209-11. 'Country Cemetery.'

21 In the case of Mount Auburn, the rural cemetery was conceived also as a center for scientific horticulture. Instrumental in its creation in 1831 was the Massachusetts Horticultural Society and its co-founder, Henry A.S. Dearborn. They expected that the cemetery would include a section for an experimental garden which would "bolster the American agricultural economy." Nationalism and scientific ideals thus influenced the founders of the first rural cemetery. Within a short time, however, the plans for a horticultural sector were contested by the lot proprietors, who favored more privacy, and the plan was abandoned by 1835. Linden-Ward, Silent City on a Hill, 192.


27 Blanche Linden-Ward, Silent City on a Hill: Landscapes of Memory and Boston's Mount Auburn Cemetery (Columbus, 1989), 295.

28 A.J. Downing, "Public Cemeteries and Public Gardens," July 1849, in Downing, Rural Essays, 159. Downing described the rise of the rural cemeteries as a remarkable illustration of public taste, considering that only 20 years earlier one found nothing better than common graveyards overrun with high grass, weeds and thistles. He was not impressed by the New Burying Ground at New Haven, where "a few willow trees broke the monotony of the scene." (154)

29 Ibid., 183.


31 Stilgoe, Common Landscape, 220.

32 Stannard, "The Brief, Sentimental Age of the Rural Cemetery," 54; Linden-Ward, Silent City on a Hill, 192.

33 In the case of Mount Auburn, the rural cemetery was conceived also as a center for scientific horticulture. Instrumental in its creation in 1831 was the Massachusetts Horticultural Society and its co-founder, Henry A.S. Dearborn. They expected that the cemetery would include a section for an experimental garden which would "bolster the American agricultural economy." Nationalism and scientific ideals thus influenced the founders of the first rural cemetery. Within a short time, however, the plans for a horticultural sector were contested by the lot proprietors, who favored more privacy, and the plan was abandoned by 1835. Linden-Ward, Silent City on a Hill, 174, 175, 184, 207, 209-11. By the same author, see, "Strange but Gentle Pleasure Grounds: Tourist and Leisure Uses of Nineteenth-Century Rural Cemeteries," in Richard E. Meyer, ed., Cemeteries and Gravemarkers: Voices of American Culture (Ann Arbor, 1989), 293-328. The significance of Mount Auburn is examined in Stanley French, "The Cemetery as a Cultural Institution: The Establishment of Mount Auburn and the 'Rural Cemetery' Movement," American Quarterly 26 (March 1974), 37-59.

34 The Civil War, with its carnage, punctured the romantic sentimentality about death which sustained the rural cemetery. Post-war municipal park systems and other sources of recreation diminished the appeal of the cemeteries as pleasure grounds. Science and secularism made it increasingly difficult to sustain the faith in the after-life so central to the cemetery belief in the communion of living and dead.

35 The project received substantial support from Torrence M. Hunt, Sr., and was sponsored by the Hunt Foundations of Pittsburgh. Its photographer was Clyde Hare.

36 Even worse, Allegheny Cemetery was never addressed by scholars in the pages of the Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine, recently superseded by Pittsburgh History.

37 Sloane, The Last Great Necessity, 103.

38 "Falconer: Horticulturist, Editor, Park and Cemetery Executive," The Cemeterian (1975), 26-32. This publication was brought to my attention by Robert Gangwere, editor of Carnegie Magazine.

39 Kidney, Allegheny Cemetery, 4, 54. I am informed by Professor Edward Mulley, Jr., at the University of Pittsburgh that the Olmsted firm prepared a 68-page report for Allegheny Cemetery dated Dec. 28, 1901. Since Falconer became superintendent in 1903, the report might have influenced his reconstruction program.

Blackcoats among the Delaware: David Zeisberger on the Ohio Frontier

by Earl P. Olmstead

THE mission program among Native Americans on the Ohio frontier was among the greatest challenges undertaken by the early Moravian Church in America. In this book, Earl Olmstead provides a careful and illuminating account of the life work of the best-known Moravian missionary, David Zeisberger, and of his assistant and successor, Benjamin Mortimer.
It was Zeisberger who began and led the Moravian mission work among the Delaware Indians in the Ohio country along the Muskingum River.

