

Book Reviews

By Francis Parkman, *The Jesuits in North America in the Seventeenth Century*. Introduction by Conrad E. Heidenreich and José Brandão.

(Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1977. vii + 586pp. \$25.00 paper.)

This new edition of *The Jesuits in North America* is part of a series of Francis Parkman's works being published under the Bison Books imprint of the University of Nebraska Press. Originally published in 1867, this title was the second installment in Parkman's seven-volume *France and England in North America* (1865-1892.) As Conrad E. Heidenreich and José Brandão note in their useful introduction, the title is misleading, for the book deals most specifically with the years between 1632 and 1650 and the three-way contest between the French, Hurons, and Iroquois for souls, furs, and dominion along the Great Lakes frontier.

The narrative takes shape around the Jesuits' mission to the Hurons, an Indian nation living at a considerable distance from Quebec, but one populous and powerful enough to promise the expansion of empire into the continent's interior should they be transformed into Christian vassals of the French crown. The Jesuits and other French who assisted them are Parkman's heroes, pillars of self-abnegation who faced deprivation and martyrdom with courage and fortitude. Yet, they were also tragic figures because their quest was doomed to failure. European diseases decimated Indian villages; converts proved difficult to win and even harder to keep; and Iroquois war parties killed, captured, or dispersed the French-allied Hurons. In Parkman's final analysis, Jesuit martyrs died bravely but in vain in a misguided attempt to bring faith and civilization to Indian peoples too savage to embrace them.

Along with Frederick Jackson Turner and Charles Beard, Francis Parkman belongs to a select group of scholars whose name has become synonymous with a classic interpretation of early American history. In Parkman's case, colonial North America was the battleground for the climatic struggle between Catholic absolutism and Protestant liberty, which the latter won under the aegis of Great Britain. Since 1960, numerous detractors and revisers of Parkman—including W. J. Eccles, Francis Jennings, and Bruce Trigger—have made his shortcomings obvious. He described Indians uniformly as racially inferior to Europeans. He exhibited extreme prejudice against Catholics in general and the Jesuits in particular, according their faith a spiritual content barely above that of superstition. He inflated the military prowess of the Iroquois and accepted the British ascendancy in North America as preordained. Why then continue to read him?

The answer lies in Parkman's remarkable agility with the pen. As this volume demonstrates, his distinctive style has the pacing of romantic adventure stories. His subject matter brings to mind James Fenimore Cooper, but his

prose is far more enjoyable. Professional historian can no longer consider *The Jesuits in North America* the definitive work on its topic, but like its companion volumes, it remains provocative and comprehensive, as well as illustrative of the racist and nationalist biases that shaped American historical narrative in the nineteenth century.

Timothy J. Shannon, *Gettysburg College*

By Thomas J. Müller, *Kirche zwischen zwei Welten: Die Obrigkeitsproblematik bei Heinrich Melchior Mühlberg und die Kirchengründung der deutschen Lutheraner in Pennsylvania*. Volume 2 in *Transatlantische Historische Studien*.

Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1994, 302 pp., DM 120

(= ca. \$80, paperback only).

Translation - *Church between Two Worlds: The Problem of Authority with Henry Melchior Muhlenberg and the Founding of the German Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania*.

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 plays a critical role in founding the Lutheran Church in North America.

Müller begins by describing the environment of strong state support for the Lutheran Church in Brandenburg-Prussia, where Muhlenberg received his training before departing in 1742 for America. Müller provides a detailed account of Muhlenberg's development as a Pietist, including his upbringing, studies at the university in Göttingen, connections with the Pietist center at the university in Halle, and callings by Halle to Groß Hennersdorf (in Saxony) and then Pennsylvania. Müller is able to reconstruct Muhlenberg's experiences in Germany, his theological positions on important issues, and his understanding 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. Here, like other European pastors coming from the confessional churches, he had to work without a strong, state-supported church. The pastors themselves had to find new ways to establish their authority in the community, 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 build a successful 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 Pennsylvanians 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 parishes 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 (*Pennsylvania 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 fresh perspectives on Muhlenberg and new findings. The book is not overly absorbed with Muhlenberg's personality, but instead uses his writings and activities for examining 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 London 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 on the eve of his departure for America provide new insight into who this man was and what 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 many 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 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 critical, actually declined with the arrival of the Halle pastors. Essentially, the laity had to give up complete control of their communities to obtain 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 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. By then, they finally found some pastors who could build the necessary institutions without infringing on lay rights.

