Book Reviews

By Lillian B. Miller. *In Pursuit of Fame: Rembrandt Peale, 1778-1860.*

(Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1993. Pp. 320. $60.00.)

Charles Willson Peale (1741-1829) was a multifaceted genius in an age of giants. On friendly terms with Franklin and Washington, he was a scientist, a gardener, founder of America's first museum, a taxidermist, and above all an artist. Instead of a family Bible, births and deaths were recorded in a classic biographical dictionary of artists. His children were named after artists and he believed that anyone—male or female—could draw and paint. His sons Titian, Raphaelle, Rubens and Rembrandt, were all painters. They lived in the shadow of their father who was clearly the "great man" to the family as well as his children's teacher, employer, agent, and banker. History contains many children of famous fathers who avoided competing with them, who yearned for a better or equal career. Rembrandt Peale clearly lived his life "in pursuit of fame," alternately emulating and fleeing from the dominating Charles Willson. The most talented of the sons, towards the end of his long life he finally achieved some modicum of fame. It was only through marriage to his second wife, the widowed Harriet Caney, that he became financially secure.

We are living during an academic renaissance devoted to the Peales. In recent years there have been several new books about Charles and a monograph on Raphaelle, as well as exhibitions; but, *In Pursuit of Fame* is the first full monograph devoted to Rembrandt Peale. It is a magnificent work of scholarship. Prepared in conjunction with a major retrospective exhibition mounted at the National Portrait Gallery from November 6, 1992 through February 7, 1993. This is not a catalog, but an independent tome reflective of the highest standards of contemporary scholarship. It is magnificently researched, well written, and equally well documented. Both the principal author Lillian B. Miller and Carol Eaton Hevner, whose essay "The Paintings of Rembrandt Peale: Character and Conventions" is also included, are to be commended for their diligence in tracing and clarifying a very long and an exceedingly complex career.

The text is divided into four parts: "His Father's Son, 1778-1802," "Foreign Travels, 1802-1811," "Exhibitions and Museums, 1811-1828," and "Old Masters and Public Education, 1828-1860;" and each is subdivided into chapters. A selection of chapter titles further illuminates Rembrandt's range: "The Mamoth, 1800-1802,"
"A Rendezvous for Taste: Peale's Baltimore Museum, 1813-1822," and "A Victorian Artist." Rembrandt Peale was precocious. His earliest known work, and his first painting, his very assured self portrait, was painted in 1791 when he was thirteen. His "Rubens Peale with a Geranium," an icon of American Art, was painted in 1801 when the artist was twenty-three. Throughout his life he was primarily a portraitist, but he wanted, and needed more. Wanting to strike it rich by capitalizing on America's changing tastes and moods, he always seemed to be at the wrong place at the wrong time. His career as a businessman was especially unfortunate. Founding "Peale's Baltimore Museum" in emulation of his father's cash cow, "The Philadelphia Museum," he barely met expenses. He further weakened his finances investing in a premature scheme to light Baltimore by gaslight. He did capitalize on having had Washington sit for him, and painted numerous likenesses of our first President. He painted a gallery of grand historical, biblical and patriotic canvases that were economically successful when exhibited. But none was the financial blockbuster he yearned for. He painted Hudson River School-style landscapes and copied old masters, but the big prize alluded him. He was, however, esteemed by his artistic colleagues. In 1836, at the age of fifty-eight, a man who had painted professionally for forty five years, had traveled to Europe five times, and crosscrossed the Eastern United States, succeeded John Trumbull as president of the American Academy of Fine Arts.

Interestingly, Rembrandt achieved his most significant public appreciation as the author of Graphics: A Manual of Drawings and Writing, for the Use of Schools and Families, first published in 1836. Destined to go through many editions, it was among the first attempts to introduce drawing into public school curriculums and to highlight the relationship between drawing and public design. He had some fame, but never fortune. In 1862, after his death, the content of his studio was sold at auction at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, which he had helped found with his father. The sale realized $4,673. In Pursuit of Fame does better by Rembrandt Peale than his contemporaries. It recognizes his importance to American history and in its many illustrations, including a generous collection of color plates, it provides a feast for the eye.
Irwin Richman, Pennsylvania State University at Harrisburg


It is no small measure of the achievement of Stephanie Wolf’s magnificent contribution to the Harper-Collins series on “Everyday Life in America” that she almost makes us forget the impossibility of her assignment. Eighteenth-century America presents the historian more and more disparate societies in more diverse stages of development than seventeenth-century America does; yet it provides none of the unity that national markets and media, national transportation and communication systems, national religious bureaucracies and a consolidated national government affords scholars seeking a coherent comprehension of subsequent centuries.

Wolf does full justice to the invincible variety of the maturing colonies and of the infant nation. She reckons steadily and searchingly with rich differences of region, religion, race, and ethnicity. She nevers mistakes America for merely its males, or its English inhabitants, or its elites. She attends consistently and consequentially to Indians and Africans as well as to Europeans, to women as well as to men, to scrabblers and scramblers as well as to the genteel. She understands that the country was truly country in the eighteenth century, more rural than urban by far and increasingly more frontier than anything else.

Yet, somehow, she does all this without ever drowning in the variety she insists upon and celebrates. She finds effective foci and traces intriguing trends. Her command of the sources is magisterial, her prose swift and vivid, her sense of social process sure. She touches the wellsprings of everyday life in early America—and of the meanings that it might have had for a wide array of early Americans—as no one has ever done before.

