

Book Reviews

By Thomas J. Müller. *Kirche zwischen zwei Welten: Die Obrigkeitsproblematik bei Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg und die Kirchengründung der deutschen Lutheraner in Pennsylvania*. Church between Two Worlds: [The Problem of Authority with Henry Melchior Muhlenberg and the Founding of the German Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania.] Volume 2 in *Transatlantische Historische Studien*.

(Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1994. Pp. 302, Paperback only, \$80.)

Thomas Müller's new book on Henry Melchior Muhlenberg and the development of the German Lutheran Church in early Pennsylvania opens up new perspectives on acculturation, church-state relations, and the relationship between the clergy and the laity in colonial America. Müller explains the legal, political, and institutional development of the Lutheran Church from the point of view of Muhlenberg, the Halle pietist, who played a critical role in founding the Lutheran Church in North America. He begins by describing the environment of strong state support for the Lutheran Church in Brandenburg-Prussia, where Muhlenberg received his training before departing for America in 1742. Müller provides a detailed account of Muhlenberg's development as a Pietist, to include his upbringing, his studies at the university in Göttingen, his connections with the Pietist center at the university in Halle, and his callings by Halle to Groß Henndorf (in Saxony) and then Pennsylvania. Müller is able to reconstruct Muhlenberg's experiences in Germany, his theological positions on important issues, and his understandings of how local pastors should work with the secular authorities to achieve their religious goals for the community. All of this is important for understanding the context and the complexities of the problems Muhlenberg would encounter in Pennsylvania.

In Pennsylvania, Muhlenberg and the other European pastors coming from the confessional churches had to work without a strong, state-supported church. This meant that the pastors themselves had to find new ways to establish their authority in the community, as well as to maintain their own material well-being and protect church property. Meanwhile the parishes had to find new ways to call and support their new pastors. Overbearing pastors who tried to rely on state support to help maintain their authority often found themselves isolated and embroiled in controversy and schism. In order to succeed in building a Lutheran establishment, Muhlenberg and the other pastors had to be flexible and willing to compromise. Müller traces the pastors' many attempts from 1748 to 1765 to find the right solution as a group. It quickly became clear that strong lay participation in church affairs was inevitable—the Penn-

sylvanians demanded it, and the Pennsylvania constitution provided no support to any pastors who might try to force their authority on church members. The solution came with a new church constitution in Philadelphia in 1762, which made the parish the fundamental element of church organization. In 1765 the proprietor granted the parish a charter of incorporation, which signaled the willingness of the government to work with the Lutheran parish to protect its interests. With these developments, the rights of the laity and the clergy within the community were defined, and a clear relationship between the community and the secular authorities was finally established.

Müller concludes that in Muhlenberg's quest to find the right solution to the difficult problems concerning authority within the Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania he was not transplanting the Halle Pietist church to America. Indeed, Halle maintained doubts about Muhlenberg's abilities and did not always support his many calls for help. Further, Muhlenberg discovered that in America he would have to work with Lutheran pastors from outside the Halle Pietist movement, including orthodox Lutherans (but *not* Count Zinzendorf). Instead, Muhlenberg and others were building a different kind of church—one in which the laity would play an important role in determining affairs, and one in which the authority of the pastors would be determined by their ability to work with the local populations and neighboring pastors and not by the church in Europe or the state in America.

Müller uses many familiar sources in his work and many others which have not been used in studies of early Pennsylvania Lutheranism. His work is the first biography to make use of the newly-published correspondence of Muhlenberg (Kurt Aland, ed., *Die Korrespondenz Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg*, vols. 1-2, Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 1986-87). He also uses Christopher Saur's newspaper (*Pennsylvanische Berichte*), the manuscripts in the Lutheran Archives Center in Philadelphia, and colonial parish records. This, combined with Müller's use of German sources, such as the letters in Halle *about* Muhlenberg and Pennsylvania but not written *to* him (Aland did not publish these), and the university and local parish records concerning Muhlenberg, make this the first study of Muhlenberg with a truly trans-Atlantic perspective.

Müller's use of these new sources leads to new perspectives on Muhlenberg and new findings. The book is not overly-absorbed with the personality of Muhlenberg, but instead uses his writings and activities as a window into the structures of early Lutheran communities and the sinews of power there. The orientation of the book is "top-down," however, as Müller focuses on the political, administrative, and institutional development of the communities, as opposed to religious culture in everyday life (e.g. morals, ceremonies, revivals, the role of women, and the effects of the church in the community). The unpublished Halle correspondence concerning Pennsylvania reveals that Gotthilf August Francke in Halle and Friedrich Michael Ziegenhagen in Lon-

don harbored serious doubts about Muhlenberg's abilities and did not fully support him in his work. Further, Müller's detailed study of Muhlenberg's studies in Göttingen, his work in Halle, and his activities in Groß Hennersdorf on the eve of his departure for America provide new insight into who this man was and why he operated as he did in Pennsylvania. (Müller discovered a published theological pamphlet written by Muhlenberg while in Groß Hennersdorf which was important for this.) Lastly, Müller's analysis of the conflicts in three early Lutheran communities (Raritan, New Jersey, Lancaster, and Germantown), based on local records and Muhlenberg's writings, reveals many of the problems all German-speaking communities were facing in the mid-eighteenth century, which was a time of severe, sometimes violent, internal conflict within community life throughout the Middle Colonies.