Part I begins with an introductory section recounting Zeisberger’s earlier life and then focuses on the years 1776 to 1798, a period of continuing disruption in the lives of Zeisberger and the Delaware converts who looked to him for leadership. During the Revolutionary War, they tried to stay neutral, difficult for anyone at the time but especially difficult for Christianized Indians. The British and their Indian allies accused the converts of helping the Americans, and the Americans suspected them of siding with the British and the Indians. This web of suspicion culminated in the massacre by American militiamen of 90 Delaware people at the Gnadenhutten mission in 1782. In the wake of this tragedy, Zeisberger and the converts were forced to leave their settlements and live as refugees beyond the western frontier.

Following the Revolutionary War, the Moravians tried and failed to get title to land on the Muskingum. The Ohio Indians disavowed the treaties they had been forced to sign following the Treaty of Paris. As American settlers began to crowd into the new territory, the Indians formed a confederacy and went to war in an attempt to prevent their land from being taken. Both sides again suspected the Moravian missionaries and Delaware converts of aiding the other. As a result, they continued to live as refugees, moving northward in 1791 into Canada in an effort to find safety and a measure of peace. They stayed there until after the Treaty of Greenville ended this war for the Northwest Territory.

Olmstead follows this long and arduous odyssey in great detail, helping the reader to understand the unending disruption suffered by these valiant people. It was always a struggle to move the community. Sometimes they were forced to leave their crops unharvested and to endure near-starvation afterward. Their possessions had to be carried overland in backpacks or on waterways in precarious log canoes. They often had to deal with bad weather enroute. And when they finally arrived at their destination, they had to find a new site and begin another village from scratch. From 1776 to 1798, Zeisberger and the converts moved their community 10 times.

Finally in 1798, they were able to return to Ohio and settle more permanently on a tract of land not far from Gnadenhutten. Part II covers the history of this new settlement which the converts named Goshen.

"From 1776 to 1798, Zeisberger and the converts moved their community 10 times."

Despite high hopes, Goshen was never very successful. The Delaware population peaked at 71 in 1800 and then began a precipitous decline, reaching a low of 22 by the time of Zeisberger’s death in 1808. According to Olmstead, this decline was caused by several factors: the use of converts at Goshen to seed new missions further west; dissension following the suicide of a member of the community; fear among the converts that Americans might repeat the massacre of 1782; the growing problem of alcoholism among the converts; and the tensions of the War of 1812. Neither Olmstead nor his sources explicitly say so, but the reported behavior of the converts suggests an additional reason for the decline of Goshen: the Delaware people may well have suffered severe depression in the face of proliferating American settlements which threatened to destroy them and their way of life. In addition to recounting the chronology of the Goshen mission, Part II includes a fascinating account of everyday life in Goshen and reveals in some detail the intriguing blend of Delaware and Moravian cultures.

Part III is a 63-page collection of biographies of many residents of the Goshen mission. Olmstead has woven these biographies around the records of the 44 burials in the Goshen cemetery, including 40 Indians and 4 whites, using references in the official mission diaries. The result is a rich and valuable account of the triumphs and hardships of these Indians on the frontier—torn between conflicting allegiances to their Indian heritage and Indian families on the one hand and to their Christian God and Christian teachers on the other.

Olmstead’s major sources were the mission diaries, kept by Zeisberger himself until the move to Goshen, Ohio in 1798 and by his assistant, Mortimer, after that. Both are rich and detailed sources, but they contrast with each other in the kind of data each includes. Zeisberger’s diary emphasizes the chronological events in mission history, whereas Mortimer’s account not only gives chronology, but depicts the rhythm of life in the course of a day and the passage of the seasons. Olmstead has made good use of this difference. He uses Zeisberger’s record to recount the moving story of the years spent in exile and Mortimer’s to tell the equally moving story of the attempts to establish a stable life in Goshen under the advancing American settlers.

Olmstead says that “Mortimer’s daily record was a microcosm of the four hundred years’ struggle between the white Europeans and the native American Indian”—implying that both the European and the native American point of view is reflected in that record. From the quotations that Olmstead uses, this implication appears to be at least partially true for both Zeisberger’s and Mortimer’s records, but especially for Mortimer’s. Mortimer describes Indian behaviors and reports Indian points of view. But Mortimer’s interpretations of these behaviors, while often sympathetic to the Indians, are decidedly European. In a few instanc-
es, Olmstead appears to accept at face value the judgements of the diarists. On occasion he himself labels Indians outside the Moravian fold as "haughty" or "arrogant" and refers to the "unpredictable and capricious nature of the Indian personality."

