
Jeanette Lasansky, by energy and intelligence, has been converting herself into a singular research institution dedicated to the rural crafts in Pennsylvania. Two earlier works were devoted to pottery and basketry. Like her other productions, To Draw, Upset, & Weld is well researched, clearly organized, and well written.

The body text is divided into four sections: “A Survey,” “It’s in the Accounts,” “Out from Anonymity,” and “By Design.” Of these the most significant is “It’s in the Accounts,” which is an analysis of what blacksmiths actually made, based on what the author claims to be a study of all known blacksmithing account books. The study clearly shows that most blacksmiths derived the major part of their income from horseshoeing. Contemporary blacksmiths and their supporters have been busy in the last twenty years or so making a distinction between “blacksmith” and “farrier”—the latter meaning “horseshoer.” Also, the accounts demonstrate that the next important income source for the blacksmith was the repairing of objects. Lastly there was the making of new household objects. This, of course, goes against the stereotyped story of every crossroads blacksmith as a supplier of finished goods. Specialists apparently supplied the bulk of these products.

Both “Out from Anonymity,” which deals with the work of documented smiths, and “By Design,” which is “an analysis of materials, forms, and decoration,” rely greatly for their effect, as does the rest of the book, on the artifact photographs which are clear, crisp, and new, taken especially for the book. Given the importance of photography to the tone, one would expect that the photographer, William Irwin, would be given recognition on the title page. In addition to the Irwin illustrations, there are a number of interesting historical photographs of importance and the reproduction of a hand-drawn late nineteenth-century map of Pennsburg, Lycoming County, which locates a surprising number of blacksmith shops.

The fine bibliography and a list of contemporary smiths working in Pennsylvania round out this fine work which provides an important contribution to our knowledge of American crafts.

The Pennsylvania State University, Capitol Campus

Irwin Richman

Bruce Laurie's illumination of the contours of working class culture in antebellum Philadelphia is a tour de force in the rapidly maturing literature of the "new" social history. While his research relies in part on quantitative methodology, the book is not an explication of statistical results. Although a Marxian notion of class underlies his basic assumptions, the study is in no sense narrowly ideological. The book is scholarly, yet written in an exuberant style which should be attractive to student and perhaps even popular audiences. (One hopes for a paperback edition.) It is, in short, a thoroughly eclectic and provocative application of the seminal insights of E.P. Thompson, Herbert Gutman, David Montgomery, and a score of other "new" social, labor, and political historians.

Laurie deliberately chooses the entire first half of the nineteenth century as a backdrop in order to demonstrate the continuities as well as the discontinuities of a dynamic working class culture in Philadelphia between the Revolution and the Civil War. He identifies two fundamental changes affecting all working people: a drastic redistribution and concentration of wealth and, even more profound, a change in the nature of work from preindustrial to recognizably modern forms. Following the lead of E. P. Thompson, Laurie describes a working class culture which was the product of factors such as living and working conditions and "cultural baggage," especially ethnicity and religion. This culture expressed itself in political terms, both as direct action in such organizations as fire companies and activities as parades and street riots and as partisan voting behavior.

Using this analytical framework, Laurie identifies three major subgroups with distinct orientations: traditionalists, revivalists, and radicals. The author notes at the outset that he has chosen to treat these constructs as ideal types in order to render each most vividly. The traditionalists were identified by preindustrial work habits and values—the artisans and journeymen whose drinking habits and social values generally became the target of the revivalists. At the beginning of the period, the traditionalists were native Americans, but they were gradually and increasingly attracted by revivalist and middle-class values. Immigrants, most notably Irish who arrived directly from preindustrial environments, became the new traditionalists. Revivalists were the change agents of working class culture. The author carefully traces the impact of evangelical movements on social values as the culture of working men transformed itself into one consistent both with Christian values and industrial capitalism. Finally, the radicals, clearly the focus of Laurie's interest, were the ideological and intellectual inheritors of Thomas Paine in both republican politics and deistic philosophy. As the Revolutionary heritage faded and industrial capitalism emerged triumphant, their older producer ideology blended with the newer revivalist morality in support of reform movements near mid-century.

Laurie's account of the General Trades' Union is incisive. Moreover, his insight into the political activities of radical trade unionists in the 1830s
promises to spark new thinking about the partisan rationale for the Workingmen's Party across the state.

