

BOOK REVIEWS

*B*y Frederick K. Wentz, Editor. *Witness at the Crossroads: Gettysburg Lutheran Seminary Servants in the Public Life.* (Gettysburg: The Lutheran Theological Seminary of Gettysburg, 2001. Pp. ix, 256)

For most American historians, the "Crossroads" of this title will suggest first the convergence of roads at Gettysburg that made the Lutheran Theological Seminary a witness to the great battle fought July 1–3, 1863. Probably the editor could not escape that fact, but the crossroads with which he and his authors are mainly concerned are those between the history of the seminary and the hope of what the institution ought to be, and between the seminary as representing the church and the world and society outside. To illuminate those crossroads, the editor, Professor Emeritus of Historical Theology at the seminary, here offers profiles by sixteen authors of nineteen figures each of whom in some way embodied the seminary's aspirations and outreach to the world.

Though the military battle of Gettysburg appears only peripherally in the book, there was another battle of Gettysburg going on through many of the lives here discussed, a battle to decide what American Lutheranism should be and how the Gettysburg Seminary should attempt to shape it. Of the three principal formative thinkers of nineteenth-century American Lutheranism, Samuel Simon Schmucker, Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm Walther, and Charles Porterfield Krauth, two had close ties to the seminary and are the subjects of essays in Wentz's book.

Schmucker, the subject of Chapter I, Paul A. Baglyos's "Samuel Simon Schmucker's American Seminary" (1-11), was the founder of the seminary in 1826, retired in 1864, and for about half that time was the only professor or had only part-time assistance. Schmucker advocated the Americanization of Lutheranism, to the extent of merging it into an all-encompassing evangelical Protestantism.

Walther championed the opposite extreme, doubting even that the English language could properly express Lutheran belief and leading the Missouri Synod into a rigid defense of old, European Lutheranism.

Krauth, the subject of Mark W. Oldenburg's Chapter 5, "Charles Porterfield Krauth: We Are 'American Lutherans'" (54-68), tried to find a middle position that would be both distinctively Lutheran and distinctively American. Krauth's father, Charles Philip Krauth, was a friend and associate of Schmucker's and a faculty member at the seminary; but the elder Krauth gradually drew away from Schmucker's conception of Lutheranism toward the ideas that his son crystallized. Those ideas returned to an emphasis on the Augsburg Confession, the historic foundation of the Lutheran faith, and while advocating an American, English-language Lutheranism, the younger Krauth insisted there should be no amalgamation into a vaguer Protestantism. By 1867, C. Porterfield Krauth had led in establishing a General Council as a governing body, as opposed to the General Synod associated with Schmucker, and the Philadelphia Seminary to represent it. Neither Krauth's nor Schmucker's group had a widespread organizational influence beyond the northeastern United States, but Krauth had "established Lutheranism as a fully American alternative to the prevalent American Protestant religious ethos, with its Reformed roots and revivalist assumptions" (p. 67). Among other values, the maintenance of this tradition was to be of no small benefit to twentieth-century ecumenical dialogue, including Protestant-Roman Catholic dialogue.

The younger Krauth may have been the most nationally prominent of Gettysburg Seminary figures. In 1866, he became a trustee of the University

of Pennsylvania and two years later, in an early and modest essay in multiculturalism, he became a faculty member there to break an Episcopalian monopoly. He was later vice-provost and acting provost and helped modernize the curriculum. He was also an active member of the American Philosophical Society.

Other notables who pass through these pages include faculty member John Gottlieb Morris, who attempted to reconcile theology with nineteenth-century science, and Daniel Alexander Payne, an African American who attended the seminary in 1835–1837 and helped lead the African Methodist Episcopal Church toward accepting the value of an educated ministry. In the twentieth century the theological heavy hitters became less conspicuous, but among the striking figures associated with the seminary were the writer Elsie Singmaster Lewars (who used her maiden name as her professional name), long, a resident at the seminary; the biblical and linguistic scholar, George E. Mendenhall, of the faculty; and among the graduates, John Garcia Gensel, colorful “jazz pastor” to New York night life.

S. S. Schmucker deserves a final thought. He believed that the American separation of church and state gave the church a freedom it had not enjoyed since the conversion of the Emperor Constantine had tied it to government, and that the American church consequently faced an extraordinary opportunity to return to the purity of early Christianity and to revitalize the Christian faith. This vision of the separation of church and state as primarily benefiting the church merits revisiting today, and Schmucker deserves a more prominent place in the history of religious thought than he generally receives. This book helps.

RUSSELL F. WEIGLEY,
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By Jonathan E. Helmreich. *The Eternal Hope, The Life of Timothy Alden, Jr.* (Cranbury, NJ: Cornwall Books, 2001. Pp 242, notes, bibliography, index. \$25.00 cloth.)

The subject of this biography, Timothy Alden, Jr., (1771–1839) typifies the restless young American of the Early Republic – chasing dreams, occupations and financial opportunities. From the time of his graduation from Harvard in 1794 to his arrival in frontier Pennsylvania in 1814, Alden moved up and

down the east coast succeeding and failing (usually failing) at different avocations and placements. Before he ended up in western Pennsylvania Alden had founded at least five different schools, served as pastor for several congregations as well as serving as a missionary to Indians, edited a magazine, founded a salt reclamation company, served as librarian for the Massachusetts and New York Historical Societies, wrote histories, and was a land agent.

In 1814 all this moving about came to an end, and Alden found what would be his life's work in northwestern Pennsylvania. Timothy Alden went to Pennsylvania to establish a frontier college that offered a classical education, a Harvard of the west. Alden's whole life had prepared him for this adventure. He had the necessary educational and clerical credentials, but, more important to the success of his venture, Alden possessed a strong belief in the righteousness of his cause and an equally strong belief in his ability to achieve his goal. The focus of *Eternal Hope* is the story of Alden's founding this frontier institution of higher learning, Allegheny College in Meadville, Pennsylvania.

