

BOOK REVIEWS

Joseph Brant 1743–1807: Man of Two Worlds. By Isabel Thompson Kelsay. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1984. Pp. xii, 775. \$35.00.)

The two worlds of the Mohawk chief Joseph Brant were those of his Indian heritage and of the Anglo-America into which fate had thrown him as a youth. He aspired to be recognized in that adopted world, but he never embraced a policy of complete cultural assimilation for his fellow Indians. Furthermore, in Isabel T. Kelsay's opinion, he never once sold out the true interests of any of the Indians.

Kelsay's emphasis is on tracing the precise course of events in Brant's life, so much so that long passages in the book resemble a traveler's itinerary. This is especially so when she tells of his involvement in Indian conferences and negotiations. In this fashion she is able to dissolve some myths concerning Brant, such as his mercifully sparing an enemy at the Battle of the Cedars in May 1776; he could not have been present there. His reputation for murderous brutality was the undeserved result of lurid journalism and partisan expressions by individuals who wanted to see New York taken away from the Iroquois and the Tories.

The first turning point in Brant's life was his decision to remain loyal to the king's cause. Before that he was merely a very precocious young Indian, favored because his sister Molly was Sir William Johnson's mate. By participating in the defense of Canada in 1775, Brant committed himself to the Loyalist side the year before he was flattered and lionized on his first visit to England. For the remainder of his life he never faltered from his loyalty to Britain, although several times he seemed to glance at the other side to see whether a better bargain might be struck. His decision to work for an effective Indian confederation dated from an Indian conference held at Sandusky in September 1783, but it was during his second visit to England, in the winter of 1785–1786, that he decided to "become his own man" and cease being a mere spokesman for the British imperial governing group. Nevertheless, his statesmanship fitted right into their plans for the next ten years because it solidified Indian resistance to the expansion of the infant republic. Brant kept the Indian confederation from collapsing. He inspired it with his expression "the dish with one spoon," a metaphor which meant that all Indian nations should share the vast western interior, rather than claiming as individual nations the ownership of particular zones. Brant was often the Indian leader chosen to try to get the British to commit themselves to giving military support to the Indians against the United States. Until the Battle of Fallen Timbers in 1794 many Indians were convinced they could rely on military support, despite official British denials. Brant's request for military assistance was rejected by Lord Dorchester as he was leaving the governorship of Canada, in 1791. This was such an unhappy message to give to the confederation that Joseph refused to make the trip to a confederation conference where the matter was to be discussed. As a result, the Mohawk did not have a chance to argue against the Indian militants or to join their combined army which slaughtered Gen. Arthur St. Clair's American army

in November 1791. Therefore, Brant's prestige fell in the eyes of the western members of the confederation, who now had an exaggerated view of their own military prowess. When, due to illness, Joseph also missed a confederation conference at the Glaize in 1792, the militant extremists—those Indians who demanded war unless the United States accepted the Ohio River line as the permanent divide between Indians and whites—prevailed. Wayne's victorious campaign was necessary because of the Indian militants' unyielding Ohio River line policy.

Brant's confederation and the perpetuation of the illusion that British forces might eventually aid the Indians were now purged from imperial policy. With a European war in progress Britain could not afford military involvement in North America. After one final effort to bargain by threatening that he could support Franco-Spanish interests against both Canada and the United States, Brant withdrew from high politics and assumed the status of a benevolent leader of the Mohawk community he had founded on the Grand River. But the community did not prosper, and the inevitable decline of Indian culture weighed heavily on Joseph's mind during his final days, in 1807.

Brant's life affected Pennsylvania's history because the fate of the state's western region rested on the settlement of the Indian situation. Other than placing the Seneca chief Cornplanter in an unfavorable light, Kelsay's account says little about Indian affairs in the Commonwealth. For that subject one must turn to Stephen H. Coe's dissertation completed at the American University in 1968, "Indian Affairs in Pennsylvania and New York, 1783-1794," noting that even he admits that nobody—not even Randolph C. Downes—has mastered the intricacies of the treaty negotiations of the period.

As a result of this biography Brant will cease to be a mere caricature in twentieth-century interpretations of the Indian experience. Here was a real life with important events, moods and ideals, although the circumstances of documentation and contemporary expression required biographer Kelsay to go to great lengths to capture them.

Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission LOUIS M. WADDELL

Roots of Violence in Black Philadelphia, 1860-1900. By Roger Lane. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1986. Pp. 213. \$25.00.)

Roger Lane has written an important book on a sensitive subject: black urban crime and violence. His complex interpretation of its history in Philadelphia is unlikely to give comfort to any party of pre-judgment.

