

BOOK REVIEWS

*R*andall M. Miller and William Pencak, editors. *Pennsylvania: A History of the Commonwealth*. (University Park, Harrisburg: The Pennsylvania State University Press and The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 2002. Pp. xxxi, 654, appendix, select bibliography, contributors, illustration credits, index, cloth \$49.95, paper \$29.95.)

o is an outstanding survey of Pennsylvania's history from the arrival of the first settlers through the end of the twentieth century. Divided into two parts, this volume examines not only the chronological history of the state but also introduces the reader to non-traditional methods of exploring and interpreting the Commonwealth's past.

Unlike previous one-volume histories of Pennsylvania, this book is not the work of one or two historians, but a collaborative effort that includes contributions by specialists in anthropology, archival management, genealogy, and geography in addition to chapters authored by prominent historians. Brent D. Glass's

foreword, "The Value of Pennsylvania History," effectively sets the tone for the book, placing the state's history squarely in the context of regional and national history. Glass contends, "From its origins as a colony with a special sense of mission—to show that peoples of diverse religions and nationalities could live in peace—to its emergence as a political and economic power, to its struggle to compete in the global marketplace, Pennsylvania and its history contain almost all the principal elements found in the history of the United States" (p. ix). He then proceeds to identify thirteen "state icons" that demonstrate and interpret this relationship, one that the subsequent contributors continue to address throughout the remainder of the volume.

Throughout the first part of the book, "The History," the authors emphasize the historical context of Pennsylvania and national history. The first two chapters, Daniel K. Richter's "The First Pennsylvanians" and Susan E. Klepp's "Encounter and Experiment: The Colonial Period," focus on the settlement of the province prior to and after European contact. The subsequent five chapters divide Pennsylvania's history into fifty-year segments, each of which explores Pennsylvania's history and its relationship to national history. Of particular interest in each of these chapters (William Pencak on "The Promise of Revolution: 1750–1800"; Emma Lapsansky on "Building Democratic Communities: 1800–1850"; Walter Licht on "Civil Wars: 1850–1900"; David R. Contosta on "Reforming the Commonwealth: 1900–1950"; and Philip Jenkins on "The Postindustrial Age: 1950–2000") is the emphasis on integrating social and economic history into the story of Pennsylvania's past.

With Part II, "Ways to Pennsylvania's Past," the editors of this book created a volume that demonstrates that the history of Pennsylvania is more than a written narrative. Chapters on "Geography" by Wilbur Zelinsky, "Architecture" by Richard J. Webster, "Archaeology" by Verna L. Cowin, "Folklore and Folklife" by Simon J. Bronner, "Art" by Randall M. Miller and William Pencak, and "Literature" by David Demarest all examine the relationship between other academic disciplines and the interpretation of the Commonwealth's past. Selections on "Genealogy" by James M. Beidler, "Photography" by Linda Ries, and "Oral History" by Linda Shopes reflect the influence of public history on understanding the state's history. These chapters enhance the volume by enabling the reader to appreciate the methodology employed by historians while researching state and national history.

Particularly noteworthy in this new history of Pennsylvania is the inclusion of numerous vignettes and sidebars to enhance the respective chapters.

These selections provide biographical sketches of lesser-known but historically significant Pennsylvanians, most of them ethnic minorities and women. In addition, the vignettes include excerpts from primary sources and supply further illumination on key events (both familiar and unfamiliar) in Pennsylvania history. The volume is also lavishly illustrated and includes an abundance of maps to provide a geographical context for the various eras. Each chapter concludes with a brief list of books related to the chronological period or methodological approach, guiding the reader to additional resources on the respective topics.

Overall, *Pennsylvania: A History of the Commonwealth* is a groundbreaking work that should set the standard for all future state histories. The Commonwealth's ethnic, religious, economic, and political diversity all receive an appropriate amount of attention. Each of the authors strongly support the significance of the Commonwealth's history in the larger scheme of American history, providing ample examples to strengthen their interpretations. Certainly this book is a must read for all teachers and students of Pennsylvania history—and for anyone interested in the story of the Keystone State.

KAREN GUENTHER

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David Swatzler. *A Friend Among the Senecas: The Quaker Mission to Cornplanter's People*. (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2000. Pp. xv, 319, appendix, notes, bibliography, index, cloth \$24.95.)

