

Book Reviews:

By Kurt Aland (ed.), *Die Korrespondenz Heinrich Melchior Mühlenbergs aus der Anfangszeit des deutschen Luthertums in Nordamerika* (*The Correspondence of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, from the Early Period of German Lutheranism in North America*).

(Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1983-1993.) Vol. 1, 1740-1752 (1986), 573 pp., \$220.00; Vol. 2, 1753-1762 (1987), 623 pp., \$218.70; Vol. 3, 1763-1768 (1990), 715 pp., \$284.00; Vol. 4, 1769-1776 (1993), 773 pp., \$312.00.)

In recent years de Gruyter has been publishing some extremely expensive yet superb volumes edited by Kurt Aland: the correspondence of the early Pennsylvania Lutheran minister, Henry Melchior Muhlenberg. To date four volumes have appeared (more are pending), and they have already opened up new opportunities for research into German activities (especially those of Lutherans) in eighteenth-century British North America. Indeed, they are now required reading for students in the field, along with the other published documents of Muhlenberg's, including his famous *Journals* (3 vols., edited and translated by Theodore G. Tappert and John W. Doberstein, Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1942-1958), his reports to the Lutheran authorities in Germany (D. Jordan Ludewig Schulze, editor, *Nachrichten von den vereinigten Deutschen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Gemeinden in Nord-America, absonderlich in Pennsylvanien*, Halle, 1787), and his autobiography (*Selbstbiographie, 1711-1743*, edited by W. Germann, Allentown, 1881).

These four volumes of *Korrespondenz* contain 679 letters in their original languages, written both to and from Muhlenberg in the years 1740 to 1776 and concerning a rich variety of issues affecting colonial society. Most (87 percent) are in German, but 71 (10 percent) are in English, while 15 are in Latin and 5 are in Dutch. They contain fascinating new information concerning everything from the fate of Gottlieb Mittelberger (the famous traveler who came to Pennsylvania in 1750 and returned to Germany in 1754) to Muhlenberg's position during the growing crisis with Britain, a position which Aland describes as "ambiguous," rather than "neutral." All of the letters are well-edited, with detailed comments and references by Aland in the footnotes. Further, Aland provides important historical overviews and analysis of their contents in the introduction of each volume.

These volumes not only provide additional information on the issues and years covered in other published Muhlenberg documents, but also fill most of the

gaps left in the English-language journals. For example, from April 1743 to December 1745 the journals are silent, yet the *Korrespondenz* contains 28 letters which document, among other things, Muhlenberg's struggles with the Moravians and his early labors to organize the Lutheran churches of Pennsylvania. Also, there is little information in the journals from March 1754 to May 1759 (during the French and Indian War), yet the *Korrespondenz* contains 42 letters for the period. Other gaps in the journals which are well-covered in these volumes include January to August 1772, April to July 1774, and many other single months scattered throughout the period. In other words, where the journals often left one hungry for more information and disappointed when Muhlenberg suddenly stopped writing for extended periods of time, now one can turn to the *Korrespondenz* and learn more.

There are some drawbacks to these publications. In addition to their enormous cost, which restricts them almost entirely to institutional use, the indexes for each volume contain only references to individual letters, persons, and places—not to subjects. Further, these volumes will reinforce the Philadelphia-centered bias of early Pennsylvania-German studies: Muhlenberg, who came from northern Germany and not the southwest, from where the vast majority of the immigrants came, saw the world from Philadelphia and environs outward. Indeed, most of the sources used in Pennsylvania-German studies were produced by members of an elite living in or near Philadelphia, and this slants our view of colonial Pennsylvania society. Nevertheless, Muhlenberg often traveled into the backcountry, and his commentaries on life there are illuminating. Further, many of the letters he received were from Lutherans in these outlying areas, telling of their circumstances.

In short, these four large, well-edited volumes are packed with new information about ethnic political culture, linguistics, folklore, and religion in Pennsylvania during the generation preceding the Revolution. They are a must for all libraries collecting published documents on early American society and culture, especially that of the Pennsylvania Germans.

Aaron S. Fogleman, *University of South Alabama*

By John B. B. Trussell. *The Pennsylvania Line: Regimental Organization and Operations, 1775-1783*.

(Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1993. 368 pp. \$15.95.)

This second (paperback) edition is essentially a reissue of the first (hardback) edition of 1977 with a few minor changes. With no change in contents there is no need for a second preface. The author or his editor for the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission has merely shifted around a few tables in the text; everything else remains unchanged. Based heavily on published manuscript sources in the *Pennsylvania Archives* and a good selection of secondary works extant as of the mid-1970s, this book seems destined to remain the standard work on its topic for many years to come. Only unpublished archival manuscripts and family documents not seen by the author remain to be examined—and they are unlikely to change the overall picture which he presents. Among secondary sources, Heitman's *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army* is prominently represented.

The great merit of Trussell's book is its close examination at the state and county level of one state's contingent of the Continental Army. Convinced that historians have overlooked the lower levels of military organization and recruitment, the author summarizes the Pennsylvania Line's operational history in a single leading chapter. He then devotes his remaining efforts to examining each constituent brigade/regiment of the Pennsylvania Continentals on a company by company basis. Nothing is included regarding the state militia's service during the Revolutionary War. Finally, Trussell concludes with five appendices crammed with illustrative data, and the usual references, bibliography, and index.

This book will have limited appeal to most readers, given its strong emphasis on genealogy and statistics. Much of its value to the general reader is contained in the first chapter where Trussell presents an excellent overview of Pennsylvania's participation in the war. He notes that if ever at full strength (a rarity), the state's twenty regiments (which varied in number because of disbandments and consolidations) would have together provided about 12,000 men to the Continental Army. Approximately 25,000 men served in the Pennsylvania Line at some time during the war. Mostly raised in 1775 and 1776, the regiments existed continuously thereafter until the 1781 mutiny, when discharges and desertions resulted in reorganization. The author highlights two predominant characteristics about the Pennsylva-

nia Line—its polyglot composition and its separation during campaigns. Regiments were composed of individuals enlisted for different periods and at different pay rates. And the Line was frequently divided, with different companies serving in different locales during the campaigning season, although it was periodically re-consolidated, especially in winter. Trussell believes that quantitatively the Pennsylvanians were the most important state line in the Continental Army; Pennsylvania units fought in every major battle (except the first two near Boston) and in many minor ones throughout the war. All told, they logged 59 separate engagements from Canada to Georgia, although their participation in the South was very limited.

Trussell is particularly illuminating regarding recruitment. Unlike the militia, the Continentals were organized from the top down. Colonels were commissioned by the state executive; they in turn recruited the company captains, usually by county or district. Personal contacts and family connections played an important role in this process, as they did again when captains enrolled their lieutenants and privates from the geographically smaller circle of their respective counties. Hence, William Thompson of Carlisle secured a colonelcy in the summer of 1775 with Captain Edward Hand of Lancaster as his second in command. These two proceeded to enlist nine company captains from the counties of southeastern and central Pennsylvania.

The appendices are filled with valuable information. The first analyzes the regional origins of each regiment by county; the second provides statistics on the age, birthplace, height, and occupation of individual soldiers; the third summarizes battles by participating units. The most extensive is the fourth, where casualties are elaborated in eight different tables; a similarly detailed final appendix on assigned personnel strengths by regiment throughout the war concludes the supplementary materials. A chart, illustrations, maps, tables, reference notes, the bibliography, and an index complement the author's work.

The Pennsylvania Line remains the essential book on its subject and a key work on mobilization for the Revolutionary War.

James R. Bloomfield, *Thiel College*

By Emma Jones Lapsansky, *Neighborhoods in Transition: William Penn's Dream and Urban Reality*.

(New York: Garland Publishing, 1994, 320 pp. \$55.00).

William Penn's visionary plan for Philadelphia is widely known and admired. It has long been a staple of local, regional, and even national history. In little more than a century, however, Penn's vision of a "greene Country Towne," where residents lived in harmony and were lightly governed, was in serious difficulty. By the middle of the nineteenth century Penn's dream was nearly dead, except for certain physical aspects, such as Philadelphia's five open squares and its grid plan of streets. Through examining one small neighborhood, which initially stood just outside the official boundaries of Philadelphia, Emma Jones Lapsansky has endeavored to explain how Penn's ideal was undermined by urban realities.

The focus of her study is the so-called Cedar Street corridor, a two-block wide strip, with Cedar Street at its center, extending from the Delaware River on the east to Broad Street on the west. Named for a tree, like most of the other east and west streets in Penn's original design, Cedar Street formed the southern boundary of the two-square mile rectangle that made up Philadelphia proper until a massive city/county consolidation in 1854 joined the City of Philadelphia with adjacent Philadelphia County. Because of Cedar Street's location on the southern boundary of the city, Philadelphians soon came to refer to it as South Street, a name that was finally made official at the time of the 1854 consolidation. Before the consolidation, the area below Cedar (i.e. South) Street lay in Moyamensing Township, with the easternmost portion of it having been incorporated into what was called the Southwark District.