Lane acknowledges that there have been short-term decreases of crimes of violence and increases of crimes against property in periods of economic recession and vice versa in periods of prosperity. He admits, as well, to a long-term increase in arrests for drunkenness, gambling, and prostitution due to higher standards of public morality. Nonetheless, Lane argues, by the mid-nineteenth century the United States began to experience an apparently world-wide, long-term decline in urban crime which extended to about 1960. He attributes that diminution to an increasingly and predictably stable social order which resulted from urban growth and expanded economic opportunity.

As a result of racial discrimination, however, the black community was

largely shut out of the opportunity that industrial growth offered. Thus, over the course of a century, Lane suggests, the black community became the source of an increasingly and disproportionately large share of urban crime and violence. Confined to a black subculture that fostered patterns of criminal behavior, he concludes, black people were *both* disproportionately likely to engage in crime *and* disproportionately likely to be its victims. Lane's relentlessly realistic portrayal of life in the urban black underclass suggests that behind today's headlines about "black-on-black crime" lie decades of learned behavior.

Lane has made effective use of court records, census data, and newspapers to recreate an apparently authoritative picture of a black urban subculture. And yet, one might be put on guard by inaccurate references to important nineteenth-century black Americans. His references to Harvard graduate and attorney John Lewis as "John F. Lewis" and "John P. Lewis" (pp. 26, 33, 66, 210) are, one supposes, a proof-reader's error, but his reference to "the Georgia-bred manager of the A. M. E. Church, the Rev. Dr. H. M. Tanner (p. 61) apparently confuses the names of two important A. M. E. bishops, Benjamin Tucker Tanner and Henry McNeal Turner. A later reference to "the redoubtable Bishop B. F. Tanner" (p. 145) does nothing to clarify matters. Lewis, Tanner, and Turner were not insignificant members of a black lower-class, but important leaders of their community. Both Lane and the readers for Harvard University Press ought to know them well enough to identify them correctly.

Such inaccuracies lead one to wonder about Lane's stunning generalizations. He argues against W. E. B. DuBois, Mary Berry, and John Blassingame, for example, that "there is no evidence of significant racial bias in Philadelphia's nineteenth century court system, or indeed of those in any northern city in the same period" (p. 87). That black Pennsylvanians were not enfranchised until the Fifteenth Amendment was ratified in 1870 and were, therefore, ineligible for jury service is *prima facie* evidence to the contrary. One is surprised, too, at Lane's casual dismissal of "the late-century flurry of black hangings" in Philadelphia (p. 94). The South's extra-legal versions of the same were known as lynchings.

There is much in Lane's work, beyond this, to provoke many historians: his confidence in the benign effects of American industrial capitalism, his insistence upon white racism as the cause of black economic disability, and his harsh portrayal of a subculture of crime and violence in the black urban underclass. In a review of Lane's book for the *American Journal of Sociology*, August Meier suggested that it "is likely to shape research on the black experience for decades to come." It should do more to *provoke* research than to "shape" it.

The Martin Luther King Papers

RALPH E. LUKER

A Generation of Boomers: The Pattern of Railroad Labor Conflict in Nineteenth-Century America. By Shelton Stromquist. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987. Pp. xix, 353. \$29.95.)

Traditionally-trained historians often complain that the new social history doesn't seem to be telling us very much of importance. Shelton Stromquist's *A Generation of Boomers* shows what can be done with a detailed, systematic analysis of social data to throw new light on the well-worked topic of railroad strikes in the last quarter of the Nineteenth Century. Given the existing studies

of each of the major strikes of that era, the biographies of several strike leaders and their antagonists, and detailed examinations of federal intervention into railroad labor disputes, what new can be said?

Stromquist undertakes to determine patterns in railroad labor disputes and to explain them as "a by-product of the political economy of the industry." As he sees it, the principle issue was control of the supply of railroad labor. Labor shortages on the developing Western lines led to higher wages, faster promotions, and other advantages to workers in that region. To overcome those labor advantages, the companies devised a variety of techniques to end the shortage, particularly of skilled workers. The result was that as the railroad frontier moved westward, so did labor militancy. Workers, seeking to protect their advantages, experimented with a variety of organizations. Stromquist carefully traces, step by step, how and why their experiences led them to one industrial union. That struggle on the frontier, he demonstrates, made the West the "cradle" of the American Railway Union (ARU). Although forced into battle with the companies too early in its career, the ARU completely tied up most of the nation's principal railroads. Industrial unionism had defeated the combined power of the companies. But then political intervention by federal officials crushed both the Pullman Boycott-Strike and the ARU. Further governmental intervention (the Erdman Act) sought to substitute arbitration for strikes and caused the companies reluctantly to recognize and deal with the previously defeated brotherhoods. This all but eliminated striking on the railroads. It also ended the hope—or threat—of railway workers achieving industrial peace through an invincible union whose demands could not be denied.