Meadville enthusiastically supported Alden's proposition for a college in their town and generously subscribed to its establishment. Allegheny College was chartered by the state in 1817 and appointed Timothy Alden as the first president of the faculty of Arts and Sciences. However, the college's initial high hopes were dashed by the economic crises of 1819. Because of the depression, donors could not pay their pledges, and even the well-off did not have the specie to pay tuition. The college had no space to board or teach large number of students and moreover, large numbers of students would have meant more faculty, which the college could not afford to pay. By 1828, the college had no students, no faculty, and no money.

In spite of these reverses, Timothy Alden refused to give up. In 1826 he managed to obtain the library of William Bentley of Boston, one of the finest collections in the nation. This was a library that most had assumed would be left to Harvard University. Alden disregarded all advice to sell the library for needed funds. Consequently, for years Allegheny possessed a library superior to any west of New England. During this time of severe economic conditions, Alden also managed to design and oversee the construction of Bentley Hall to house the collection. This building was completed in 1830 and is judged to be one of the finest examples of Federal architecture in the country.

In 1833 the Methodist Church took over operation of the financially strapped Allegheny College, and their infusion of cash saved the college. Alden resigned as president and began his wandering again. He started

a school in Cincinnati, then two different schools in Pittsburgh, served as minister to a congregation in Ohio, then minister to a congregation in Pennsylvania. He died in Indiana, Pennsylvania in 1839 at age 68.

Today, Allegheny College is a testimony to Alden's vision and determination. It is a successful liberal arts college in Meadville, Pennsylvania. Alden's one building has grown to thirty-nine buildings on seventy-two acres. Allegheny College is proud of its longevity, boasting that it is among the oldest 1% of colleges and universities in the nation.

John E. Helmreich, the author of *Eternal Hope* is Professor Emeritus of History at Allegheny College. He aptly uses the unpublished letters and papers of Alden and his family that are stored at Allegheny. This is a significant addition to the literature of institutional histories. Helmreich's chronicles of Alden's career as a land agent and missionary to the Seneca Indians of New York and Pennsylvania are also very interesting and add to our understanding of this era.

However, it would be more significant if the author compared the Allegheny experience with other institutions founded at the same time. How unusual or common is the history of Allegheny College? How unusual or common is the career of Timothy Alden? Also, early in the work the author introduces the interesting possibility that Timothy Alden suffered from bipolar disorder, thus explaining his constant moves and shifting interests. But Helmreich never offers any sustained analysis of this diagnosis in the body of the book. *Eternal Hope* lacks reference to more recent scholarship on either institutional history, land speculation, or religious activity on the frontier. However this work, with its use of previously unpublished sources, will be valuable to other scholars with comparative studies.

M. RUTH REILLY KELLY,
D'Youville College

By Gary B. Nash. *First City: Philadelphia and the Forging of Historical Memory*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002. Pp. 383, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index, cloth \$34.95.)

As an avid urbanologist (albeit in political science) and one who has engaged in detailed historical documentation and participated in preservation

planning and the interpretation and display of public history, I was quite anxious to read Gary Nash's *First City*. Not only does his rightly-deserved reputation for first-class urban historical research precede him, but also he sets for himself the task of threading together how and why the City preserved its history and in the process staked its claim to a broader role in the tapestry of national development.

Nash does not disappoint. He has created a marvelous and intriguing work, a careful and almost loving tapestry of story-telling laced with wry humor, not unlike a long-time curator taking us on a private tour of not only the public rooms and stored collections of museums burgeoning with artifacts. *First City* is in fact an elaborately illustrated and detailed catalog for an exhibit of Philadelphia's early history. Rather than simply chronicling events and important personages, Nash displays a rich collection of artifacts and images, each designed not merely to present and represent a period but more importantly to raise questions about how the period can be adequately illustrated through its material culture.

While this approach is not novel, the curator in this case is uniquely knowledgeable of his artifacts and does not accept them at face value. Rather, as he moves from piece to piece, Nash provides a meticulous narration and annotation—what is depicted, the technology of its production, how that technology reflected the technological dynamics of the time, its economic and class distinctiveness, and who originally acquired and displayed it. The last is most critical to Nash's purpose of demonstrating how history, in this case a city's history, is subject to the interests and more importantly the ideology of those who set out to display it.

In many ways, *First City* can be seen as the history of how three institutions - the Library Company of Philadelphia, the Philosophical Society, and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania-played key roles in the initial documentation of Philadelphia as the Founding City. What emerges is not so much a 'creation story' of the founding period, in which Philadelphia is presented as the place of birth, but rather a description of how the stage play of the creation emerged from the incremental yet ideological collection decisions of the three, patched haphazardly together, without forethought or collaboration.

The issue of collection ideology is familiar to all those in public history, i.e. whether that which is collected and displayed reflects the peculiar interpretations (and in most cases financial capabilities) of the collector. In the realm of city histories, inevitably prone to trends in self-serving economic boosterism, we have come to expect elaborate claims, gaudy displays, and

foolish representations. And, as Nash describes, Philadelphia has its fair share, many of which (such as the reconstruction of Penn's Landing or the veneration of the Laetitia Penn House) are laid out in ironic, still respectful detail. In addition to these, Philadelphia's central if not unique role in the Founding confounds further our efforts to understand and interpret the trend lines, and Nash guides us carefully through various periods as the City mediates and remediates its role in the Founding buffeted by ideological liturgies through which we have continuously attempted to interpret our democratic roots (illustrated at length in the perpetual debate over the restoration of Thomas Paine) and inevitable pressures to 'commercialize memory'.