Henry Simmons's 1799 journal documenting the year he spent as a Quaker missionary at Conishcotago, the recently formed village of the Allegheny Seneca leader named Cornplanter, forms the keystone of this ambitious volume. This brief journal, presented here as an appendix in its original as well as an edited version in parallel columns, provides an important addition to the documents relating to a specific group of Seneca at an extremely important period in their history. Swatzler uses Simmons's letters plus the journals of his contemporaries to provide valuable perspective on the events of that year and to demonstrate their influence on later Seneca history. After the American Revolution, Cornplanter and a few other Seneca leaders recognized a need to make cultural accommodations such as learning English and

becoming literate. They also perceived that a more settled agrarian lifestyle would be useful, although how this could be achieved for this horticultural society sustained by supplementary foraging they did not know. This volume puts these needs into clear view and notes the various steps taken by Cornplanter and others to achieve these ends. A number of excellent maps together with many illustrations provide significant visual reinforcement for the events described.

The difficulties of negotiating this extraordinary cultural transformation significantly influenced the leaders of various Seneca factions, each of whom had a different vision of the future. The Philadelphia Quaker community in 1796 offered "to provide free technical aid and educational assistance" (p. 21) to the Six Nations as they had traditionally provided financial, legal and political aid. Henry Simmons was one of the Quaker representatives who found themselves at the center of this complex social and cultural revolution in northwestern Pennsylvania. His journal and letters provide vital cultural data about people in a traditional culture coming to grips with life as it would be in the new century.

This impressive and ambitious work helps to provide a view of the Seneca in the late eighteenth century that enables us to understand cultural changes that took place over the next forty years. Lewis H. Morgan's account of the Six Nations Iroquois depicts these peoples at a later stage in the adjustment process, which now can be better understood through the records left by these Quaker emissaries in the 1790s.

Swatzler's work would be vastly improved through closer editorial review. Basic editing and chronological control are lacking. The chronology jumps between periods, wars, and cultural events in ways that are difficult to follow. Even relationships between sequential events are not edited into a smooth text. In addition, there are questionable interpretations of various events. Swatzler claims that various native groups lost territory "partly because they were often lied to and deceived during treaty negotiations" (p.16), but he provides no evidence relating to the Seneca or any of the Six Nations Iroquois. Instead, he recounts a popular myth relating to "Delaware" Indians and the Confirmation Treaty of 1737, an event that took place some sixty years before Simmons went on his mission. Swatzler fails to cite any documents (e.g. D. Kent 1979) relating to this supposed "classic example" (p.16) of deceit. He also fails to note Anthony F.C. Wallace's or any recent documentation that this "deceit" actually was on the part of the Toms River band of Lenopi from New Jersey. In 1737 these recent squatters in the Forks of Delaware in

Pennsylvania “sold” these lands to which they had no claim to the Proprietors of Pennsylvania. Other relevant literature is not cited, including Tooker’s important work (*Lewis Henry Morgan on Iroquois Material Culture*, 1994), even though Swatzler uses illustrations from Morgan’s 1851 classic publication.

The attempt to view the Seneca, who during the American Revolution sided with the British against the colonists, as victims is undermined by numerous facts presented by Swatzler. Ignored are Seneca assertions of hegemony “over the Delawares and Shawnees” (p.106) and the financial gains gotten by this fiction. The Seneca received huge cash payments from the Crown and the Penn family for their dubious claims to land by right of conquest. The Seneca also received large quantities of goods as well as every possible form of assistance to aid them in making a cultural transition. Theirs is the fate of all non-literate societies in contact with the industrial world. Swatzler did not need to search for villains to describe normal processes of intercultural contact and change.

Since Swatzler makes numerous references to “Delawares,” he should have some familiarity with recent literature regarding these peoples. The different cultural backgrounds of the multiplying, mutating, and spreading bands from several cultures commonly called “Delawares” is not noted by Swatzler. Various Lenape families had moved west to become involved in the fur trade as early as 1661. After 1675 entire bands of Lenape shifted into central Pennsylvania after the destruction of the Susquehannock confederacy by the Seneca and their allies. However, the vast majority of the Lenape and their Lenopi neighbors were still living in their respective homelands well after 1730. They were far from “displaced tribes” (p.109) either before or after 1720.

The Simmons journal and the data relating to this Quaker mission at the end of the eighteenth century adds an important piece to the picture of traditional native cultures in this region and the changes resulting from contacts with bearers of complex technologies. The twisting histories of the various factions within the Seneca nation form but a small part of the story of the Six Nations of Iroquois and the hundreds of other Native American cultures that have endured into the twenty-first century.