In short, this is an excellent 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 Richard Aquila. *The Iroquois Restoration: Iroquois Diplomacy on the Colonial Frontier, 1701-1754*.

(Lincoln: The University of Nebraska Press, 1997. Pp. 285. \$15.00.)

Richard Aquila's *The Iroquois Restoration* represents a valuable addition to the ethnohistoric literature devoted to Native Americans. The book is divided into two major parts. The first develops the necessary background by highlighting important historical events during the seventeenth century. The second focuses on Aquila's primary purpose for writing the book: namely, the Iroquois Restoration.

Aquila's thesis is well-researched and crafted using copious amounts of data gleaned from seventeenth and eighteenth century historical documents and accounts. Whereas other historians and anthropologists have examined the Iroquois's seventeenth century aggression toward neighboring Native American groups and their role in various colonial wars, Aquila examines a period that many might describe as uneventful. However, he shows that during the years ca. 1701-1754, the Iroquois were active players in Native American and Euroamerican political affairs as they sought to create a landscape that not only ensured their prosperity, but also guaranteed their continued position as a power broker. In this regard, they were no different than the European powers who also employed strategy and diplomacy to obtain desired outcomes.

Aquila's study is exciting and noteworthy because it portrays the Iroquois leaders as skilled strategists and diplomats who worked aggressively to both retain and expand their political and economic influence across the Great Lakes, the mid-Atlantic, and southern Canada. Aquila refers to their collective efforts to recapture their prestige as a "*restoration policy*." Each of the "strategies" is detailed in an individual chapter. Their success lay in their ability to attain a degree of neutrality toward the European powers and many of their former enemies by weaving a web of alliances and treaties, and simply playing the odds which were mostly in their favor.

If there is a weakness in Aquila's study, it lies in the historical accounts themselves, especially personalized accounts of events that the historical recorder never witnessed, but obtained second and third hand. However, Aquila

seems to have utilized multiple sources to mitigate such flaws. With this caveat, Aquila's book is an excellent addition to the literature on Native American studies and should be read by any scholar who aspires to learn more about the history of the Iroquois peoples.

John P. Nass, Jr., *California University of Pennsylvania*

Edited with introductions by Catherine La Courreya Blecki and Karin A. Wulf. *Milcah Martha Moore's Book: A Commonplace Book from Revolutionary America.*

(University Park, Penn State Press, 1997. Pp. xxiv, + 341 cloth \$45, paper \$13.50.)

This important resource defies the usual categories of academic disciplines. The primary document is a collection of eighteenth-century poems and prose that is as important to history as it is to literature. The content of the many poems and the fewer prose passages touch on gender, friendship and kinship, religion, remembrance, sensibility, and the politics of revolutionary America. There are letters, essays, diary entries, epigraphs, elegies, satires, and more. This is a modern edition of a book that was circulated, and perhaps copied, but not published. It transcends the usual distinctions between private and public, manuscript and publication. It is a woman-centered book, yet the woman whose name appears in the title does not make an appearance as an author in her own work. This is a significant primary source where the insights of the two editors in their separate introductions are as valuable as the text itself.