Both are dragged inextricably in a far more vernacular direction by the Civil War and the abundant availability of 'common stuff' (pistols, shoes, canteens, etc.), all of which became competitive elements in the public definition of our democracy and not incidentally overwhelmed the display and storage capacities of leading institutions. For public history, the dilemma shifted from the more cosmic issues of how to interpret existing artifacts and extant structures to the more mundane issues concerning which artifact to display and which to store, and of those collected, which to store and which to let go. Public history became history management.

At each point in our City tour, Nash reminds us that we must consider whether each artifact, or each section of the collection, or the collection as a whole, is representative of its time, the spectrum of values with due deference to the class structure of that time, or the complexity of the society as a whole. This is heavy baggage indeed for an urn, a chair, an oil painting, or even the Powell House, to bear. Inevitably we are confronted by the paucity of artifacts, depictions, or writings of other than the elite class in the earlier periods and are left to interpret an entire period and an entire society from the 'furniture for the upper classes' or the ubiquitous paintings of Charles Willson Peale.

This lament is real enough and deserving of our constant attention and scrutiny. But we must be careful that the overarching ideology of 'representativeness' does not itself overwhelm us, not only because it places burdens on our public history that we cannot reasonably bear (after all, few if any artifacts exist to help us understand the domestic life of recent immigrants to Philadelphia in the early 1700s) but also because implicit in the drive for 'representativeness' is a preconceived (if unstated) notion of 'completeness', a depiction and interpretation of society that addresses the lives, values, concerns, joy and despair of each recognizable group.

Therein lies the rub. Since we cannot conceivably document and interpret the history of each person or family that lived in Philadelphia during each time, into how many subgroups can we or should we subdivide our 'representativeness'? While we acknowledge that life experience in the Early Republic or on the frontier or among all Irish immigrants was not homogenous, we inevitably lament the 'under-representation' of some (groups) in our public history. To his credit, Nash goes to great lengths to uncover, display and interpret in context earlier depictions of blacks and women in Philadelphia, but the trap is already sprung - there being no uniform black experience or uniform women's experience in any period of Philadelphia's history. While these need to be carefully reconstructed, and Nash provides the start, we must be mindful that our selection of those as representative of groups may not themselves be representative, and the whole issue of 'representativeness' may present us with ideological implications more serious than those posed by the earlier concern - that the rich merely collected artifacts to venerate the values of the rich.

The ideological concern over 'representativeness' is manifest as well in the very structure of the book, in the presentation of Philadelphia during acknowledged historical periods, varyingly portrayed as representative of the major cities during the colonial period and alternatively unique among them, the Colonial City, the 'birthplace'; or as representative of cities during the period of commercial development or alternatively as a unique player in that development, etc. In fact, one might simply question whether our tour is introducing us to the City as a living and breathing entity with documented consciousness beyond its various spatial and legal identifications, or are we just being introduced to some folks who lived in the City, for whom life experiences and impact on the life experiences of others, varied widely but their collective viewing may give us a flavor of the period.

Clearly Nash intends the latter, bringing to the forefront the issue of whether we are systematically being allowed to meet only some folks and not others. And after the tour, we have a real sense, albeit intuitive, that we have a feel for the place, or at least a range of folks who lived there and thereby have a better sense of the period and how those we met attempted to understand their own time and periods before them. That glimpse is well worth the tour.

JAMES R. ALEXANDER,
University of Pittsburgh at Johnstown

By Jon Butler. *Becoming America: The Revolution before 1776*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000. Pp. x, 248, Notes, Acknowledgments, Index.)

In *Becoming America* John Butler of Yale University presents a broad synthesis of the most current scholarship on the colonial "dark ages," 1680 to 1770. The book's subtitle, *The Revolution before 1776*, clearly reveals his main theme. Butler persuasively argues that during this overlooked period the American colonies experienced profound changes that transformed them into a "modern" society. Reminiscent of Jack P. Greene's work, Butler identifies five interrelated characteristics of this modernity and dedicates a chapter to each.

"Peoples," sets the tone for the entire book by focusing on the unprecedented ethnic and national diversity that developed in British North America during this period. Drawn by a variety of factors, such groups as Scots, French Huguenots, English Quakers, Germans, and Jews all found homes in the colonies. There they came into contact with the Native Americans, whose population plummeted in the face of dislocation, warfare, and new diseases. Butler also examines the enslaved Africans who were forcibly transported to America after 1680 and explains why this institution flourished. One the book's greatest strengths is the author's ability to incorporate the stories of these diverse peoples throughout the text.

In his second chapter, "Economy," Butler locates the roots of the "market revolution" not in the early nineteenth century, but rather in the period before 1776. Providing an overview of the economy in New England, the Middle Colonies, and the South, Butler portrays an America that was increasingly commercial. Agriculture remained dominant, but became more market-oriented and helped support domestic manufacturing and internal and external trade. Against this backdrop, the author examines the roles that women, slaves, and craftsmen played in these developments and, in turn, how they were shaped by them. Interestingly, Butler contends that although the economy grew faster than the population as a whole, the distribution of wealth became more unbalanced. As a result, "poverty became a permanent feature of the American economic landscape," particularly in its cities and towns (50).

This economic development and growing diversity provided the basis for the other characteristics of modernity that Butler describes, one of which was politics. The author asserts that this period witnessed the rise of a political system that "looked ahead to the large-scale participatory politics of modern

society" (2). Noting the primacy of provincial politics, he argues that popularly elected colonial assemblies grew increasingly complex and powerful as they struggled against governors and eventually emerged dominant. These assemblies, in turn, progressively fell under the influence of economic and religious "party-like interest groups" that became more evident over time. Significantly, Butler notes that this political milieu produced an American version of Whig ideology that would sustain the colonists in the upcoming imperial crisis. In addition to focusing on these broad issues, however, Butler also offers fascinating insights into narrower ones. He details the growth of courts, which corresponded to an increase in lawsuits, usually over debts. This, in turn, spawned another facet of modern society, the professionally trained lawyer, who squeezed out part-time practitioners of the law.