Müller's study examines many important issues that early American religious historians have dealt with for years. For example, he argues that the power of the laity, while it remained critical, actually declined with the arrival of the Halle pastors. Essentially, the laity had to give up complete control of their communities, in order to have the traditions and ceremonies which only European pastors could provide. This contrasts with the older view by Dietmar Rothermund that lay authority was increasing during this period (see *Layman's Progress*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1961). Müller's trans-Atlantic perspective (which is lacking in Rothermund's work) suggests that he is probably correct. Further, Müller emphasizes that the incorporation of individual churches beginning in the 1760s was part of their quest to define a relationship with the secular authorities, whereas A. G. Roeber's recent work emphasizes incorporation as a means to protect church property (see *Palatines, Liberty, and Property*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993). These two arguments are not contradictory, but merely represent different perspectives on the same events. Also, Müller's evidence supports Patricia Bonomi *Under the Cope of Heaven*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1986) as opposed to Jon Butler (*Awash in a Sea of Faith*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990) in the famous debate over whether volunteerism or coercion characterized early American religious culture. Muhlenberg and most of the other Halle pastors quickly learned that their congregations could not be coerced into following their lead. A Lutheran Church denomination and structure began to take shape in late colonial Pennsylvania because the laity wanted it to and because they finally found some pastors who could build the necessary institutions without taking away too much of the rights and influence of the laity.

In short, this is an excellent book which provides another contribution to the growing body of literature on early America that offers a trans-Atlantic perspective using the necessary documents and secondary literature in all the relevant languages. It is not merely a restatement or a variation on familiar

themes using familiar sources. Müller's book should be translated into English so that not only specialists on Germans but all early American historians might have access to it.

Aaron Fogleman, *University of South Alabama*

**By Carol E. Hoffecker *et al.*, eds. *New Sweden in America.*
(Newark and London: University of Delaware Press and
Associated University Presses, 1995. Pp. 366.)**

Originating in an international conference sponsored by the University of Delaware in 1988 to mark the 350th anniversary of the initial settlement of New Sweden, this collection of essays breaks new ground in its examination of a colony that historians have tended to ignore because it was short-lived. New Sweden was surrendered in 1655 to Dutch forces from New Netherland, which itself yielded to an English expedition nine years later. "My turn today, yours tomorrow" (p. 69), the Swedish commander was reported to have remarked prophetically.

In what Carol Hoffecker rightly describes as "the first modern examination" of New Sweden (12), the colony finally takes its turn to receive due historical attention. As well as essays that relate imperialism to social, political, and military developments in Sweden, and useful bibliographical surveys, the volume explores three principal areas. Prime among them is the theme of the relationship between the Swedes and native inhabitants. Karen Ordahl Kupperman convincingly analyses the trade networks that enabled New Sweden to operate for a time as an intermediary between Susquehannock and New England traders, while Marshall Joseph Becker demonstrates the adaptations made by Lenape (Delaware) bands who maintained cultural stability while selling maize to the Swedes and sustaining a more peripheral role in the fur trade. These and other essays bring out the ambiguities of native-Swedish relations in a context where friction existed but could not obscure the colonists' dependence on native indulgence.

A second major element of the book is its socio-cultural examination of the New Sweden colonists themselves, and of their evolving legacy in Delaware, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. The essay by Sten Carlsson establishes a firm foundation by analyzing the geographical and social backgrounds of the colonists, while others trace forward their cultural influence. Closely related is a third theme, the identification of a strong Finnish element among the population of New Sweden. Many were descendants of Finns who had left Finland for central Scandinavia some generations before, but the Finnish language and the associated burn-beating agriculture—a cultivation method, argues the essay by Per Martin Tvengsberg, that may have created important affinities

between the Finns and the native inhabitants—were prominently represented in New Sweden.

All of this makes a solid contribution to our understanding of a colonial experience that, as Hoffecker suggests, has important and distinctive elements regardless of New Sweden's small population and short duration. Frustratingly absent from much of the book, however, is explicit comparison with other colonial situations in northeastern North America. Sweden was not the only small, Protestant country in northern Europe to essay colonization briefly, with populations of varied ethnicity who depended on the health of their relationship with native inhabitants. New Sweden was not the only colony that began with expectations of commercial profit and training for seamen, only to disappoint its investors and supporters. More direct comparative analysis of the Swedish, Dutch, and Scottish experiences, together with those of the English in Newfoundland and the French in Canada and Acadia, might have helped to establish with even greater conviction the significance of New Sweden in a wider contest.

That being said, the achievement of *New Sweden in America* remains impressive. Historians of the colonial era will no longer have an excuse for neglecting either New Sweden itself or the Swedish role in the transatlantic imperialism of the early-to-middle seventeenth century.

John G. Reid, *Saint Mary's University, Halifax, Nova Scotia*

By Peter O. Wacker and Paul G. E. Clemens. *Land Use in Early New Jersey, A Historical Geography.*

(New Jersey Historical Society. Newark, 1995. Pp. 337.

Appendix, note, index.)

Readers familiar with the Garden State's early history and historiography will approach *Land Use in Early New Jersey* with the same paradoxical feelings of gratitude and frustration which other studies done by Peter Wacker invoke. The gratitude grows from the knowledge that a very skilled researcher like Wacker has plowed through numerous underappreciated manuscript sources to construct the data base for his work. The frustration comes from his inability to put his mountainous research into strong analytical frameworks and his failure to present his findings in a manner that would invite all but the most dedicated researcher to read them. The result here is a book very useful to those working on early New Jersey history and perhaps helpful to social historians working on the broader problems of market transformation, and of little interest, I suspect, to others.