Milcah Martha Hill (1740-1829) was born on the island of Madeira. At age 12 she moved to Philadelphia, eventually marrying her beloved cousin, Dr. Charles Moore. This marriage between two cousins caused their disownment from the Society of Friends, an estrangement Milcah Moore felt deeply throughout her marriage. She was reaccepted into the meeting only after the death of her husband in 1801. She collected poetry even as a young girl, instructed several younger relatives, and opened a school for girls in the 1780s. Between the mid-1760s and 1778 Milcah Martha Moore compiled a commonplace book of poetry and prose written primarily by friends and relations whose work she admired. This neatly written, thematically constructed collection of 126 items was designed to instruct, to entertain, and to connect the women and men who appear in the book as subjects or as authors. Because the commonplace book remained in private hands until 1966, few scholars have been aware of its existence or importance.

Three writers dominate Moore's collection: Susanna Wright (1697-1785), Hannah Griffitts (1727-1817), and Elizabeth Graeme Fergusson (1737-1801). All of these women have literary reputations among early Americanists. So while these are not unknown voices, this collection adds a large number of

examples to the known corpus of these women's literary output. Other authors are also included, but unfortunately many of their contributions are either unattributed or their appended initials can no longer be identified.

Twentieth-century readers will find much of interest in the selections by Moore. Those relating to the politics of revolutionary America reveal the complexity of Quaker neutrality as well as the issues of particular interest to women. The authors show a passionate engagement in politics, but as the events of the Revolution unfold it is obvious that editor Moore was torn between enthusiastic support for some aspects of the Revolution, as when she copied a letter by Patrick Henry opposing slavery, and vehement rejection of other aspects, in particular the anti-Quaker writings of Tom Paine. The commonplace book provides one of the more extended reactions to the Revolution written by women. The satires on politics and other subjects are wonderful and offer multiple insights into women's perspective on the times. A letter on the differences between the scientific housewife and the superstitious housewife is well worth the price of this edition by itself. This historian found the many elegies rather tedious, although they help us to appreciate that death was always present at the time. There are many gems in this collection which serve to expand our understanding of educated women's culture.

The introductory essay by Karin A. Wulf provides an excellent historical context for appreciating the religious, military, and familial factors affecting Milcah Moore. Particularly valuable is the extended section on women's literary culture, an original, innovative investigation of a little known aspect of women's intellectual lives. Wulf traces the salon culture of the early Delaware Valley, the more informal gatherings of women, and the circulation of manuscripts among these women as they encouraged each other's creativity, made editorial comments, and collected prized pieces into books like Milcah Moore's. These women had created a sphere of communication that paralleled the world of newspaper and magazine publication and that sometimes crossed over into print. Wulf reveals that these manuscripts not only circulated among friends and kin but became textbooks used in private schools run by women. Young women copied these local literary productions as they learned to read and write. The audience for these writings stretched across generations and from friends to strangers.

Catherine La Courreya Blecki gives a detailed analysis of the literary qualities of the selections in the commonplace book. Her extended commentary comparing the content of this women-centered book with Milcah Moore's published textbook, *Miscellanies, Moral and Instructive* (first edition, 1785) is fascinating. Moore was creative and innovative in her more private commonplace book, but "passive and even self-effacing" [p. 72] in her public appearance as an editor and compiler. The importance to women of this alternative method of creating, writing, and discussing ideas becomes clear in her analysis. This edition of Milcah Moore's book will be valuable to many

interested in early America. It is suitable for advanced undergraduates and for graduate students. It has taken over two hundred years, but Moore's important contributions should now get the attention they deserve.

Susan E. Klepp, *Rider University*

By David R. Contosta. *Philadelphia's Progressive Orphanage: The Carson Valley School.*

(University Park: Penn State Press, 1997. 262 pp. including notes, bibliographic essay, and index. \$34.95.)

This handsome volume chronicles the seventy-five year history of a children's home set on an idyllic estate northwest of Philadelphia. Begun in 1918 by a bequest of Robert N. Carson, an entrepreneur whose fortune was made through the expansion of electric rail lines in the Philadelphia area, Carson College, as it was initially named, was an orphanage for girls between the ages of six and ten. This "monument to Carson" only admitted healthy, white girls whose parents were both deceased. Unlike typical nineteenth-century institutions, this orphanage was designed on the cottage system, rather than the "congregate" model of huge dormitories and large dining halls. Supervised by a housemother, each cottage had no more than twenty-five girls. Its inhabitants, who were not forced to wear uniforms (another break with tradition) performed all domestic duties and were encouraged to follow a family model. No Dickensian comparisons could be made at Carson College.

