
Basic to an understanding of early American history is an awareness of the encounters between Indians and European colonists. Though these encounters varied with time and place they all resulted in dynamic contests in which natives and intruders attempted to pursue their own goals while adjusting to alien people and changing environments.

One valuable product of these cultural contests is a rich collection of documents normally subsumed under the heading “Indian Treaties” but including a wide variety of sources, the careful use of which can offer valuable insights on cultural interaction and help us enrich our understanding of the colonial past. The 246 documents included in Pennsylvania and Delaware Treaties, 1629–1737 represent the beginning of an ambitious and long-overdue effort to make these sources available to both scholars and informed laymen. When complete the series will include twenty volumes covering the Indian affairs of all the British mainland colonies.

This first of three volumes on Pennsylvania covers the formative years of the colony’s relations with Delawares, Shawnees, and Six Nations Iroquois. The formal council minutes and private exchanges reveal the extent to which accommodation marked the early stages of Indian-white relations in the colony. By 1682 two generations of sustained contact between Delawares, Swedes, and Dutch had produced diplomatic arrangements rooted in native, not European, values and protocol, a pattern that would persist through the next century. Another hallmark of Pennsylvania-Indian relations was the relative absence of violence before the Seven Years’ War. Confronted with growing numbers of settlers and increasingly dictatorial proprietary agents, Delaware bands used treaty making in two ways. First, they did not hesitate to lodge complaints and remind their colonial audiences that peace and friendship demanded cooperation by both parties. Second, these same bands traded space for security by moving out of the path of oncoming settlers.

Fifty years of movement, resettlement, and continual English invasions did, however, introduce tension and changes in relations. Substantial numbers of Delawares, followed by Shawnees, moved to the Ohio Country to escape white settlements and ecological disruption. For the colony, the prospect of unhappy Indians living closer to the French along the province’s undefended western frontier led to a redefinition of Indian policy as the Penns solicited Iroquois aid in managing the colony’s native population. While this Pennsylvania-Iroquois rapprochement was still incomplete at the time of the Walking Purchase in 1737, it ultimately helped create a mystique of Iroquois conquest and dominion that has complicated our understanding of Indian affairs ever since.

Those familiar with Donald Kent’s earlier editorial projects will find the
same quality and attention to detail in this latest undertaking. Each of the ten chronological chapters is preceded by a brief introductory headnote. Of special value, however, are the endnotes, many of which help clarify the often bewildering array of proper names and locales mentioned in the text. The absence of an index—a separate index volume will complete the series—will handicap users unfamiliar with the documents. Specialists may also question the chronological structure and the introductions, both of which tend to reflect a colonial, more than Indian, perspective. However, the convenient availability of so many documents from a wide variety of published and unpublished sources will far outweigh such shortcomings. Kent has produced another editorial masterpiece, one that sets a high standard for the rest of the series.

Millersville University

MICHAEL N. MCCONNELL


This dissertation rescues George Clymer, signer of both the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, member of the Pennsylvania Assembly, three-time delegate to the Continental and Confederation congresses, and member of the First Congress, from self-induced obscurity. Clymer’s failure to leave a significant collection of papers combined with his nearly nonverbal presence in the legislative bodies and a preference to work through others or in committee to advance his views, effectively shielded him, rendering him a virtual unknown. Grundfest overcame these obstacles through diligent searching in the papers of Clymer’s contemporaries and in collateral archives to retrieve what is knowable of Clymer’s public career.

He pictures a moderate American Whig whom inherent nationalism and a desire for effective state and central governments transformed into a Pennsylvania Republican and Federalist. Clymer, then a Philadelphia merchant, became a political activist at the time of the Tea Act. He promoted both intercolonial resistance and Pennsylvania support for independence. But in the Pennsylvania Convention of 1776 he broke with the radical constitutionalists aligning himself with the anticonstitutionalists in their long campaign to overturn the unicameral legislature and strengthen the executive. Grundfest interprets the 1776 constitutionalist triumph as the result of short-lived opportunism, and the 1790 Constitution as a necessary rejection of excesses and a vindication of the true revolutionary faith of the majority which Clymer and other Republicans had finally organized. Hence, Clymer and his cohorts participated not in Brundage’s counterrevolution but in the spirit of ’76.

Between 1775 and 1796 Clymer held a series of administrative offices. Some were appointive, others devolved from his elective offices. They ranged from continental treasurer and an agency to procure military supplies to Washington’s supervisor of the revenue in Pennsylvania, 1791–94. As a Pennsylvanian who voted for the excise, it was appropriate that he hold the office as portents of the Whiskey Rebellion surfaced. His final national appointment was as commissioner to the Creek Indians in 1796. The biography follows each development in detail, providing specifics on Clymer’s thought or actions where established, but relying on a general account if his position cannot be ascertained.
Although the work does much to establish Clymer's place in history, the evidence limits the author's ability to fully relate his man to the Revolutionary movement described by Maier or its political thought as presented by Bailyn or Wood. Grundfest uses the extensive literature on Pennsylvania politics published to 1972 judiciously but adds only modestly to it. He provides a well-developed section on the Pennsylvania delegates' efforts to locate the national capital permanently, or even temporarily, within the commonwealth. His efforts to correct mistakes by Beard and Beard's recent critics about funding of the federal debt and Clymer's status as merchant, land speculator or creditor are less successful. Repeatedly the volume imputes a more influential role to Clymer than he in fact played. For example, Clymer goes to the First Congress "to breathe life into the [federal] government which had heretofore been a mere vision" (p. 325).