Ideally, Olmstead's account would reflect the Indians' points of view as much as the Europeans', but students of Native American history know it is difficult to find primary sources that represent the Indian view of their world during this early period. On the other hand, the records kept by Europeans can often reveal the underlying Native American viewpoint if analyzed carefully for bias. Perhaps Olmstead chose not to make this analysis because he read the Zeisberger diaries in English translations from the original German. (The Mortimer diaries were written in English to begin with. Obviously an analysis of the subtleties of bias would best be done using the original diaries.)

In general, however, Olmstead has achieved remarkable success in recreating these turbulent years on the Ohio frontier. Anyone seeking to understand the early European settlement of the Ohio country or to study the relationship between whites and native Americans during the late 18th century and early 19th century will want to read this detailed, useful, and moving account of the Moravian mission program under David Zeisberger.

Beverly P. Smaby
Clarion University

Grandmothers, Mothers, and Daughters: Oral Histories of Three Generations of Ethnic American Women
by Corinne Azen Krause

Grandmothers, Mothers, and Daughters illustrates in an interesting manner C. Wright Mills's description of the inter-twining of history and biography in The Sociological Imagination (Oxford University Press, 1959). Historians have generally been better at developing this theme than have sociologists, although we are improving as we leave positivism behind. Krause's tape-recorded oral histories of six families vividly show the ways in which biographies of women reflect major events experienced by American society and by some of the European countries from which its immigrants came.

Krause selected two families from each of the ethnic groups that contributed the latest large European immigration: Italian, Russian Jewish, and "Slavic." Each family included an adult daughter (minimum age 20), mother, and maternal grandmother — hence the book's title. Before whittling down to the 18 women in the book, 75 women were interviewed from each ethnic group, for a total of 225 women. The original interviews took place in 1975-1976 and the author has brought the family news up-to-date for this volume. Her return to the families for the newest items is a good idea, since having become acquainted with them, we want to know what has happened in the intervening time.

All the families, or at least the middle generation, resided in the Pittsburgh area at the time of the initial interviews, although many had moved in prior times. The grandmothers were either immigrants or the children of immigrants, coming from very poor, often rural backgrounds in Europe. All were born between 1887 and 1902. (Only one of the grandmothers remained alive when the follow-up contacts were made.) This eldest generation illustrates the reality of chains of migration, the importance of national or religious identity, and the need to settle in ethnic neighborhoods. Without family and neighbors, these women would be, and some were, lonely in their lack of knowledge of English and American culture. Their level of education was too low to allow easy acculturation.

The "mothers" were born in 1924 or earlier and experienced the Great Depression as well as World War II during their formative years. They were often embarrassed by their ethnic identity, wishing to be accepted by American peers. The third generation was born, with two exceptions, in the post-World War II baby boom era. Inter-generational upward mobility, typical of European immigrants, is evident here, especially by the Jewish families which turned to education for the women early on.

The strength of Grandmothers, Mothers, and Daughters lies in the fulfillment of what the title promises: we learn the construction of reality and the sense of history of three generations of women who have close, though not conflict-free, relationships. Influenced by what happened in the world, as in the case of one of the Jewish daughters who spent time on a kibbutz in Israel, these women were also affected by the steel-based economy of the community. At a basic level, however, they lived with and through not only each other, but also the men with whom they were associated. Economic and social needs were met, more or less satisfactorily, by fathers and husbands in the first two generations, while the youngest one tried to combine family and paid employment, in a typically modern way. The histories illustrate the importance of informal networks, each woman being dependent upon, and contributing to, this resource for economic, social, and service supports.

As Krause points out, "we know about men only from the perceptions of the women." (211) This does not distract from the book, because it is exactly how the women live — through their perceptions. The author, however, misunderstands my own Polish Americans: Status Competition in an Ethnic Community (Prentice Hall, 1976). She refers to this work with the following statement: "A Slavic woman could achieve status only through her dowry, her children or her hus-