Land Use in Early New Jersey has a foreword, introduction, seven chapters and an extended afterward. Reflecting the divided imperatives suggested by

the “Historical Geography” portion of the title, five of the chapters are organized around loose themes (“The Cultivation of Crops,” “Landholding, Labor, and Farm Types,”) while two of the chapters and the foreword and afterward are either source or place specific and try to examine change through time. There is all sorts of valuable data in all of these chapters; they reflect an easy familiarity with the sources which speak to the early history of New Jersey, particularly account books, newspaper ads, and will inventories. Indeed I think it is fair to say that apart from Donald Sinclair, the retired librarian of Rutgers University’s New Jersey Room, Professor Wacker knows these sources better than anyone alive. But his failure to organize his prodigious research sabotages the book; data is clumped together without establishing clear causal or analytical relationships between the various pieces of evidence other than to note regional variance in some cases. The result is a confusing study that is difficult to follow and will attract only readers who wish to mine Professor Wacker’s extensive research for their own ends.

Adding to the confusion is the fact that the foreword and conclusion of the book are written by historian Paul Clemens, who has previously produced a distinguished study of early Maryland’s eastern shore. Clemens tries to provide a historical framework through which Wacker’s research might be interpreted, but his effort almost immediately miscarries. He focuses in the introduction on three figures from late eighteenth-century New Jersey and he provides us with a detailed snapshot of the three at various points in their lives. But Clemens readily admits in the introduction that the sources he uses “do not allow us to analyze change over the course of time” (27). Clemens has a better than average understanding of the early American period and in disagreement with those who see the market intruding into community life in the late eighteenth century he declares that the crisis of that period “was not so much a fundamental disruption of economic and private life as it was a challenge to traditional forms of authority” (28). He is certainly right about this, but where does that leave the broader study to which he has contributed?

Brendan McConville, *Binghamton University*

By Loretta Treese. *Valley Forge: Making and Remaking a National Symbol*. (University Park: Penn State Press, 1995, Pp. xv, 269, Cloth, \$45.00, Paper, \$15.95.)

Valley Forge is, of course, a great American symbol. It is also a real place with a real history, and Loretta Treese has written—and written well—a book that accepts the symbolism while documenting the reality of the place.

Treese does not concern herself much with the grim reality of Valley Forge in the winter of 1777-78, however. Her narrative begins immediately after-

wards with the development of small industries at the site. A half century later, patriots and antiquarians began to recognize that Valley Forge was a special place in American history; eventually they organized themselves as the Centennial and Memorial Association of Valley Forge. They then succeeded in transforming Valley Forge into a destination for patriotic pilgrims and others, giving birth to a promising tourist industry just when the area's small industrial economy was in decline. Encouraged by the public interest but recognizing that the preservation and management of Valley Forge would require more money than a few patriots could afford, the members of the Centennial and Memorial Association successfully lobbied their representatives in Harrisburg to create Pennsylvania's first state park. Unfortunately for the Centennial and Memorial Association, the question arose as to whether "the attraction belonged in private hands or in public hands" (p. 58), and the state's park commission decided to assert its independence and acquire private properties in the area, including those owned by the Centennial and Memorial Association.

Once in control, the state concentrated its earliest efforts on memorializing the park with public monuments and landscaping efforts. Following the national craze for restoration projects like Colonial Williamsburg in the second quarter of the twentieth century, the park commission chose to "completely restore" the site to its eighteenth century appearance. This new, more professionalized brand of historic preservation, which leaned heavily on the skills of trained architects and historians, contrasted markedly with the commemorative zeal of the old line patriots. The interests of the latter group were ultimately served by the Rev. Dr. W. Herbert Burk, the founder of both an Episcopal parish, the Washington Memorial Chapel, and the Valley Forge Historical Society, for whom patriotism and religion were indistinguishable. The tension between the park and the patriots increased in the 1930s but lessened during World War II and especially during the Cold War, when park managers (increasingly besieged by hordes of automobile-born visitors), Burk's successors, and the newly created Freedoms Foundation, found new uses for Valley Forge's symbolic power in the crusade against international Communism.

During the 1960s and 70s, however, as the park came to be threatened more by cavorting hippies than Soviet subversion, its focus shifted—first under state management and then in 1976 under that of the federal government. Increasingly, both state and national parks sought to manage their resources in accordance with their agency standards and to demystify the lessons of Valley Forge through the application of professionally determined research findings. The Freedoms Foundations cooled its right wing rhetoric (though not entirely), meanwhile, and the Washington Memorial Chapel and the Valley Forge Historical Society struggled to create separate identities for themselves. Treese ends her study with a fairly upbeat assessment of recent developments, though she recognizes that new controversies and problems might emerge at any time

to test the management skills of the park's guardians.

All in all, this is a very solid book that should provide good information and interesting reading for varied audiences. The author is a gifted writer—she even has what appears to be a sense of humor—and makes good sense of a potentially complex story. Her work is no doubt sensible, not so much because it is so well researched (which it is) but more because it enjoys a reasonably coherent context generally provided by the current scholarship of Michael Kammen and others (a welcome relief from officially commissioned administrative histories). Even so, the author does a far better job of describing what happened at Valley Forge than of explaining what it all means. Treese clearly sympathizes with professional park managers—especially in the present, but also in the past—and she is to some degree stuck in their bland, bureaucratic reality. Valley Forge is such a powerful American symbol, however, that its more meaningful interpretation requires a better assessment of the ways in which people outside the history-related professions understand it. In other words, we might profit by learning more about its audience (including people who have never been to the place), and we could use grounding in a more clearly articulated political point of view than that of the detached professional to shed better light on the ways in which the symbolism of Valley Forge has been and is still being used as a very real means of manipulation and control. So while this excellent study is indeed worthwhile and welcome, the reader may sense some of the frustration that the impassioned the Rev. Mr. Burk must have felt a half century ago when confronted by the professional's preoccupation with authenticity and passionless reality.

Robert Weible, *Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission*

By Jean Fagan Yellin and John C. Van Horne, eds. *The Abolitionist Sisterhood: Women's Political Culture in Antebellum America*.

(Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994. Pp. vii, 363. Paper, \$16.95.)