The collapse of Penn's original scheme was the result of several conditions which the founder did not foresee—or even imagine. Chief among these, according to Lapsansky, was the rapid economic expansion of Philadelphia and the rising prices of land and real estate on the Delaware River side of the city, which fronted along the port of Philadelphia and which was therefore highly coveted by residents. Penn's large lots, with plenty of space for trees and gardens, were subdivided by small alleys, where tiny workers' houses were crammed into the center of the blocks. Even larger residences were built side by side, and directly abutting the sidewalks, in order to utilize all available space within each block created by the grid. Yet this same grid plan was extended south of Cedar Street by township commissioners,

where the potential for crowding was even worse. For there were no public squares in the Cedar corridor, as in Philadelphia proper, where green spaces gave some relief to increasing population and housing density.

Another reason for the collapse of Penn's plan was a growing ethnic, racial, and religious diversity, along with widening differences in social and economic standing—in Philadelphia as well as in the Cedar neighborhood. This was a far cry from the more homogeneous society which Penn had envisioned as a way of promoting harmony and brotherly love. Because the residents were forced into the streets for many of their social activities, the noisy, disruptive, or seemingly strange customs of one group easily irritated others.

The intermingling of families with differing amounts of wealth and social prestige, at a time when the lack of rapid transportation forced people of varying stations to live within walking distance of work, also gave rise to resentment, crime, mass violence, and the destruction of property. This mayhem often spilled over the boundaries into Philadelphia itself. Yet Philadelphia police had no jurisdiction in the Cedar neighborhood, and the local authorities were not powerful enough to deal with such disruptions on their own.

The solution to these alarming conditions (in the Cedar neighborhood as well as in other outlying districts) was the city/county consolidation of 1854, which swept the Cedar corridor, along with several dozen villages and towns in Philadelphia County into one metropolitan area. Thus in many respects, the city/county consolidation was a dramatic admission that Penn's plan had failed.

Lapsansky's research for this study of the Cedar neighborhood and its relation to Philadelphia is very impressive. She makes use of such sources as maps, city directories, lithographs, court records, tax lists, census manuscripts, insurance inventories, and the like. Less successful is her attempt to weave into the narrative the observations of a Russian diplomat named Paul Savin who arrived in Philadelphia in 1811. This is only a minor distraction, however, in an important study that will help urban historians locally to gain a better understanding of urbanization, and especially of the ways in which urban planning can have unintended or unpleasant results.

David R. Contosta, *Chestnut Hill College*

By James Arthur Walther, Editor. *Ever A Frontier: the Bicentennial History of the Pittsburgh Theological Seminary.*

(Eerdmans, 1994. 282 pages. \$12.50.)

James Walther, Professor Emeritus at the Pittsburgh Theological Seminary, has done an admirable job of bringing together in one publication a fascinating history of Presbyterian theological education in western Pennsylvania. With the help of nine contributors, he has presented a readable and positive account of the commitment of frontier folk to the educated and pastorally-oriented clergy who have left a profound mark on the history of Christendom over the past two hundred years.

The antecedents of the present Seminary, located on North Highland Avenue in Pittsburgh, have been highlighted. An accurate listing of personalities, dates, and themes is woven into a tapestry that is cause for appreciation often lost in a secular society. The strength of this witness is not lost on the reader who has any sense of the impact of subtle change on the passage of time.

All educational institutions are the result of interaction among administrators, faculty, students, governing boards of directors, constituency, and benefactors. History should reveal the tensions inherent among these differing groups. In some periods, the faculty is dominant. In others, the constituency emerges by determining who serves in key positions. In all cases, benefactors, contributors, and friends ultimately determine results. In the case of Pittsburgh Theological Seminary, all have played key roles. Dr. Walther and the other authors have caught the evidences of these changing influences.

The heart of the story is found in chapters five, six, and seven, where Robert L. Kelley, Jr., Howard Eshbaugh, and Walther combine their contemporary memories and perspectives and set the tone for the merger of the two former seminaries (Pittsburgh-Xenia and Western) into Pittsburgh Theological Seminary in 1959, following the merger of their parent denominations in 1958.

These three chapters contain the heart of the story. They also reflect limitations the authors faced as they recounted significant names and dates. The years 1958 through 1980 were years of extreme turmoil in the nation, the world, society, and also the church. The seminary in Pittsburgh, reflecting somewhat differing strengths and prospectives, faced a difficult future, for the challenges of society were a part of the challenges of merging two somewhat different institutions into

one. The reader might welcome a fuller exposition and accounting of the details, activities, personalities, conversations, and discussions, which often added heat as well as light to the narrative.

It is well known that persons in each seminary family strongly favored and worked diligently for the merger. There were also those who were just as convinced that the merger would be a disaster. Interviews with articulate proponents of each perspective could have added immeasurably to the excitement of the history. We measure whether we were right or wrong only as time and events pass.

Fortunately, however, the passage of time can mellow strongly-held convictions. Those who thirty years ago lived through the exciting, challenging, and difficult times in the recent history of what is now a strong witness to the faith of the dreamers, can now appreciate anew a heritage which is recalled by Dr. Walther and his co-authors in this bicentennial volume.

Richard Eyster Sigler, *Pittsburgh*

By Peter McCaffery. *When Bosses Ruled Philadelphia: The Emergence of the Republican Machine, 1867-1933.*

(University Park: Penn State Press, 1993. Pp. 264. \$35.00.)

Peter McCaffery's analysis of boss rule in Philadelphia during the height of the city's industrial era has two major focal points. The author is interested in examining the Republican machine in Philadelphia to determine when and how it was formed, to examine the extent of its power, and to determine whether or not it had an overall positive or negative impact on the urban fabric. He is also interested in using Philadelphia as a model for inquiry to test existing theories of organization or machine politics. The author is particularly critical of the generation of scholars writing after World War II who attempted to explain boss politics as a structural response to the social context in which they thrived. Robert Merton's functional analysis of the operation of the political machine receives detailed attention in this critique.

McCaffery's analysis of the development and operation of the Republican political machine in Philadelphia is a major contribution to our understanding of

the phenomenon of boss politics. Through extensive empirical data, he examines the rather lengthy process which led to the transformation of political control from the gentlemen politicians—McCaffery calls them “men of substance”—to career politicians such as bosses Martin, Durham, and McNichol. Parts of his analysis demonstrate that the Philadelphia experience was either different from other major cities or that earlier interpretations of the rise of boss politics must be modified somewhat. First, it is clear that the “men of substance” did not abandon Philadelphia politics because they were either preoccupied with the business of making money or because they found the extension of the franchise, and thereby political control, to the lower classes too debased for their patrician sensibilities. On the contrary, they eventually abandoned political life only after considerable resistance, complaints, and efforts at reforms which, if successful, would have prevented career politicians from gaining control of the city.

The career politicians who initially replaced the political and social elite demonstrated a style and mode of operation that we have come to associate with boss politics. Their focus of attention was often on the neighborhood and the lower classes. They were powerful and often corrupt. Their power, however, did not extend much beyond a particular neighborhood. Ward bosses built personal fiefdoms based on the loyalty of fire department personnel or on neighborhood gang support. They distributed patronage and received allegiance and often kickbacks in return. In the absence of a centralizing force these early bosses acted independently of one another, carving up the city to suit their own personal whims. City and county office holders wishing to maintain their positions were forced to cater to the wishes of the ward bosses in order to gain their support.

During the 1880s and 90s the central power vacuum was partially filled by two men, James McManes and William Stokley, who gained control of the natural gas utility and the municipal building commission respectively. Able to issue numerous construction contracts and significant patronage they emerged as controlling forces in Philadelphia. On the surface they were political bosses in the classical sense. However, as McCaffery demonstrates, they were still unable to centralize power throughout the city. In addition to competing with each other, they were unable to control the popular Republican party, the process by which candidates were nominated, the city council, or the distribution of patronage throughout the city.

It is most interesting to note that the emergence of a full-fledged centralized political machine occurred only after Matthew Quay gained control of the state Republican Party organization. Through a series of deliberate actions—changes in party rules, recruitment of candidates, distribution of patronage—Quay managed to take over the state and city party apparatus. He then succeeded in placing men in power in Philadelphia who were loyal to him and the Republican party. A series of party purges, by Boss Martin and those who followed him, eliminated all significant opposition. The result was an absolute political machine which ruled Philadelphia for nearly four decades. It was only in this latter period that governance in Philadelphia took on the characteristics that political analysts have associated with boss politics. McCaffery's analysis is interesting, highly instructive, and adds much to our understanding to this process.