Wolf divides her account into three parts. The first, longest, and most original part treats family life. The second and third parts take up the worlds of work and social relations. But such schematic partition cannot convey the density of detail and the thick filaments of insight—into the rhythms of daylight and dark, the seasons fecund and fallow, the ambiguities of isolation and dependence—that pervade the separate parts and connect them in intricate integrity.

Wolf is, to take just one example, among our foremost authorities on the consumer revolution of the eighteenth century. Here she tracks its effects on families,
on livelihoods, and on communities alike. She captures those effects in a resonant comparison of early immigrants to the New World, crossing the ocean with all their essential possessions in a couple of chests, and early pioneers in the trans-Appalachian west, commandeering great Conestoga wagons to carry the commodities that had come to seem essential on the new frontiers of the nineteenth century.

Wolf is also, to take just one more example, among our preeminent interpreters of early American material culture. Here she appeals to artifacts to illuminate domestic, economic, and public life alike, in telling little treatises on everything from the cultivation of crops to the care and maintenance of wigs. She demonstrates the dominion of night by calculating the prohibitive cost of candles. She establishes the eighteenth-century creation of mealtime as family time by showing that seventeenth-century households had neither enough chairs for the whole family to sit together nor enough utensils for them all to eat at the same time.

But her assertion of the domestication of dinnertime displays more than merely her mastery of the material culture of the colonists. It depends not only on the evidence of the inventories but also on a fascinating discussion of changes in food preparation affecting "women's ability to serve food that was worth lingering over" (p. 94) and especially on an exact and exquisite appreciation of alterations in the very idea of the family. She never disputes the priority of traditional economic imperatives and dynastic aspirations that persisted to the very end of the eighteenth century in the vast preponderance of American households. Indeed, she insists upon this priority, and in so doing disputes—provocatively, persuasively—a currently conventional wisdom that predicates a much earlier triumph of the modern nuclear family. Yet she also acknowledges a certain incipience, among the privileged classes of the cities, of new norms of privacy and intimacy, and new ideals of affection and nurture, that would eventually inform Victorian notions of the family as a unit of relationship rather than production.

Wolf charts other social developments with the same shrewd authority and the same supple attentiveness to actualities on the ground. She takes due note of innovations, but she keeps them always in perspective. She harbors no progressive illusions about the prospect for women and for African-Americans over the course of the eighteenth century, or even in the aftermath of independence. She recognizes that a distinctive middle class was establishing itself by 1800, but she reminds us
that the frontier, with its incentives to traditional and even regressive familial and economic modes—and to much more radical communal forms—was growing far faster by then.

Nonetheless, many of Wolf's most arresting conceptualizations do predicate progressive development. Some of them rest on a sophisticated understanding of the possibilities of major change as an outcome of a multitude of minor adjustments sustained incrementally over time, as in the transformations she traces in foodways, in marketing, and in transportation. Other hypotheses represent a tantalizing evocation of significant shifts in thought that owe nearly nothing to alterations of the underlying technology, as in the unmistakable movement from fatalism to a concern for curing childhood ailments despite the absence of any important medical breakthroughs—or, for that matter, any change in infant mortality—throughout the eighteenth century.

Indeed, the argument that frames the book suggests that nationalism grew stronger even as Americans filled the backcountry and dispersed to the frontiers, where they depended ever more on immediate neighbors and on local governments. In 1751, as she says in one of her most striking dicta, "the British made a fatal mistake" (p. 236). They instituted a continental postal service and put Ben Franklin in charge of it. Wolf does not for a moment suppose that the energetic new postmaster general singlehandedly turned localists into nationalists (or, in her terms, neighbors into networkers). She concedes that, to 1800, locality was crucial to Americans as nationality was not. She admits, cheerfully, that everyday life actually changed little over the century. And yet she affirms, earnestly, that the nascent networks of politics, party, and patriotism mattered. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, Americans increasingly "felt a rush of belonging to something new and exciting" (p. 277), an American nation, that would increasingly constrain the variety of their land.

Michael Zuckerman, *University of Pennsylvania*


Gary Gallagher is a busy man. In addition to his duties as head of the history
department at Penn State, he is a prolific writer and editor in Civil War history. In The Second Day at Gettysburg, he has brought together essays that originated at a Civil War conference at the Mont Alto campus of Penn State.

Gallagher leads off with a thoughtful and skillful review of Lee and Confederate command at Gettysburg. On July 2, 1863, the most critical day of the war, Lee and his lieutenants should have been at their best. They were not. Lee, A. P. Hill and Ewell were ill to varying degrees, and Longstreet was sullen and uncooperative. Lee, faced with a new command structure, should have exercised more direct, positive control of his corps commanders. His orders for July 2 should have gone out earlier, and he should have been more forceful about their execution.

William Robertson reviews Dan Sickles' controversial salient. This selection offer good narrative as well as analysis. Robertson includes some fine background, noting that Meade and Sickles were antagonistic towards each other before Gettysburg. He concludes that Sickles' deployment was justified in that it exhausted the Confederate assault.

Robert Krick slashes James Longstreet's military career and generalship. I agree in general with his criticisms but still think that his arrival at the Wilderness saved Lee's army on May 6, 1864. Throughout the war, much of his ability was dissipated by his inflated ego, and tendencies to be stubborn, mean-spirited, and slow. All of these came into play at Gettysburg and were a major cause of the Confederate defeat.