The all-male Board of Trustees approved the construction of a village of English Gothic cottages designed by local architect Albert Kelsey. With names like Mother Goose and Primrose Cottage, the buildings were built to a child's scale and decorated with fanciful carvings and ceramic tiles. One romantic description, appearing in a local newspaper, speculated that the little girls who came to Carson might be joined by Peter Pan and Wendy. However, to the woman who did more than any other to shape the institution, Elsa Ueland, the orphanage was not so much a children's fairyland but an experiment in Progressivism.

Ueland came to Carson with formal training in social work and experience as a settlement house worker and public school teacher. She chose as her staff women with similar backgrounds and Progressive ideals. The author defines the first dozen or so years of Carson's existence, that is between 1918 to around 1930, as its golden age. Blessed with little financial difficulties and a supportive network of like-minded educators and reformers. Ueland and her staff fashioned an environment where academic, artistic, and vocational opportunities were offered to children whose circumstances could have been quite different. In short, Carson became known as an exemplary orphanage.

But from the very beginnings, the institution suffered from incongruities and shortcomings. Carson College was superfluous; there weren't that many

young girls without parents in the metropolitan Philadelphia area. In order to fill its cottages, the board constantly amended its definition of qualified applicants. Eventually, it admitted non-white girls and boys. Moreover, Ueland, the Progressive educator, didn't seem to like children that much. She admitted that she didn't know the girls at Carson; in fact, she didn't even talk to them. Finally, as might be expected, Carson endured periods of financial hardship. The original building plan was never completed, and a number of the fanciful Gothic structures were scaled down. However, Carson was able to weather the bad times and keep its doors open because it adapted to a changing population, child welfare, and education trends.

Contosta's is primarily an institutional history which utilizes extensive administrative records. As with all such histories, the sources can be stultifying. However, by including oral histories and personal memoirs, he has attempted to bring a sense of vitality to what could easily have been a dull bricks and mortar account. The liberal use of photographs also helps to bring the institution and its inhabitants to life.

Running the risk of calling for a book that the author had no intention of writing, this reader wished for more of a national historical context. Although Contosta has constructed a model of Progressivism in which to place the history of Carson, details of institutional development and musings on the personal lives of prominent figures often overshadow important comparisons to similar reform attempts. In all fairness, Contosta partially addresses this defect by adding a bibliographic essay to the text. It details local sources but barely touches upon the recent profusion of Progressive reform studies. This highlights the major problem of the book. It does not appear that the author was able to identify his audience. One supposes that the book was meant for readers who are fairly well-versed in recent American history, but then one encounters such explanations as the following: "John Reed would be 'revived' for later generations in the movie *Reds*, with Reed played by Warren Beatty." (p. 52) However, even with such shortcomings, the study provides an important glimpse into the lives of a group of Progressive reformers and their experiment outside Philadelphia. It details an historical record which has not only been preserved, but made accessible to other researchers and students of American reform.

Margaret A. Spratt, *University of New England*

By Irwin Richman. *Borscht Belt Bungalows: Memories of Catskill Summers*. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998. Pp. 242. \$29.95 cloth.)