For those interested in the role of women in antebellum reform, Yellin and Horne's edited volume is a welcome addition to the existing historiography. Although never explicitly defining the "new field of historical inquiry" labeled "political culture," (xii) these essays do engage the complexities of class, race, and gender as influences on women reformers in the 1830s and 1840s. The book consists of an editor's introduction, fifteen essays, and two bibliographic notes.

In section one, devoted to various aspects of organized female reform, Nancy Hewitt rightly identifies the marginal place of women in antislavery historiography, and the equally disturbing dearth of studies focused on con-

servative reformers in women's history. Hewitt briefly answers both charges by examining the clash of conservative and radical women in Rochester. Amy Swerdlow's seminal essay on the conservatism of female reformers in New York is included, as well as Deborah Gold Hansen's examination of the influential but short-lived Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society. These essays are strong supplements to earlier, more comprehensive studies by Hewitt, Hansen, and Lori Ginzberg.

Particularly innovative is Jean Soderlund's treatment of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, a group more dedicated to gender equality than its sister organizations in New York and Boston. Soderlund traces the organization from its early attempts to attract a mass movement of diverse women, to its more circumscribed goals after the turmoil of the late 1830s.

Section two examines the role of black women in forging their own reform communities and contributing, as much as they could, to the organized efforts of their white sisters. Julie Winch's essay on Black Female Literary Societies details the attempt by women such as Sarah Forten and Sarah Douglass to nurture the mental capacities of black women and instill a sense of the domestic sphere as a "wide field" of influence which was central to moral and social transformation.

Anne Boylan's excellent essay on black benevolent and antislavery societies in New York and Boston demonstrates the "gender consciousness" experienced by black women who shared many of the class and gender barriers that hindered their white counterparts. However, black women also negotiated unique obstacles, namely exclusion by white female reformers and public perception steeped in both racism and sexism. Nell Irvin Painter offers an embodied study of these struggles in the remarkable life of Sojourner Truth, arguing that Truth's "prophetic persona" and discursive practices inscribed her into cultural history despite barriers of race, class, and gender.

Section three explores various methods of moral suasion employed by women reformers. Both Deborah Van Broekhoven and Lee Chambers-Schiller provide nuanced accounts of the turbulent and transformative histories of anti-slavery petitioning and the Boston anti-slavery fair respectively. The essays enhance the often narrow understanding of these tactics, depicting the means by which they raised the consciousness of reformers and those men and women who encountered them, as well as the often hostile responses such "passive" measures elicited from anti-abolitionists in the North. Additionally, Keith Melder traces early influences on Abby Kelley's emergence as a radical abolitionist, and Margaret Hope Bacon illuminates the strong connection between nonresistance and proto-feminism that is often overlooked in the historiography of antislavery and nonviolence.

Phillip Lapsansky contributes a fascinating study of the proliferation of "graphic propaganda" during the antebellum period, with its eighteenth-cen-

ture roots in the iconography of Benjamin Franklin and Josiah Wedgwood. Despite the pervasiveness of iconography as a suasive tactic, little, with the exception of Yellin's work on the "Woman and Sister" emblem, has been written on this most promising vein of research.

The Abolitionist Sisterhood concludes with a "coda" by Kathryn Kish Sklar concerning the 1840 London Convention, an event of critical importance to abolitionism and the emergence of the women's rights movement. Sklar offers a unique comparative study of the difficulties encountered by women on both sides of the Atlantic as a means of distinguishing between their reform experiences. Sklar's attention to detail provides an excellent contextual supplement to other contemporary treatments of the convention, such as that found in Vron Ware's *Beyond the Pale*. This coda is followed by brief but helpful bibliographic notes by Yellin and Sklar.

There is a heavy reliance on secondary source material in this volume, and at times familiar narratives are retold without significant alteration. However, as Van Horne emphasizes, this volume serves primarily as a "progress report on the subject of women's political culture in the first half of the nineteenth-century" (xiii). Many students of women's history and abolitionism will be inspired by this collection to explore further issues of gender, race, and class in antebellum reform culture.

Charles E. Morris III, *The Pennsylvania State University*

Edited by William Alan Blair. *A Politician Goes to War: The Civil War Letters of John White Geary.*

(University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995.

Pp. 286, \$27.50.)

John White Geary was one of the Civil War's better divisional commanders. A native of western Pennsylvania, Mexican War officer, Democratic politician, and controversial pre-war governor of "Bleeding Kansas" Geary reached the pinnacle of his fame as commander of the famed "White Star Division" of the Federal Twelfth Corps. At Gettysburg, Geary's men anchored the defense of Culp's Hill. Later, in the western theater, the White Star Division shone at Wauhatchie, on Lookout Mountain, and at Peachtree Creek before taking part in the March to the Sea. This edited collection of roughly two hundred Civil War letters written by Geary not only furnishes significant information on the general and his campaigns, but also provides a look into the mind of the often-denigrated political general. Although Geary devoted much of each letter to family concerns, and too often seems intent on forever inflating his importance and deeds, his missives nonetheless provide insight into numer-

ous war-related subjects. He wrote of the fear and boredom that accompanied service along the Potomac, politics within the Army of the Potomac, and the panic that gripped Pennsylvania during Lee's invasion. Geary also frequently expressed his growing indignation for Southerners, whom he called "the meanest, lowest, vilest people on earth," (p. 112) a mindset which led increasingly to a "hard war" characterized by burned homes and communities, a practice Geary thoroughly embraced. Geary's letters from the west are particularly strong, capturing the experience of service in Sherman's army through the eyes of an easterner.