While the author is highly successful in his analysis of boss politics, his use of Philadelphia to test the theories of Merton and others is less satisfying. Merton appears to be the straw man whom the author delights in attacking. McCaffery is clearly uncomfortable with the image of the "good boss" which he attributes to those who suggest that bosses filled certain urban needs which were inadequately cared for by other patterns and structures within the city. In Philadelphia, McCaffery argues that the machine was already in existence prior to the arrival of the needy immigrants. Therefore it could not have been created to fill their supposed needs. Moreover, he contends, bosses were often unable to fill these needs. They perverted the system to fill their own coffers, and their organization failed to provide the avenue for upward social mobility that functional analysts have identified. He also argues that "the Organization did little to promote genuine social reforms that would have met the real needs of its constituents."

The weakness of McCaffery's argument, it seems to this reviewer, rests on a faulty interpretation of Merton and others who have adopted the functional analysis view. Merton freely admits that the boss and the organization he represented operated to further their own self interest. They were not benevolent, they clearly perverted the democratic system, they were usually corrupt, and they were, in the long run, destructive. Merton took care not to classify bosses as either good or bad although he clearly opposed machine rule: "To adopt a functional outlook is to provide not an apology for the political machine but a more solid basis for modifying or eliminating the machine."

McCaffery's own analysis makes it clear that the Philadelphia machine did centralize power, distribute patronage and services—admittedly meager—to the lower classes, provide favors to the business classes, and even provided at least benign neglect to the vice elements of the city. Admittedly they did not provide upward mobility. But it appears to this reader that, if one is able to suspend one's moral judgment, most of the functional elements that Merton identifies were present in late nineteenth century Philadelphia.

The above disagreement aside, McCaffery has produced a valuable study which makes an important contribution to our understanding of politics in both Philadelphia and in industrial urban America. It is clearly worth reading.

Michael P. Weber, *Duquesne University*

By James Roger Sharp. *American Politics in the Early Republic: The New Nation in Crisis*.

(New Haven, Connecticut and London, England: Yale University Press, 1993. Pp. x, 365. \$30.00.)

The first twelve years of American national politics (1789-1801) have always attracted a good deal of attention from scholars. Professor James Roger Sharp of Syracuse University presents a new version of the struggle for power by the contending factions led by Alexander Hamilton on one side and Thomas Jefferson and James Madison on the other.

Professor Sharp views these years as dangerous ones for the early republic. As with many later societies emerging from years of colonial rule, there was no clear certainty that the government created in 1776 and recreated in 1787 would survive. Ambition and ideological and sectional differences threatened to tear the country apart.

Sharp takes these threats seriously and discusses the dangers to the creation of a stable government. Neither of the combatants considered the opposition legitimate. Hamilton resorted to arms to crush the Whiskey and Fries Rebellions in Pennsylvania and his Federalist followers passed the Alien and Sedition Acts to throw their enemies in jail. Jefferson's cohorts fraternized with French emissaries, organized secret societies to paralyze the government, and proposed secession and

rebellion against the Sedition Act. Everyone seemed convinced his opponents were traitors who should swing from the nearest tree.

The crisis reached its apex with the election of 1800 and the deadlock in the electoral college between Jefferson and Aaron Burr. With the Federalists seeking to prevent the Virginian's election by supporting his running mate from New York in the second election in the United States House of Representatives, both New England and the South were prepared for secession and civil war. But fortunately calmer heads prevailed, led by Hamilton who allowed his rival Jefferson to assume the presidency. But except for Hamilton's sensible act, which cost him his life at Burr's hands, the activities of most of the political leaders in the 1790s leave little to recommend them. Without Washington, who held the country together for ten years and stood above these many disputes, the country might have splintered before it had begun. Sharp sees long-term consequences of these enmities: the Kentucky and Virginia Resolves became the basis for Calhoun's doctrines thirty years later and for the secession of South Carolina in 1860.

Part of the reason for political instability was the opposition to political parties. Reviled by all the political figures of the day, parties were considered dangerous to the republic. Sharp argues that the mechanisms chosen by Jefferson and his opponents to fight each other were not genuine political parties, but combinations of men put together on an *ad hoc* basis and meant to disappear. These proto-parties did not have the legitimacy nor the longevity to provide an added layer of stability to a failing political system.

Those who have lamented the decline of political history will welcome this volume, especially as it appears at the same time as Stanley Elkins' and Eric McKittrick's brilliant study of the same era. By dealing with the 1790s descent into near anarchy and civil war, Sharp presents another side to the politics of the era that has been absent in discussions of republicanism and the origins of capitalism which have dominated recent scholarship.

Several parts of Sharp's thesis need more scholarly attention. Throughout his work, he uses the term proto-party. In this line of thought, he follows Ronald Formisano, who argues political parties did not emerge until late in the Jacksonian era when they were promoted by Martin Van Buren and other politicians who regarded them as legitimate and useful in governing the country and in maintaining stability. Joseph Charles and Noble Cunningham, among others, have suggested

an earlier existence for political parties. Although Jefferson, Madison, and Hamilton attacked parties, they organized them. Use of the term proto-parties tries to disguise their existence and denies these leaders the credit of their inventions. The 1790s political organizations dispensed patronage, enforced a limited political discipline, and promoted common political actions throughout the country. In two party areas, particularly in Pennsylvania and the other middle states, they were long lived.

Professor Sharp, in emphasizing the instability of the period, overlooks political stability. Although threats to the peace were many, the peaceful outcomes of Jay's Treaty, the Sedition Act, of the election of 1800, and the death of Washington indicates the country was not that close to civil war.

These dissents aside, Professor Sharp's study of politics during the formative period is a welcome addition to the literature and sure to generate a good deal of controversy.

Herbert B. Ershkowitz, *Temple University*

By Andrew J. Polsky, *The Rise of the Therapeutic State.*

(Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993. Pp. 287. \$16.95.)

Dismiss the caseworkers, social workers, street workers, youth workers and all the other busy bees with a missionary need to inflict behavior modification on the poor and retain only those bureaucrats needed to send out the checks and police the operation to prevent cheating on the eligibility rules.

(Nicholas von Hoffman)

Polsky's combination history/polemic will delight those who consider social work, casework in particular, to be as scientific as astrology and as effective in behavior modification as preaching the Golden Rule. He has produced an unrelenting and unqualified condemnation of those whom he labels "social personnel"—the behavioral specialists who staff the "therapeutic" public agencies and strive to "normalize" their clients (victims?). Concentrating mainly on the juvenile courts, child welfare operations, and public assistance in the twentieth century, Polsky argues that the "social personnel have . . . acquiesced in the use of coercion

by the state to regulate the most private dimensions of clients' lives. . . . Under the impress of therapeutic discourse, policymakers and the larger public have learned to devalue personal autonomy." (p. 16)

Influenced by the work of Michel Foucault (*Power, Knowledge . . .*, 1972-1977) and Jacques Donzelot (*The Policing of Families*, 1979), Polsky argues that efforts to normalize the marginal (working class or immigrant) populations in the nineteenth century emerged as a substitute for repression in a capitalist economy. By the Progressive era of the early twentieth century, social personnel (mainly social workers) aggressively sought to enlist the state in their normalization efforts. This was reflected in the creation of the juvenile courts, child welfare and protection programs, and mothers' pensions. Subsequently, throughout the twentieth century, caseworkers and allied social personnel sought to expand their authority through co-optation of the state. In the 1930s, for example, they succeeded in incorporating social service in the child welfare and public assistance apparatus. In the 1960s, they persuaded the federal government to provide funding for professional training as well as social services.

Polsky argues that the therapeutic activities of the Progressive era established the basis for a new style state, one where the "marginal family or individual will likely have some contact with the caseworkers, clinicians, judges, probation officers, and counselors who staff the human service apparatus." (p. 213) This circumstance undermines the basis for democratic self-autonomy or citizenship; it leads not to independence but to unceasing surveillance and tutelage. Given the limits of behavior modification through casework, and its police state characteristics, Polsky suggests it would be better to impose the law and "punish where appropriate than to torment clients in our therapeutic experiments." (p. 216) Better still, he improbably suggests that we need a drastic political-social reformation expressed in decentralization and neighborhood government. Unfortunately, the greatest triumph of the social personnel has been to obscure the possibility of alternative approaches to marginality; we suffer from a national cultural myopia which has "come to accept the therapeutic sector, to rely upon it and view the world from the perspective of the social technician." (p. 213) In protean fashion, the therapeutic sector keeps redefining its role, clientele, or expertise (while keeping schools of social work in business).

There are at least two significant limitations to Polsky's analysis. First, his marginal populations—the object of therapeutic coercion—are an undifferentiated blob, a kind of academic abstraction. But many individuals suffering physical or mental handicaps cannot function autonomously. Neither can children. The issue of therapeutic intervention is more complex than Polsky suggests. Second, there are more powerful and oppressive sources of coercion in the society than caseworkers. The entire system of governance by judicial and administrative fiat—ever-expanding government intervention in every aspect of the social and economic system—is far more of a threat to liberty than the pretensions of social work.