A Jewish-American pastoral? Thoreau in the Catskills? Irwin Richman's marvelous *Borscht Belt Bungalows* is as much a literary work—a retrospect of country summers, now history—as a scholarly study. "The woods were our

world,” Richman recalls, picturing his childhood cronies trekking off from the clustered *kuchalein* (literally “cook for yourself” bungalows) to explore their own versions of Walden Pond (p. 80). Yet these boys, unlike the Transcendentalist, were never alone. The Jewish retreat from the city was social in process and purpose. Richman’s Bungalows was “my family’s place,” begun by his grandfather in 1936 and passed down to the author’s parents (p. 1). Their tenants, returning year after year, were *unzereh menschen*—“our people”—many with roots in the same Polish village. Thoreau fled the “desperate city” for solitude, but New York Jews vacationed by design in the crowded country, playing cards by day, partying in the “casino” by night. Giving the American pastoral an ethnic spin, Richman underscores that, for Jews, well-being and community are the same.

Let no reader of this lively first-person narrative be deceived that this is just a reminiscence, without scholarly depth. Richman collected an amazing range of information on Borscht Belt life and gracefully folds it into his memories. We see the material and social landscape through the eyes of the owners’ son-turned-historian. Using interviews, floor plans, photos, and films, he shows us how tenants cooked, ate, and slept: communal kitchens and no air-conditioning in the early years, followed by roomier and cooler bungalows, complete with TV rooms, later on. Facts are sweetened by authenticating details. Anyone who has known a *yiddishe momme* can picture his grandmother offering “tea—always served in a glass” (p. 44). We see mothers herding children to the river to swim, schlepping “bags of cookies, candy, and fruit (you shouldn’t starve); and dry clothing (if you wore wet clothes or got chilled, you might get polio, which was every parent’s nightmare)” (p. 72). Habit and stereotype can be separated by a thin line, but Richman manages to keep ethnography from becoming romance.

Change threatens any pastoral vision. The decline of anti-Semitism and rise of two-career families helped close many bungalow colonies after 1970: American Jews were freer to go where they pleased at the same time that parents, shipping children to camp, were stuck in town. Even so, New Orthodox and Hasidic husbands now migrate from the city to their families on weekends, as their more secular counterparts did in the past. “The trouble with the Hasids is that there’s no way of knowing who they really are,” says a long-time resident (p. 201). Hasidim, Richman echoes, “don’t want to be part of the community” (p. 202). *Borscht Belt Bungalows* associates Orthodox insularity with the waning of the *hamish* (homelike) feeling of being among friends. But Richman sees, too, that the Catskills were “part of my family’s American Dream” of assimilation (p. 207). Wanting to be together, Jews were no less eager to be like everyone else, and their success spelled the end of an era. The Penn State professor who wrote this book is as distanced as the Orthodox vacationers from the Borscht Belt of memory.

All said, Richman wonderfully preserves the Catskills for what it represented to the first generations of American Jews: a place of refuge and possibility. A variation on the American wish to carve out a nurturing space between city and wilderness, it requires some imagination—but not too much—to see Thoreau shuffling the poker deck on a summer afternoon.

Anne C. Rose, *Penn State, University Park*

By Edward J. Hagerty. *Collis' Zouaves: The 114th Pennsylvania Volunteers in the Civil War.*

(Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1997. Pp. 357.)

Although the attack on Fort Sumter occurred fourteen months earlier, military debacles and the call for replacement troops set in motion an intensive recruitment campaign in Philadelphia and its surrounding counties in the summer of 1862. In *Collis' Zouaves*, Edward J. Hagerty initially traces the origins of the Zouave craze. Many new recruits would be attracted to join due to the uniqueness of the Zouave uniform. In tracing the actual formation of the 114th Pennsylvania Volunteers, Edward Hagerty provides us with some insight into the politics of Charles Collis' involvement. Initially Collis utilized the political influence of his friend, Pennsylvania Supreme Court Justice John Meredith Read, to gain the governor's favor. Yet Collis' impatience with the situation motivated him to join in the political process.

By closely analyzing the statistical recruitment data, Edward Hagerty provides a better understanding of what social and personal factors affected decisions to join. At times individual soldiers' commitment to this great cause would wane. Clearly, participation in major battles like Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, and Petersburg would be a significant factor in one's daily commitment to the cause.