MARSHALL JOSEPH BECKER
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Andrew R. Murphy. *Conscience and Community: Revisiting Toleration and Religious Dissent in Early Modern England and America*. (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001. Pp. xxii, 337, bibliography, index, cloth \$45.00, paper \$24.95.)

This is a complex and courageous book about the history and meaning of a subject that many Americans think they understand well. The author makes a compelling argument that toleration is historically less straightforward and philosophically more troublesome than is generally assumed. He is deeply familiar with the writings of William Penn, and Pennsylvania has a prominent place in his account. The Penn State Press has matched the volume's deep scholarship and rich bibliography with meticulous production, and many students of religion, political theory, and history will want this book on their shelves.

Murphy's analysis begins with an introductory exploration of some conventional misunderstandings. Toleration as a coherent ideal was not the same thing as accepting the realities of religious pluralism, nor was it initially the result of enlightened skeptics vanquishing doctrinaire authoritarians. Five chapters at the center of the book examine in detail the historical emergence of religious toleration as both practice and theory. The arguments between tolerationists and their opponents were shaped by two, overarching, moral imperatives: "conscience," the liberty of individuals to speak and act according to their genuine beliefs, and "community," the rights of communities and governing authorities to define and enforce minimal standards of respect and obligation among their members. Two final chapters raise interesting questions about liberal society's continuing commitment to religious toleration.

The historical chapters are based on an impressive range of primary sources and current scholarship, and part of their achievement is to set the basic facts straight against traditions of exaggeration, partisanship, and oversimplification. The author challenges us to engage in debates over toleration as they would have been experienced by contemporaries. What were the Puritan leaders of a fragile Massachusetts Bay community to do when faced with truly disruptive dissidents who challenged their authority on the basis of personal theologies? The chapter on mid-seventeenth-century England explains how radical the philosophy of toleration advocated by a handful of radicals really was, and separates this intellectual movement from the pragmatic toleration of Cromwell's government. The author underscores the intolerance of the

Anglican community in the later seventeenth century. William and Mary's Act of Toleration (1689), while justly famous for laying a long term "foundation for the gradual acceptance of religious minorities into English public life," was only a modest step forward at the time, since other laws ensured Anglican domination of the institutions of governance. In the author's analysis, John Locke contributed relatively little to the philosophy of toleration *per se*, though his famous *Letter Concerning Toleration* (1689) laid out "the most salient and commonly employed arguments of his contemporaries in favor of toleration." In this general historical context an expanded discussion of the problem posed by Catholicism might have been in order. England's pervasive and near paranoid anti-Catholicism aside, did Catholic orthodoxy not convey conceptualizations of conscience and community fundamentally incompatible with an essentially Protestant theory of toleration?

Penn thought deeply and wrote incisively about "liberty of conscience" as well as order in the community. In his province north of Maryland (where toleration was also practiced in the later seventeenth century until an Anglican establishment was imposed from England), Penn's view was that nonconformists should not be discriminated against so long as they confessed a belief in "the one almighty and eternal God" and held themselves "obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly in civil society." He defended full toleration for dissenting *ideas*, but he objected to any "pretense of toleration" as justification for allowing immoral behavior. The determination, however, that certain behavior, in Penn's words, "lay the ax to the root of human society" was not the exclusive domain of scriptural or even religious authority, but subject to reason and shared understandings of human nature and civil society.

The final chapters of the book examine the ways in which contemporary liberal political theory is both linked to and unlinked from its historical roots. The author argues that a general secularization of the idea of conscience may have unfortunate side effects, and that efforts to expand the "politics of conscience" into the "politics of identity" are troublesome. The critique of John Rawls, the influential liberal political theorist, strikes this reviewer as highly illuminating but overly polemical. Rawls's philosophy may not support the view that there should be a unique respect for *religiously* inspired conduct, but it treats seriously the problems of civil disobedience, conscientious refusal, and other tensions between conscience and community. Fundamentally at stake is the unique respect for human dignity involved in

public acceptance of moral choices based on individual belief and conscience. This book will help sustain that vital and contentious tradition.

JEFFERY K. SAWYER
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Wayne Bodle. *The Valley Forge Winter: Civilians and Soldiers in War*. (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002. Pp. xiii, 352, notes, bibliography, index, cloth \$35.00.)