Clymer's nongovernmental public roles—trustee of the University, member and ultimately vice-president of Philadelphia's Agricultural Society, first president of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, president (1803-13) of the Philadelphia (National) Bank—receive detailed treatment in the final chapter which should be consulted by researchers whose work relates to those organizations. Unfortunately use of the volume for reference is difficult because there is no index.

Since the Arno Press volume merely photo-reproduces the dissertation typescript, one can secure the work in microform or print versions from University Microfilms at substantially less cost.

Dickinson College

Warren J. Gates


Slavery and Freedom is a welcome addition to that short shelf of scholarly books that contribute to our understanding of the impact of the American Revolution upon slavery and Afro-American society. Although Benjamin Quarles observed over twenty years ago that the Revolution was at least as revolutionary for blacks as it was for whites, few studies have followed that treat the subject with insight or depth. The ten original essays collected in this volume, all by leading scholars of the nation's formative period, go a long way toward correcting that situation. They provide a fairly complete picture of the simultaneous expansion of black slavery and black freedom in the period from the Declaration of Independence to the War of 1812, advancing our knowledge of the Afro-American experience in this era to a degree achieved by no other recent book.

Each of the contributions to this anthology is of high quality and worthy of extended commentary. In the space allotted, however, one can draw attention only to those that appear to be most significant or provocative. The first four essays explore black society in the North, the Chesapeake, the low-country South, and the Southwestern frontier, illustrating the distinctive nature of colonial slavery in each region and the distinctive ways in which black life was altered during the Revolutionary era. Gary B. Nash provides an illuminating
account of how emancipated slaves in the seaport capitals of the North formed their own communities, developed independent families, and fitted into urban economic life. He notes that black institutions developed more rapidly in Boston and Philadelphia, where slavery ended shortly after American independence, than in New York, where slavery lingered on for a generation. In Philadelphia nearly all blacks were free by 1790, and the process of forming institutions and an independent black consciousness was fairly rapid. Thus, according to Nash, black Philadelphians had created an institutional life by the 1820s that was richer and more enduring than that of their low-income white neighbors, a thesis that deserves to be tested in studies of other American communities. Richard S. Dunn finds a drastically different pattern in his splendid study of the Chesapeake region. He demonstrates that during the Revolutionary era the region was actually shaped into two distinct divisions, the upper Chesapeake where the process of liberation expanded and the lower Chesapeake where slaveholding became more widespread and the plantation regime more deeply entrenched. Philip D. Morgan's study of conditions in South Carolina documents that slavery grew even more rapidly there than in the lower Chesapeake in the generation following the Revolution. Simultaneous with the vast expansion of slavery, however, was the extension of a unique low-country social system in which slaves enjoyed greater autonomy than in any other part of the United States.

A valuable study of the evolution of black families on the Jefferson, Carroll, and Pinckney plantations illustrates the depth and strength of Afro-American domestic life in the eighteenth century. It makes the case that kinship ties linked slaves together between plantations and provided the means of black cultural independence even as slavery expanded in the South, an important thesis that requires more investigation. Duncan J. MacLeod ably illustrates that the Revolution brought drastic changes in the ways that whites perceived blacks in the slave societies. Before the Revolution whites did not rationalize slavery in racial terms, but once the nation embraced the philosophy that all men are free and equal the slaveholders developed a racist doctrine to defend racial slavery. Elaborating the stereotype of blacks as being lazy, unintelligent, larcenous, and libidinous, whites created a new rationale for the status of black people that set the foundations for American racial thought in the twentieth century. MacLeod's interpretation, too, invites more detailed research.

Two arresting essays explore the impact of the American Revolution beyond the United States. Franklin W. Knight demonstrates how the Revolution set into motion forces that eventually destroyed slavery throughout the Caribbean. He makes a cautious but convincing case that the Revolution disrupted patterns of international trade upon which West Indian slave economies were built, changed the internal economies of the islands, and influenced new master-slave relations that fueled the erosion of Caribbean slave systems. David Brion Davis extends the assessment to the entire Atlantic basin. In a bold exploration in "what if" history, he examines what might have occurred in the absence of a successful American Revolution to illustrate how much of the history of the Atlantic world rests on the chain of events set in motion by American independence. This novel exploration in counterfactual history is the most thought-provoking essay in the volume.

These essays, which were originally read at a symposium sponsored by the
United States Capitol Historical Society, not only extend our knowledge but raise questions and posit theses that are certain to foster new research. Indeed, the great value of this book is that its contributors map new directions for the historiography of slavery and Afro-American life in the Revolutionary era.