A. W. Greene's review of Henry Slocum's generalship criticizes the slowness of the XIth Corps to arrive at Gettysburg. His best decision on July 2 was to retain George Greene's brigade which barely was able to hold Culp's Hill.

D. Hartwig has given us a fine tactical narrative of John Caldwell's division in the bloody "Wheatfield." Caldwell deserved better. Although he and his troops performed well, he later lost his command.

My only criticism of this work is to wish for more of it. Most lacking for July 2 is a balanced account of the Union deployment and defense of Little Round Top. Overall, this is a superior book, of interest to serious students and Civil War enthusiasts alike.

Roy P. Stonesifer, Jr., Edinboro University of Pennsylvania
In recent years, historic house museums—of which there are more in both the United States and Pennsylvania than one might imagine—have begun to make a slow transition from amateurish, antiquarian enterprises to more polished and professional operations. If this is a welcome trend, then it is good that Sherry Butcher-Younghans has written an up-to-date handbook for historic house museum managers. The book is, as the title promises, very practical indeed, and it provides most of the basic information that site managers might need to professionalize their organizations—everything from the fundamentals of governance to collections management to architectural preservation to historical interpretation and program management. Some of this material is basic (the need to keep snack bar food fresh to prevent food poisoning, for example). But not everything is so simple. The author addresses a full range of important issues, and in doing so, she provides good, detailed technical information (on cataloging and storage, for example). She offers guidance in a number of areas that might otherwise be unfamiliar to even the best-intentioned volunteer or the best-prepared young history graduate (on historic housekeeping or building preservation, among other things).

This book could well be useful to the more academically trained scholars who constitute the main readership of Pennsylvania History, particularly if any readers find themselves teaching introductory courses in public history or museum management—or, more importantly, if they find themselves on the boards of local or county historical societies. After all, historians who thrive in the heady world of scholarship may be unprepared for, and untutored in, some of the more mundane aspects of historic house management. But while scholars may find that they have something very real to contribute to their local museums, Butcher-Younghans suggests little to encourage their involvement. In her chapter “Where to Find the Help You Need,” for example, the author does not recognize that such scholarly groups as the Organization of America Historians can be resources for museums, as are the American Association of Museums and the American Association for State and Local History. And when she discusses interpretive techniques, she spends several pages describing more popular kinds of offerings (tours, demonstrations, living history, etc.), but she devotes a mere five lines to such things as lectures and
conferences. “Some visitors,” she notes, “will be interested in academic interpretation” (p. 211). Plainly, academics are a breed apart, as far as the author is concerned. Perhaps she feels that history scholars are only marginally worth considering because their understanding of the past is often characterized by its inaccessibility. Or perhaps the author is so unconcerned with history scholars because she herself has a traditional background in museum work: she says that collecting and preserving objects are “generally agreed to be a museum’s most important functions” (p. 48)—and historians, of course, are seldom as preoccupied with objects as they are with the meaning that they hold.

Whatever the case, the author’s world view seems somewhat limiting, and her chapter on historical interpretation is consequently uninspiring. She dutifully recognizes that research is important and that it is essential to separate historical truths from persistent local myths. She warns against the hokiness of poorly designed living history programs, and so on and so forth. But without a strong historical imagination and with relatively little appreciation for the larger historical context (such as might be provided to both her and her readers by some of our more unpretentious scholars), Butcher-Younghans’s recommendations fall flat. She communicates enthusiasm for a good public history program the way a scientifically oriented marriage manual encourages passionate lovemaking. This kind of thing may be a problem within the genre of how-to-do-it handbooks. Whatever the case, the book remains a useful starting place and a dependable reference for anyone interested in running a smaller historical organization.

Robert Weible, *Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission*

By Lee A. Craig, *To Sow One More Acre: Childbearing and Farm Productivity in the Antebellum North.*


Lee A. Craig attempts to answer a difficult and important historical question in this book—the reasons for the greater decline of birthrates in the more settled regions of the rural Northeast than in the Midwest or the frontier during the nineteenth century. As an economic historian, Craig is particularly interested in measuring the relationship between women’s fertility and farm productivity and revenue. *To Sow One More Acre* largely succeeds in its goals because of the author’s
capacity to develop technical analysis in a creative and logical manner.

Craig establishes a broad historical context for his study by rejecting any simple connection between declining birthrates and industrialization or modernization. While the total fertility rate (the number of live births a woman could expect to have) in the U.S. fell from 7.04 in 1800 to 5.21 in 1860, this decline was even more pronounced in the rural Northeast than in the entire nation. At the same time, birthrates in the rural Midwest (or the Old Northwest) and the trans-Mississippi frontier remained quite high. Craig argues that cultural factors such as immigration are not sufficient to explain this disparity since immigrant women in western states had considerably more children on average than immigrants in the rural Northeast.

Craig's truly original contribution is to offer a precise measure of children's economic value to the farm household as the most important factor influencing fertility. While economic historians will be best prepared to assess the author's statistical analysis, non-specialists will appreciate his careful consideration of data that could seemingly be used against his argument. It is striking, for example, that Craig finds child labor to have been least plentiful but most productive in the Northeast. Because Northeastern farms gained much of their income from dairying, poultry production, and garden crops, households there profited especially from women's and children's labor. Midwestern and frontier farms were more heavily weighted toward land-clearing and crop production—activities in which men played the key role, but in which nearly all family members, including teenage girls, participated. According to this argument, fertility declined most rapidly in the Northeast because of the greater cost of raising children there, not because of children's lack of value as producers. The Northeast's relative disadvantage lay in the high price of land and the loss of many young people through out-migration. The expansive Midwest and frontier offered opportunities for profit at more limited cost, and therefore fostered higher birthrates.