Valley Forge, one of the most recognized chapters of American history, evokes images of half-starved, half-clothed farmers transformed under the guidance of Baron von Steuben into Washington's Continental Army, a professional force of sufficient skill and spirit to meet the military might of the British Empire. In *Valley Forge Winter*, Wayne Bodle pushes aside two centuries of mythology to show that contrary to popular perceptions, Washington's army was an able if not formidable fighting force when it *arrived* at Valley Forge, and that over the winter, it helped maintain the political legitimacy of the Revolution and a government teetering on the edge of irrelevance.

Washington's army marched into Valley Forge after a difficult 1777 military campaign. His men had spent the previous winter at Morristown, New Jersey, where, according to Bodle, the real transformation took place that made fighting men out of farmers. In September, at the battles of Brandywine and Germantown, the patriots made a respectable showing, but were unable to keep General William Howe's British troops out of Philadelphia. As redcoats settled into the city, Washington had to decide whether to send his men home to muster again in the spring, or to keep them in winter camps outside Philadelphia. He chose the latter, for political as well as military reasons.

Washington had to consider the welfare of his army, the anxieties of Pennsylvania's state government, and the expectations of the Continental Congress, which had relocated across the Susquehanna River to York. The General hoped that keeping the army in the field would help recruitment for the 1778 campaign. State officials, influenced by Quaker tradition that expected the government to protect its citizens in time of war, wanted the Continentals to deter or defend against a British assault. Congress also looked to Washington for protection, but more important, it recognized the

country's precarious political legitimacy, and that the survival of the Revolution might well depend upon a continual military presence. Washington therefore ordered his men into camps near Philadelphia, with the greatest concentration of troops west of the city at Valley Forge.

The Continentals endured the trials of a harsh winter, recurring supply shortages, and less than supportive civilians, to emerge the following spring with new recruits and rising spirits. In March and April, Nathanael Greene's steady hand improved the army's supply system while Steuben stiffened the troops' discipline and polished their close order drill. Greene and Steuben's improvements allowed Washington to concentrate on the upcoming campaign. In June, when red-coated columns began evacuating Philadelphia in favor of New York City, the Continentals moved out of Valley Forge and confronted the British at Monmouth. According to Bodle, this engagement was not the debut of a new or even significantly improved American army. Washington's men demonstrated the same qualities that carried them through 1777: a willingness to attack under difficult circumstances and a stubborn streak in the face of a numerically superior enemy. Moreover, Monmouth was the last major engagement in the north, which denied the Americans further opportunity to show what improvements, if any, had been made over the winter. "It is not entirely clear," Bodle argues, "that the men who [fought at Brandywine and Germantown in 1777] would have fared much worse at Monmouth if Steuben had spurned Congress's commission and returned to Europe" (p. 249).

So what then is the significance of Valley Forge? Bodle writes that "the army's experience at Valley Forge (including its drilling by Steuben) schooled its members less for withstanding bayonet charges or countering enemy flanking attacks than for the timeless imperatives of military life, . . . 'hurry up and wait'" (p. 252). The army's improved discipline and drill prepared them for the frustrations and boredom of camp life as they assisted the local militia in a "continuous, low-grade partisan war" that simmered around Philadelphia (p. 251). Furthermore, the army's continued presence in Pennsylvania muzzled Loyalists and ensured political stability for the region's patriot governments. In sum, Valley Forge gave "soldiers a deeper identification with and pride in their craft, and thus [made] them better able to withstand the rigors of military routine rather than the terrors of the British bayonet charge" (p. 13).

Valley Forge Winter successfully blends social and military history to reveal the challenges Washington, Congress, and the Pennsylvania state

government faced in early 1778 as they negotiated the best course for the army, the local populace, and the Revolution. Bodle further shows how both civilians and soldiers adapted and learned to coexist when the war settled around Philadelphia. His month-by-month account of the 1778 winter is meticulous and well-researched. Some readers may find the detail burdensome, and a map clearly showing relevant sites would have been helpful. Nevertheless, Bodle's fine study should be required reading for students of the war's middle years and for those interested in civil/military interaction. While it is doubtful this book will eliminate the myths associated with Valley Forge, it deserves a prominent place on Revolutionary War bookshelves.

HARRY S. LAVER

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Thomas P. Slaughter. *Exploring Lewis and Clark: Reflections on Men and Wilderness*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003. Pp. xviii, 231, notes, acknowledgements, index, cloth \$24.00.)