To be sure, the book has some weaknesses. One wonders, for example, how to assess the validity of his speculations about the cultural orientation of scabs ("there is reason to believe that they were revivalists and traditionalists") and one wishes for the definitional criteria for such categories as "journeyman," "master craftsman," and "professional" in his tables. Further, the need continually to repeat the labels for cultural types leads to occasional confusion and syntactical awkwardness. But *Working People of Philadelphia* is an important contribution to the contemporary literature of labor history. It is useful as a model of its genre and as a synthesis of nearly two decades of innovative approaches to writing the history of inarticulate workers. Laurie's work will certainly inspire new inquiries into the nature and expression of working class values during the earliest period of industrialization in America.

*Indiana University of Pennsylvania*  
DONALD S. McPHERSON


On the last page of this book, Philip Foner returns to an idea that hovers about this volume without ever quite settling: that the strength of the American labor movement depends on the participation of women. The statement seems true enough. But it is being made here because its truth has never seemed obvious or compelling to most of organized labor. Foner's accounts of the Passaic strike (1926), Gastonia (1929), the sit-downs of the late 1930s, and many other conflicts demonstrate that women have been organizable, militant, violent, and (especially in Women's Auxiliaries) helpful; but these qualities have not led the labor movement to welcome them as equals. Foner is probably right in differentiating the CIO from the AF of L, but the CIO seems not to have done much more for women than to decide not to exclude them from its organizing campaigns. As Foner notes, in the 1930s the CIO neither recognized the special needs of women workers, nor elected a woman to an official leadership position, nor, after World War II, did it come to the aid of women workers during reconversion. What organized labor did do, in the depression of the mid-1970s as in 1946, was to insist that the only possible solution to the last-hired, first-fired syndrome was full employment. Now, full employment is a useful theoretical concept, and in certain contexts a radical one. But when it is raised as an alternative to reform of seniority, as in 1975, we may be sure that it is neither useful nor radical, but simply one more way of putting off demands for change from those outside the system. Foner knows this but cannot say it. A century of
The book is less useful for its analytic and thematic content than for its coverage of major events in the American labor movement, each presented to reflect the role of women. Of twenty-seven chapters, six deal with World Wars I and II, eight with the 1920s (the Women’s Trade Union League, the ILGWU, the Fur Workers, the Southern Textile Workers, the National Miners’ Union), and four with the 1930s, including two on the CIO. In the postwar period, the struggles of hospital workers (in Local 1199), the relationship between organized labor and the women’s movement, and the organization of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (1974) are treated interestingly and at reasonable length. White collar unions receive much less attention than they deserve. Foner is most at home writing about industrial labor, Communists, and the 1920s. While not the focus of particular chapters, certain issues and subjects appear throughout the book; these include black women, the role of the state, labor history films, and protective legislation.

Foner’s politics and methodology prevent him from asking the questions and using the sources that might produce a more complex understanding of the relationship between women and the labor movement. Rather than probing the tensions between men and women, or critically examining union policy, Foner describes organized labor’s resistance to women as an irrational prejudice, a kind of massive misunderstanding that ought to have disappeared long ago. It has not disappeared, and Foner cannot explain its persistence. Nonetheless, there is much to be learned from Foner’s frameworks, from his ideology, and from his unique way of assembling the past.

State University of New York, Fredonia

WILLIAM GRAEBNER


Carl Degler’s At Odds is an impressively researched, analytical assessment of the most recent historical scholarship about women and the family. In a broad survey of the familial, sexual, political, and economic facets of American women’s past, Degler demonstrates an extensive familiarity with nineteenth-century diaries, letters, feminist tracts, and marriage manuals. Although the author courageously tackles many of the fundamental questions that have confounded historians of women’s experience, his answers beg many another question—and often the same ones over again. Degler attempts to explain what happened to women’s status after the American Revolution, why the birth rate fell in the nineteenth century, the reasons for the long delay in Congressional passage of woman suffrage, the effects of protective legislation on women’s employment, and the attraction of women to certain social reform movements. Evenhanded coverage of such diverse themes over a 200-year period is understandably very difficult, but the chief failing in this work nonetheless is its confused argument. The evidence presented in the body of the book runs counter to the author’s thesis, which is otherwise stated quite clearly in the preface.
At Odds is dedicated to the feminist theorist Charlotte Perkins Gilman and at the same time weaves its central argument from the threads of her turn-of-the-century views about the conflict between women’s family obligations and women’s emancipation. Like Gilman, Degler ascribes blame for the inequality between men and women in American society to the “historic family [which] has depended for its existence and character on women’s subordination.” According to Degler, women’s status declined in America only after the Revolution, though the reader will find scant causal explanation for the change in these pages. One is told little more than that after 1776 the “modern American family” emerged. The new family model was characterized by affection between wife and husband, an exclusively domestic role for women, and a heightened concern for the welfare of children, of whom there were now fewer. Beginning in the late eighteenth century women were confined to a domestic and maternal sphere, while men’s traditional domination of paid employment and politics was intensified. This increased gender segregation resulted in women’s social isolation, their concentration in only a few fields of paid work, and their derogation to second-class citizenship. The notion of separate spheres for men and women became so widespread and thoroughly acceptable to a majority of American women that the nineteenth-century challenge to these developments by a tiny minority of women’s rights advocates attracted only limited attention.