Butler asserts that politics were a frequent topic of conversation in the growing number of taverns that appeared in Colonial America, one of myriad subjects that he discusses in "Things Material." One of the book's best chapters, it illustrates the breadth of Butler's scholarship. In the space of fifty-three pages liberally interspersed with useful illustrations, he discusses such topics as diets, clothing styles, furniture, crafts, and public buildings. But this is not all. Butler also examines the development of social institutions throughout Colonial America and discusses the roles that they played. Private societies and organizations, such as Annapolis's elite Tuesday Club, reinforced class and ethnic distinctions. The author reveals that they also promoted civic improvements and supported a vibrant literary and artistic exchange, which often included women. Overall, Butler contends that American society became more complex and varied, and this included religion.

In "Things Spiritual" Butler argues that the "colonists transformed the religious patterns laid down in the seventeenth century, creating the religious pluralism and vitality long since identified as the very soul of modern American culture" (186). The religious revivals that shook the established Anglican and Congregational Churches in the mid-eighteenth century created new denominations, as did continued immigration. Butler translates this increased religious diversity into the sacralization of the landscape, as congregations built numerous churches and synagogues, some of which contained a new feature, bells. According to the author, change was not confined to peoples of European heritage, however. Some Native Americans adopted Christianity in the face of missionary activity, while others, influenced by Neolin and similar prophets, returned to traditional ways. Still other Indians incorporated a variety of beliefs into their religious systems as groups blended

and were influenced by new peoples. Africans, however, witnessed a virtual "holocaust" of their traditional beliefs, partly by design and partly because of their unique circumstances in a strange new world.

Butler concludes *Becoming America* with a chapter entitled "1776." He argues that the changes that occurred in the colonies in the preceding one hundred years did not cause the American Revolution, but certainly influenced it. The American political and economic protests built upon the institutions they had previously created. The same could be said for civic groups that became the centers for revolutionary activity. The author also provides a broad overview of how the Revolution influenced women, slaves, Native Americans, and even religion. For Butler, Benjamin Franklin, with his varied careers and interests, epitomizes the many changes that transformed America into a modern society.

This is an extremely good book. Highly readable and logically organized, it has something for everyone interested in the late colonial period. Butler addresses race, class, gender, ethnicity, material culture, politics, economics, and war, both in rural and urban settings. He also enhances his strong narrative by citing statistics on such topics as population, wealth, and number of congregations. The one weakness is that Butler makes a number of factual errors, particularly regarding dates. For example, General James Wolfe captured Quebec in 1759, not 1760 (118), Parliament passed the Stamp Act in 1765, not 1763 (234), and William Johnson was not the governor of New York (127). Despite these minor points, *Becoming America* is a valuable addition to Colonial American historiography. One can easily imagine numerous students and scholars utilizing it for their research projects and lecture notes.

MICHAEL P. GABRIEL,
Kutztown University of Pennsylvania

By Jack Brubaker. *Down the Susquehanna to the Chesapeake*. (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002. Pp. xii, 245, Epilogue, Sources, Notes, Index.)

The Merrimack River powered the industrialization of New England. The Hudson River, and the successful Erie Canal, brought the goods of the interior to the coast and took back items from afar, making New York the nation's leading city. The Merrimack and the Hudson are broad navigable

rivers with few interruptions. The same cannot be said of the Susquehanna. Draining a watershed of over 27,500 square miles from south-central New York and north-central Pennsylvania to the Chesapeake Bay, the Susquehanna has generated considerable industrial activity and movement of goods, yet neither initiated massive industrial transformation nor carried an urban center to market predominance. Although the east coast's largest river, the Susquehanna was too shallow, rocky, twisted, and isolated for the star quality of the Merrimack or Hudson. Rather it played a more proletarian role in the nation's economic development. Despite its broad reach across much of central-eastern United States, the Susquehanna supported the nation's development not so much by moving goods of trade as supplying basic materials.

Lumber from the rich Appalachian forests flowed down the Susquehanna for over a hundred years to the sawmills and lumberyards located along the river's banks. It was white pine from the mountain forests that built the homes, businesses, warehouses, boats, and wagons of Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington D.C., Wilmington, Trenton, and even New York City. The region's hardwoods supplied the wood for tools, machines, and wheels for our early manufacturing shops. And those same forests supplied charcoal for furnaces producing iron and iron products, and the heating fuel for East Coast homes.

When the timber became scarce, it was the anthracite coal of the Wyoming Valley on the Northern Branch and the Bituminous coal from Cambria, Clearfield, and Clinton on the Western Branch of the Susquehanna that heated homes, fueled furnaces, and powered machinery. The river's watershed drained through forested hills and over rich coal seams. The river also flowed through fertile valleys where fecund soil grew wheat, oats, rye, vegetables and fruits and where pastures maintained herds of cattle and dairy cows. Food, fuel, and building materials moved out of the Susquehanna Valley to feed, power, warm and shelter the growing populations of East Coast cities. The Susquehanna River may not have made the movement of those goods easy, but the valley itself was a rich source of goods destined to other locals.

Jack Brubaker tells the story of the Susquehanna River from its origins in the Appalachian Mountains to its destination in the Chesapeake Bay. Brubaker tells the story both geologically and historically. He begins at the River's sources in central New York for the North Branch and west-central Pennsylvania for the West Branch, follows the two until they merge at Northumberland, Pennsylvania, and then continues the story on to the Chesapeake. Brubaker weaves the geological history of each region of the

river with its human history, telling the story of how the river valley's inhabitants have related to, used, or abused the river.