In October 1809, three years after he and William Clark had led forty men back from the Pacific Ocean, Meriwether Lewis shot himself in a fit of depression along the Natchez Trace. He had scarcely begun the daunting task of preparing the journals of the Corps of Discovery for publication.

After Lewis's suicide, the War of 1812 further delayed the publication of a full report of the expedition. By the time Nicholas Biddle finished a one-volume summary in 1814, pirated reports of their expedition had spoiled the market. Biddle's edition sold slowly as subsequent adventurers steadily eclipsed Lewis and Clark's fame. By the end of the nineteenth century, they were almost forgotten. Henry Adams scarcely mentioned them in his classic *History of the Administration of Thomas Jefferson* (published in 1890 and long regarded as the best account of the Louisiana Purchase). Lewis and Clark elbowed their way back to the forefront of western American history only with the help of two world's fairs and the publication of their journals.

In Chicago at the Columbian Exposition of 1893 the great historian Frederick Jackson Turner announced his famous Frontier Thesis, which rooted the democratic character of America in the repeated frontier

experiences of settlers pushing west into lands they regarded as “empty.” (Neither the officials who announced that the frontier was no more—all lands having been minimally settled according to the census of 1890—nor Professor Turner paid much attention to displaced Native-Americans.)

When St. Louis celebrated the centenary of the Louisiana Purchase with another world’s fair a decade later, Americans began to embrace the Corps of Discovery as national heroes. The 1904 fair missed the centenary of the Purchase by a year but neatly coincided with the anniversary of Lewis and Clark’s departure from St. Louis. That same year, Turner’s Wisconsin colleague, Reuben Gold Thwaites, published the eight-volume edition that brought the full journals to public view for the first time. Books and articles, popular and esoteric, soon followed. Enlarged to mythic dimensions in the American imagination, the frontier odyssey of Lewis and Clark quickly supplanted the more complex and important international diplomatic and political story of the Louisiana Purchase.

For the sesquicentennial of 1953, Bernard DeVoto published a much-admired one-volume abridgement of the journals that is still in print. More recently, between 1983 and 2002, Gary Moulton and his team of editors published the journals in a definitive eight-volume edition that replaces Thwaites’s shelf-worn tomes. From these bountiful sources Stephen Ambrose and Ken Burns, the reigning bards, spun the heroic tale of Lewis and Clark into the best-selling book and television documentary that grace the shelves of bicentennial memorabilia.

Thomas P. Slaughter’s fascinating new book, *Exploring Lewis and Clark: Reflections on Men and Wilderness*, stands upon the shoulders of the past century’s scholarship, but it also stands some of that scholarship on its head. Where Thomas Jefferson proclaimed “courage undaunted,” Thomas Slaughter rediscovers daunting challenges that inspired both anxiety and valor. He demonstrates that the Missouri country, like every wilderness worthy of a quest, confronted Lewis and Clark and their companions with fearsome topographical obstacles *and* spiritual trials.

Through close attention to the explorers’ own accounts of their journey, Slaughter probes the threats that confronted Lewis and Clark at every turn. Readers may often wish that Slaughter’s text had a few more salient details to prompt one’s memory of the journal narratives under scrutiny. Clearly, however, as Lewis and Clark encountered Native Americans and heard their stories and legends, the forbidding western terrain became a foreboding moral landscape. Snakes were a constant worry, for example, but a den of

rattlesnakes is even more ominous below rock cliffs bearing pictographs “of the Devil and other things.”

Equally unsettling was the reception offered by the native tribes to Lewis’s slave, York. “Their women are very fond of caressing our men,” Clark noted in his journal, but especially fond of York. To partake of the mystery and “great medicine” of York’s blackness, Arikara warriors stood guard at the doors of their homes to prevent York from being interrupted as he had intercourse with their wives.

Just as Lewis and Clark were not the first Europeans to penetrate the Missouri watershed, Slaughter is not the first serious scholar to ask whether they really were as successful as their myth suggests—that distinction may belong to historian James P. Ronda. Nevertheless, the interplay of success and failure has always contributed to the timeless appeal of these modern sons of brave Ulysses, and Thomas P. Slaughter’s *Exploring Lewis and Clark* deepens our genuine appreciation for the Corps of Discovery and their brave trek through the newly purchased American West.