Still, Polsky is more right than wrong in pointing to the absurdity of supposing there exists the knowledge or capacity to accomplish mass behavior modification of the poor (let alone the underclass). Von Hoffman's proposal for welfare reform makes more sense than those proposed by the political/academic/bureaucratic class:

We can encourage people to improve themselves and get a job by stigmatizing welfare even more than we do. We can keep the system cheap and gimmick-free by spurning social-worker snake oil and poppycock plans. After that, there's nothing but to grind our teeth and pay.

Roy Lubove, *University of Pittsburgh*

By Regina G. Kunzel. *Fallen Women, Problem Girls: Unmarried Mothers and the Professionalization of Social Work, 1890-1945.*

(New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993. 272 pp. \$27.50)

From the Progressive era through World War II, three groups of women—evangelical reformers, members of the new profession of social work, and unmarried mothers—participated in radical redefinitions of female sexuality, family, and illegitimacy in America. Using case records from maternity homes and the published and unpublished writings of female reformers and social workers, Regina Kunzel traces these redefinitions and finds them inextricably tied to larger struggles over gender, class, and race.

At the turn of the century, viewing themselves as protectors and redeemers, evangelical women created maternity homes for unmarried mothers. The reform-

ers defined their clients—usually of the “deserving poor”—as sisters who had been led astray by aggressive male sexuality. Through the strict religious and work regimens of the maternity homes, and ensuring that mother and child remained together, these “fallen women” could be saved. However, by the 1910s, a contest for control of the maternity homes began. Female social workers struggled to define themselves and their profession as scientific, objective, and non-feminine, so they disdained the emotional and religious approach of the past. Social workers recast unwed mothers as “problem girls”—specifically, as either “sexual delinquents” or “feeble-minded.” In either case, the prognosis for recovery was bleak, and the treatment required individual, scientific case work by experts and the separation of mother and child—because a delinquent or feeble-minded mother was categorically unfit.

Kunzel argues that the definitions of both “fallen women” and “problem girls” were tied to the inability of middle-class women to understand the sexual experiences of working-class women. In her reading of case studies, she finds unwed mothers themselves offered a wide variety of explanations for their situations—including incest, melodramatic seductions, trading sex for “treating” at amusement parks or movies, and conscious attempts to defy Victorian parental standards.

In her final chapter, Kunzel describes two new challenges that emerged in the maternity homes in the 1940s. With the dislocations of the war, the incidence of illegitimacy rose; and more and more unwed mothers who sought assistance were middle-class; at the same time, an increase in illegitimacy among African Americans deeply disturbed American policymakers. In response, social workers developed new, race-determined definitions of unwed mothers. White middle-class mothers were seen not as sexually promiscuous, but as victims of treatable psychological neuroses. Black mothers, however, were considered part of a pathological African-American family culture. The psychiatric diagnosis and treatment of white unwed mothers undermined the power of female social workers in maternity homes, as they became simply assistants to male psychiatrists. The results of the redefinition of unwed motherhood for African-American women was profound and lasting. Kunzel notes that the alleged pathology of the black family was used to “justify public policies directed against African-American single mothers and their children, to subject them to harassment by welfare officials, to deny them public funds and services, and in some cases, to license their sterilization.” (page 165)

Kunzel's work is a model of careful organization and multi-layered argument. In describing the contest between evangelical reformers and social workers to define and control unmarried mothers, she has also dissected American visions of gender, class, and race that still inform—and misinform—debates over “family values” and welfare. The fact that Kunzel has accomplished all this so gracefully in less than two hundred pages is a tribute to the clarity of both her writing style and insight.

Shelley L. Sperry, *University of Maryland, College Park*

By Michael J. McTighe. *A Measure of Success: Protestants and Public Culture in Antebellum Cleveland*.

(Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994. Pp. xii + 283.)

Michael McTighe's study of antebellum religious reform in Cleveland is an interesting addition to the already large literature of antebellum reform. The book moves through a series of fairly typical topics for these kinds of studies: church membership, questions of gender, and symbolic crusades (in this case benevolence, temperance, and anti-slavery). What distinguishes this work from most others of the genre, however, is McTighe's focus on public culture and the formal and informal uses of power. In so doing, he moves us away from the conventional narrative of religious leaders, churches, and voluntary societies—all of which are outside the formal channels of power—to explore the interaction of these community elements with the formation of policy and the world of politics. What emerges is a fascinating reconfiguration of our notion of public culture.

Having said that, however, the reader must be warned that McTighe's study of Protestants in antebellum Cleveland focuses on a leadership elite within the churches, which itself represented only a small segment of the larger community. What was significant about this leadership elite, however, was its self-consciousness and consequent efforts to pursue strategies that might mold the public culture to its vision. In their own minds, of course, Protestant leaders saw no distinction between private beliefs and public culture, believing as they did that the latter should reflect the former. Religious ideals and domestic virtues should permeate

the public world, and campaigns for temperance and antislavery reforms (among others) tried to effect just that. Temperance failed, however, primarily because the public culture seemed impervious to this sort of moral reform.

Although this study is valuable, it does have some problems. Just how did the well-to-do foist their agenda on the rest of society? How closely were the classes connected in this moral reform effort? Some of McTighe's evidence indicates that more than economics separated lower from upper classes. And what about the relationship of women to this public culture? McTighe clearly delineates the importance of women, at least numerically, in the Protestant religious culture. But how did this influence (or did this influence) have an impact on the commercial culture with which the Protestant male elite was joined? As the author notes in his evaluation of the temperance reform failures, "they represented only a particular slice of the city's population."

Public culture is a tricky term, but a useful one. In using this concept, Michael McTighe has advanced an interesting and useful approach to the study of antebellum reform. His appendix on sources and extensive bibliography offer suggestive avenues for similar studies of other communities.

John Andrew, *Franklin & Marshall College*

By Joseph J. Ellis. *Passionate Sage: The Character and Legacy of John Adams*. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1993. Pp. 277.)

This work might be subtitled "Adams in retirement," for it is an evaluation and analysis of the life and thought of John Adams after his defeat in the election of 1800. In this sprightly written, and often witty analysis, we see much that is familiar, but also much that is new in John Adams's thought and legacy. Based on voluminous correspondence (not the least of which is the running dialogue with Jefferson), newspaper articles, and marginalia from books, Ellis's work begins with a brief overview of Adams's career and then turns to an enlightening exegesis of his writings during the twenty-five years of his retirement.

Adams took a perverse delight in being the odd-man out and saw no need to pander to popularity. It would seem, in fact, that Adams feared success and public acclaim. He cared little for the fame of the moment and saw his position in the history of the nation as resting with the future and with historians. Thus, his great

desire to set the historical record straight helps to explain incidents such as his nasty exchange with his longtime friend, Mercy Otis Warren, and his subsequent submission of a series of tendentious newspaper articles on the Revolution.

What emerges from Ellis's analysis is much more than a backward-thinking eighteenth-century enlightenment politician. Adams's thought is far more complex and diverse, and he was more willing to address the issues facing the country than many of his contemporaries. Also, while this work is well written and easily read and understood intellectual history, it is also a good treatment of Adams's personality. While not "lovable," the real John Adams emerges and makes the younger John Adams more understandable. This book compliments and, in some respects, supplants Peter Shaw's *The Character of John Adams*. One of the sidelights of the work is the evaluation and commentary that runs throughout on the Jefferson-Adams correspondence. In and of itself, this would make the work useful.

Adams continues to be one of the forgotten Founding Fathers. However, with the opening of the Adams Papers forty years ago, and with works such as this one by Joseph Ellis, the ultimate wisdom of Adams will be borne out—his greatness will be determined by future generations of historians.

George W. Franz, *Penn State/Delaware County*

By David Hackett Fischer. *Paul Revere's Ride*.

(New York: Oxford University Press, 1994. Pp. 445. \$27.50.)

Is there no genre of historical writing beyond the learned mind, nimble pen, and prodigious work habits of Brandeis historian David Hackett Fischer? Having written major works on politics (*To the Hartford Convention*), methodology (the delightfully wicked *Historians' Fallacies*), the family (*Growing Old in America*), the sweep of early American social history (*Albion's Seed*), and the frontier (*Away, I'm Going Away*—reviewed in the pages of *Pennsylvania History* in July, 1994), he has turned to the events which began the American Revolution. The result is a thrilling narrative which moves faster than Paul Revere himself did through the slumbering towns of eastern Massachusetts. Paramount Pictures has obtained the movie rights, and Brandeis students are scurrying around the various archives of the Bay State to flesh out the hundreds of obscure New Englanders and British regulars who gained a niche in history by being in the right place in April, 1775.