Craig's conclusion perceptively relates his findings on the farm economy to the broader currents of economic change in the antebellum North. He argues that the impact of the transportation revolution, mechanization, and the proliferation of newspapers and journals was to bring farm families into closer contact with the larger society—a process that encouraged self conscious efforts to limit fertility in the interest of economic gain. Craig's analysis of this process is more useful than
the term he offers—"externalization"—to describe it. Historians should heed his call for additional research on the subject of children's economic value, especially since his data are more useful in analyzing regional differences in the family farm economy of 1860 than in explaining how actual households in any given locality altered their patterns of fertility over time. It may be that contemporaries' perceptions of economic conditions were as important as economic realities in influencing the decline in fertility. Historians will also need to assess women's role more thoroughly, given their central position in childbearing. Ultimately, the decision to limit fertility was not only an economic decision, but also a highly personal response by married couples to changing cultural and social circumstances.

David E. Narrett, The University of Texas at Arlington


Pennsylvania's many covered bridges have had an important place in the history and folklore of the state. The Commonwealth contained more than 1,500 covered bridges during the nineteenth century, and 219 historic bridges remain today, more than in any other state. Since the early nineteenth century covered bridges have played significant roles in local transportation networks and been an integral part of the development of bridge engineering. In recent years they have also become tourist attractions and symbols of beauty and nostalgia. Benjamin and June Evans' volume is a very good and attractive guidebook for anyone touring the extant covered bridges.

Most of this book is devoted to summaries of the history and physical appearance of each remaining covered bridge. Summaries report builders and construction dates if known, the bridges, present ownership, use, and condition, the type of truss bridges contain, the waterways they span, and the number of spans, length, and width. Each entry has a short narrative description and usually a brief history of the structure. When the authors have uncovered conflicting historical data about a bridge, particularly its construction date or builder, they have noted their sources in the narrative. At least one black and white photograph accompanies the historical and descriptive information about each bridge. The summaries are
organized alphabetically by county name and by bridge name within each county.

Ten introductory pages focus on a brief history of covered bridges in Pennsylvania, including an outline of the seven types of bridge trusses found among extant covered bridges. The introduction also has general instructions on how to locate sometimes hard-to-find bridges, and how to use the guidebook. A brief bibliography appears at the end of the book.

This volume is an improvement over the previous standard guidebook, Susan M. Zacher's *The Covered Bridges of Pennsylvania: A Guide* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1986). It has more narrative description of each bridge, often more historical information, more precise directions to each bridge, and more photographs than its predecessor. With its many fine qualities, *Pennsylvania's Covered Bridges: A Complete Guide*, is a very good publication. However, it could have provided better historical context, particularly for those tourists unfamiliar with the heritage of the Commonwealth's covered bridges, or those non-tourists who would like to learn more generally about covered bridges. The brief introduction does not adequately detail the history of the Commonwealth's covered bridges, including their place in local transportation networks. It also largely neglects the symbolic meanings more recently attached to covered bridges, such as being objects that evoke nostalgia and are painted or photographed for their beauty.

William Sisson, *Curatorial Division, State Museum of Pennsylvania*


(Virginia Beach, Va.: The Donning Company, 1993. Pp. 208. $32.50.)

Centennials frequently prompt the writing of institutional histories, which almost as often only add weight to the argument that institutional anniversaries are best left unobserved. The quality of this history, however, should make most readers glad that East Stroudsburg University decided to celebrate its one hundredth anniversary. It is comprehensive without wallowing in a swamp of detail, and laudatory without being fawning. Most importantly, it helps to fill a gap in the history of Pennsylvania higher education. The evolution of the universities in the State System of Higher Education have received scant attention thus far from historians.
East Stroudsburg State Normal School, a private but state-aided entity, was among the last of Pennsylvania’s fourteen teacher-training institutions to be founded (in 1893). But within a few years, it grew to be one of the largest in enrollment (625 full-time undergraduates in 1925), drawing mainly from Monroe and surrounding counties in northeastern Pennsylvania. In 1926, as part of a statewide upgrade of the normal school system, it became East Stroudsburg State Teachers College and began granting baccalaureate degrees.

In subsequent years, East Stroudsburg’s fortunes pretty much paralleled those of the other teachers colleges. The authors cite numerous occasions where the institution’s development was threatened by political interference from Harrisburg (especially in personnel matters) and by the enmity of the state’s private colleges and universities. Consider this description of the situation in the 1940s, where the private schools collectively called for at least some of the teachers colleges to be remade into vocational and agricultural institutions: “Although it was not publicly stated, the private colleges and universities wanted the public to believe that the state colleges were academically inferior. Rubbish! It was true that the fourteen were not world-class institutions, but neither were most, if any, of the privates. . . . The privates were trying to cut the competition. Their proposals also ignored an unsaid and implicit role of the state colleges; through the guise of teacher training, they were supplying subsidized education to those who could not afford a private institution (p. 57).”