Also unique to Hagerty's narrative is his insightful biography of Colonel Charles H. T. Collis, from his humble beginning in Philadelphia to his trials and tribulations as company commanding officer. The controversy surrounding his battlefield conduct would continue to plague him even after his military service ended. His bonds to his men did not end with the war. Through his activities in the Grand Army of the Republic he championed the rights of veterans. He "devoted much of the remainder of his life to the development of a National Park at Gettysburg" (p. 326).

By utilizing eyewitness accounts, journals, official trial records, newspaper accounts, official Civil War records, and unpublished documents, Edward Hagerty has carefully woven a comprehensive narrative of not only the 114th Pennsylvania Volunteers, but of their flamboyant and controversial commanding officer, Colonel Charles H. T. Collis. Clearly, from Hagerty's statistical analysis, this regiment was unique when compared to others in the

Union Army. Hagerty concluded that “their occupational skill-level distribution also set the Zouaves apart from much of the rest of the army” (p. 331).

For those interested in Civil War regimental history, *Collis' Zouaves* offers more than just a narrative. Hagerty not only exposes us to the horrors of the battlefield, the relentless monotony of camp life, the personal suffering during long protracted marches, and the logistical problems associated with the tactical movement of men and equipment. He also provides a masterful analysis of the interaction of the social and political forces within and outside the regimental structure. He provides an insightful look into how individual soldiers were initially committed to the cause and how their commitment changed due to the hardships of military life and battlefield experience.

Edward C. Snowden, *University of Guelph*

Book Notes from the Editor

By Jackson Turner Main. *Inherited or Achieved? The Social Origins of the World's Leaders, 2000 B.C. to A.D. 1850.*

(St. James, New York: Brandywine Press, 1998. Pp. 375. \$30.00.)

At the age of eighty, Jackson T. Main, author of six major monographs on colonial and revolutionary history, has published a phenomenal, novel book. Combining sociological and anthropological as well as historical writings, he has asked—and as far as is humanly possible, answered—an important question: is human leadership inherited or achieved? His conclusion is that in most human societies, like the colonies of British North America, political leaders were made, not born. While prominent families may have held the edge and some political dynasties existed, the exclusionary hierarchies of aristocratic and monarchical European and Asian societies have been the exceptions, not the rule. Main's grandfather, Frederick Jackson Turner, would have been pleased to find that so far as a “natural” state of affairs exists, it supports meritocracy and widespread access to opportunity.

To prove his thesis, Main has examined societies throughout history and all over the world. Readers of this journal will be pleased to note that one of eight chapters and one of four appendices deal with British North America: Pennsylvania and the Middle Colonies figure prominently. Main's writing is clear and straightforward, but not lively. Case studies follow each other summarizing the conclusions of the scholarly literature. Despite his less than compelling prose, Main is to be applauded for applying his incredible energy (his bibliography is honest and runs to sixty pages) to examining the nature of leadership in the broadest historical perspective possible.

By William David Sloan and Julie Hedgepeth Williams. *The Early American Press, 1690-1783*.

(Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1994. Pp. 233. \$59.95.)

Greenwood Press is currently publishing a series of books covering the history of American journalism from the first colonial newspaper, published in 1690, to the present. The first volume offers chapters specifically dealing with the early years of the Boston (1690-1735) and Philadelphia (1719-1735) press before dealing more generally with freedom of the press, the expansion of the press in the mid-eighteenth century, and the revolutionary era (three chapters). Sloan and Williams concentrate for the most part on newspapers—there is little on the pamphlet literature—and offer selective rather than exhaustive coverage of the numerous factional and free speech controversies that enlived provincial life. Nevertheless, there is much useful information in tables, a bibliography, and a bibliographical essay that makes this book a fine starting point for those investigating the decisive influence of newspapers on early American political life.

By Kenneth Laine Ketner. *His Glassy Essence: An Autobiography of Charles Sanders Peirce, Volume I*.

(Nashville, Tenn.: Vanderbilt University Press, 1998. Pp. 432. 20 illustrations, maps).