The unforgettable vignettes of men and women, black and white, rich and poor, young and old who stopped the British at Lexington and Concord—and two earlier alarms at Salem and Portsmouth, New Hampshire where the redcoats also came looking for weapons—is but one of the strengths of Fischer's book. For the visually inclined, nearly one hundred maps and illustrations provide a feast for the eye. Pedantic scholars and genealogists will savor over twenty appendices and nearly one hundred pages of notes. And historians of revolutionary Massachusetts will find much to debate in the interpretation that subtly but unmistakably emerges from between the story's lines.

Fischer personalizes the ideological conflict which led to the Revolution through Revere and British commanding General Thomas Gage, the former representing the traditional, communal freedom treasured by New England, the latter the more individually tolerant yet hierarchical liberty of the wider British Empire. Yet despite Fischer's sympathy for the intelligent and decent Gage—whose New Jersey-born wife Margaret probably tipped off her fellow Americans that the march on Concord was in the works—his heroes are Yankees like Salem's Sarah Tarrant, who taunted the redcoats: "Do you think we were born in the woods, to be frightened by owls," or Menotomy's seventy-eight-year-old Samuel Whittemore, who coolly positioned himself behind a stone wall and killed two soldiers before being shot, bayoneted, trampled, and left for dead before recovering and living another eighteen years! The greatest hero of them all is Paul Revere. It seems there was nothing the resistance movement in Boston could do without him. A member of the North End Caucus and Boston Tea Party, he was a key link between the artisans and merchants who jointly made the Revolution. He made the famous (if false) engraving of British soldiers firing in unison by order of their officer on helpless civilians during the Boston "Massacre." He was Boston's principal courier between New York and Philadelphia. That he finally reached the level of his incompetence in the disastrous Massachusetts expedition against a British force in Penobscot, Maine in 1779 hardly detracts from his overall reputation.

We need only contrast these intrepid New Englanders with Pennsylvania's vacillating, elitist politics in the years before 1776 to realize that were it not for the Bostonians and their country cousins, we might still be singing "God Save the Queen." Yet perhaps Fischer has drawn too stark a dichotomy between Revere and Gage, Britain and America. After all, Revere was a personally ambitious artisan and

Gage the champion of a community transcending the Atlantic. And the mere presence of artisans in revolutionary organizations in Boston no more means they were calling the shots than membership in the American Legion or Republican Party means their average member is shaping foreign or domestic policy today. But Fischer's interpretation makes at least as much sense as those who would question it, and surely it will quicken any patriotic pulses which have survived the "me decades" and "the culture of narcissism." The film should earn him millions and go a long way toward rendering the American Revolution as glamorous and exciting as the Civil War.

William Pencak, *Penn State/Ogontz*; Editor, *Pennsylvania History*

By A. G. Roeber. *Palatines, Liberty, and Property: German Lutherans in Colonial British America*.

(Baltimore, Maryland: The John Hopkins University Press, 1993. Pp. 432. \$49.95.)

This is a very important book about the eighteenth century transfer of culture from what is now southwestern Germany to British America. Few, if any, other historians have gone to such lengths to interpret the origins and transformation of the Palatines' beliefs and practices as they emigrated from Europe and settled in Pennsylvania, New York, Georgia, South Carolina, and Virginia. The text, citations, and bibliography demonstrate convincingly the thoroughness of Roeber's research in European and American archival materials, as well as his careful examination of relevant publications. Such effective command of sources on two continents and the languages required to use them is rare indeed!

Roeber's study emerged from his questioning of the validity of earlier works which concluded that German-speaking colonists brought little of their culture with them to America. Using his extensive knowledge of southwestern Germany's geography from several research expeditions in that area, he differentiates between the particular regions and villages that the emigrants left and explains how their attitudes affected their use and disposition of the American environment. For example, Roeber points out how Lutheran emigrants from areas where Hallensian pietism was prominent demonstrated a concept of liberty that included a sense of

community responsibility in the use of their property and a more intense, even Calvinistic, involvement in the political realm. According to Roeber, for German-speaking colonists who lacked exposure to pietism, freedom changed from a mere negative lack of restraint to a more positive and open freedom of choice, "including the liberty [of South Carolina's German-speaking Lutherans] to defend slavery" (p. 319). The German-speaking settlers' transfer of their own traditions enabled them to adapt and use British patterns, such as trusteeships and corporations, for their own purposes and at the end of the Colonial Period to understand and support resistance to alleged British oppression. Roeber charges that while defining "Liberty" and "Property" in the American context German-Americans lost their identity. Their descendants are perhaps only now beginning to understand what happened. (See pp. 331-332.)

Readers must follow Roeber to these conclusions through a mass of evidence, much of it anecdotal. By including data on the increase in population, rise in food prices, and decline in wages in the Palatinate, he emphasizes the economic motivation for emigration. Evidence that Lutheran pietism was not the only force for "moral improvement" in German-speaking lands emerges from his description of Johann Sebastian Bach's "orthodox" Leipzig of the early eighteenth century (see p. 66). He points out that union churches, that is Lutheran and Reformed congregations which share the same building, once numerous and still known in Pennsylvania, did not originate in the reluctance of Germans to expend resources on their spiritual nurture. Instead, argues Roeber, these unions emerged from post-Reformation disputes.

In a study as detailed as this, a few errors may be inevitable. Several examples follow. Although Christopher Saur certainly was a spokesman for the free church tradition, there is no evidence to indicate that he ever affiliated with the Dunkards (see p. 177). After drilling on Sundays for possible service in the approaching war for American Independence, the Philadelphia German Reformed regiment did not march on to the "Hexagon Church" (p. 306), nor did Pastor Caspar Weyberg preach patriotic sermons there after having been released from captivity during the British occupation of the city, for the congregation had replaced it in 1772 with a more commodious rectangular building, one of the largest in the city (see pp. 306-307). Such problems are peripheral and do not detract from the importance of Roeber's extraordinarily informative work.

John B. Frantz, *The Pennsylvania State University, University Park*

By Charles E. Clark, *The Public Prints: The Newspaper in Anglo-American Culture, 1665-1740*.

(New York: Oxford University Press, 1994. Pp. 330. \$49.95.)

Since the early eighteenth-century newspapers have been an integral component in the evolving American culture. In *The Public Prints* Charles E. Clark attempts to describe the sources and initial influence of the print tradition in British North America. In presenting his findings the author makes several well-grounded and thought-provoking observations which reveal much about life in colonial America.

The author's primary contention is that the evolution of newspapers in colonial America reflected growing Anglicanization. Clark defends his thesis by describing the British news-gathering customs and habits that evolved in and around London during the mid-seventeenth century. The author proposes that in responding to a demand for information about the English Civil War and subsequent government activities prominent Englishmen began sharing intelligence through regular hand-written newsletters. A commercial elite was particularly interested in establishing reliable news-gathering facilities. By the end of the century private newsletters generally had been replaced by reproducible printed newspapers which offered a broader range of information to a larger, though still very limited, readership.

A similar course of events followed in Boston and a short time later in several other colonial American seaport communities. Rather than concern for the fate of Charles I's reign and then Cromwell's Puritan government, an elite comprised of American maritime merchants sought information about the Glorious Revolution and the international policies of William and Mary. Likewise, the methods and manners used to disseminate information in colonial America were very similar to those used in the parent country, where newsletters and newspapers were initially designed merely to confirm oral accounts. However, on both sides of the Atlantic the new medium soon supplanted oral reporting.

Though Clark claims that he is not primarily concerned about the political effects of early newspapers, perhaps his most interesting observations involve the ways that news agencies promoted democracy and eventually a democratic ideology in America. Publishers (which usually meant printers) presented their product to appeal to potential clients. Graphics, format, and style all contributed to an expanded readership. To attract readers, some newspapers, following the lead of

James Franklin's *New England-Courant*, eschewed chronological lists in favor of a more issue-oriented, literary presentation. Likewise, the growing importance of advertisements indicated new functions ascribed to newspapers by its readers. Clark proposes that these innovations indicate newspapers by 1740, while still designed for the white, Anglo-Saxon, property holding patriarch, were being read by other people. Newspapers thus constituted a regular, shared cultural experience among relatively diverse collections of Americans.

The result of Clark's research is a usually rewarding study of early American culture. On the one hand it is a work that supplements existing scholarship which describes the ideological influences generated by early newspapers. On the other hand, it should serve as a foundation upon which cultural historians might build in the future. While Clark's style is at times a bit flat, his scholarship is worthwhile for the serious student of colonial America.

Paul E. Doutrich, *York College of Pennsylvania*

By Perry K. Blatz. *Democratic Miners: Work and Labor Relations in the Anthracite Coal Industry, 1875-1935*.

(Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994. Pp. 368. \$19.95 paperback, \$59.50 hardcover.)