Thanks in large part to the encouragement of Governor David Lawrence, East Stroudsburg and its sister institutions deleted the word “Teachers” in their names in 1960 and began—in varying degrees—broadening their curricula to include the liberal arts, business, fine arts, and graduate studies. By 1968, at least several hundred of East Stroudsburg’s 2,245 undergraduates were preparing for nonteaching careers.

This book is organized according to presidential administrations. This is a convenient, if predictable, approach but it carries the danger of unduly distorting one person’s imprint on an institution. Fortunately, the book is remarkably forthright in assessing the caliber of presidential leadership. President James Noonan (1940-55), for example, is described as “obsessed with control” (p. 68), bullying the faculty into submission by threatening to fire nonconformists and forbidding the student newspaper from printing stories about drinking bouts, panty raids, and other
unseemly aspects of college life.

The history of the institution as a whole ends on page 131, after discussing the formation of the State System of Higher Education in 1983 and the contemporary role of East Stroudsburg University. These pages were authored by Squeri and Hogan, members of the university's history faculty. The next sixty or so pages are devoted to athletics and were written by Nevins, the university's sports information director. The inclusion of so much information about sports may appeal to East Stroudsburg's alumni, but is not likely to strengthen the book's appeal to other readers. The book is not aimed primarily toward a scholarly readership, but it nonetheless sheds much light on the evolution of Pennsylvania's state-owned and operated higher education system.

Michael Bezella, Pennsylvania State University


(Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1993. Pp. 139. $60.00.)

With this handsomely illustrated volume, gun experts Rosenberger and Kaufmann add to a distinguished list of titles dealing with the history and description of muzzle-loading firearms. The golden age of long rifles in America—dominated by Pennsylvania despite the nineteenth-century term “Kentucky Rifle”—lasted from the end of the Revolution to about 1815 in the eastern counties, but lingered into the 1840s in western Pennsylvania. Weapons produced in Allegheny and Westmoreland counties were characterized by long slender wrists and wide butt stocks. The wood in these areas was elaborately ornamented with carved relief, incisions, and metal inlay including highly decorated patchbox covers. Gun making at an earlier period in Greene, Washington, and Fayette counties has been little studied, but is known not to be in the style of the work done in Allegheny and Westmoreland counties.

The authors connect weapons still in existence with biographical data about the lives of seventeen Allegheny County and nine Westmoreland County gunsmiths and gunsmithing families. Although gunsmiths usually incised their signatures on crafted pieces, this was not always the case. Furthermore, names of owners and...
hardware dealers were sometimes affixed, confusing identification of the maker. Certain social patterns arise from comparisons of the gunsmiths' biographies. Since this occupation required both artistic and precision metal-working skills, it is not surprising that most of the group were economically successful in gun making and other occupations. Many used gunsmith work as a springboard to various other businesses, from manufacturing gunpowder to making farm plows to general retail merchandising. Most gunsmiths in Allegheny County were of Scotch-Irish descent; most in Westmoreland were German. The authors work from an underlying assumption that Lancaster County was the center from which the long rifle spread, but the individuals they have traced do not show direct connections to that vicinity.

Artistic decorations are emphasized in this book, and shooting performance of the guns is not discussed. Although the authors do not venture to generalize, the stories they tell can be blended together as a commentary on the evolution from handcrafted manufacturing to factory production. Before 1800 specialization had progressed to a point where locks made in Germany and England were usually purchased by the smith, and barrel cylinders were obtained for rifling from gunmetal specialists. The reminiscences of James Hampton Johnston (1836-1916) (pp. 74-75), who founded Pittsburgh's second gun factory in 1866, discuss the gradual development of specialization at his father's Cumberland County rifle shop. Percussion ignition in the 1840s coincided with the last carving of decorative relief on gun stocks; improved powder and mounted military and hunting activities in the great American West meant that barrels longer than forty inches were a hindrance. The Enterprise Arms Works, founded in Pittsburgh in 1848, was another landmark of change. Once factory production prevailed in Pittsburgh, the true crafts tradition continued only in Westmoreland County. Factory, batch-produced muzzle loaders continued to be popular into the 1880s, because they were reliable and less expensive than the early breach loaders.

The weapons Rosenberger and Kaufmann discuss were not meant for military use or other combat between humans, and if used for those purposes were inferior. Americans used these firearms for hunting and recreational target shooting, and it should be remembered that game was a common meat item on the average rural dinner table throughout the nineteenth century.

Louis M. Waddell, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission


Jack P. Greene, in this work based on his Anson Phelps Lectures at New York University in 1992, "uses literary evidence to explicate the changing content of the intellectual constructs produced to identify the new entity *America* between 1492 and 1800" (p.xi). He concludes that by 1800 the idea of the United States as "an exceptional" society and polity had become integral in much of the description of the new nation. In developing this argument he guides the reader through a series of short chapters. The first, "Expectations," outlines the earliest European ideas of America as a whole during the sixteenth century. The second, "Encounters," narrows the focus to perceptions about a new, raw British North America through the 1690s. These are followed by two sets of double chapters, "Experiences" and "Evaluations," which consider the development of attitudes about British North America between 1690 and 1775 as a society whose absence of aristocracy, greater wealth, and relative social and economic mobility set it apart from other European societies. The last two chapters, "Examinations," and "Explanations," show how many observers added political freedom and personal involvement to these characteristics; Greene argues that by 1800 thinkers had thus discovered a United States that seemed "exceptional." But he is also aware of notice taken of the existence of American slavery, the skewed distribution of wealth and power, and the constant borrowing of European literary, cultural and architectural models by Euro-Americans.