JON KUKLA

Patrick Henry Memorial Foundation

Joseph Gibbs. *Three Years in the Bloody Eleventh: The Campaigns of a Pennsylvania Reserves Regiment*. (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002. Pp. xxi, 378, notes, bibliography, index, cloth \$35.00.)

The regimental history can offer an excellent lens through which to view the American Civil War in microcosm. It can portray campaigning with detail and individual character development that give it immediacy, while also chronicling the home front through the relationships of soldiers with family, friends, and social setting. Of course it takes diligent research and a measure of literary skill to prevent this kind of history from deteriorating into a simple record of combat minutiae, but Joseph Gibbs, a veteran newspaper reporter and editor, brings these attributes to this first history of the Bloody Eleventh, making his volume an exemplary one.

Governor Andrew Gregg Curtin persuaded the General Assembly to authorize a Pennsylvania Reserve Corps on May 15, 1861, to provide a force guarding the Commonwealth’s southern border after the militia went off to

join the Union forces in Virginia. The thirteen infantry regiments and one regiment each of cavalry and artillery thus formed ended up leaving the state anyway, mostly campaigning with the Army of the Potomac and mainly in the Pennsylvania Reserves Division. This division quickly attained special distinction, under the leadership of such exceptional commanders as John F. Reynolds and George G. Meade.

The Fortieth Pennsylvania Volunteer Regiment became the Eleventh Reserve Regiment, recruited in Cambria, Indiana, Butler, Fayette, Armstrong, Westmoreland, and Jefferson Counties. Indulging in a bit of bravado, its soldiers called themselves the "Bloody Eleventh" before they experienced battle, but the designation came to be earned: "Of 2,144 Union regiments raised during the war, the Eleventh Reserves suffered the eighth highest percentage of men killed in battle," 16.6 percent (p. ix). Earlier even than most regiments, the Eleventh suffered the drastic shrinkage that resulted from the Federal War Department's failure to replace losses systematically. By the beginning of the Antietam Campaign in September 1862, it was about company size, some 100 men.

Part of the reason was that in its first major action, at Gaines's Mill on June 27, 1862 during the Seven Days Battles, most of the regiment was surrounded and captured, its first colonel, Thomas F. Gallagher, being among the latter. The exact number of those lost is uncertain, but another 130 were detached to guard a hospital on Craney Island adjacent to Fort Monroe, Virginia, so that the regiment was repressed in the field by a remnant formed around Captain Daniel S. Porter's Company B. Fortunately, the losses to capture came early enough in the war that the rival belligerents still exchanged prisoners, which for the Eleventh happened on July 22, 1862, but many had been too badly wounded to return to active duty soon. Colonel Gallagher had to resign his commission because of poor health, effective December 17, 1862, whereupon Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel M. Jackson took command. The troops from Craney Island did not return until after Antietam.

Still, the Eleventh conducted some recruiting back home on its own, and it managed to rebuild enough to become renowned as well as bloody. Even the fragment at Antietam seems to have broken a charge of the First Texas, a regiment that had been among its conquerors at Gaines's Mill. With the rest of the Pennsylvania Reserve Division, it made the only promising penetration of the Confederate lines at Fredericksburg. After garrison duty in Washington during the Chancellorsville Campaign, it returned to the main army for

Gettysburg, where it helped hold the north slope of Little Round Top. It performed solidly in the historically neglected Virginia actions of the autumn of 1863, and it battled its way out of a trap in the Wilderness. In its last action, on May 20, 1864, it turned back a rebel attack at Bethesda Church a few miles from where it had first experienced battle two years before.

Along the way the soldiers shared vicariously in the political combats and economic vicissitudes at home and, like most Union regiments, warmed gradually to emancipation of the slaves. Goss has had to piece together his history from a scattering of letters, newspaper reports, and pension folders, because he found no one primary source that encompasses the whole story of the Eleventh. That is, he has had to do more than the usual share of historical detective work in the odd corners of libraries. His labors did not deprive him of a gentle sense of humor, exhibited for example in his understated characterization of Major-General John Pope as "a man whose unfortunate sense of bombast has clouded most accounts of his service in the east" (p. 143). This reviewer is happy to write the customary closing of an assessment of a book such as this: anyone interested in Pennsylvania soldiers in the Civil War ought to read it.

RUSSELL F. WEIGLEY
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James A. Butler, editor. Owen Wister, *Romney and Other New Works about Philadelphia*. (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001. Pp. 328, cloth \$29.95.)