San Diego State University

ROBERT C. DETWEILER


In the grand sweep of American history, Jerry Church was a figure of rather modest significance. Born in Bainbridge, New York, in the late 1790s, he died in Carlisle, Iowa, in 1874 at the age of seventy-eight. A restless spirit, he lived life most typically on the move, traveling through much of the eastern half of the United States and residing for usually brief periods in at least nine different eastern and midwestern states including, from time to time, Pennsylvania. His formal education ended at age "twelve or thirteen," and he earned his livelihood by whatever means chance presented—as a shinglemaker, a lumberman, a cattle drover, a farmer, a boat builder, a shopkeeper, a peddler, a riverboatsman, a gold miner, a wax museum barker, a musician, and a land speculator. In that last capacity, he participated in the founding of towns in several states including, in 1833, Lock Haven, Pennsylvania, where he resided until 1845, perhaps the longest continuous residence in his lifetime.

This slender volume, when first published by the author in 1845, consisted of two chapters—the first, a recounting of his colorful career to that point and the second, his reflections "on matters and things in general." Subsequent editions appeared in 1929 and in 1933 but are now out of print and generally unavailable. The present edition, published by the Clinton County Historical Society and the Annie Halenbake Ross Library, commemorates the sesquicentennial of Lock Haven. To the original journal is added a nine-page "Last Chapter" relating Church’s experiences in Iowa and Kansas between 1845 and 1857 and forwarded to the historical society by his great-granddaughter shortly after the appearance of the 1929 edition.

Church recounts none of the dramatic moments in American history through which he lived. His journal is, instead, unyieldingly egocentric. Thus the reader sees the constantly changing, but relatively limited, world of Jerry Church through the eyes of Jerry Church. It is a different and interesting perspective which yields a sense of the quality and fabric of nineteenth-century life and an appreciation for the challenges, obstacles, and frustrations encountered in living it. Church takes them all in stride and meets hardship and adversity with a chuckle and an unshakable confidence that something will turn up, and it usually does.

Church was also a careful observer and held emphatic opinions, but on selected subjects. He makes no reference, for example, to the wars through which he lived, to slavery, or to any foreign country nor does he mention either wife or children. However, he relates in detail each of his business ventures and, as an unproclaimed Whig, extolls Henry Clay and the virtues of corporations, credit, and a national bank as conducive to material prosperity, perhaps his highest value. On visiting Andrew Jackson’s Hermitage, he dismissed it as “a
common brick house . . . where the old fellow went to confess his sins." The hypocrisy of some clergymen, the avarice of lawyers, the ignorance of juries, the weight of taxes, and the disruptive conduct of Irish voters all earn his condemnation. Additionally, he warns his readers of the evils of gambling, tobacco, and alcohol while acknowledging a first hand acquaintanceship with all three. In summary, general readers may find of greatest interest the projection of one facet of the American mind in the first half of the nineteenth century. Pennsylvania historians will, in addition, take note of his activities in Lock Haven and elsewhere in the state.

Saint Francis College

JOHN F. COLEMAN


Frassanito, a free-lance author concentrating on Civil War photographic history, has produced a study of views representing the conflict’s final year in Virginia. It is on the same order as his previous studies of Gettysburg and Antietam photographs. Overall, these three works are important contributions, but are less than what they might have been.

This volume is inferior to the others in quality. Frassanito was faced with hundreds of photographs covering his subject, forcing him to choose those he considered representative or most interesting. That situation was unavoidable, but the reader is continually uneasy with it. How do we know the images presented are the best available? The overall impression of Frassanito’s presentation does not instill complete confidence in his judgment. The primary faults of all his books are his poor writing style and a difficulty approaching the human drama of his subject. This book is written less in the style of a coroner’s report than were his previous works, but it is still far from good historical literature. Frassanito has sensitized his ability to express the human side of his subject, although it is still not equal to the humanistic potential inherent in these photographs. For this one cannot blame him but rather encourage his development as a writer of history.

The importance of Frassanito’s work, however, outweighs these annoying defects. He is the first author to give Civil War photographs the kind of rigorous examination they need, to fix them in time and place as artifacts of history, which is essential for their effective use as sources of historical information. Using the same methodology he employed in his previous books, Frassanito locates the present-day sites depicted by these images, critically analyses the available evidence regarding authorship, and accompanies this with a brief account of military operations to set sufficient background. He groups the photographs according to locale or common subjects and arranges the groups in a roughly chronological order. His maps are excellent, his explanation of the provenance of these photographs is clear and highly informative, and the reproductions are quite good. Excerpts from soldiers’ letters, unpublished as well as published, add interest to the narrative. Pennsylvania generals and businesses are mentioned.

Frassanito’s contribution to Civil War studies lies in providing a workman-like, technical foundation for understanding this important nineteenth-century technological innovation in recording war. He clears up old wives’ tales
regarding these photographs, many of which have been widely published. As in
his previous books, the death scenes are of most interest. Their potential as an
avenue for understanding the experience of war has to be realized by other
authors who will owe Frassanito a heavy debt.