The strength of this study is Stromquist's careful and detailed analysis of the struggle. Rejecting the strategy of previous historians who examined only the major upheavals, Stromquist includes all railroad strikes. Among the many questions he sets out to answer are why some workers were more militant than others, and why some communities supported railroad strikes while others did not. He shows that militancy and class consciousness of railroad workers grew in spite of an increasing rate of strike failures. Separating defensive walkouts to protect wages from offensive contests over non-economic issues, he demonstrates that the former were tied to business cycles while the latter increased between the 1870s and 1890s with little regard for economic conditions. In a chapter on wages, work rules, and the supply of labor, he delineates the great variety of tasks and working conditions on the railroads, noting promotion and career expectations and the impact of what he calls the labor force life-cycle on worker militancy.

To explain differences in community support of strikes, Stromquist uses Iowa as a test case because of its frequent and detailed censuses in this period. He differentiates "railroad towns" (communities created by single railroads as their division headquarters) from "market towns" (older communities with competitive transportation and a variety of non-railroad businesses). Strikers at Creston, a railroad town, were more militant and its business community supported the strike. Railroaders at Burlington, a market town, were less militant and its business elite supported the companies. Elsewhere in the book, Stromquist convincingly argues that the geographic mobility of workers, far from preventing group identity as many scholars have said, gave them a greater sense of community and solidarity wherever they happened to find themselves.

It is impossible to spell out the richness of this study in so brief a review. At the same time, a few words of caution. The argument on the relationship of railroad and market towns to militancy would have been more persuasive if the author had shown that the other railroad and market towns in Iowa had behaved similarly to his models. He also does not apply this formula, or any other, to such major strike centers as Martinsburg, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Indianapolis, Chicago, or St. Louis. Oddly enough, the book ends (in its very last paragraph) on an anachronistic note: the ARU's "promise" of "the cooperative commonwealth" remains "for a future generation to keep." In this era when ever more sophisticated machines were displacing laborers of all sorts, the cooperative commonwealth of workers envisioned by Debs and the ARU, however noble, is as obsolete as Adam Smith's optimistic notion that with each man pursuing his own economic interest in an unhampered free market, the general interest of all will somehow be served.

Penn State University

GERALD D. EGGERT

Energy and the Federal Government: Fossil Fuel Policies, 1900-1946. By John G. Clark. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987. Pp. xxiii, 511. \$39.95.)

When a series of OPEC oil embargoes paralyzed America in the 1970's, many of this country were mystified at the relative ease by which a handful of oil-exporting nations so totally humbled their powerful nation. John G. Clark, professor of history at the University of Kansas, offers an explanation in this comparative history of federal fossil fuel policies from 1900 to 1946. Revisionist in tone, Clark challenges the arguments made by earlier scholars of the oil industry, including Gerald D. Nash and August W. Giebelhaus, who claim that a federal energy policy for oil evolved gradually throughout the 20th Century. To the contrary, Clark maintains that a comprehensive and coherent federal energy policy never developed prior to 1946. Throughout the period, he demonstrates, the federal government persisted in treating each of the fossil fuels separately and took action in energy matters only when events forced it to act. When it did act, furthermore, the federal government usually applied simplistic solutions, often reflecting the industry's desires, which addressed only the immediate problem and so failed to consider the long-term, interrelated problems of the fossil fuel industry.

The policies Washington applied to the coal industry in this period were symptomatic of federal action toward fossil fuels. Though still the nation's chief energy source prior to World War I, coal was already mired in problems that would continue to afflict it for decades. Faced with increasing competition from oil, natural gas and electricity, the coal industry was also plagued with excess productive capacity, discriminatory freight rates, inadequate transportation facilities, and labor unrest. By late 1915 these problems had produced a fuel crisis marked by shortages and rapidly escalating prices. When American entry into World War I exacerbated these problems, the coal industry, Clark believes, cried out for federal regulation. Yet the Wilson Administration's initial solution, because it emphasized moral suasion, patriotic appeals, and decentralized regulatory power, fell far short of the mark. Not until the Administration's Closing Order of January 1918, when control over the price, distribution and

allocation of coal was consolidated in the United States Fuel Administration, did the crisis abate. Although the Closing Order achieved its purpose, Clark argues that it was emblematic of federal energy policy in the 20th Century. In this case, the government took no coordinated action to regulate the coal industry until events had forced its hand, and when it did act, it focused only on the immediate problem with no consideration given to the long range energy needs of the country.