Greene's well written, beautifully produced (the illustrations are alone worth the price of admission), tightly argued work, presents two interrelated difficulties which could not be addressed in a study of this length. First, we need a much more careful definition of "exceptionalism." All societies, especially those organized into nation states, perceive themselves and are often perceived by others as being "exceptional." American "exceptionalism," as defined during the 1950s, meant that we as a "new" and "liberal," nation had avoided historical processes such as feudalism and aristocracy. Certainly America, the colonies, and the United States were different from other counties but we need to discover in what ways specific differences became significant in the internal development of the United States, or in its external relationships with other societies. Indeed, one could stand Greene's argument upside
down and argue that America was much more “exceptional” in 1492 than in 1800.

The second difficulty flows from Greene’s rounding up many of the “usual suspects” such as Franklin, Adam Smith, Charles Pinckney at the Constitutional Convention, and Crevecoeur to testify about the new United States to prove its “exceptional” nature. What about the visitors such as Talleyrand and officially accredited representatives of the Netherlands, Britain, France and even Sweden? What about accounts by officers and even a couple of rank and file members among the French and Germans serving during the Revolution? Scholars following in Greene’s footsteps will have to expand their sources to give us some additional light on how a wider cross-section of visitors viewed our new nation by 1800.

But Greene has made a good beginning. He will force all future scholars working with the concept of American “exceptionalism” to define it more carefully and to build on his work by using a wider range of sources. Greene and the University of North Carolina Press have provided a solid, thoughtful, beautifully produced book which should be read and pondered by all historians of early America.

Van Beck Hall, University of Pittsburgh


Readers not intimately familiar with the ethics of historical editing might legitimately wonder why the first half of this volume was published. The letters are repetitious, owing to the paucity of subject matter available for discussion. The editors are, of course, committed to publishing all congressional correspondence. They thus deserve plaudits for their patience and perseverance in following through on these mostly formal missives.

Congress learned of the preliminary articles of peace to conclude the American Revolution in early March, 1783 and had, according to James Madison, been slipped out to a Philadelphia printer without sanction of Congress. The articles generated concern about the disposition of military posts and prisoners, whether Negroes were to be considered property, and how the articles affected commercial restrictions with Britain pending resolution of the final treaty. There was a flurry of concern
about discontent among army officers at Newburgh, but General Washington relieved Congress from the embarrassment of that problem. There were also, until June, a handful of topics that demanded some attention—public credit and finance, the national debt, individual need for funds from the states, the lack of representation from certain states, and the value of certain lands in Pennsylvania.

Then, toward the end of June, 1783, the scene, literally and physically, changed. Soldiers from Lancaster marched to Philadelphia where they confronted the Congress, non-violently, but to the point that the lawmakers felt threatened enough to leave the city and conduct their business at Princeton, New Jersey. Bottles of ink and many quills related various interpretations of this event. All the delegates held opinions—about the mutinous soldiers and their non-commissioned leaders, about the lack of response by Pennsylvania's political leadership to congressional calls for protection, and about whether Congress should stay in Princeton or move to a more populated site. Very few harbored a desire to return quickly to the City of Brotherly Love which had defied its definition.

A new series of letters is even more important. Secretary Charles Thomson necessarily moved to Princeton to be with Congress and began writing to his wife almost daily. Thomson's are meaty letters, revealing of people and passions seldom expressed by other delegates. Princeton, of course, was close enough to allow Thomson relatively frequent visits home to Philadelphia. Readers could wish that he had had to write more often. The move to Princeton also resulted in a few more letters from Pennsylvania delegates John Montgomery, Richard Peters, and James Wilson.

Over the summer the delegates gave up on receiving the definitive treaty, and they did not get it in the period covered by this volume. They began to be seriously concerned about a permanent seat of Congress. They were delighted to have a commercial treaty with Sweden but could not figure out how to formally provide for the Swedish emissary in Princeton. They were ecstatic with Washington's visit in August but their formalities toward him in the chamber come across as staid, to say the least. And, they began to formulate what became the Northwest Ordinance.

Several observations seem in order. As much as they revered Washington, the delegates held Robert Morris, their financial secretary, in contempt. It is interesting to note the differences in general tone between letters written to governors who had at one time served as delegates themselves and letters to governors who had not
served. And it should be noted that, for whatever reasons, nearly all delegates repeatedly solicited instructions from home, expressly because they did not want to impose their own inclinations against a majority of their constituents. Samuel Holten of Massachusetts and David Howell of Rhode Island garner the prize for writing the longest letters while Madison, again, probably wrote most often.

The editors and publishers have provided another fine editorial production in this series. The inclusion of a calendar, for the period covered, is recommended since it is often impossible to tell what day of the week a date represents. Sometimes the day can make a difference in the length, content, and tone of a letter.

Frank C. Mevers, New Hampshire State Archives


(Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University press, 1993. Pp. 375. $35.00.)

By 1963, "with liberalism at high tide," New York's Park Commissioner, head of the Triborough Bridge and Tunnel Authority, and fount of public power, Robert Moses, announced his plans for ten massive slum clearance and redevelopment projects in New York City. Moses had already earned a nearly mythic reputation as the architect of New York's spectacular parkway system, as the orchestrator of a giant public works program, and as the brains behind the soon-to-be-held World's Fair. Other cities including Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania sought his expertise as a traffic articulation planner. With New York's Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia, Moses, the "Power Broker," as Robert Caro branded him, showed urban America how cities might use public works to build their way out of the Great Depression. After World War II Moses used his great power to undertake massive inner-city redevelopment, demolishing thousands of tenements and ancient warehouses in favor of modern apartment houses and Lincoln Center, the West Side Highway, and the Cross Bronx Expressway.