Degler marshalls an impressive array of evidence from nineteenth-century diaries and letters and from recent demographic research to show—contrary to his central thesis—that women’s autonomy and influence not only grew within the family but within the larger society during the 1800s. Gender segregation is shown to have encouraged women to form close personal bonds with other women in a process of female ghettoization which nurtured the development of a unique women’s culture that sought to limit family size, impose constraints on the sexual behavior of men, liberalize divorce laws, and occasionally even disavow marriage altogether. What is more, Degler argues that “in the light of [eighteenth-century] modes of relations between husband and wife, those between spouses in the nineteenth century seem almost egalitarian as well as companionate. For by then husbands were quite willing to admit dependence upon their wives.” The autonomous role and culture of women meant in Degler’s view a female mandate to reform American society in line with women’s new values and attitudes. Unfortunately, Degler provides no reconciliation of the negative and positive sides to women’s changed place in post-Revolutionary America.

There are problems as well with several other arguments in At Odds, principally because Degler has a disturbing tendency to overstretch his middle-class evidence to generalize about the attitudes of the population as a whole. Two examples: (1) That few traces of child labor were recorded in the federal censuses from 1870 to 1950 demonstrates to Degler that working-class parents shared with the middle class a view of childhood as a “special and different” stage of individual development to be nurtured and respected.
in its own right. National census figures, however, are not as useful for determining the extent of child labor as local census information, since child labor varied according to the available employment opportunities in individual communities. Child labor was well known in nineteenth-century coal mining and textile towns. In other settings, where there were no readily available jobs for children, working-class parents were known to utilize their young offspring as scavengers and hawkers of goods—work not necessarily recorded by census takers. The use of census data as a way of getting at people's attitudes is in itself a questionable practice. (2) Degler suggests that middle-class advice literature on childrearing reflected "the behavior and attitudes of Americans in general." He points to the high nineteenth-century literacy rate to argue that working-class families read and adopted "the prescriptions and advice of middle-class people." Unfortunately, such a statement needs empirical validation to carry the burden ascribed to it in this volume.

Many of Degler's assertions would be better couched as questions. Was the drop in the nineteenth-century birth rate really due in large measure to women's initiative? Did the prevalence of women in the temperance movement cut across class lines or did the movement attract middle-class women and men interested in altering the behavior of immigrant and native-born wage earners? From the standpoint of American political parties, why did suffrage for women take fifty years? Is it the case that women wage earners accepted low wages and poor conditions because they viewed their employment as temporary or did other factors, such as the economics of particular industries, play a crucial role in determining the extent of women's militancy?

Historical surveys are very difficult to write in well-established specialties and even more problematic in new areas of historical exploration. At Odds will prove a useful book, at least, for the challenge Degler gives other historians to explore systematically the many unresolved questions which he raises both implicitly and explicitly.

University of Pittsburgh

MAURINE WEINER GREENWALD


This is an attractive little book, made especially so by Bob Wood's jacket design, the picture on the facing cover reminiscent of a painting by Andrew Wyeth, and so rich in the symbolism expressing the ideas and purposes of the Pendle Hill experiment.

On the jacket flap someone very properly asks: "What is Pendle Hill? It has been called an ashram, a Quaker monastery, and a school for the prophets..." And, as we read the book it becomes evident that this institution has touched all of these bases, and others too.
Founded in 1930 in Wallingford, about twelve miles from Philadelphia, the school was named after a “Pendle Hill” mentioned in the Journal of George Fox. It was to serve several main purposes: to meet the needs of Quakerism’s lay ministry, to set up a laboratory for the exploration of cognate areas of scholarship, and to provide a meeting place for Quakers and non-Quakers. A fourth purpose (or hope), although not mentioned in the advertising, “was perfectly understood by all involved...” This was the hope that Pendle Hill would help to unite the Orthodox and Hicksites, separated since 1827, through common efforts in religious-and-social action.