Purdue University

EARL J. HESS

Yuscht Fer Schee: Architectural Ornament in Allentown. By Karyl Lee Kibler
Hall. (Allentown, Pennsylvania: Lehigh County Historical Society,

Yuscht Fer Schee (for which the reader is offered no translation) resulted from
Karyl Lee Kibler Hall’s research project entitled “Allentown’s Wooden Orna-
ment and the Carpenters Who Made It,” funded by the National Endowment
for the Humanities under the auspices of the Lehigh County Historical Society.
From December 4, 1982, until February 27, 1983, a photographic exhibition
was held at the Allentown Art Museum, documenting wood ornamentation on
Allentown residences over an area of approximately 150 blocks, from Front to
Fifteenth streets and Tilghmen to Union streets. Subtitled “Architectural
Ornament in Allentown,” the present photographic essay is a catalogue of that
exhibit.

The catalogue is divided into four parts which review in turn the ethnic
(German) origins of the community, the role of technology as reflected in
Allentown’s houses, the craftsmen who were responsible for some of the unusual
ornamentation revealed, and lastly the artifacts themselves (as Hall calls them)
i.e., styles and motifs. From the outset, it is obvious that the author found the
Pennsylvania German character of Allentown pervasive in terms of architec-
tural expression, especially in the years from the middle of the nineteenth
century through the 1920s. Interest in the decorative arts is evidenced by the
colorful painted chests, handsome quilts and coverlets, and idiosyncratic barn
designs associated with the Pennsylvania German. At the same time, the second
half of the last century witnessed the publication of dozens of builders’ guides
(Hall refers to them as “Pattern Books”) which may or may not have been a
source of inspiration to Allentown’s woodworkers.

Despite advances in technology which led to the development of easily
operated, cost-efficient machinery, most wood ornamentation surveyed appears
to have been done by hand. Unfortunately, these skilled and semi-skilled
workers remain anonymous, and Yuscht Fer Schee offers no evidence that
individual carvers or families of carvers worked in a particular style or on
specific structures. Although the author refers to Allentown directories listing
the names of such workers, she has not included any names in, for example, an
appendix. This information is available, nonetheless, in the form of computer
printouts at the historical society.

The quintessential section of Hall’s catalogue is Part IV on styles and motifs.
Most of the houses surveyed were built in rows and followed a succession of
styles including Greek Revival, Italianate, Queen Anne, and Neoclassical.
There are, to be sure, stylistic overlaps and provincial variations. What is
unusual, perhaps unique, about the Allentown structures studied is the treat-
ment of the cornices and doorframes, the porches, porchhoods and doorhoods,
and the lintels. All give the ubiquitous row house a degree of individuality it
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would never have otherwise. Particularly worthy of mention are the porchhoods and doorhoods, which appeared in the early 1900s as the result of changes in local ordinances. The hoods are sometimes gable-ended, rounded, curved, or angled with carved or sawn brackets. These remained popular until the 1930s. Carved and incised lintels over doors and windows were even more popular, from the 1880s until well into the twentieth century, and the floral carvings here are especially reminiscent of earlier Pennsylvania German decorative art.

Yuscht Fer Schee contains no concluding section or summary which is unfortunate. The catalogue is, however, footnoted. Overall the photographic quality is excellent—so important in a museum publication—but the author would have made the illustrations more meaningful by providing even the briefest of captions, so that the details depicted could be related to the accompanying text. Also this reviewer feels that definitions of architectural terms unfamiliar to the average reader would have been useful. It is to be hoped that other Allentowns across the United States will undertake similar surveys, which can add so much to our appreciation of the ways in which our forebears lived.

University of Scranton

JOHN QUENTIN FELLER


This pioneering work focuses on an exciting and a neglected field—namely, nineteenth-century and twentieth-century Philadelphia Jewry. Written for the tercentenary of the founding of the city, the book is both ambitious and encompassing in scope. In sixteen topically arranged chapters, prominent contributors have surveyed the spectrum of topics relating to Jewry in Philadelphia. The book revolves around numerous themes—the impact of religious ideologies, the role of religious and civic leaders, the development of educational and philanthropic institutions, and the importance of ethnicity within the Jewish community of the city.

There are instructive chapters about Judaism in Philadelphia and about rabbinic leadership in the city. In his informative chapter regarding Orthodox Judaism, Robert Tabak extensively explains doctrines and traditions associated with this movement, assesses the achievements of Mikveh Israel, and describes the many activities of Rabbi Bernard Levinthal. Two impressive chapters in the book center on the legacy of Isaac Leeser and on Philadelphia’s Reform rabbis. In his profile of Leeser, Maxwell Whiteman vividly shows that this intellectual giant composed prayer books, wrote biblical commentaries, and energetically edited a national Jewish journal known as the Occident. Whiteman also explains that Leeser assisted in the creation of the American Jewish Publication Society and favored the establishment of numerous other organizations that would help to foster beliefs of traditional Judaism. As Malcolm Stern shows, Reform Judaism, too, became well established in Philadelphia, enlisting the support of Jews of German origin. He discusses how Congregations Rodeph Shalom and Keneseth Israel evolved into centers of Reform Judaism and how the cultural and social contributions of Joseph Krauskoph and Henry Berkowitz enabled these rabbis to acquire national prominence.
Considerable attention is devoted to significant institutions in the Philadelphia Jewish community and to its ethnic groups. The interesting chapter of Diane King contains valuable accounts about the Hebrew Education Society, about the failure of Maimonides College, and about the evolution of Gratz and Dropsie colleges. Like education, philanthropy was meaningful to the development of the Philadelphia Jewish community and is well treated in three chapters. The essay of Edwin Wolf on this subject is especially persuasive; he demonstrates that a group of prominent German-Jewish families funded numerous Jewish charitable organizations in the city during the nineteenth century, that the need to consolidate these agencies eventually led to the formation of the Federation of Jewish Charities of Philadelphia, and that this German-Jewish elite attempted to help rather than to ignore Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe and from Russia. There also are two fine chapters by Maxwell Whiteman about the cultural and economic activities of Jewish immigrants and a suggestive essay by Dennis Clark about Irish-Jewish relations in the city.