Over a decade and a half ago, in the midst of the New Labor History's fascination with cultural, social, and familial themes, David Brody, a preeminent practitioner of this genre, surprisingly called on his colleagues to incorporate an economic approach into their research, focusing first not on culture but on the job and the workplace. Perry Blatz has responded to Brody's charge by writing a superb book which explores the industrial environment of anthracite mine workers, describes their struggles with the powerful anthracite coal owners, and unravels the shifting relationship between the mine workers and their union, the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA). In his analysis, Blatz employs such traditional sources as newspapers, union records, and government publications, but he uses them creatively to unearth the activities and thought of ordinary mine workers. In other words, he utilizes sources common to the Old Labor History to investigate the struggles of workers from the "bottom up," a crucial perspective of the New Labor History.

Blatz is at his finest in penetrating the plethora of jobs, skills, and work rules which had accumulated over time in the anthracite work process. He brilliantly establishes the sources of fragmentation as well as the roots of solidarity in the day-to-day conflicts between mine workers and mine managers over a maze of work tasks and arrangements that varied from region to region and sometimes even mine to mine. He demonstrates convincingly that the *ad hoc* work rules primarily benefited management at the expense of the mine workers. The laborers viewed these arrangements as unjust, unfair, and capricious and instituted numerous job actions and strikes to confront and change them. He clearly illustrates how the rising tide of mine worker militancy and solidarity after 1899 meshed with a well-financed organizing drive by the UMWA, led by John Mitchell. It climaxed in the famous anthracite strikes of 1900 and 1902. Blatz skillfully weaves the essential linkages between workplace injustices, mine workers' assertiveness, the actions and policies of UMWA leaders, and the fundamental conservatism and intransigence of the coal barons.

The author's account of the rank-and-file issues underlying the 1900 and 1902 strikes and his treatment of the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission's deliberations are unmatched. Nevertheless, his analysis of the 1902 strike and its impact on anthracite labor relations is not altogether satisfactory. Blatz notes the failure of the 1902 settlement to grant union recognition and discusses the difficulties faced by the UMWA in anthracite from 1903 to 1912. But his explanations fail to hit the bull's-eye. Basically, the inability to achieve union recognition constituted a major setback for the mine workers who quickly grasped that the UMWA could not assist them in their workplace battles since it was not a party to the agreement. Realizing this, the mine workers exited the union in droves during the post-1903 period. Their problems were further compounded by the flawed approach of the UMWA national and district leadership. To gain union recognition after 1903, Mitchell and his lieutenants attempted to convince the anthracite operators that the UMWA was a safe, conservative organization which could exercise restraint over the mine workers and prohibit local strikes and walkouts. Such a policy, however, prevented the UMWA from assuming a prominent role in addressing workplace grievances and leading strikes necessary to achieve concrete gains. But only such actions would have attracted mine workers and kept them in the union fold. The UMWA leadership followed an approach which had some success in the bituminous coal fields

but no relevance in the anthracite industry where the operators controlled the workplace and were intent on preserving the *status quo*. The proper role for the UMWA would have been to provide some institutional muscle to help the anthracite workers exert their power in the interest of fairness and justice. In 1912 the mine workers rebuilt the UMWA in the anthracite region in spite of the union leadership.

Blatz's last two chapters seem to downplay workplace issues and concentrate instead on intra-union battles and controversies. While some of this is necessary to complete the author's account, this section does not exhibit the outstanding strengths of the earlier chapters. In conclusion, however, this is a first-rate study which establishes Perry Blatz as our foremost historian of the anthracite industry during the Progressive years.

Joe Gowaskie, *Rider University*

By American Guide Series. *Story of Old Allegheny City*.

(Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 1941. Pp. 236. soft cover \$25.00.)

The re-issuing of *The Story of Old Allegheny City* is a boon to local historians and those interested in the details of local history. As the Mayor of Pittsburgh in 1941, Cornelius D. Scully, noted in his foreword: "Pittsburghers have come to regard the section that lies along the north bank of the Allegheny River merely as the North Side. That the district in the past had a separate identity and history of its own had been almost forgotten—even by many Alleghenians." This book helps to fill that gap by recounting the development of Allegheny without Pittsburgh as its primary focus.

Using a chronological, narrative approach the general history of Allegheny City's evolution is described with occasional forays into "enhanced" history. For instance, after graphically describing the torture of Scottish Highlanders from General Braddock's army "in the summer of 1755" by "Shawnees, Delawares and Senecas" we read: "The foregoing tale of blood-lust is not essentially an authentic account of the fate that befell the captured soldiers from Braddock's defeated army. But the description of the torture process as customarily applied by the Indians in southwestern Pennsylvania is accurate. And since Smoky Island was the redman's favorite camping ground from the time the first fort was built at the Point until after the War for Independence, it is not unlikely that it was the theater for many

such victory celebrations.” (p. 7) With no footnotes and little documentary evidence to back up this “fictionalization” the work tends to lose credibility. C. C. Lesley, the State Supervisor of the writers’ project, assures us, “Only authenticated historical data of places and people significant to Allegheny have been included and every effort has been made to insure accuracy.” (preface) Modern scholars have addressed the question of why the territory north of the Allegheny River was so sparsely settled before the 1800’s in a different way using archaeological evidence and diary entries to verify their work. Nor would today’s scholars use terms like “redmen” or “savages” to refer to the Native American tribes living in Southwestern Pennsylvania. But read with the understanding that it *is* a period piece, and that spurious labels will occasionally be used, the book does detail the various stages of the city’s evolution and clearly explicates how evolving forms of transportation helped to shape the North Side. The inclusion of an index, bibliography, brief histories of several local companies, descriptions of important institutions and organizations, and biographies of all the mayors of Allegheny are invaluable and make the volume well worth having as a reference tool. But the listing of fire companies and schools goes on much too long, and with no discernible purpose other than to please all those who submitted information.

The book is thinly illustrated with small three by five inch black and white photographs which are not of high quality, but are often interesting. This is especially true of the aerial views which, to those knowledgeable about the North Side today, illustrate the changes that the development of the Allegheny Mall and Allegheny Community College produced.

The insertion of small maps showing the ward divisions and street names would have greatly enhanced the reissued book, since many descriptions rely on antiquated names and boundaries. No doubt the original authors assumed a hometown readership would be familiar with the local streets, but today’s audience would definitely have benefited from the inclusion of maps.

The Allegheny City book was compiled and written by the twenty-two member Works Progress Administration Writers’ Program staff, under Loudon L. Campbell, Jr. and published and distributed originally by the Allegheny Centennial Committee. George Lucey of the State Staff reviewed the final manuscript. The book was re-issued by the Allegheny City Society which was founded to admit only those born in Allegheny City before 1907. After a period of dormancy the

Society was reinvigorated by Judge Harry M. Montgomery, and given 501 (c) (3) status in 1992 "to create a museum and library where all of the materials relating to Allegheny City would be under one roof" (material submitted by the Society).

There is one contextual area which a reissued volume might have addressed. When the University of Pittsburgh reissues an older work, they often commission an academic historian to write an introduction placing the work in context and discussing its value. This edition would have benefited greatly from the addition of a well-written introduction telling the fascinating tale of the Federal Writers' Project which after 1939 was state supervised. Several famous writers worked in the project nationally including Studs Terkel, Ralph Ellison, Saul Bellow, Richard Wright, poet Conrad Aiken, and Nelson Algren, author of the National Book Award-winning *Man With the Golden Arm*. [For more information on the Writers' Project see *The Dream and The Deal: The Federal Writers' Project, 1935-1943* by Jerre Mangione.]

Three other volumes of the American Guide series address Pennsylvania: *Pennsylvania Cavalcade*, historical essays edited by Grant Sassaman; a *Philadelphia Guide*; and *Pennsylvania: A Guide to the Keystone State*. As a group they are an invaluable contribution to local and state history.

Lu Donnelly, *Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania*

By James M. McPherson. *What They Fought For, 1861-1865*.

(Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1994. Pp. 88. \$16.95.)

James M. McPherson, who received the Pulitzer Prize for his *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era*, continues to increase our understanding of the American Civil War with *What They Fought For, 1861-1865*. This very brief work is derived from McPherson's presentation of the Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures at Louisiana State University in 1993. It is based on a larger book in progress dealing with the men who fought on both sides in the war.

In *What They Fought For*, McPherson takes issue with the currently accepted notion that Union and Confederate soldiers were not motivated to fight by strongly held principles but rather by "solidarity with one's comrades in squad or platoon or company" (p. 3). The author concludes that "a large number of those men in blue and gray were intensely aware of the issues at stake and passionately concerned

about them" (p. 4). He points out that his principal sources, the personal letters and diaries written by soldiers during the war, originated from the most literate armies in history to that time.

In the first of three parts McPherson analyzes the ideological content of Confederate letters and diaries; in the second part he does the same for the Union army; in part three he evaluates the significance of slavery as a war issue to those who fought and died from 1861 to 1865.