The new enterprise was fortunate in securing Henry Hodgkin, a British Quaker, to be its director. Under his leadership the tone of Pendle Hill was largely set for the next fifty years. The curriculum he advocated would include courses in the principles of Quakerism, psychology, applied Christianity and the Bible, in philosophy and religious education. In operation the school would be “student centered, use the project method, require no examinations, grant no degrees, and give no credits...” All students had to be college graduates, “or the equivalent.”

Henry Hodgkin and his distinguished successors guided Pendle Hill fortunes from a group of substantial fieldstone buildings on an eight-acre campus. Here Howard and Anna Brinton brought their talents to the furtherance of a dream, attracting not only regular students but sojourners and “pilgrims.” Among the pilgrims, most of whom lectured during their stay, were Christopher Isherwood, Jean Paul Sartre, Heinrich Brüning, and Jacques Maritain, the Catholic philosopher. Dan Wilson, compassionate Friend, opened Pendle Hill to the “Hiroshima Maidens” in 1955 while they waited their turn for plastic surgery in New York. Dan and his wife Rosalie helped to carry events through the troubled fifties and sixties; in the latter part of their service Lloyd Lewis gave them powerful assistance. They retired in 1970 when an increasing polarization was developing between those who thought Pendle Hill was primarily an educational institution in the old sense, and those who thought of it as a community—or possibly a commune.

As the author saw it, the period between 1971 and 1980 was “A Season of Exploration.” Now new leaders directed Pendle Hill activities; now came a time to assess what Pendle Hill had accomplished in its first fifty years. On the whole the judgment was favorable. Pendle Hill had been and continued to be an educational institution developing a community spirit (e.g., the Orthodox and Hicksites were united in 1955). Traditions established in the thirties persisted into the seventies: Monday night public lectures, “log night,” and term papers. Research, seminar discussion, and reflection had produced over two hundred pamphlets by 1980. And, if Quaker mysticism and the study of the Bible continued to be popular, so also was a new course called “Useful Arts.” Pendle Hill was flexible, adaptable—and practical.

Eleanore Price had been at Pendle Hill as a student during its pioneer days. She left it to marry Robert Mather, but returned years later to edit Pendle Hill pamphlets. And so she wrote this book from the vantage point of a participating observer, aiding her memory by reference to articles in
Quaker periodicals and the many Pendle Hill pamphlets and *Bulletins*. Other sources included Carol Murphy's *The Roots of Pendle Hill*, and Ormerod Greenwood's *Henry Hodgkin: The Road to Pendle Hill*. What finally emerged was the definitive history of this institution.

The book is well done. Eighteen pages of photographs bring to visual life what might otherwise have been verbal abstractions. And, if there are minor irritations—documentation being used in most cases to support only direct quotations, and a few cases where sectional headings are somewhat misleading—the whole work is interestingly written, and sprinkled with humorous anecdotes. There is a useful index.

*Indiana, Pennsylvania*  

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This new edition of the best overall history of the state begins with a new preface laying a stress, not evident in the first preface, on the utopian vision with which William Penn founded the Commonwealth. This emphasis may seem a little odd, since much of the enlargement beyond the first edition naturally concerns the politics of Governor Milton Shapp’s administrations, when utopian vision, long since a scarce commodity in Penn’s domain, seemed perhaps more than ever overwhelmed by cynicism. Yet the emphasis on the founder’s dreams is a useful means of establishing at the outset the frame of mind in which the authors hope their readers will approach the book: in a volume necessarily stocked with very localized events, Klein and Hoogenboom want us to think with breadth, to search out the illumination that local and state events may shed on national history, perhaps even to search out for more ultimate meaning in what is local—as in another new passage they tell of John Updike’s doing in his drama about a fellow Pennsylvanian, *Buchanan Dying*.

A more extended discussion of Updike than the 1973 edition contained and a similar examination of James Michener take their places alongside the information on recent politics and government among the obviously necessary extensions of the first edition. Beyond the additions concerning the recent past, the enlargement of the text is not so great as this volume’s 633 pages compared with the first edition’s 559 might suggest at first glance. The enlargement is mainly a matter of somewhat bigger type and more illustrations—welcome kinds of enlargement, to be sure. The text itself, up to 1973, remains virtually unchanged except for five new passages. The labor history of the state is appropriately filled out with an account of the 1897 anthracite strike near Hazleton (pp. 330-331), an account informed by the research of Harold W. Aurand and an important addition because it was this strike that “turned the situation around” (p. 330) in the anthracite fields by dissipating the immigrant miners’ hostility toward the United
Mine Workers. A second noteworthy addition discusses sports and the theater in Pennsylvania cities in the recent past (p. 489). The history of blacks in the Commonwealth is embellished with a new discussion of black baseball, focusing on that rediscovered Pennsylvania sports hero, the great catcher of the Homestead Grays and the Crawford Colored Giants, Josh Gibson (pp. 495-496). Similarly, there is almost a full new page on a black cultural leader, Marian Anderson (p. 561). Finally, along with the enlarged discussions of Updike and Michener, there is an overdue appreciation of another literary figure, Conrad Richter (p. 549).