Five themes flow through Brubaker's work. First, despite repeated efforts and dreams, the Susquehanna has resisted being transformed into a major transportation artery. Its broad shallow waters with uneven flows, intersected with repeated rapids and twists could not maintain more than small regional transportation links. Although Native Americans traveled the river and its tributaries using portable lightweight canoes, heavier Euro-American boats were limited to short trips between fault lines, or down river shoots with spring high water. Second, Brubaker contends the heavy hand of human use has abused the river. Acid drainage from unsealed mines makes much of the river uninhabitable for marine life. Although streams flowing out from limestone rich areas neutralize some of this acid, large sections of the river are effectively dead. Run-off from the coal waste of slag heaps discolors and pollutes a good bit of the river. Village and city sewage has contributed a heavy load of pollution to the river's water. Farmers have added to the river's problems with fertilizer, pesticide and herbicide run off from fields and manure waste from animals. Heavy lumber harvesting led to upstream erosion, watershed destruction and increased flooding.

Brubaker's third theme is the continued struggle of many of the region's inhabitants to protect the river. He details the river's improvement, especially after the passage of the EPA, by describing the instillation of municipal sewage systems, Federal and State mandated pollution controls on mining operators, multi-state cooperation to protect the watershed, and citizen group action on and awareness of farm and yard pollutants. The combination of these actions have done much to improve the Susquehanna's water and to bring back fish populations. Large sections of the river previously untouchable—because of human sewage and unfishable because of oxygen depletion due to nitrate overloads—are now popular swimming and fishing areas. The Susquehanna is not a river without risk. Sections of it are still dead from acid mine drainage. Increased human settlement means more leaching septic systems. Urban sewage treatment plants have done much to clean the river, but they have trouble keeping up with increased populations. Declining timber harvesting has allowed for the regrowth of forest cover over the watershed's hills and mountains, but new subdivisions and shopping malls mean more lawn fertilizer and nitrate rich run off that deplete the river's oxygen content. Farmers' more intensive use of their land also increase nitrate and phosphate loads on the valley's waters.

Fourth, Brubaker extols the river valley's aesthetics. Despite its heavy use and abuse, the Susquehanna is still one of the nation's most beautiful rivers. Sections of it are wild and increasingly protected. River towns that for decades viewed the river only in utilitarian terms are now rethinking the river as a place of beauty and even wonder. All too often past decisions and concerns limit these communities' attempts to recapture the river as a place of joy.

Brubaker's final theme relates to those past decisions. The Susquehanna has been put to human use, but it retains its non-human nature. Using the river brought people to its banks and led to the building of towns and cities along it. But the river also is a part of nature and as such follows its dictates. Heavy rains, sudden snowmelts, or breakups of ice jams periodically pushed the waters of the Susquehanna over its customary banks. During these times of high water homes and businesses built too close to the river's normal edge were inundated with floodwaters and mud. The deforestation of the region's hills and mountains exacerbated these floods. Unlike the river that ebbs and flows with the shifts in nature's patterns, humans construct a world and expect nature to accommodate that constructed world. When nature fails to accommodate, humans have a tendency to cry "disaster" and demand amelioration. Measuring nature in dollars, any change that generates loss of dollars of property value is defined as a "natural disaster" that demands correction and protection. For the river, that meant flood control, particularly levees and dams. Rather than abandon development on the river's flood plane, or accepting flood damage as the cost of living too close to the water's edge, towns and cities built levees around them to keep out the waters that gave original life to the towns and cities. Dams were built to hold water back, and communities increasingly related to the river as humanly constructed.

Brubaker has not attempted a scholarly history of the Susquehanna. His intention was to create an approachable and engaging history of the River and its region. This he has done. Those looking for an entertaining coffee table picture book will be disappointed, as will those looking for a detailed environmental or economic analysis of the region. For those, particularly those living along the River, with interest in this part of the country, Brubaker's book is a worthwhile purchase. It is packed with interesting characters, local lore and a good bit of serious geology and history.

JOHN T. CUMBLER,
University of Louisville

By John Sayle Watterson. *College Football: History, Spectacle, Controversy*. (Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000. Pp. xiv, 398, appendixes, notes, bibliographical essay, index. \$34.95 cloth.)

John Sayle Watterson's *College Football: History, Spectacle, Controversy* is a comprehensive history of a sport that has evolved from a simple athletic contest between two colleges in New Jersey to the multibillion dollar, semi-professional enterprise of the late twentieth century. According to Watterson, "at the major football schools critics complained that football players became the campus elite, admired by their fellow students and regarded skeptically by many faculty" (1). This description of college football in the 1890s would be equally valid a century later, indicating that while the rules of the game evolved over time, attitudes toward college football as a means to attract the support of wealthy alumni certainly did not.

Watterson divides his book into three parts: "Injuries," which chronologically covers the period from 1876 to 1917; "Subsidies," from the 1920s to the 1950s; and "Half-Truths & Halting Reforms," from 1956 to the 1980s. The first section relates the early years of the sport. Tactics such as the "flying wedge" (in which heavier players led the ball carrier down the field) caused numerous injuries, resulting in New England clergy attacking the game's violence from the pulpit. College faculty were split on the importance of football and other athletics in college life, as Charles Eliot of Harvard and Burt Wilder of Cornell ardently opposed the development of big-time athletics because of the potential impact on academics, while Woodrow Wilson of Princeton fanatically supported football for its moral and intellectual influence. Meanwhile, Walter Camp of Yale worked to develop rules that would reduce the number of injuries while at the same time vigorously promoting the sport.

Crucial to the future of the sport, according to Watterson, would be the support of a Harvard graduate during the fall of 1905. That year, the brutality was especially severe, as eighteen young men died playing football at all levels. President Theodore Roosevelt, an ardent defender of manly activity, compared the violence on the football field with the efforts of industrialists to usurp antitrust legislation, hoping to rally public support for further regulation of college football by providing a progressive political analogy. Serious injuries that year, including one to the president's son during the Harvard-Yale freshman game, led to discussions whether to abandon the

sport or reform it. Coming out of these meetings was the Inter Collegiate Athletic Association (ICAA), known as the NCAA after 1911. What probably saved the sport, though, was a rule change instituted in the aftermath of the high number of injuries and deaths during the 1909 season—the legalization of the forward pass, which opened up the game and reduced the “mass movement” of the competing teams.