Recently, historians such as Joel Schwartz have taken this image of Moses as the august, untrammeled "master builder" to task. In a 1991 article, "The Myth of the Master Builder: Robert Moses, New York, and the Dynamics of Metropolitan Development Since World War II." (Journal of Urban History, 17 August), Leonard Wollock debunked the notion that Moses singlehandedly created modern New York's urban/suburban form.
Schwartz's is a much more thoroughgoing assault on the Moses myth. A New Yorker by birth, Schwartz contends that rather than masterminding the rebuilding of Gotham, Moses merely executed a deeply rooted "middle class" consensus about the city, its future, and the uses of its space. The villain Schwartz targets in this drama, which centers on post World War II redevelopment, is not Moses, but New York liberalism aided and abetted by modern social science. In unveiling his scenario, Schwartz provides an interesting perspective on the "urban renaissance," useful for readers of *Pennsylvania History* and all students of contemporary urban history.

*The New York Approach* traces the history of New York's large-scale, slum clearance and middle-class, housing-oriented redevelopment to the progressive-planning ideology of the early twentieth century. He concludes with the anti-redevelopment reaction of the 1960s. Even though Schwartz discloses the operation of public-private partnerships involving Moses, the Rockefellers, Metropolitan Life, and other corporate players, he rejects the "Marxist" pro-growth coalition scenario of urban postindustrialism explicated by John C. Mollenkopf, David Bartlet and others. Instead, he finds the seeds of the "New York approach" in the ideas of early twentieth century planners who conceived of a purified, efficient city purged of slums, warehouses and polluting industries and made safe and sanitary for middle-class residence. During the 1920s and 1930s New York regional planners and New Dealers reinforced a progressive-born decentralist model of the city which envisioned a gleaming, middle-class-worthy downtown without slums, with the poor and working class relegated to the outer boroughs.

Therefore, rather than the collaboration of urban economic elites and urban politicos spotlighted by neo-Marxists, Schwartz sees the operation of a global liberal consensus that entwined among others Republican mavericks such as LaGuardia, union leaders such as the International Ladies Garment Workers' David Dubinsky, members of the Americans for Democratic Action, the Jewish left-liberals of the American Labor Party, and members of the Ethical Culture Society. All of these people, contends Schwartz, shared the progressive-planning vision of a renewed, "service-oriented" city. Government responsibility for housing and redevelopment, they believed, informed the vision and made possible an urban elysium of interracial housing and brotherhood. Moses gave substance to that vision; therefore, despite his imperiousness, and the draconian realism of his grand designs for slum clearance and redevelopment, these liberal-minded constituents subscribed to Moses' schemes,
unmindful of what Schwartz sees as the ultimate consequences: racial islands of public housing, a city abandoned by the middle class, shorn of its industrial base, and burdened by severe poverty.

Moses' means, however, resembled fairly well the private-public partnerships that characterized renewal in Pittsburgh, Boston, San Francisco and other cities. As New York's Parks' Commissioner, Moses believed that redevelopment hinged not only on Title I of the Wagner-Ellender-Taft legislation of 1949, but—and more importantly—on private investment in an uncertain postwar urban marketplace. To expedite that investment Moses preferred the intimacy of closed doors handshake deals. Backed by middle class consensus, for twenty years after World War II Moses oversaw the massive clearance of neighborhoods and industry to make way for hospital complexes, civic centers, giant middle-class housing complexes such as the famous Styvesant Town, and, of course, public housing. Moses' plans ruthlessly uprooted thousands of people, and despite public housing, too little low-income housing existed to accommodate the victims of the "New York Approach."

Schwartz has exquisitely described the dilemma or the conundrum of post-World War II redevelopment undertaken by "progressive-minded" planners who believed that urban America faced an awesome challenge from postwar suburbs and that to compete had to remake the inner city into an attractive, efficient, modern place to live and work. Emboldened by a social science mentality honed to a fine edge by the culture of the New Deal, and strengthened by social-science-based theories of blight epidemiology, blight cure, and race harmony, these so-called "liberals," as Schwartz explains, strove to create a more brotherly, unblighted postindustrial city. But, their faith in physical and social engineering proved false. An eviscerated manufacturing base destroyed the backbone of New York's neighborhood economy and produced the two-cities phenomenon.

This is an intriguing, and on the whole very well written account of the failure of Moses' New York approach. A close reading of Arnold Hirsch's Making the Second Ghetto, or Jon Teaford's The Rough Road to Renaissance, suggests that the "progressive" mentality undergirded renewal activities well beyond New York. But that is quibbling. This is a book that offers a wealth of insight for teachers and other historians probing for insight into what happened to New York as well as Pennsylvania cities after World War II.

John F. Bauman, California University of Pennsylvania


*Crossroads of Commerce* merits more attention than a book on railroad calendar art in coffee table format might command at first glance. From the turn of the century to the Eisenhower years, wall calendars were a popular advertising promotion given away by small firms and giant enterprises. Albeit with uneven treatment, free-lance Dan Cupper and industrial photographer Ken Murry explore both the corporate and the creative elements that produced a gallery of calendar art for the Pennsylvania Railroad. Cupper and Murry are enthusiastic about the railroad, and they were personally acquainted with Griffith H. Teller (1899-1993) who painted twenty-seven of the thirty-four wall calendars for 1925 through 1958. The strength of this book is that it goes beyond the limited scope, suggested in the subtitle, of Teller's railroad calendar scenes.