A common theme of the Confederate writing was the belief that their military effort was comparable to that of the American patriots in the Revolution; as England had sought to subjugate the colonies, so too the Union sought to conquer the South. Their only option was to follow George Washington's "example in bursting the bonds of tyranny" (p. 9). Southerners wrote of being willing to die rather than submit to subjugation and slavery. Another important theme involved protecting their homeland from foreign invasion. Lastly, they wrote extensively about revenging the death of fallen comrades.

Northern soldiers also believed they were upholding "the legacy of the American Revolution" (p. 27). They also stressed the danger of secession (and the anarchy that would follow) to the future of the Republic. Punishing rebel traitors was another motivating factor, particularly as the war dragged on. In both of these sections McPherson discusses in detail his sampling methodology and persuasively argues that ideological reasons for fighting were widespread among the Civil War combatants.

In part three the author points out that among Confederates "candid discussions of slavery were the exception rather than the rule" (p. 49). For Union fighters, however, slavery was more salient because it was more controversial. He writes that "a bitter and explicit disagreement about emancipation divided northern soldiers" (p. 57). Ultimately, McPherson argues, a majority of them came to favor emancipation, either on ideological or pragmatic grounds.

McPherson, who has published several excellent treatises on the Civil War era, once again provides, in *What They Fought For*, important information and analysis, not only for historians but also for the larger public interested in the war which nearly destroyed the American nation. One hopes that his larger work, *Why They Fought*, will reach us soon.

Randolph M. Kelley, *Community College of Allegheny County, Allegheny Campus*

By F. Charles Petrillo. *Steamboats on the Susquehanna: The Wyoming Valley Experience.*

(Wilkes-Barre, PA: Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, 1993. Pp. 80. \$19.75.)

By F. Charles Petrillo. *Ghost Towns of North Mountain: Ricketts, Mountain Springs, and Stull.*

(Wilkes-Barre, PA: Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, 1993. Pp. 110. \$16.95.)

By Emerson I. Moss. *African-Americans in the Wyoming Valley, 1778-1990.*

(Wilkes-Barre, PA: Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, 1992. Pp. 162. \$14.95.)

The volumes under review discuss aspects of the rich history of northeastern Pennsylvania's Wyoming Valley. All three, published by the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, provide detailed accounts reflecting substantial research. The books by F. Charles Petrillo explore aspects of the region's economic history, while Emerson I. Moss focuses on its social history.

Petrillo's *Steamboats on the Susquehanna* chronicles nineteenth-century attempts to develop steamboat service on the Wyoming Valley stretch of the Susquehanna River. He begins his story where much of the nation's transportation history must begin: with politics and the economic competition between cities. While small boats had plied the river for many years, shallow water and the falls below Harrisburg represented serious obstacles to navigation of the river's full length by larger craft. However, the internal improvements mania of the nineteenth century, combined with the competition of Baltimore and Philadelphia merchants for the region's commerce, spurred attempts to open the river to navigation by larger boats. In the mid-1820s, York and Baltimore merchants attempted to show that steamboats could navigate the river for most of its length, hoping to convince public and private interests in Pennsylvania and Maryland to improve the lower reaches of the river or to construct a canal alongside it. Petrillo provides an interesting if at times over-detailed account of these dramatic early steamboat trips, which were the subject of great popular interest (and some heated wagering) among those who lived along the river. These efforts proved that it was possible for steamboats to navigate much of the Susquehanna, indeed all of the upper river through the Wyoming Valley and

into New York. However, they also proved that shallow water, rocks, and falls made navigation difficult. Combined with Pennsylvania's decision to build the Pennsylvania Main Line Canal, these impediments doomed efforts to improve the river sufficiently for regular steamboat traffic.

There soon followed two brief phases of steamboat navigation on the Susquehanna in the Wyoming Valley. In the 1830s, merchants in Wilkes-Barre and Oswego, New York, attempted to nurture regional riverboat traffic. In the late 1840s and early 1850s there was a more limited effort to develop freight and passenger traffic in the shallow stretch of river between Wilkes-Barre and Tunkhannock. By the time the Civil War began, it was clear that efforts to carry substantial freight traffic on the upper river were doomed. Even the few small boats carrying passengers had gone out of business.

The final, and busiest, phase of steamboating in the Wyoming Valley saw a booming local passenger traffic from the mid-1870s through the end of the century. During these years a number of boats operated regular passenger and excursion service. Petrillo devotes much of his book to these "golden years," when steamboats and the life and incidents associated with them were covered extensively in the local press. Such accounts provide much of the information in this part of the book, which includes a number of good photographs. The two chapters devoted to this period give us a rich picture of how local residents used the river for recreation and transportation, and rescue from oblivion various incidents associated with steamboating on the river. This heyday was brief, however. By 1902 the competition of trolley lines and an increasingly shallow channel resulting from coal silt from local mines combined to end steamboat traffic in the Wyoming Valley.

Petrillo's book reflects extensive research. Because of its focus, it will appeal most strongly to those interested in the history of the Wyoming Valley, although people concerned with transportation in Pennsylvania will find useful information here. Steamboat buffs probably will be disappointed that the author included relatively little technical information about the boats, although it is unlikely that much information of this type is available. The book should attract a large local readership, and the photographs it includes could form the basis of an interesting museum exhibit.

In *Ghost Towns of North Mountain*, Petrillo turns his attention to a nearly forgotten part of the Wyoming Valley's past. In the latter half of the nineteenth

century, North Mountain, a mountainous, wooded area around the intersection of the boundaries of Luzerne, Wyoming, and Sullivan counties, was opened up with the construction of railroads. It quickly became a center for lumbering and ice-cutting. The towns discussed here, Ricketts, Mountain Springs, and Stull, were established around 1890 in support of these industries. The histories of the towns parallel the histories of their industries: the lumbering towns, Ricketts and Stull, had largely disappeared by World War I, when the local timberlands had been logged, while Mountain Springs saw its sustaining ice industry die out shortly after World War II.

Tracing the histories of such short-lived towns, two of which disappeared many years ago and one of which (Mountain Springs) was populated mostly on a seasonal basis, cannot have been an easy task. Petrillo has done a good job of tracking down information about these towns. After providing some brief historical background on the lumber and ice industries, he traces the family histories of the entrepreneurs who founded them and the histories of the railroads that led to their establishment. These accounts reveal the overlapping business and personal connections that characterized so much of economic life in nineteenth-century America, though at times one might be satisfied with a bit less detail on some business arrangements. The accounts of the individual towns are detailed, with photos, maps, and descriptions of the types of work carried out. Less detailed is the discussion of the lives of the towns' residents, although one suspects Petrillo has provided pretty much all that is available in the written record. Unfortunately, the lack of footnotes in the book makes it difficult to know what types of sources were used or to track down further information. Overall, however, the volume does a good job of recapturing the stories of these forgotten towns.

Emerson I. Moss looks at a different aspect of the Wyoming Valley's past: the history of its African-American community. Moss began his project when informed by a local librarian that the library had material on members of several ethnic groups in the region but nothing about the local African-American community. He set out to remedy this.

The result is a book that is something of a family album for the local African-American community. It devotes most attention to notable members of the community, family histories, and accounts of the social and public institutions that have played major roles in the lives of African-Americans in the valley. Structurally,

the book resembles those that appeared in the "first wave" of local and county histories late in the nineteenth century, with biographical sketches and chapters bearing such titles as "Religious Life" and "First Families Remembered." The book serves the same functions as those earlier local histories did: to commemorate, to gather information systematically for the first time, and to pave the way for further research. Moss does at times provide some contextualization by referring to broader developments and conditions. These segments add little to the book, though they might be valuable should the book come to be used in the local schools.

Moss relied on a wide range of published sources and a number of interviews while doing his research. The early chapters recount the difficulties of establishing a stable and safe community in a sometimes hostile area. His book also provides biographical sketches of early African-American residents of the valley, and discusses the activities of local residents in aiding those fleeing slavery. Then follow topical chapters that bring the story down to the present. Throughout, one is struck by both similarities and differences with the African-American communities in other areas. The centrality of churches in community life and the unflagging efforts of African-Americans to win access to quality education are, for instance, familiar themes. On the other hand, this African-American community seems to have had particular difficulty at times because of its small size and consequently quite limited resources.

Moss concludes with a brief chapter entitled "The Community Today," which contains some personal reflections. He describes an African-American community that, despite the effort and progress described in the rest of the book, continues to experience pervasive, if subtle, racism. It is generally excluded from local politics and predominantly white organizations, faces limited professional and occupational opportunities, and often sees talented people leave the area in search of opportunity. All of this is particularly ironic for an area that has rightly celebrated its rich ethnic heritage. Moss's reflections, like the rest of the book, deserve a wide local audience. The book also provides a good beginning for others who can pick up Moss's work and carry on with the exploration of the local African-American experience.