Part II, “Subsidies,” focused on how college football reflected the pro-business attitudes of government and society during the 1920s. Amateurism in many ways became less important than victory. Watterson contends the prosperity of the 1920s, coupled with increased enrollments in the aftermath of World War I, contributed to a renewed emphasis on success. During the 1920s, “tramp athletes and athletic loafers” (157) dominated the sport, as it was not uncommon for players to change teams (and colleges) from one game to the next. Obviously, academics had little impact on the decision, and players were known to “attend” college for several years without every setting foot in a classroom. With the establishment of the National Football League (NFL) during this period, these “scholar-athletes” at least found a way to pursue careers as football players, although the colleges became expensive training grounds for the NFL. Over time, many of the larger colleges organized into regional conferences to combat the professional incursion, although the football-playing colleges also began to subsidize college athletics by providing scholarships to assist the football players with expenses. The adoption of the Sanity Code in 1948 attempted to place restrictions on the types of assistance that could be awarded to athletes, with varying degrees of success.

In the last part of the volume, “Half-Truths & Halting Reforms,” Watterson finds the electronic media to be quite influential in the popularity of college football after World War II. Television contracts channeled money to the conferences and institutions, often funding sports that generated little or no revenue. By the late 1970s, seven major conferences (excluding the Big Ten and PAC 10) and major independents revolted against the distribution of television revenue and formed the College Football Association (CFA) to negotiate television contracts that did not limit the number of appearances. With the development of cable networks such as ESPN and TBS, the NCAA regained control of the television contracts by the 1990s, although Notre Dame succeeded in developing its own arrangement with NBC. The influence of the electronic media in many ways contributed to the integration of college football in the 1950s and 1960s, although at first

the transition was a reluctant one in the South. Furthermore, the tradition of corruption that had begun in the 1920s with "tramp athletes" reemerged in the 1980s, highlighted by the "death penalty" assessed to SMU in 1987 for rampant violations.

Overall, John Sayle Watterson's study of college football is an engaging read that effectively probes the key issues of the sport from its origins to the end of the twentieth century. Watterson thoroughly documents his evidence, and the bibliographical essay effectively summarizes the available literature on the topic. The work is more than a history of the sport, as it places the events in the context of United States history during the time period. Any student of sports history—in fact, anyone interested in the evolution of college athletics—should read this book.

KAREN GUENTHER,
Mansfield University

By Thomas S. Wermuth, Rip Van Winkle's Neighbors: The Transformation of Rural Society in the Hudson River Valley, 1720–1850. (Albany NY: State University of New York Press, 2001. Pp. vii, 134, conclusions, notes, bibliography, index.)

Thomas S. Wermuth is interested in the interconnections between economic change and community life—specifically, how country people in the Hudson River valley participated in the "market revolution" that occurred between the mid-eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries. "By situating this behavior in the context of the community structures in which these farmers lived, worked and traded," he believes, "one gains a fuller understanding of the ways in which individual households attempted to improve their living standards while carefully negotiating community needs and demands" (6).

Rip Van Winkle's Neighbors is a concise, balanced, and deeply researched micro study. In six chronologically arranged chapters, Wermuth situates his work into the context of the historiographical controversy about whether early American farmers were "peasants" or "capitalists." Like most other studies of the last decade, *Rip Van Winkle's Neighbors* take a middle position in this debate. In the eighteenth century, Wermuth finds, 'valley residents continued to balance and alternate their commercial trade with household production and exchanges within their communities' (67). However, in the

nineteenth century, well-to-do farmers, at least, became increasingly involved with the market economy and eventually began to specialize in dairy and beef production. "After 1820," Wermuth concludes, "farmers produced primarily for long-distance markets and not neighborhood trade..." (134). He emphasizes, however, that "continuity with the past" remained significant (8) – the Hudson River valley remained an agricultural region, with little of the industrialization or even manufacturing outwork that characterized New England in the early nineteenth century.

The details of economic consumption and production by the people who were Rip Van Winkle's neighbors emerge from close analysis of tax returns, probate inventories, merchant account books, and other primary sources. Wermuth makes particularly effective use of the account book of Kingston shopkeeper Abraham Hasbrouck. Systematic study of this source for 1799, 1820, and 1839 shows that across time Hasbrouck's customers increasingly purchased consumer goods (rather than manufacturing them at home); sold to Hasbrouck commodities like barrel staves for resale in New York City or elsewhere; and settled their accounts in cash, rather than by bartering. Wermuth also locates these Hudson River Valley farmers within their communities by examining the records of town corporations, country supervisors, church consistories, and other public organizations. Until dissolved in 1816, Kingston's Board of Trustees, for example, controlled land distribution, regulated the influx of new settlers, and even embargoed food exports at times of shortages. Wermuth persuasively argues that this method of corporative organization, reminiscent of seventeenth-century New England towns, declined in the nineteenth century as private and particularistic organizations, such as the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company (with its headquarters in distant Pennsylvania), increasingly expressed and directed the economic interests of Hudson River valley settlers.

Wermuth's book will not just be of interest to historians of early American agricultural life. His first two chapters document the continued presence of Dutch culture into the eighteenth century in the mid-Hudson River valley, a topic that historians like Thomas Burke, Joyce Goodfried, and Firth Haring have studied in communities in other parts of the Middle Colonies. Chapter five of *Rip Van Winkle's Neighbors* briefly examines the impact of the presence of a large portion of the Continental Army in southern Ulster and northern Orange counties between 1779 and 1783, providing local detail for historians like Richard Buel who have recently attempted to

bring more systematic study to the study of the economic impact of the fighting of the American Revolution on the new nation.