Because most of the book remains unchanged, the comments of earlier reviewers still apply, such as John A. Munroe's in this journal (XL [July 1973], 332-334)—though the trivial factual errors noted by Munroe have generally been corrected. So, as Munroe pointed out, the organization is mainly chronological, the emphasis on political history is heavy, recent history receives a generous share of the book, individuals tend to be not mere names but to receive lively introductions, and each chapter is followed by a bibliography that usually includes some obscure sources and doctor's and master's theses. Munroe's one major complaint might also be judged by many still to apply, that a disproportionately large amount of space is given to Philadelphia and Pittsburgh at the expense of the middle-sized cities. However that may be (this reviewer, perhaps because of his Philadelphia location, is not so sure he agrees with Munroe), the authors' judgments remain on the whole as sound and sensible as their capacity to avoid factual errors is remarkable in so large and miscellaneous a book.

Their balanced judiciousness is well illustrated by their added material on the Shapp administrations. While they do not evade the degeneration of those administrations into tolerating “corruption” and “moral lapses” because Shapp “failed to realize that the public demands a higher ethical standard from its servants than its businessmen” (p. 526), they fully acknowledge also Shapp's determined and energetic pursuit of social justice.

If the book suffers from a central problem that the authors have not altogether solved, it is a problem of which they are aware, and that deeply involves not only the book but the endeavors of the association that sponsors this journal. In beginning the new preface with a reference to Penn's vision of the “Holy Experiment,” Klein and Hoogenboom seek by portraying Pennsylvania as the largest in scale and longest-lived of utopian experiments to release their narrative from the constrictions of simply local and regional history. “State history,” they acknowledge, “has been accused of jingoism and of providing a frame too narrow to encompass the complex organization of modern mobile society.” But they hope to escape the accusation by presenting state history in a way that “gives to national history a vitality and intimacy it cannot otherwise achieve” (p. xiii).

They certainly do not give us Pennsylvania jingoism, but the effort to avoid a more benign variety of parochialism tends to get lost in the forest of local detail. Too often, it seemed to me as I read, what sustained my interest was my own parochialism as a Pennsylvanian bound enough to the
state to be willing to rummage in odd corners of its attic. Too often the book gives little sense of opening wider implications beyond the immediate details of political party factionalism, state boundary changes, or statistics of fruit production on Pennsylvania farms. Yet what could have been done to avoid localism? Mere periodic reminders that Pennsylvania has often been a microcosm of a larger region or of the whole nation, that what was going on here was paralleled elsewhere, would become tedious. There is no easy solution to the problem of how genuinely to use state history to give "to national history a vitality and intimacy it cannot otherwise achieve." It is indeed a measure of this book's stature that it risks raising the problem explicitly and thus inviting comments like these. But the problem surely needs to concern the Pennsylvania Historical Association, for in our association's difficulties in using the history of the Commonwealth to breathe vitality into larger spheres of history, in our own tendency toward "providing a frame too narrow to encompass the complex organization of modern mobile society," we have a root cause of a perilous loss of vitality in the association itself.

If Klein and Hoogenboom thus raise the issue of the relationship of state to national and larger history without resolving it, we still owe them gratitude for challenging all of us state historians, in addition to the gratitude we already owe them for this expanded edition of their excellent history of Pennsylvania.

Temple University

Russell F. Weigley

A Select Bibliography on the Pennsylvania German Dialect; Amish Bibliography, 1951-1977; A Bibliography of Works Published in the Yearbooks of the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society; and German-American Bibliography for 1979, with Supplements for 1971-1978. Occasional Papers of the Society for German-American Studies, Nos. 2, 3, 4, and 9. Edited by Steven M. Benjamin. (Morgantown: Department of Foreign Languages, West Virginia University, 1979-1980. Pp. 17, 35, 9, and 105. $1.50, $2.00, $1.25, and $6.00 paper.)

All four of these bibliographic tools are published in mimeograph form by the Society for German-American Studies. None is subdivided by topic; all are single alphabetical lists by author. Some entries are annotated. The most substantial of the four is the German-American Bibliography, listing over 1900 entries. The Amish Bibliography is meant to supplement John Hostetler's standard Annotated Bibliography on the Amish (1951).
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