This book is a valuable addition to historical literature regarding Jewry in the American urban environment. It presents well-reasoned theses and contains a stimulating concluding chapter that compares Jewish institutions and leadership patterns in Boston and Philadelphia. This work, which might have included essays about Philadelphia Jewish retailers and physicians, serves as a sequel to the study of Wolf and Whiteman and supports major interpretations found in histories about Jewish life in New York and in Charleston. Based on extensive primary sources, *Jewish Life in Philadelphia* will assuredly become a classic. This reviewer certainly hopes that a study comparable in breadth and in depth will be written about the Jewish community of Pittsburgh.

*Butler County Community College*  
**R. William Weisberger**


Most studies of America's railroads have focused on two separate but related themes. Business historians such as Alfred Chandler and Thomas Cochran have examined the innovative ways in which railroad executives organized, constructed, and managed the nation's first large businesses, developing corporately formed and bureaucratically controlled organizations that served as models for the industrial giants that followed in the late nineteenth century. Economic historians like Robert Fogel and Albert Fishlow have studied the significance of the railroads for American economic growth and development. Despite their important findings, neither the business nor economic historians have much to say about the railroad labor force, the men who operated and maintained the country's rail system. When workers do appear on the scene, it is usually within the context of one or more of the dramatic strikes that periodically erupted with the industry after 1877, a year which witnessed a series of devastating riots along several different railroad lines.

By concentrating on the period from 1830 to 1877, the pre-union era of railway development, Walter Licht's work goes a long way toward filling in the gaps that exist in our knowledge of railroad workers. His primary purpose is to
examine the organization of work and detail the diverse work experiences of the
first two generations of railwaymen. Licht succeeds admirably in accomplishing
his task. Through several crisply written and nicely illustrated chapters, he
analyzes the informal and formal arrangements by which men were hired,
managed, rewarded, disciplined, and injured on the early railroads. Further, he
probes deftly beneath the surface of labor management relations and reveals the
numerous irregular and casual ways that workers attempted to influence and
shape the work procedures and regulations that railroad management were
erecting during the formative years. Licht demonstrates convincingly that
during this period most work experiences for railwaymen involved a series of
ongoing personal relations with local foremen and supervisors who used
subjective criteria to manage in quite arbitrary and unfair ways. This discovery
leads to one of the book’s main arguments: “After 1877, American railway
workers organized to demand stricter bureaucratic standards and procedures to
control as much of the work experience as possible. Pioneer railway executives
imposed bureaucratic structures from on high, but bureaucratization was a
process resulting in large measure from pressures from below” (p. xviii).
The author repeats this fetching hypothesis in the last chapter. Perhaps he is
on to something here. But, since the main thrust of the book deals with the
pre-1877 period, he is unable to document exactly how and in what manner the
demands of railway workers for higher wages, decent hours, and safe working
conditions represented a conscious effort on their part to bureaucratize work
relations within the industry.
In addition, I have two minor criticisms about this work. In spite of a
prodigious amount of primary research in railroad company papers and printed
corporate records, Licht fails to explore in sufficient depth the average
railwayman’s reaction to his world of work. Perhaps this is not Licht’s fault.
The kinds of sources that would allow us a closer inspection of the worker’s daily
struggles may not exist, although better use of local newspapers might have
unearthed some useful material. Nevertheless, the author comes closer than
anyone else has to date in producing an account of the day-to-day experiences of
rail workers.
Second, I hoped that Licht’s book would shed some light on a puzzling
question that has intrigued labor and social historians. During the nineteenth
century, American railwaymen cooperated with one another in conducting
several militant and class-conscious strikes, often with extensive community and
labor support. Yet, when the workers finally organized into trade unions, they
did so on an extremely narrow and insular craft basis in separate and frequently
warring railroad brotherhoods. These unions then became infamous within the
labor movement for their political conservatism and their absence of solidarity
with other workers. Thus, in the twentieth century we have the shocking case of
a railroad union owning a coal mine and obstructing their workers’ efforts to join
the United Mine Workers of America. Surely the traditions established by
workers during the early years can help explain these contradictory develop-
ments.
Despite these reservations this is a solid work which can benefit both scholar
and layman. It is a valuable addition to the growing literature on the
organization of work during industrialization.