These issues and others cannot be discussed fully in *Rip Van Winkle's Neighbors*' 141 pages of text. For instance, Wermuth mentions that by 1850 Ulster ranked fourth among fifty-nine counties in New York in ratio of improved to unimproved land, and sees this statistic as an indication of how the attraction of the market economy had encouraged farmers to intensify their production. Did this development also reflect a "squeeze" on the availability of farm land, with the consequent strains on "community" that we know accompanied similar developments in eastern New England and southeastern Pennsylvania in the eighteenth century?

The brevity of Wermuth's book also leaves the reader wanting to know more about some topics. There are only single paragraphs (50) on farm labor by servants and slaves, respectively, and the author does not convey quantitatively any idea about how common was unfree labor. We know from recent scholarship on eighteenth century Pennsylvania, at least, that slavery, indentured servitude, and wage labor were significant, by both blacks, and white, and that shifts among these forms of labor were connected with the development of a more market-oriented economy. In other parts of the rural Hudson River Valley in New York, there also was an economic system different from that of the small freeholders discussed by Wermuth – the great manors on the east bank of the river. A contrast between these economic systems could highlight some aspects of Wermuth's argument. It would also bring out another point: the locus *Rip Van Winkle's Neighbors* is not actually the "Hudson River valley," but the west bank of the river, and chiefly Ulster County. (If a map were included within the book the reader would better understand this point, and more generally the dimensions of the growing trade across time with places outside Ulster County that Wermuth documents.)

Rip Van Winkle's Neighbors is a fine work, which deserves the attention of anyone interested in the local history of the mid-Atlantic region.

ROBERT J. GOUGH,
University of Wisconsin – Eau Claire

By Bradley R. Hoch. *The Lincoln Trail in Pennsylvania: A History and Guide*. (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001. Pp. xiii, 210, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. \$35.00 cloth.)

Hoch, an amateur historian and an avid Lincoln fan, traces Lincoln's (mostly railroad) trips through and to Pennsylvania as a "history and guide." Aimed at the general reader and new railway buffs, it includes ninety-seven illustrations of which there are twenty-two, mostly railroads, maps, and twenty-three, often full-page, portraits of family and political elites. He begins the story, in Chapter I, with the familiar tale of the plot to assassinate Lincoln with his arrival in Philadelphia in February, 1861; his side trip to Harrisburg, and thence to Baltimore – en route to Washington, D. C., for his inauguration to face the South's secession. (He skips Lincoln's career to this point.) Hoch details every railroad connection, with maps; the receptions at each hotel and stop; and the internal, secret machinations of protecting the president. Lincoln's ancestry (of which he had little interest) in Berks County and the family's move down to Virginia, thence to Kentucky is then noted in a brief chapter.

Chapter III is the story of Lincoln's trip from Illinois to Washington, D.C., in late 1847, after his election to Congress in 1846. Using "circumstantial evidence", i.e., checking the mileages of the three possible routes eastward, Hoch concludes (in the text and in an appendix) that after traveling to Lexington, Kentucky, to visit his in-laws for two weeks, Lincoln proceeded up the Ohio River by steamer to Pittsburgh, thence up the Monongahela River to Brownsville; then over the ridge, via stagecoach, to Cumberland and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad railhead. He claimed a travel reimbursement for 1,626 miles one way (see below).

While Hoch uses mileages to conclude that Lincoln came through Pennsylvania, it is highly probable that he almost certainly came to Pittsburgh or Wheeling via steamer and then by steamer or stage to Brownsville – both routes through the Commonwealth. Why? First, Lincoln was a disciple of Henry Clay, the Wig party leader from Kentucky. He was an avid proponent of transportation connections to the west, particularly the extension of the National Road, and he often traveled through Pennsylvania when going to Washington. (There is a Henry Clay Township in Fayette County, east of Brownsville. He also had kin in Fayette County. According to Ellis' *History of Fayette County* (1882), "John Jones, Sr. migrated from Berks County to Fayette Co.... in 1792. His mother was Sarah Lincoln... the

daughter of Mordecai Lincoln... of the same stock as Abraham Lincoln, the martyred President." (691) The 1850 Census lists Mordecai Lincoln and his eleven member family. As late as September, 1911, two hundred members of the Lincoln-Searing families had met in their fifth annual reunion at Shady Grove park which was "well suited for the... outing, of these families as it is located on the site of the original Lincoln purchase of 1793." (Uniontown *Morning Herald*, September 1-2, 1911).

In September, 1848, the family traveled north to campaign for Whig presidential candidate Zachary Taylor in New England via Philadelphia; they returned to Illinois via steamboat from Buffalo, N.Y. to Chicago. They "traveled along Pennsylvania's lakefront, although perhaps at a distance of three to six miles off shore." (47)

Lincoln returned to Washington in November, 1848 for the second congressional session. He was a few days late and may have been visiting his kin in Fayette County. In Dec, Horace Greeley's *New York Tribune* "exposed" travel routes that were "exceedingly crooked." (47-8) It noted that the shortest route from Springfield was 780 miles with an excess charge of \$676.80 in 1847. Although not illegal then, Hoch writes that "Honest Abe" would not have lied about the mileage. In fact, Lincoln submitted the same mileage for his 1848 trip!

Lincoln returned to Washington in 1849, to lobby for an appointment and "geographically speaking" traveled by stage to Cumberland. Then, in July 1857, he and his family traveled to Niagara Falls when "he must have gone by rail... the only possible route through Erie..." (48).