Early in his writing career, Harvard-educated and Pennsylvania-born patrician Owen Wister (1860–1938), best known today as America's first and most prominent writer of the western genre primarily due to the 1902 publication of the wildly popular *The Virginian*, bemoaned what he perceived as his fellow Philadelphian's "civic instinct of disparagement," confiding to his diary that "the only people who, as a class, find fault with what I write are my acquaintances who live in the same town" (p. xxiv). However, contemporary scholars, Philadelphians in particular, are apt to be intrigued by Wister's complex portrayal of his birthplace in *Romney and Other New Works about Philadelphia*, an unfinished novel of manners accompanied by three essays written by Wister, aptly compiled, edited, and introduced by James A. Butler.

At the behest of Theodore Roosevelt, whose political policies of reform became associated with Progressivism while his rugged sensibilities became synonymous with the “wild west,” so much so that Wister dedicated *The Virginian* to his Harvard classmate and mentor, Wister began writing *Romney*, his denunciation of the burgeoning capitalistic avarice invading Philadelphia, which equally served as his textual challenge to his fellow citizens’ increasing apathy to reform. It was to be, as Wister wrote Roosevelt, “[a] picture of Philadelphia, and its passing from the old world to the new order” (p. xxxix). In *Romney*, originally entitled *Dividends in Democracy*, a 48,000-word fragment written from 1912 to 1915, Wister indicts the greed and corruption of early Main Line Philadelphia society, infiltrated by the bustling commerce predicated by the Pennsylvania Railroad, and an apathetic citizenry that self-complacently stymies, or blithely ignores for that matter, efforts of social reform.

Erroneously marked as *Monopolis* by early Wister biographers who simply adopted Wister’s fictional name for the novel’s Philadelphia setting, Wister’s third and final novel begins in 1911 Philadelphia with the amusing and familiar narrator, Augustus, who also served as the narrative voice to Wister’s second novel, *Lady Baltimore* (1906). Like *Romney*, this novel of manners critiquing southern aristocracy is equally reminiscent of the genre popularized by Wister’s contemporaries, Edith Wharton and Henry James. Ironically, while Augustus remains an intimate character for *Romney*’s readers, its title character, Romney Hythe, remains a figurative zygote, as the novel immediately reverts its plot to the mid 1880s, the era of Romney’s conception—and remains there. Alas, Wister never completes his novel and, thus, its protagonist abides unborn. Ergo, along with its embryonic title character, Philadelphia, too, seemingly remains suspended in stasis, for the city vainly attempts to reconcile the sundry and varied influences of tradition, aristocracy, democracy, technology, and capitalism while its citizens refuse to acknowledge or ameliorate the miscarriages of justice that ensue as a result of a rapidly changing culture.

Editor James A. Butler wisely accompanies *Romney* with three essays that equally indict or address Philadelphia’s social inequities, civic responsibilities, and the necessity of culture as a means of reform. Juxtaposed with the unfinished novel, Wister’s rhetoric resonates with a challenge to the City of Brotherly Love regarding its social and civic responsibilities in a democratic state. Perhaps more important, Wister, “Philadelphian to the core” (p. xxv), as Butler observes, depicts his beloved region in all its imperfections to

better question a relatively embryonic national identity, poised as it was on the brink of the early twentieth century and teetering upon contradictory ideals of democracy and citizenship. Thus, in coalescing Wister's fictional work and essays about Philadelphia, Butler delivers a concise representation of Wister's imperatives, which postmodern readers who continue to struggle with similar socioeconomic inequities and sociopolitical ideals nearly a century later will not find nearly so fragmentary nor incomplete after all.

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Ann Marie T. Cammarota. *Pavements in the Garden: The Suburbanization of Southern New Jersey, Adjacent to the City of Philadelphia, 1769 to the Present*. (Madison NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2001. Pp. 221, epilogue, notes, bibliography, index, cloth \$46.50.)

Negotiating the increasingly congested New Jersey road network in the twenty-first century, it is instructive to remember that once upon a time, the Garden State offered a bucolic alternative to the pulsating city life available in nearby New York City and Philadelphia. Explaining how suburbs emerged on the eastern side of the Delaware River, how they have changed the landscape, and what challenges they now pose to planners, builders, and homeowners is at the heart of this well-researched book.