Rider College

JOSEPH M. GOWASKIE
A native of Allentown, the county seat of Lehigh, Frank Mattern Trexler (1861–1947) was a jurist in Pennsylvania for thirty-two years, from December 1902 to February 1914 as president judge of Lehigh County and then as a member of the state Superior Court until his retirement in the early 1930s. The diary does not cover his years on the bench. It begins in 1879 with entries for January, February, and March during his last year at Muhlenberg College. Then it skips until shortly after his admission to the bar, and from July 22, 1882, through November 26, 1887, seldom a day is missed. The diary never again achieves continuity for such extended periods of time, but the entries are rather regular between late May and November 1888, for December 1889 until mid-January 1890, and from January 1 until April 2, 1891, when it ends. In February 1885, Trexler became city solicitor, a position he held for the remainder of the diary.

No one will fault the decision of the Lehigh County Historical Society to publish the diary of this man who was thirteen years its president and whose family name graces a local village, park, and school. Raised in a time when fires were a common hazard, when diseases became epidemics and when bed bugs did bite, the diary is a lode to be mined by social, political, legal, and economic historians. A particularly wide vein of material deals with the coming of age of a young gentleman from the type of family that expected an adolescent to go to high school and to be well settled into a career before taking on family obligations. Trexler participated in the round of activities, each in its season, by which those of his age and means simultaneously courted and completed their education—conversation, promenade, dance, parties, horseback riding, carriage and sleigh rides, language lessons, attendance at dramas, operas, lectures and concerts, and travel within Pennsylvania, neighboring states, Chicago, and Canada. He trained for civic responsibility by leadership in the Odd Fellows and Masons; by witnessing and marching in parades; by participation in political conventions, canvasses, and speech making; by inspecting each new bridge, mill, and factory. He marveled at the blessings of inexpensive books, electric street lamps, and steam heat while noting the blight of telephone lines and business failures of the coming industrial age. He whiled away the empty hours waiting for his career to catch hold rooting for the local nine in the new professional sport of baseball and playing cards of a number and variety to make Hoyle envious. And, he habitually attended church three times a Sunday, making his diary a rich source for religious, especially Presbyterian, history.

Despite Baldrige's fine editing—the spelling, punctuation, identifications, and illustrations are carefully done—most readers will be a little disappointed when using the diary. Identifications of persons, places, and things are kept to a minimum and primarily take the form of brief notes in the appendices and index. I found inconvenient the constant need to refer to the rear of the book and would have appreciated more detail (where available) on the later lives of Judge Trexler's early companions. Further, the brevity of the Biographical Sketch of the judge leaves many unanswered questions. For instance, was graduation from
When did he marry? Did Trexler as a judge participate in any famous case or render any important decisions? Had he anything to recommend his career except longevity? What I regret is that Baldrige does not share with us more of the insights and special knowledge gleaned while preparing the manuscript.

Indiana University of Pennsylvania

ERNEST B. FRICKE


The history of the discovery and exploitation of petroleum—suddenly available in great quantity following the success of Colonel Edwin L. Drake's drilled well near Titusville in Pennsylvania in 1859—celebrates the merging of technological knowhow with economic enterprise, human psychology, and chance. Add to that the opportunity within a democratic society to mingle personal ambition with unparalleled opportunities for realizing individual dreams of wealth and status. All of these find expression in Ernest C. Miller's survey of the consequences of Drake's find for entrepreneurial ambitions in neighboring Warren County.

The author is a retired oil executive with strong historical interests reflected in seven earlier accounts of Pennsylvania oil enterprise. A former president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies and a resident of Warren, Miller draws deeply on a rich variety of sources which include a century of county newspapers and letters. His brief book leaves a legacy of several hundred notes and footnotes relating to such sources, together with appendices providing additional bibliography and explanatory comments.

Miller prefaces his study by a cogent review of “the early settlement period”—the incursion of Europeans into a heavily timbered region where unknown aborigines appeared already to have sampled Pennsylvania’s mysterious “rock oil” seepages. Attention to the supposed medicinal virtues of so-called “Seneca oil” eventually included concern over its pollution of water supplies, but also a growing scientific curiosity about its practical uses.

The excitement accompanying Colonel Drake's successful well in 1859 generated wild hopes, rash efforts, and a psychology of “get rich quick” in neighboring Warren County. Simple springpole drilling techniques encouraged would-be entrepreneurs to puncture the surface of oil deposits real or supposed. Equipment needs kept suppliers and shippers busy and investors optimistic. By July of 1860 more than sixty wells were being drilled in Warren County. Would-be oil entrepreneurs—too poor or too late on the scene to buy oil lands—anchored numerous rafts equipped with drilling rigs offshore on the Allegheny River, much to the alarm of also would-be shore-land monopolists. “The oil land excitement in this section has already become a sort of epidemic,” reported the Warren Mail in March, 1865. “It embraces all classes and ages and conditions of men. They neither talk, nor look, nor act as they did six months ago.”

