 180 pages of text will discourage many from owning it.

Edinboro State College

CARROLYLE M. (CARL) FRANK


This book memorializes a particular place—the triangular shaped nub of land situated at the confluence of the Monongahela, Ohio, and Allegheny rivers. Moreover, it is a paean to the role that promontory played, first in early American history, second in the industrial revolution, and finally, as a focal point during the renaissance of the city of Pittsburgh.

Albert's book is hardly history in the Leopold von Ranke sense. If anything it fits a genre of commissioned historical writing usually identified with commemorations of town or business centennials. It is neither interpretative nor analytical. Yet, it can be considered well done.

Alberts chronicles—religiously at times—the events spanning 2½ centuries
which "shaped" the point of Pittsburgh's three rivers. His explicit concern is the development between 1945 and 1974 of Point State Park, which the author sees as a fitting glorification of a place which in the eighteenth century played a monumental role in the War for Independence, and in the nineteenth century epitomized the triumph of the industrial revolution in America.

Understandably, Alberts highlights the role of elites as the prime movers in the creation of the park. In one cameo after another he pays tribute to the businessmen, planners, and politicians responsible for the park project. Pittsburgh luminaries such as Edgar Kaufmann, Richard King Mellon, Arthur Van Buskirk, Ralph Griswold, Charles Stotz, and David Lawrence occupy center stage. Although three chapters are devoted to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the bulk of the book traces the evolution of the Point as the diadem in the crowning achievement of Pittsburgh's twentieth-century renaissance. Much of the story is based on Alberts's special access to the diaries, records, and oral reminiscences of the principle actors. Because it is an intimate recounting of events, Alberts liberally punctuates his narrative with anecdotes, which this reviewer found to be not only the most enjoyable, but perhaps the most significant aspect of the book. Readers will sample delectable anecdotal fare such as Patrick Horsburgh's glowing 1967 portrait of Pittsburgh as a city blessed with "Venetian delights," "Bangkok splendors," and "tree clad hills that elevate Pittsburgh to a position of preeminent beauty among the inland cities of these United States" (pp. 60-61). Alberts also tells us about Richard King Mellon's vision of a reborn Pittsburgh, and, most fascinating, he details the story of Frank Lloyd Wright's fantastical design to grace the Point with a 175-foot, thirteen-level ziggurat. Of course, that proposal, together with the plan to build a giant statue of Joe Magarac or a giant Scottish cross, was rejected.

Alberts's narrative occasionally slips to a day-by-day calendaring of event. However, on the whole, his style has the journalistic verve and flair to sustain the rigid chronological format. Sometimes Alberts seems to be addressing a narrowly provincial audience; he alludes without identification to Arthur Rooney as if all his readers were either established Pittsburghers or knowledgeable pro-football fans. Alas, even this foible is permissible in a book as clearly commemorative as The Shaping of the Point. Granted, too, that Alberts should not be held accountable for failing to adhere to the sacred canons of objectivity; nor, should the author be asked to fit the Point project into the larger context of urbanization, perhaps discussing the project as part of the civic art or city beautiful movement.

Actually, the author commits one tiny unforgivable sin. Alberts acknowledges that at least one critic raised an objection to the Point Park project, a Carnegie-Mellon graduate student. He might at least have noted the most celebrated critic of the park, Jane Jacobs in Death and Life of Great American Cities. Alberts responds to the CMU grad student (whose criticism of the park for its inaccessibility parallels Jacobs) by merely citing evidence of the park's intensive use. True the park is used, but not in the same intensive fashion that urbanites use Philadelphia's Reyburn Plaza, Pittsburgh's Mellon Square, or Boston's Common. That aside, The Shaping of the Point is a highly readable, entertaining, and factual memorial to Pittsburgh's Renaissance I, and to an extraordinary generation of civic leadership rarely paralleled in American urban history.

California State College

John F. Bauman
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