Despite its utility, the volume suffers to an extent from a case of split personality disorder. In the late 1970s, the noted scholar Bell Irvin Wiley chose Geary's letters from a larger archival collection and prepared an introduction. Because of Wiley's death, the manuscript lay dormant until 1992, when one of Wiley's sons discovered it and followed through with the project. William Alan Blair then completed the textual editing and added a preface. While dual editing is not necessarily a vice, it causes confusion here. Wiley, who clearly admired Geary, portrayed the general as a courageous and patriotic soldier, a pious and devoted family man, and a "person of integrity" (p. xxiii). Blair, in contrast, depicts his subject as "a political general whose greatest talent was the ability to enhance his own reputation through self-promotion" (p. vii), which not only included cozing up to the press and superiors, but also writing letters to his wife "with knowledge that someone might read over [her] shoulder" (p. xiv). Indeed, Blair rarely misses the chance to deflate the politician's ego, expose his frequent McClellanesque overestimation of enemy troop strength, or credit someone else with Geary's purported achievements, notably fellow general Alpheus Williams. Although Blair's evaluation of Geary seems the more believable, the net result is nonetheless disconcerting.

Kenneth W. Noe, *State University of West Georgia*

Milo M. Quaife, *From the Canon's Mouth: the Civil War Letters of General Alpheus S. Williams.*

(Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995. Pp. 405. 1995 paperback of 1959 edition, \$15.00.)

Gary W. Gallagher, ed., *The Fredericksburg Campaign: Decision on the Rappahannock.*

(Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1995. Pp. 243. \$24.95.)

Thomas W. Cutter, ed., *Longstreet's Aide: The Civil War Letters of Major Thomas J. Goree.*

(Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1995. Pp. 239. No Price.)

Interest in the history of the Civil War has exploded in the last decade. Fortunately, university presses have entered the fray with vigor. The edited works reviewed here are illustrative of this phenomenon in three different venues. *From the Cannon's Mouth* was superbly edited by Milo M. Quaife in 1959 and is well known to all Civil War scholars. Long out of print, it is reprinted by the University of Nebraska Press with a "new" introduction to the Bison Book Edition by Gary W. Gallagher. In his first paragraph, Gallagher writes that this work "... ranks among the best published collections of letters of any Civil War officer." This assessment is true.

A Yale graduate, General Alpheus Williams moved to Detroit in 1836. He quickly became a prominent fixture there as probate judge, bank president, newspaper editor, and postmaster. He also played an increasingly important role in the military activities of the city as an officer in the Brady Guards, a lieutenant-colonel during the Mexican War, and as a major in the Detroit Light Guard. When the war began, the fifty-one year old Williams was appointed brigadier-general, and in August joined Nathaniel P. Banks' command in the Army of the Potomac near Harper's Ferry. Except for one month, he was in constant service for the next four years. Although a journal he kept during the war is lost, the letters he wrote primarily to his two beloved daughters survive.

Williams recorded remarkably thorough descriptions of the battles of Antietam and Chancellorsville, the latter twenty pages long. He also discusses Gettysburg, camp life, and his service with Sherman on the march through Georgia. A conservative (as most military are), he would come to support Lincoln's reelection. He was never promoted until January, 1865, when he received a meaningless "brevet." He scorned the promotion "system" based upon West Point cronyism and obsequious courting of reporters.

Gallagher's seven page introduction notes the major strengths and themes of this literary lion. These include (1) his excessive tactical caution in the Vir-

ginia theatre and aggressiveness in the West; (2) his honorable treatment of the civilian enemy in the eastern theatres but not in the West; (3) that he was a conservative Democrat who would support Lincoln's reelection; and (4) the West Point-nonprofessional animosity. While Gallagher should have insisted on better maps, priced at \$15.00, the University of Nebraska Press is to be commended for making these important letters available to the general reading public,

Thomas Goree's Confederate view of the war is "largely based upon a transcription" by a director of special collections at Sam Houston State University (p. 13). Goree was born in 1837 in the Alabama black belt town of Marion where his wealthy father helped found Judson Female Institute (Judson College). The family moved to Texas in 1850 and built a plantation. Thomas graduated from Texas Baptist Educational Society (now Baylor University) in 1856 and was admitted to the bar in 1858. A devout Unionist, he supported Sam Houston's election for the governorship in 1859. With secession, however, this commitment collapsed and in May, 1861, he set out for Virginia determined to be in the "first battle for Independence" (p. 5). Receiving an appointment as an aide-de-camp on Longstreet's staff in July, he served with "Old Pete" for the balance of the war. In that position, he hobnobbed with the Confederate military elite and wrote home to Texas.

It is difficult to determine why these letters were published, particularly by a university press with Virginia's reputation. Goree's letters written during the critical Second Manassas, Sharpsburg, Frederickburg, Suffolk, Gettysburg, Chickamauga, and Knoxville campaigns "are now missing" (p. 13). There are only fifty "Civil War" letters in this "collection," and thirty-six were written to his mother.

Goree's family and political "connections" were extremely important as Texas troops began to arrive; in fact, a sub-title for this volume could have been "Texans in Virginia." His description of the skirmish on July 18, 1861, and, First Manassas, three days later, written to his uncle, is almost seven pages long. It is the best description of a major battle and its aftermath.

The book's last chapter includes Goree's diary kept from June till August, 1865, when he accompanied Longstreet south after the war. There are twenty-five entries and it is obvious that he preferred being with the general rather than his brother Ed, who had to walk back to Texas on his hand-made crutches! Of thirty-five post-war letters, twenty-eight were from Longstreet written between 1867 to 1896. Goree wrote only three. The primary theme of these letters is Longstreet's efforts to write his history of the war and his need, from Goree, for specific information concerning particular events. (Da Capo Press has published a paperback edition of Longstreet's *From Manassas to Appomatox.*) Even loyal, Goree continued the correspondence, despite Longstreet's activities in the Republican party. In post-war Texas, Goree was a lawyer, superin-

tendent of prisons, businessman, and active in Democratic politics until his death in 1905. There is no bibliography; however, a *sui generis* forty-seven page end-note section is included. The three laudatory quotes on the dust jacket include one by Gary Gallagher.