Miller's narrative does not neglect the more unhappy aspects of such oil speculation. Fire—often the result of too casually carried lanterns or ubiquitous cigars—wreaked havoc. Less dramatic, but much more frequent, were the losses
of those whose speculations in oil lands and projects proved to be more enthusiastic than wise.

The economics of oil production occupy a substantial portion of Miller's survey. Railroads and pipelines drew heavily on investment to meet the needs of the industry from drilling rig to marketing. Overproduction and the machinations of the Rockefeller interests cut down profits and victimized producers.

Moving to the period 1873–1911 the author details the resurgence of oil activity after the sensational "646" well of the Cherry Grove oil find renewed enthusiasms. Plank roads might bear five hundred teams of wagoneers carting oil and supplies daily. Warren itself enjoyed a fevered business boom during which its telegraph office was flooded with business, risk taking was rampant, and the new Petroleum Age magazine—published in Bradford in 1881—tried to record and instruct oil-wealth ambitions.

The impact of World Wars I and II on the fortunes of Pennsylvanian oil entrepreneurs and the continuing efforts to protect supplies of crude oil for refiners by private organization carry the story into the present era.

Clearly written, knowledgeably researched, Miller's book offers the serious reader a brief but sound insight into the impact of oil and its attendant technological and economic effects on Pennsylvania history.

The Pennsylvania State University

Hugo A. Meier


This volume offers a broad sweep of the activities and viewpoints of Mother Jones from her speeches, articles, interviews, letters, and testimony before congressional committees. The material, gleaned from unpublished and published sources, effectively conveys the duration, diversity, and intensity of her activities at the price of some repetition. A lengthy introduction places the collection in historical perspective and substantiates Professor Foner's praise of her effectiveness as a labor organizer and her special relationship with children, women, and southeastern European immigrants. It also affords him an opportunity to accord her life and activities the attention they deserve and to point to her consistent advocacy of socialism and the rights of women which some writers overlook because of their focus on adherency to the Socialist Party of America and the women's movement. In particular, he berates some feminist historians, more severely than necessary, for their neglect of Mother Jones and their inaccurate depiction of her as uninterested in women workers and unwilling to cooperate with other women in her activities.

Mother Jones organized and aided many types of workers, but the coal miners—"her boys"—received special attention, and she advised them to unite against the operators and their political allies. Her grassroots approach made her suspicious of professional labor leaders, and she condemned John Mitchell for collaborating with capitalists and John L. Lewis for personal aggrandizement while praising the more idealistic Martin Irons and John Walker for their fearlessness. On the other hand, she portrayed John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and Woodrow Wilson sympathetically and worked within the AFL. Her emphasis on the personal rather than the organizational aspect provides a partial
explanation. For example, she campaigned for Senator Kern rather than Eugene Debs in the Election of 1916 because Kern freed her from jail and aided the West Virginia miners, and she revered Terence Powderly, a longtime friend, although historians criticize his record as leader of the Knights of Labor.

Mother Jones led labor struggles throughout the country including coal and steel strikes in Pennsylvania. In 1899 she came to Arnot to aid coal miners and she contributed to their victory. She led a “children’s crusade” in 1903 as several hundred juvenile textile workers marched from Philadelphia to New York City to dramatize the evils of child labor and stir support for national child labor legislation. A Westmoreland County coal strike in 1910 led her to join another battle against the operators and the constabulary and to advise the coal miners to unite and struggle under the banner of the United Mine Workers of America. Her agitation climaxcd in the Steel Strike of 1919 when she condemned the steel centers for denying civil liberties and advised all workers to stand like the men of ’76 in the face of violence and prison.

Her struggles in West Virginia and Colorado highlighted her career. The West Virginia miners suffered from low wages, unsafe mines, and company houses and stores. External economic control reinforced by a company-dominated political system and Baldwin-Felts guards increased their exploitation. Nevertheless, her agitation, oratory, and organizing ability unionized Paint Creek by 1903, but the rest of the state remained unorganized. The expiration of the Paint Creek contract in 1912 set the stage for renewed conflict as evictions, imported strikebreakers, and more company guards triggered the violent Cabin Creek-Paint Creek Coal Strike of 1912–13. Mother Jones demonstrated her endurance by walking many miles and her courage by confronting the barrels of machine guns. The miners responded with militant strike activity and votes for the Socialist Party as had their counterparts in Westmoreland County. Mother Jones suffered imprisonment in West Virginia and Colorado, but her oratory and agitation continued. Colorado miners faced powerful absentee owners, payment in script, and cheating in the weighing of coal. When the miners struck in 1903 she joined the battle and condemned the settlement negotiated by John Mitchell which abandoned the miners of Southern Colorado, many of them Italians. When the struggle resumed in 1913 she returned and demanded justice and unionization although she faced the militia and imprisonment.

These struggles belong to working class history and lore, but her support for the Mexican Revolution has received less attention. Mother Jones organized support and raised money for Mexicans jailed in the United States for fighting the Diaz dictatorship, and she drew a parallel between their treatment and the plight of the victims of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. When she visited Mexico in 1921 to address the Pan-American Federation of Labor, she received an outpouring of affection from workers and trade unionists of all persuasions. Ironically, conservative labor groups in Mexico greatly influenced her, and she praised an organization for its advocacy of industrial freedom which engaged in secret cooperation with the United States government to maintain the status quo.