A revision of Cammarota's Temple University doctoral dissertation, *Pavements in the Garden* highlights entrepreneurship and transportation innovations that created and shaped New Jersey's suburbs. Some of these communities, like Haddonfield and Collingwood, began as affluent commuter suburbs and remain so. Some, like Camden, emerged as vibrant cities in their own right, then suffered serious decline as manufacturing jobs moved south and nearby rural properties began growing new suburbs. Still others, notably Cherry Hill, aggressively recruited commercial developers and hoteliers, redefining themselves as edge cities—not quite suburban in ambience, but clearly not crowded cities, either. In every phase of suburban development, satellite suburbs have sprouted, abetted by expanding roadways, new commercial hubs, and, since the New Deal era, federal tax policies.

New Jersey's early southern suburbs were ferry suburbs. Philadelphians with the resources to buy land and build on it could enjoy both country quiet

and the chance to make their living in the city. A place like Camden in the early nineteenth century offered what any rising modern suburb offers two centuries later: relatively cheap land, low taxes, and good transportation connections. Camden's town fathers, however, paid Philadelphia the compliment of imitation. They wanted urban infrastructure, amenities, public education, commerce, churches, and culture. They gradually developed each of these en route to incorporation as a city in 1828. As industry added to the mix over time, Camden forged its own identity, sustained for a century as a formidable city whose prosperity depended on good manufacturing jobs.

The forces that contributed to Camden's decline are embedded in Cammarota's account of the rise of Philadelphia suburbs. Before World War II Camden mostly failed at efforts to annex adjacent towns, while after the war it saw thousands of good jobs head south. At the same time, suburban growth accelerated. Cammarota draws on the work of Margaret Marsh, Clifford E. Clark, and others to stress the significance of cultural forces early in the twentieth century. Popular magazines highlighted the virtues of suburbs as family sanctuaries, unlike the dirty and increasingly "corrupt" cities. The availability of cheap land on the fringes of the city and infrastructure improvements, notably new bridges and roads, reinforced cultural cues and made it easy for people to commute readily to comfortable homes beyond the reach of urban crime and municipal taxes. The Delaware River Bridge, which opened in 1926, turned Camden into a thruway to more appealing suburban communities. More generally, the growing road network "bypassed the cities and linked the rural townships in the outer rims to one another and to distant locales" (p. 157).

Cammarota mentions but does not emphasize the role of the federal government in subsidizing suburban growth through the federal tax code, cheap FHA mortgages in the suburbs (while discouraging investment in cities through redlining), and tax policies encouraging new commercial development in the suburbs. Scholars like Kenneth Jackson, Thomas Hanchett, Elizabeth Cohen, and David Schuyler have demonstrated the extraordinary advantages suburbs enjoyed in competing for investment dollars against the center cities, a point that tends to be lost in Cammarota's focus on individual entrepreneurs who helped direct suburban growth.

That said, the author deserves credit for confronting issues now being vigorously argued in suburbia and exurbia just about everywhere. If the process of suburbanization is inexorable, and there will always be new developments replacing older suburbs as the "new best place" to live, what happens to open

space? What happens to community if everyone who has the money chooses to build the largest possible house on the largest affordable tract of former farmland? Towards the end of *Pavements in the Garden*, Cammarota briefly discusses the Mt. Laurel case and its role in bringing low-income housing into communities that would not otherwise welcome it, as well as the potential of recreating small town life through the New Urbanism. But fundamentally she has written a work of history, not sociology. Cammarota emphasizes the effects of market forces in shaping the suburbia we know, and sensibly connects cities, “edge cities,” and suburbs within what has become for all intents and purposes a megalopolis.

As a narrative history, *Pavements in the Garden* shows ample evidence of its origins as a doctoral dissertation. Trying to cover so much ground chronologically and geographically, Cammarota devotes most of her attention to policies, names, and data rather than life as lived in suburbia. *Pavements in the Garden* does not bring any of the communities it describes fully to life. Developers, planners, and mayors—indeed, the suburban towns that are the centerpiece of this book—are marched on stage and soon disappear because Cammarota has so much ground to cover. Nonetheless, *Pavements In the Garden* deserves its place on a growing shelf of monographs that shed light on one of the most important story-lines in American history: the deconcentration of urban population and the emergence of a dominant suburban culture. If *Pavements in the Garden* does not sing a song of suburbia, it certainly lays out the lyrics in a most sensible and useful fashion.

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