Gallagher's *The Fredericksburg Campaign: Decision on the Rappahannock* is yet another collection of essays concerning a major Civil War campaign. He has previously edited essays on the *First Day at Gettysburg*, the *Struggle for the Shenandoah*, *Antietam*, and the *Third Day at Gettysburg*. As before, Gallagher addresses questions to a "new generation" of historians, using "hitherto unpublished sources" to "persuade readers to reconsider some comfortable assumptions" about the campaign (p. viii).

The seven essayists, all well known historians of the Civil War, attack those assumptions with scholarly energy. In "The Making of a Myth: Ambrose E. Burnside and the Union High Command at Fredericksburg," William Marvel . . . while indicating Burnside's share of the responsibility for the defeat, concludes that the general, acting from information that critics have overlooked, performed as well as could be expected with hesitant subordinates (p. 23). In another essay Allan T. Nolan who is well known for his criticism of Lee's proclivity for the offensive, nevertheless claims he was "at his best" (p. 44) at Fredericksburg.

A third, rather uneven essay, "It Is Well That War Is So Terrible: The Carnage at Fredericksburg" by George C. Rable, uses newspaper accounts, letters, and participants diaries to illuminate Union reactions to the massive slaughter against the stone wall held by the Confederates, and the treatment and mistreatment of the dead and wounded on the battlefield and afterwards. Rable concludes with the significance both sides placed on "Christian sacrifice."

Carol Reardon's "The Forlorn Hope: Brig. Gen. Andrew A. Humphrey's Pennsylvania Division" is the most significant essay for students of Pennsylvania's military role in the war. She traces, primarily with private letters, the organization of the short-term "nine month enlistees" (six of the eight regiments) during the summer of 1862 and their reactions to the military prior to their first and last battle. The 123rd, 126th, 129th, 131st, 133rd, and the 134th Pennsylvania Regiments were sent to their slaughter at 4:00 P.M. on Dec. 13 to support the Second Corps. Their personal letters vividly describe the devastation, including later controversies as to who came closest to the wall.

Gallagher's "The Yanks Have Had a Terrible Whipping: Confederates Evaluate the Battle of Fredericksburg" is based upon a survey of contemporary, post-war, and modern writers and a survey of 135 excerpts from newspapers, letters, diaries, and journals from the six-week period following the battle. Most Southerners were elated, although some regretted a "lost opportunity" and a few

members of the high command thought that the Federals had escaped too lightly. Lee was particularly negative about the results of the battle because he chose to categorize it “strictly in terms of ground gained or lost . . .” (p. 134).

“Barbarians at Fredericksburg’s Gate: The Impact of the Union Army on Civilians,” by William A. Blair is a study of the economic role of the town of Fredericksburg in the war and not of the campaign. The earlier Federal occupation of the town during the summer of 1862, when slaves fled and the mayor and eighteen community leaders were held political hostages, is examined. The pillaging of December 12 devastated the town and economy.

“Morale, Maneuver, and Mud: The Army of the Potomac, December 16, 1862—January 26, 1863,” by A. Wilson Greene, is the best essay in this collection. In it he enunciates the reactions (political and military) to the battle and the events leading to Burnside’s resignation in late January, 1863. (He also includes the only quote from Gen. Williams [above] in this volume.) Political chicanery in the army was the major dynamic, and Greene clearly explains how Burnside’s proposed offensive in late December was undermined by subordinates and Commander-in-Chief Henry Halleck’s vacillations. This process continued in the Union’s abortive January 20-21, 1863, movement against Lee. That movement was plagued by a monsoon-type rainstorm and, again, pontoon problems on the river. The “Mud March” failed. Burnside resigned a few days later with the recommendation, to the president, that four of his generals be dismissed.

The six maps are excellent. There are fifteen photos of generals and one of an enlisted man. The nine sketches of Fredericksburg scenes are adequate. There is a three-page bibliographic essay and a nine-page index.

John Kent Folmar, *California University of Pennsylvania*

Available from Dr. Robert Mittrick, *Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Conference on the History of Northeastern Pennsylvania: The Last 100 Years*.

(Social Science History Department, Luzerne Community College, 1333 S. Prospect St., Nanticoke, PA 18634.

The Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Conference on the History of Northeastern Pennsylvania, a meeting sponsored by the Luzerne County Community College, held 7 October 1994 in Nanticoke, Pennsylvania, contains four essays that provide valuable insights into the lives of Pennsylvania politicians, labor organizers, and immigrants in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

“From Breaker Boy to Governor: The Life of Arthur H. James,” by Robert Mittrick, discusses James’ early years, a son of Welsh immigrants who grew

up in Plymouth, Pennsylvania, and his long political career. The essay provides details about Jones' political campaigns, from his first election to District Attorney in 1919—a campaign in which he spent \$7,500 to win a political office that paid a salary of only \$6,000 a year—to his successful campaign of governor in 1938. Mittrick examines James' brief entry onto the national political scene with a discussion of his failed attempt to win the Republican nomination for President in 1940. These accounts of political events are interspersed with key details of Jones' personal life. Mittrick also includes in his essay a short summary of how different historians have analyzed Jones' political career, arguing that those who criticize Jones for his hostility to organized labor, who conclude that he abandoned his immigrant background to ally with business interests, are “overly harsh.” Mittrick writes that James “symbolized the American Dream,” improving his economic and social status through his hard work and perseverance.