All three of these books will find their primary audience among those with a specific interest in the area. Beyond that, all three add to our knowledge of a less-studied area of Pennsylvania history. The Wyoming Historical and Geological

Society is to be commended for supporting their publication.

Gary L. Bailey, *Indiana University of Pennsylvania*

By Dent Gramm. *Gettysburg: A Meditation on War and Values.*

(Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1994. Pp. 302. \$24.95.)

This work has value for the general reader who has taken an interest in the town and the battlefield of Gettysburg. Civil War historians and enthusiasts will find an interesting account of the battle, but little that is new. Gramm's work is from secondary sources, with no footnotes. He has, however, drawn his material from solid accounts such as Coddington's *Gettysburg Campaign* and Pfanz's *Gettysburg: The Second Day*.

Gramm has walked the battlefield and demonstrates a good knowledge of the terrain. He does not care much for the town. He notes that, "some streets look dingy, squalid, cramped . . ." and he condemns (with good reason) the glitzy commercialism of streets such as Steinwehr Avenue and South Baltimore Street. He should, however, get away from that, and his fixation with the Lutheran Seminary, and perhaps stroll around the grounds and buildings of beautiful and graceful Gettysburg College.

Gramm provides the general reader with a great deal of useful information on a vast array of Civil War items—small arms, artillery, songs, religion—even the terrible smell of the battlefield. Several of his reflections are worthwhile. His work on the Union "Iron Brigade" and his sketch on Confederate General Dorsey Pender are well written. Gramm's analysis is often excellent. He notes that "at Gettysburg, the Army of the Potomac's officers fought their best battle; the Army of Northern Virginia, their worst. . . . It [the Union Army] was not a hapless army that got kicked around by Lee until Grant—It was perhaps the best army in the world."

Gramm's chapter on the Little Round Top again overemphasizes Joshua Chamberlain and the Twentieth Maine. He barely mentions other Union officers—Warren, Vincent, Weed, O'Rourke, and Hazlett, who played major roles in the desperate federal defense of the hill, and the bloody price most of them paid for their efforts.

As long as the author stays with his subject, his book has historical value. Unfortunately (or fortunately—I leave this up to the individual reader) Gramm

goes off on some rather deep religious and philosophical thoughts and positions. His attempt to interject his personal present day politics (he is bitterly anti-Republican and Ronald Reagan) may read well with liberal Democrats, but does it belong in a work about Gettysburg and the Civil War? My recommendation to the reader would be to look this book over carefully before you buy it. It may be what you want, or it may not.

Roy P. Stonesifer, Jr., *Edinboro University of Pennsylvania*

By George R. Stewart. *Pickett's Charge: A Microhistory of the Final Attack at Gettysburg, July 3, 1863.*

(Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1987. Pp. xii, 354. \$10.95 paper.)

George Stewart has always been one of my favorite writers. His *Ordeal by Hunger*, a history of the overland disaster of the Donner Party in 1846-47, remains one of the more vivid pieces of historical writing. Now with the reissue of this 1959 book, Stewart fans and Civil War "buffs" can enjoy an old treat.

Having given the writer such an introductory accolade, I must retreat with one significant caveat. Stewart's and my interpretation of the significance of the battle of Gettysburg and Pickett's charge are at severe odds. He argues that if "Gettysburg provides the climax of the war, then the climax of the climax, *the central moment of our history*, must be Pickett's charge" (ix, my emphasis). He continues by calling Pickett's charge "a part of world-history" resulting in a truly united America which after the Civil War emerged as a world power and ultimately won World War II. One would assume, in today's context, the logic is that the Union Army's beating back Pickett ultimately led to the victory of democracy in the Cold War. Unquestionably, Stewart's claim about the significance of Pickett's charge is grossly overstated.

Yet the reader must not allow an interpretation to spoil a good yarn. The third day at Gettysburg did provide great drama, and Stewart presents it exquisitely.

Like a good playwright, Stewart sets the stage with the characters. Lee is seen as the Virginia gentleman who happens to be the masterful tactician that sets the battle into motion and then steps back. Longstreet must suffer again from historical writing as the "doubting Thomas," but Stewart exonerates him from any blame

for the defeat. Pickett, a competent if not outstanding officer, becomes the figure trapped in a tragedy greater than he could ever imagine.

Stewart follows the clock quite closely as the battle unfolds. He begins the story early in the morning as the Confederates assemble for the planned attack, and then throughout the day Stewart takes the reader back and forth across the lines. We know, of course, that the charge is coming eventually, but in his chapter on the "noon-day lull" we can feel the tension build. Longstreet's skepticism about the merit of the attack builds, the Confederates on the line grow anxious, Meade and the Union officers languish in a noon-day meal, and the Confederate artillery prepare their cannons. Then about one p.m., the Confederate cannonade begins, and the battle is set into motion. Pickett and his Virginians pour into the meadow between the opposing lines and charge into the teeth of the Union rifle fire. They breach the Union line at the angle but are outflanked and beaten back. According to Stewart's interpretation, the Union is saved and a new America ultimately emerged out of the life and death struggle at Gettysburg.

Despite the flawed interpretation, *Pickett's Charge* is an engrossing book, graced with excellent maps, and crafted by a masterful storyteller.

W. Wayne Smith, *Indiana University of Pennsylvania*

By Joseph S. Foster. *In Pursuit of Equal Liberty: George Bryan and the Revolution in Pennsylvania.*

(University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994. Pp. 197.)

This biography of George Bryan, the first in more than seventy years, is a welcome addition to the long list of biographies on secondary figures of the American Revolutionary era produced over the last quarter-century. Often obscured by better-known Pennsylvania leaders, Bryan is portrayed by Foster as a major figure in the events before and after American Revolution. A middle-class Irish merchant, Bryan's distinguished career included the following political activity: member of the Anti-Proprietary party; delegate to the Stamp Act Congress, 1765; member of the Supreme Executive Council from Philadelphia, 1776-79 (serving as Acting President and Vice-President); Justice of the State Supreme Court, 1780-91; delegate to the Council of Censors, which opposed revision of the State Constitution

in 1784; and delegate and presiding officer of the 1788 Harrisburg Convention, which opposed ratification of the United States Constitution.

How does this account supersede Burton Alva Konkle's *George Bryan and the Constitution of Pennsylvania, 1731-1791* (1922)? Foster's new biography, which offers a more balanced and compelling appraisal of Judge Bryan, draws on a wider array of primary sources and incorporates the scholarship of a dozen doctoral dissertations covering Pennsylvania subjects (some now published). By focusing on the causes espoused by the controversial, arch-partisan, and hard-headed George Bryan, Foster further unravels some of the mystery surrounding Bryan's rise to political power in Philadelphia and Pennsylvania. Readers will especially appreciate how Foster recounts Bryan's efforts to strengthen the "Presbyterian interest," to defend the State Constitution of 1776, and to direct Pennsylvania's Constitutionalist Party (originally the Whig Society) during the 1780s.

According to Foster, in the pre-Revolutionary War years, the Philadelphia merchant's economic fortunes fell. At that time, Bryan became the "egalitarian champion of the poor against the rich" (p. 81). He further claims that "Bryan did not participate in the writing of the Constitution [in 1776] or significantly influence those who did" (p. 80). However, in identifying Bryan as the person who wrote under the pseudonym "Whitlocke," Foster embraces Benjamin Rush's notion that Bryan was the State Constitution's "tireless champion." In these essays Bryan argued for his brand of Republicanism, which consisted of common interest, political equality, legislative unicameralism, and popular sovereignty.

Against the broad historical explanations that describe the so-called "counter-revolution" in Pennsylvania, offered by Robert L. Brunhouse, Douglas M. Arnold, Owen Ireland, and others, Foster takes no sides. He argues that the "truth probably contains portions of all the various explanations" (p. 138). "Expanding core groups influencing voting patterns, rather than shifting voter allegiances," he adds, "seem to explain more adequately the rise of the Republicans and the concurrent demise of the constitutionalists in the city and county of Philadelphia" (p. 138). Moreover, Foster correctly states that Bryan's problem, along with his partisan friends, was their inability to view the Republicans as a legitimate participant in Pennsylvania's democratic experiment.

Foster repeatedly refers to Bryan's attempt to mold the government to standards embodied in his political philosophy. Unfortunately, he gives only scant at-

tion to the formation of Bryan's ideas. To be successful in sketching the larger political context, readers will want to know which seventeenth and eighteenth century writers influenced Bryan's views on government and society. Also thinly covered is Bryan's administrative role in Pennsylvania's revolutionary government. The author and book title for footnote 35 on page 181 is incorrect: Constitutional should be "Continental" and Edmund C. Bennet should be Edmund C. Burnett. These are minor reservations, however, in what is otherwise an eminently readable biography of an influential eighteenth-century abolitionist, jurist, and officeholder of Pennsylvania's Revolutionary era. Foster's book is likely to stand as the authoritative biography of George Bryan for several generations.

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