Chapter IV is a brief history of the rise of the Republican party, nationally and in Pennsylvania, and Lincoln's election. When Lincoln traveled to New York to speak at the Cooper Institute and in New England, in February, 1860, "no doubt he was aware of the state's importance to any would-be presidential candidate." (49) He returned by railroad and passed through Erie. Chapter V is the first half of Lincoln's "grand" inaugural train route east into western Pennsylvania to Pittsburgh en route to D. C., in February, 1861. He traveled to Erie, via Cleveland, and to Philadelphia via Buffalo and New York City. The subtitle for Chapter VI is "Lincoln and the Railroads: - which should have been the sub-title of the book. In June 1862, with the war going badly, Lincoln went to West Point, NY, to confer with General Winfield Scott, via Philadelphia. Lincoln's visit to Gettysburg, November 18-19, 1863, is the topic of Chapter VII. His train route is detailed. Almost minute by minute. A copy of the program

and the address itself are printed. In June 1864, he visited the Sanitary Fair in Philadelphia (Chapter VIII). Its history is explained, including the rail routes, his receptions and speech, and even the restaurant's menu. Chapter IX is the well-known story of Lincoln's funeral train from DC to Springfield, with included stops in Harrisburg and Philadelphia (and a "non-public stop" in Erie) with all of the railroad connections, politicians, and public reactions.

Finally, Chapter X is a "Literal Trail – Sites to Visit" to "walk where Lincoln walked, to measure the distances that he measured, and to see some of what he saw." (141) There are fifty-seven sites, AAA-like, from east to west, with maps, photographs and directions for potential visitors. Some though interesting, have no relationship to Lincoln's travels.

There are no footnotes; however, the endnotes are organized in a peculiar manner. A "Notes" section lists the page numbers; then a phrase is printed, usually three words, in italics, followed by the source. One has to search for the phrase in the narrative to find its location on the page. What this means is unclear; it must be assumed that the audience for whom this volume is written will not care. There is a bibliography and an index.

J. K. FOLMAR I,

Emeritus Professor of History, California University of Pennsylvania

ANNOUNCEMENTS

In the Information Age, where can you go for information on Pennsylvania history?

Until last year there was no easy solution for interested readers, tourists, local historians, student essayists, archivists, librarians or scholars. The old, printed bibliography of Pennsylvania history only listed journal articles and ceased publication in 1989. The online search engine, America: History and Life, does not consult the many local or specialized historical journals that publish articles of interest and is not available to many potential users. Books, dissertations, and book chapters are often difficult to locate.

Last year, thanks to funding by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission and support from the Pennsylvania Historical Association, a new online search engine devoted to Pennsylvania's history is housed at the PHA website: <http://www.pa-history.org>.

PA-Online lists articles, books, dissertations, and book chapters. You can search PA-Online by author, title, publisher, date of publication, time period, place, subject, or keyword. You can use a free marker to further refine your research or to call up the entire list. PA-Online offers the flexibility and scope missing from existing guides and search engines and is easy to use. Citations for the year 2000 are now posted on the website, along with guides for researching Pennsylvania history.

Work is now beginning on citations from 2001, despite having funding eliminated in the state budget crisis. Nonetheless generous support from concerned individuals and from the PHA is allowing the project to continue. Watch for additions to the site.

The first bibliographers were Catherine Murray and Fred Saddler, both graduate students at Temple University. Take a look at the wealth of material they collected and bookmark the site as one of your favorites.

SUSAN KLEPP,
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Susquehanna Heritage

The Historical Society of Dauphin County, Harrisburg, PA announces a new publication: *Susquehanna Heritage: A Journal of the Historical Society of Dauphin*

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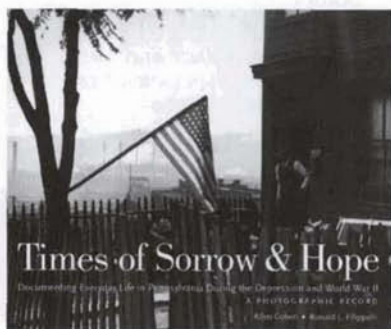


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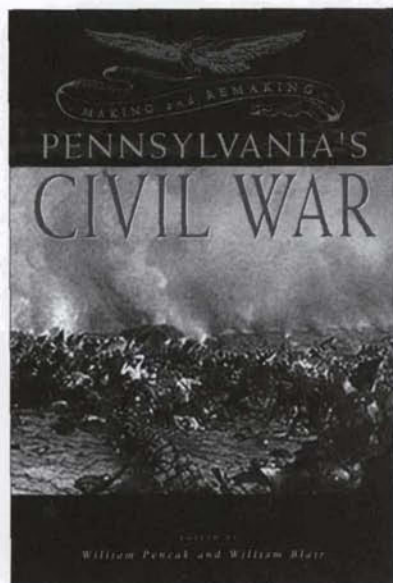


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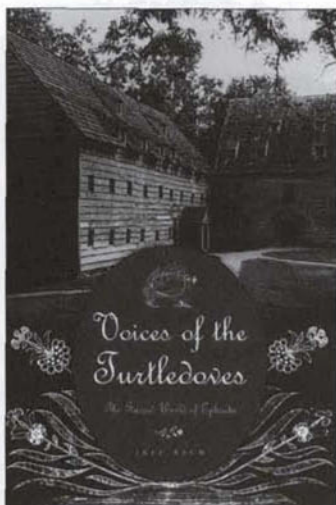
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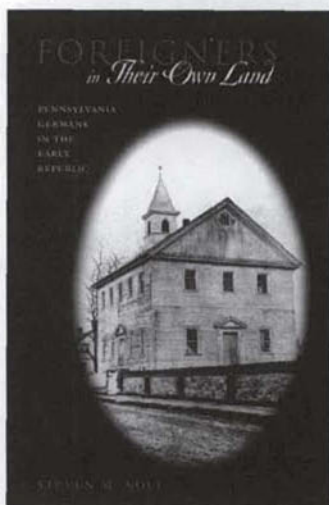
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