Sheldon Spear, also a professor of history at Luzerne County Community College, provides biographical descriptions of two Irish-American politicians in his essay, “Two Wyoming Valley Political Giants: Daniel L. Hart and John J. Casey.” Spear characterizes Hart, who served as mayor of Wilkes-Barre for four terms from 1919 to 1933, as “the most popular and flamboyant mayor” the city ever had. The article describes both Hart's political career and his earlier work as a journalist and successful playwright. His plays were performed in New York and Seattle, and Broadway actors traveled to perform his work in Wilkes-Barre. As mayor, Hart opposed the programs of the reform movements of the 1920s, arguing against prohibition and the extension of blue laws. Spear includes a sample of the invective that Hart and the reform groups regularly exchanged during this time period. The second section of Spear's article describes the career of John J. Casey, a Democrat who was elected to Congress six times. His long congressional career was interrupted, however, by three defeats. Spear connects national political events, such as World War I, with Casey's electoral victories and losses. Spear argues that Casey's early work experience as a manual laborer, beginning with his five years experience as a breaker boy in order to help support his family, shaped his political vision. Spear describes Casey as a “champion of labor,” who worked to create national awareness of the labor problems in the coal industry.

“Min Matheson and the ILGWU in the Wyoming Valley: 1944 to 1963,” by Kenneth C. Wolensky and Robert P. Wolensky offers a detailed account of the efforts of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union to organize textile workers working in small shops outside of New York city. The Wolenskys' article demonstrates the value of oral history as a historical source, drawing extensively from interviews conducted with Minnie Hindy (Lurye) Matheson, labor organizer and community activist. The quotations drawn from these interviews, detailing Matheson's childhood in Chicago, a daughter of immi-

grant Russian Jews, and her union work in the Wyoming Valley, help to provide a deeper understanding of the events discussed in the article. The quotes tell of her continued perseverance against difficult, and often violent, conditions. The Wolenskys' essay raises a number of interesting topics, including a discussion of the influence of organized crime in the Pittston shops, the division of labor in the immigrant community, and the results of the successful union campaign. By focusing on the life and career of Min Matheson to discuss the organizing campaign, the Wolenskys have brought the life story of a unique individual to public attention.

The final essay in the collection is a description by Zenon V. Wasyliw, Ithaca College, of the patterns of eastern European immigration to Pennsylvania. "European Perceptions of East Slavic Settlements in Northern Pennsylvania during the Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries" provides information on the cultural, religious, and linguistic differences of the Eastern Slavic immigrants. A map would have been helpful to distinguish the different groups and regions discussed in the essay. Wasyliw argues that the political changes in Europe, such as the breakup of the Hapsburg Empire and the Russian revolution, helped the immigrants to create new identities in the United States. Although many of the immigrants planned to return home to Europe after they achieved the financial success that they had dreamt of before emigrating, most remained in the United States because of political turmoil, overcrowding, and a continued lack of economic opportunity in their place of birth. Instead, they recreated ethnic communities in their adopted homeland. Local architecture and regional cultural traditions continue to reflect the customs that the immigrants brought with them from Europe. This essay will be of interest to anyone who wants to understand the many differences among the Slavic immigrants.

Lynn Vacca, *Penn State*

By Vanessa Northington Gamble, *Making a Place For Ourselves: The Black Hospital Movement 1920-1945.*

(New York: Oxford University Press, 1995. Pp. viii + 265.
\$45.00 cloth.)

This book is an important contribution to the history of health care in America. Gamble deals with what she calls the "black hospital movement." Today it is difficult for many young people to appreciate the historical role of the black hospital and how it touched so many lives. The present reviewer was born in a Detroit black hospital, Kirkwood Hospital, and Gamble herself grew up in West Philadelphia where Mercy-Douglass Hospital served African Americans.

Philadelphia's Mercy-Douglass Hospital played a major role in the black hospital movement. The founder, Dr. Nathan Mossell, was a graduate of Lincoln University and the University of Pennsylvania Medical School. Founded in 1895 during the heyday of Jim Crow, Frederick Douglass Hospital provided health care for Philadelphia blacks and training for black health professions: the hospital had a nursing school and postgraduate programs for physicians. It quickly became a national leader as a teaching hospital. In 1948 Frederick Douglass merged with a second black hospital, Mercy, (founded 1907) and was called Mercy-Douglass Hospital until it was closed in 1973. Dr. Mossell and his peers realized that since the white medical establishment, as well as black doctors and patients, were skeptical about black hospitals, it was necessary to demonstrate that black hospitals could provide quality professional health care.

The book is divided into six chapters. Chapter one details the "roots of the black hospital movement" where the author makes a case for the importance of Philadelphia's Mercy-Douglass. Other chapters describe topics such as the black medical societies, the National Medical Association and the National Hospital Association, Tuskegee Veterans Hospital, black hospitals and white philanthropy, Chicago's Provident Hospital, and Cleveland's Forest City Hospital. Gamble concludes that black hospitals became extinct for a variety of reasons: ideological differences within the black community, the gradual integration of black health professionals and patients into the American health-care delivery system, and the rising cost of quality health care in urban communities. She admits that nationally, "despite the significant improvements at a few hospitals by World War II, most black hospitals remained unchanged by the movement" (p. 184). Gamble seems to suggest that hospitals of national renown such as Mercy-Douglass and Provident rather than smaller institutions such as Kirkwood felt the impact of the black hospital movement. But she gives no real answer why this was the case.

Historians may ask: why study black hospital history? The first reason is for public policy purposes. Gamble says that "supporters of black hospitals . . . claim that well-run and fiscally sound black community hospitals could help bridge the gap" [between white and black health care] (p. 295). Second, historically black hospitals have played a role in black community life, providing health care in a segregated society and functioning as symbols of black pride. And while David McBride's book *Integrating the City of Medicine: Blacks in Philadelphia Health Care, 1910-1965* does a better job of describing the Mercy-Douglass Hospital experience, Gamble's book attempts to put that experience in a national light.