Arguably the greatest philosopher the United States has produced, Charles Sanders Peirce (1839-1914) lived most of his last twenty-seven years in Milford, Pennsylvania. There, his forced retirement from academic life enabled him to produce a huge quantity of published essays and unpublished manuscripts, many of which have yet to be explored, as his material circumstances and health deteriorated. To be sure, there is no Peirce "Autobiography" in the usual sense. Rather, in the first of several projected volumes, Ketner, a philosopher, reprints extensive material from the Peirce Papers and Manuscripts (available on microfilm at major research libraries) which shed light on the polymath's fascinating life and intellectual development. He accompanies Peirce's letters, essays, and jottings with a narrative that clarifies and enlivens the frequently difficult texts. Furthermore, Ketner intersperses his thoughts on Peirce with a sort of autobiography of his own, describing how his ideas about Peirce only coalesced after a long personal odyssey that included dialogues with Peirceans and others. Although the first volume only takes Peirce to 1867, long before he arrived in Pennsylvania, it whets the appetite for what will follow. Ketner's work invaluablely supplements the fine biography of Peirce by Joseph Brent (Indiana University Press, 1993), which is about to appear in a revised version based upon new findings in Peirce's inexhaustible manuscripts.

William Pencak, *Penn State*

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**The Index for Volume 65, 1998 will appear in
the first issue of Volume 66, spring 1999.**

**U.S. Postal Service Statement of Ownership, Management and Circulation
(Required by 39 U.S.C. 3685)**

1. Title of publication: Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies.
2. Publication No. 0031-4528.
3. Date of filing: October 22, 1998.
4. Frequency of Issue: Quarterly plus one supplemental.
5. No. of issues published annually: four, plus one supplement.
6. Annual subscription price: \$30 Institutions, \$25 Regular, \$15 Student.
7. Complete Mailing Address of Known Office of Publication: The Pennsylvania Historical Association, c/o Penn State University, 108 Weaver Building, University Park, PA 16802-5500.
8. Complete Mailing Address of the Headquarters or General Business Office of Publisher: same as above.
9. Full names and complete mailing address of Publisher, Editor, and Managing Editor: The Pennsylvania Historical Association, c/o Penn State University, 108 Weaver Building, University Park, PA 16802-5500. William Pencak, Editor, Dept. of History, Pennsylvania State University, 108 Weaver Bldg., University Park, PA 16802-5500. Managing Editor is William Pencak.
10. Owner: The Pennsylvania Historical Association, c/o Penn State University, 108 Weaver Building, University Park, PA 16802-5500.
11. (Not applicable).
12. (Not applicable).
13. Publication Name: Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies.
14. Issue Date for Circulation Date Below: Fall, 1998.
15. Extent and nature of circulation. First figure given is average number of copies each issue during preceding 12 months; second figure given is single issue nearest to filing date.
 - A. Total number of copies printed (net press run): 1200, • 1250.
 - B. Paid and/or requested circulation:
 1. Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales: 65, • 0.
 2. Mail subscriptions: 980, • 1030.
 - C. Total paid circulation (sum of 10B1 and 10B2): 1045 • 1030.
 - D. Free distribution by mail: 55, • 90.
 - E. Free distribution outside the mail (carriers or other means): 3 • 3.
 - F. Total free distribution (sum of 15D and 15E): 58, • 93.
 - G. Total distribution (sum of 15C and 15F): 1103, • 1123.
 - H. Copies not distributed:

6173

 1. Office use, leftovers, spoiled: 97, • 127.
 2. Return from news agents: none; none.
 - I. Total (sum of 15G, 15H1 and 15H2): 1200 • 1250. Percent paid and/or requested circulation: 95% • 92%.
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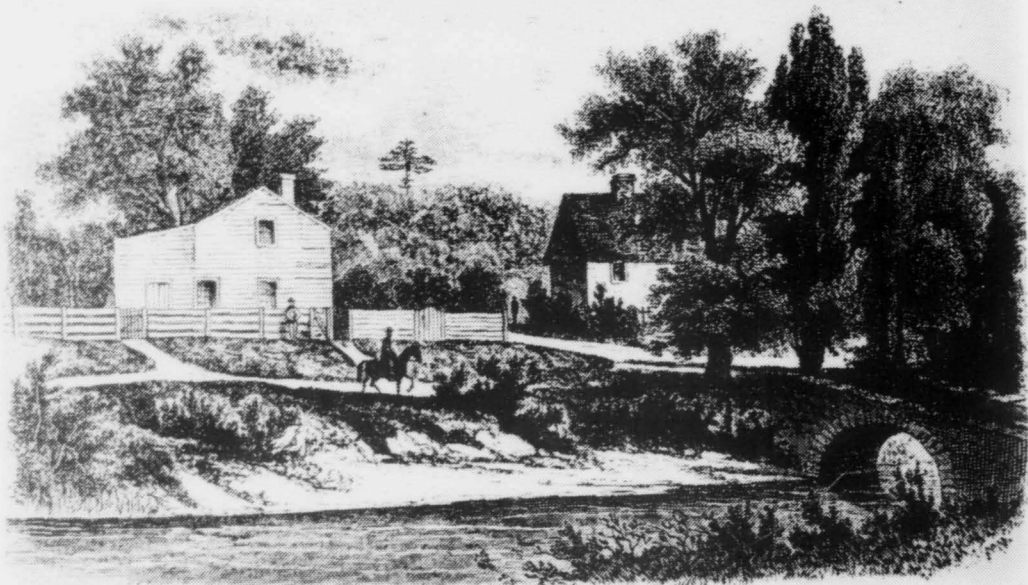
ANNOUNCEMENTS

The Pennsylvania History Association invites submissions for its annual conference, to be held November 4-6, 1999, at the Senator John Heinz Pittsburgh Regional History Center in downtown Pittsburgh. Individual papers, complete sessions, films, and other types of presentations should address the conference theme, "At the Confluence." Pittsburgh has often been described as being located "at the confluence" of the Allegheny, Monongahela, and Ohio Rivers, but Pennsylvania and also be understood as sitting "at the confluence" of many different geographical, chronological, social, political, economic, and cultural developments and forces. Submissions that adopt interdisciplinary approaches or addresses pedagogical issues are especially welcome, but all topics will be considered. Please send six copies of a one-page paper abstract and a short vita to David Hsiung, PHA Program Committee, History Department, Juniata College, Huntingdon, PA, 16652, or via e-mail to hsiong@juniata.edu. Deadline: January 15, 1999.

The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission invites applications for its 1999-2000 Scholars in Residence Program and its newly inaugurated Collaborative Residency Program. The Scholars in Residence program provides support for full-time research and study at any Commission facility, including the State Archives, The State Museum, and 26 historical sites and museums. The Collaborative Residency Program will fund original research that relates to the interpretive mission of PHMC sites and museums and advances a specific programmatic goal of the host site or museum. Proposals for a Collaborative Residency are to be filed jointly by the applicant institution and interested scholar. Both programs are open to all who are conducting research on Pennsylvania history, including academic scholars, public sector professionals, independent scholars, graduate students, writers, filmmakers, and others. Residencies are available for four to twelve weeks between May 1, 1999, and April 30, 2000, at the rate of \$1200 per month. For further information and application materials for the Scholars in Residence Program, including the Collaborative Residency Program, contact:

Division of History, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission,
Box 1026, Harrisburg, PA 17108; 717/787-3034 (phone);
Robert_Weible@PHMC.state.pa.us (email); or consult the world wide web at
http://www.state.pa.us/PA_EXEC/Historical_Museum.

Deadline is January 15, 1999.



"The Umbrella Tree," in George Peck, *Wyoming: Its History, Stirring Incidents and Romantic Adventures*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1858. 416.

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