This valuable compilation offers a comprehensive picture of the activities and ideas of Mother Jones. It clearly establishes her important place in the American protest tradition and reinforces her reputation as an organizer, agitator, and speaker. She stood for labor solidarity, repeatedly counseled
against bickering, and attempted to mediate between the Western Federation of Miners and the United Mine Workers in Colorado. The subservience of labor leaders in the National Civic Federation drew her condemnation, but she also had doubts about the Industrial Workers of World for its neglect of political action, spasmodic activity, and lack of patience. She concurred with the latter's call for industrial unionism but saw a need for growth and education prior to its realization and the inauguration of industrial freedom.

Indiana University of Pennsylvania

IRWIN MARCUS


Ronald Schatz started out, he explains, to write a social history of rank and file workers in the 1930s, "the last great upsurge of working-class protest in the United States," but as he learned more about the era, he became convinced that "the distinctiveness of the working-class history of the 1930s lies precisely in the fact that a locally based rank-and-file effort gave rise to bureaucratic international unions and a system of labor relations regulated by federal law and codified in national contracts." Union bureaucracy, he argues, far from being something imposed on the rank and file (as some New Left critics have claimed) "can perhaps be considered the chief product of working class struggle itself." That conviction led him to try to synthesize "the institutional and the social—to explain how unionism emerged from the factories and how the union's economic and political activities reflected the consciousness and influenced the situation of the rank and file."

Schatz focuses on electrical workers at General Electric and Westinghouse, the two industry giants. After describing the origins of the industry, the paternalistic philosophy and policies of company managers, and the organization of work in the 1920s, most of the book is devoted to four issues: union recognition, the impact of the seniority system, conflicts over piecework and incentive pay, and the Cold War split over alleged communist domination of the union.

His treatment of union recognition struck me as least original, although his collective biography of early union activists does effectively demonstrate an important point: nearly all were atypical—more skilled, more radical, often better educated than typical rank and file workers. All seven of the women in his sample were single or divorced and most came from committed union families.

Seniority, he convincingly argues, was at the same time the union's greatest achievement and one of the major sources of its limits. By freeing workers from the arbitrary and overbearing exercise of managerial authority and guaranteeing workers' financial security, the seniority principle gave the union movement a moral legitimacy as a great democratic crusade "which justifies its claim to stand beside abolitionism, civil rights, and women's rights as one of the great movements for freedom and dignity in American history." Yet the seniority principle also functioned to aggravate internal competition and conflict within the working class, to frustrate attempts to upgrade blacks and women, and to tie workers to the company more effectively than managerial paternalism in the pre-union era.
Piecework and incentive pay schemes likewise had contradictory effects. Left-wing unionists had bitterly but unsuccessfully resisted the introduction of piecework before 1920. By the 1920s workers were adjusting to piecework, an adjustment facilitated, Schatz argues, by their absorption of new consumerist values. But far from representing a capitulation to managerial objectives, this adjustment took the form of seeking ways to manipulate the system to their advantage. By the 1940s, when wartime labor shortages and pressure for uninterrupted production gave workers greater leverage, managers were fighting to revoke the system while workers were defending it.

Schatz approaches the Cold War political conflict within the union by analyzing the different outcomes at two large Western Pennsylvania locals: Local 601 at the mammoth Westinghouse East Pittsburgh plant and a number of satellite factories, and Local 506 at the major Erie GE works. Local 601 drew on a long radical tradition in the East Pittsburgh Turtle Creek Valley. Local 506 had been weaker and more conservative, but in East Pittsburgh the left-wing UE narrowly lost the critical 1950 representation election to the anti-communist IUE, while the UE won a similar election in Erie by a 60 to 40 percent margin. National political pressures were not decisive, according to Schatz. The critical differences were local. In East Pittsburgh union leaders and activists had been sharply divided into well organized left-wing and anti-Communist factions for some time. The anti-communist group was effectively coached by a militant priest, Father Charles Owen Rice. In contrast, in Erie union leaders maintained a united front, with the Catholics and more conservative among them taking a civil libertarian stand on the political rights of left-wing unionists and opposing the injection of religious concerns into union affairs. Perhaps, the most striking revelation of these two case studies (although not the point Schatz emphasizes) is the extent of mass support for the left wing despite the relentless and combined efforts of politicians, press, pulpit, and board room to fan the anti-Communist hysteria of 1950. With a turnout in East Pittsburgh over 90 percent, the left-wing union lost by only 100 votes out of nearly twelve thousand in a first election and only 201 in a runoff five weeks later.

Schatz effectively combines extensive oral history with a wide range of traditional documents. The book is clearly written and well organized. Moreover, his initial arguments about the nature of 1930s unionism and labor activism strike at the heart of current scholarly debates about the motivations and values of modern American workers, the meaning of mass production unionism, and the sources of bureaucratic rigidity within the labor movement. The Electrical Workers deserves wide readership and discussion.

University of Pittsburgh

Richard Oestreicher