Eric Ledell Smith, *Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission*

By Paula F. Pfeffer. *A Philip Randolph, Pioneer of the Civil Rights Movement.*

(Baton Rouge: Louisiana University Press, 1990. Pp. 336, Index, \$32.50.)

With the reassessment of the Civil Rights-Black Power Movements earnestly in progress it seems appropriate to pause and seriously consider one of the unsung heroes of that period. Paula Pfeffer has presented us with just such a consideration in her study of A. Philip Randolph. This is a very smart book that merits close attention as Pfeffer displays a telling eye for solid analysis and comparison.

The chief comparison occurs in Chapter VII, "The March on Washington," where Pfeffer makes an astute analysis between the threatened March of 1941 and the March of August. As Pfeffer sees it, the 1963 March may well be more remembered but it actually produced very little. In contrast, the 1941 March produced Executive Order 8802 which forbade discrimination in the defense industries and contracts and laid the foundation for the subsequent Civil Rights Movement. The 1963 March was widely criticized by a growing Black New Left that was embodied in the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Congress for Racial Equality (CORE) as well as Malcolm X.

In all of this A. Philip Randolph played an important role, but by the 1960s he found himself in the mainstream and on the side of the more moderate civil rights leadership than in his more radical days of the 1930s and 1940s. How Randolph traversed this political terrain is one of the more fascinating and instructive tales that the ongoing reassessment of the Civil Rights-Black Power Movement history can give us in these tense times of renewed racial polarization. Three points are quite adequately explored in this book. First was Randolph's long held belief that African Americans had to be economically strong in order to mount effective social changes. It has been the bane of the African-American experience that this much-needed piece of wisdom has so often not been heeded.

Second is the question of when and how coalitions with whites should be formed. For Randolph, as for other modern black intellectuals and activists, the question of an all-black organization fighting for rights as opposed to an interracial organization has bedeviled the movements for black emancipation. The bitter truth is that African Americans need the help of white and other people of color to mount a serious change to the ways that this nation operates. Again, Randolph tried to balance a serious nationalistic concern for black self-determination with an honest effort to coalesce with white liberals, government, and labor.

That brings us to the third point, the importance of the labor movement. Randolph, always the good Socialist, knew full well that the advancement of African Americans depended heavily on the advancement of the working class. Only through working with the unions and the working class could African Americans ever hope to achieve what was their just desserts in the American system.

It would take an extended essay to deal with each of these points in detail. But let it be said that Paula Pfeffer is to be deeply thanked for providing us with a book that gives us much to think about as we close out the century still wrestling with the legacies of the Civil Rights-Black Power Movements.

Charles Pete Banner-Haley, *Colgate University*

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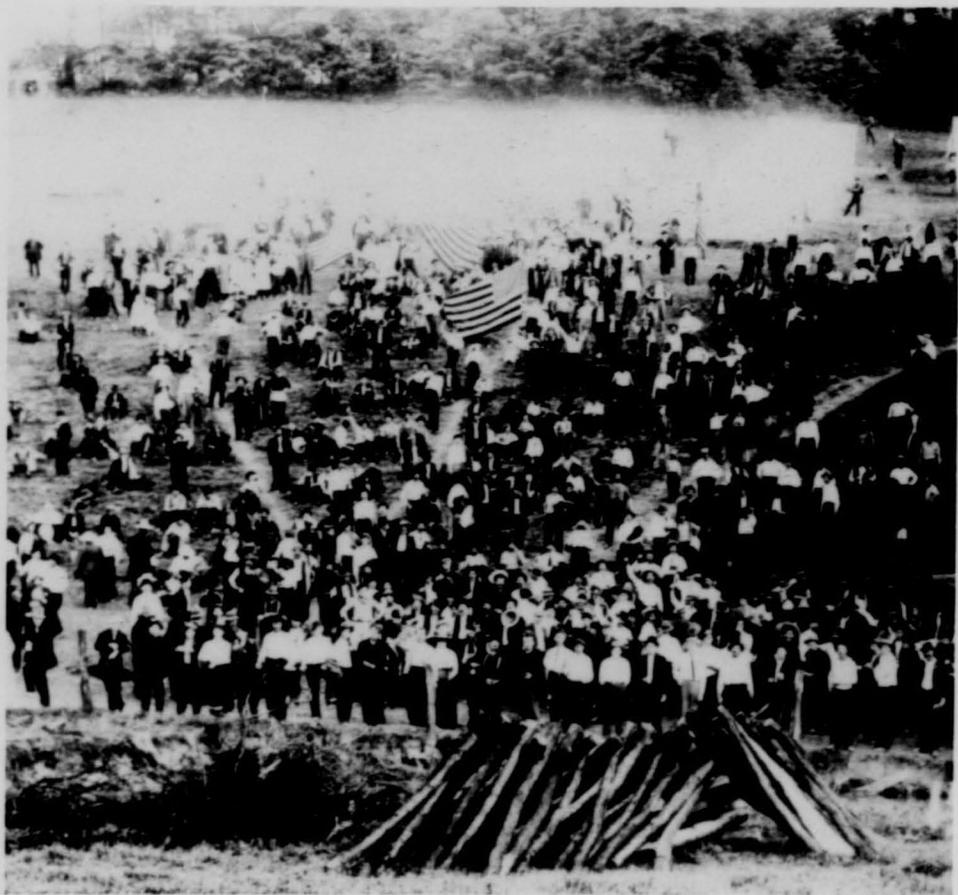
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