The corporate dimension of the Pennsylvania's advertising calendars is presented in chapters on the railroad and the Osborne Company. For the Pennsylvania the calendar paintings served to project the self-image of the company, once the most powerful in the Commonwealth. The railroad provided the themes, specified the featured motive power, and selected locations on its four-track main line to be illustrated. Officials insisted on correct technical details, such as the number of ties per rail, but demanded public relations compromises with reality, including laboring locomotives emitting only wisps of white smoke. Later calendars reflected the increased importance of freight traffic and flattered favored shippers such as U.S. Steel. While the account of the Pennsylvania's role is somewhat anecdotal and disproportionately emphasizes the postwar period, the treatment of the Osborne Company that produced the calendars offers a balanced and interesting chapter in the history of advertising. In addition to his discussion of Osborne's relationship with the Pennsylvania, Cupper examines the history, management, marketing, and personnel practices of this New Jersey company whose customers once included International Harvester, Standard Oil, and the New York Central Railroad.

Grif Teller was the talented landscape artist at Osborne whose creative ability transformed the Pennsylvania's requirements into dynamic calendar paintings. Cupper chronicles Teller's career from childhood through his art studies and position with Osborne to his busy retirement. His rediscovery in the mid-1970s by
Pennsylvania Railroad enthusiasts resulted in rewarding years of recognition and commissioned paintings. Teller's cooperation with Cupper and Murry made possible the inclusion of over one hundred superb color photographs of his work, including landscapes, still lifes, and railroad paintings.

Teller's twenty-seven calendar paintings and the few by other artists are the centerpiece, and their presentation consumes over one-third of the book. On a two-page spread the calendar scene appears on the right page while the left page provides informative geographical, technical, historical, and aesthetic commentary. Eighteen of the calendars depict specific sites in Pennsylvania including Horseshoe Curve and Rockville Bridge. Beyond these engineering marvels, artistic renderings of Pittsburgh's mills and Golden Triangle, a coal mine at St. Michael, farms near Duncannon, the small town of Marysville, and an ore dock at Philadelphia reflect the variety and extent of industries and locations once served by the Pennsylvania.

While not directed to the scholarly community, Crossroads of Commerce contains useful information on the history of advertising calendars and railroad marketing drawn from interviews with former employees of the Osborne Company and Pennsylvania Railroad as well as published works listed in a bibliography. The book is marred by an abundance of blank space, but Cupper chose not to include the messages on all calendar date sheets and annual broadsides. These calendar components also projected the Pennsylvania's self-image. Were it not for the wasted space, this book would be a bargain.

Robert M. Blackson, Kutztown University


This attractive but expensive book, edited by two Millersville University professors, Dennis B. Downey and Francis J. Bremer, is part of the Reference Guides to State History and Research project put out by the Greenwood Press. It consists of eight essays listing and discussing books, articles (in historical journals and a few general magazines), Ph.D. dissertations, and even occasionally M.A. theses on Pennsylvania history. It begins with the pre-history of this area and comes almost up to date.
Downey's and Bremer's *Guide*, as it will be called, includes sources from other states and from England, but it neglects Canadian sources. It easily takes its place beside, and perhaps in place of, older guides such as Norman B. Wilkinson's *Writings on Pennsylvania History* (2nd ed., 1957, edited by S. K. Stevens and Donald H. Kent) and Carol Wall's *Bibliography of Pennsylvania History: A Supplement* (1976).

Daniel K. Richter of Dickinson College discusses "Indian Pennsylvania" including archeological information on paleo-Indians as early as 9,000 B.C. Marianne S. Wokeck at Indiana University-Purdue University-Indianapolis, covers "Early Settlement and Peacetime Politics, 1680-1750" in great detail. Mary M. Schweitzer of Villanova University deals with "Revolutionary Pennsylvania, 1760-1790."

"Democratic Pennsylvania, 1790-1850" is dealt with by John M. Belohlavek of the University of South Florida, and "Pennsylvania and the American Civil War," by H. Wayne Smith of Indiana University, includes not only a bibliographic chapter, but also footnotes, which are duly indexed in the back. Raymond H. Hyser of James Madison University and Dennis B. Downey, the general editor, deal with "Industrial Pennsylvania, 1876-1919," and give good coverage to labor history and women's studies. James A. Jolly, another member of the Millersville faculty, brings the reader up to date with "Modern Pennsylvania, 1919-1990"—the last date being the approximate cut-off point for the sources of all these essays.

Roland Baumann, archivist and professor at Oberlin College and formerly with the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, has a particularly helpful section on "Archives and Manuscript Repositories," which includes College/University Archives, Corporate Archives, Historical Libraries/Societies, Public Repositories, and Subject/Theme Collections. This is the best coverage of the subject that there is—but there are good sources in Canada, which might have received passing mention.

The weakest part of the book, unfortunately, is the Index, which is spotty. Alas, it even ignores the fact that there are two John Coleman's in the field, for it lumps together my good friend John F. of Loretto (no relation) and me. I guess, from now on, we must each claim the other's accomplishments, as well as our own.

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