The fortunes of the coal industry deteriorated after the Great War. The abrupt termination of wartime contracts, together with the end of federal energy regulations and renewed competition from other fuel sources re-created the problems the coal industry had faced prior to 1917. As Clark makes clear, however, the industry received little federal assistance in the 1920's because the Republican presidents relied largely on the "magic of the marketplace" to resolve economic problems. When the Depression aggravated coal's woes, FDR's New Deal, Clark feels, offered only palliatives. The NRA codes, for instance, sought mainly to raise wages and prices, but did little to address the serious ongoing problems of the industry and persisted in treating coal as distinct from other fossil fuels. Even World War II was insufficient, Clark avers, to alter the federal government's energy policies. Despite the experience of World War I and recommendations made prior to Pearl Harbor that national security required centralized control over energy, FDR chose to create a welter of federal agencies with overlapping authority to manage the nation's energy resources. Instead of leading to a coherent national energy policy, FDR's solution often resulted in intense bureaucratic infighting. Clark believes, therefore, that the crisis management applied by the federal government to energy problems through 1946 badly served the public interest. Viewed from his historical perspective, then, the energy crisis of the 1970's was simply another sad chapter in federal mismanagement of the nation's energy resources.

Clark's volume, based on substantial archival research and compellingly argued, is an important work. By providing a comprehensive analysis of federal policy toward the coal industry and by comparing it to the policies adopted for other fossil fuels, Clark significantly expands our understanding of early 20th Century America. At the same time, he also succeeds in focusing our attention on an issue of great moment to Americans living in the late 20th Century. As such, this volume is likely to become the definitive work in its field.

Muhlenberg College

JOHN W. MALSBERGER

Quest for Faith, Quest for Freedom: Aspects of Pennsylvania's Religious Experience. Edited by Otto Reimherr. (Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 1987. Pp. 203. \$28.50.)

Most of the eleven essays in this volume were originally given as lectures in a series to celebrate the Tercentenary of the granting of land to William Penn in 1681. Two of the chapters focus on foundations of religious liberty in Pennsylvania while the other nine deal with particular expressions of religious activity in a variety of sects and circumstances.

The best chapter is the first by Robert T. Handy who writes on "The Contribution of Pennsylvania to the Rise of Religious Liberty in America." This essay serves as an overview for what follows and provides a high standard

of readability and scholarship that is met but not surpassed by the other contributions.

Handy points out in what ways Pennsylvania was notable for providing a generous measure of religious freedom for the individuals and groups who settled there. The religious diversity in the colony was a direct result, he asserts, of the liberal policy of toleration and lack of establishment. He also cites examples of Pennsylvania's influence on other states in advancing religious toleration.

Edwin Bronner's chapter on William Penn analyzes the reasons for Penn's interest in religious liberty, but this section is too brief and needs more detail to do justice to the subject.

E. Theodore Bachmann's contribution deals with the experience of the Swedes and German pietists and their role in the development of the Lutheran Church. His chapter is the longest in the book and covers the period from 1638 to 1762. The pioneering roles of Zinzendorf and Muhlenberg in advancing ecumenism are highlighted.

Several of the essays describe the role of individual church leaders in expressing religious liberty within their own denominations. Useful in this regard are John Piper's account of Francis Asbury which quotes heavily from his journal and Abraham Karp's account of the life and career of Isaac Leiser whose writings on Jewish history have not received adequate recognition in recent times.

William Becker's chapter describes the opposing views of two eminent Black religious figures in Pennsylvania, Richard Allen and Martin Delany. For Allen, the emotional piety of Methodism uplifted him in facing the racial animosities and tensions of his day. Delany, in reacting bitterly to racism, called upon his God to "chastise his homeland." Each wrestled with how to relate their Christianity to the realities of racial injustice and hatred.

Although they are interesting in their own way, the weakest chapters in illuminating the book's theme are those on the Old Order Amish and on Katherine Mary Drexel. Her dedication and work on behalf of Catholic charities deserves recognition but she is hardly as significant to the story of religious liberty as are Zinzendorf and Muhlenberg.

Any work the product of so many scholars is bound to be uneven in style and substance. Otto Reimherr, the editor, who is professor emeritus of philosophy and religion at Susquehanna University, has done well in giving the volume a unity of approach. His own chapter on Joseph Smith's activities in the Susquehanna area supplies useful information on what he calls "Mormonism's Jordan." Footnotes are found at the end of each chapter and the index lists every individual mentioned in the volume.

This book will be a useful addition for courses on church history and Pennsylvania history.

Ohio Humanities Council

CHARLES C. COLE, JR.

Preservation of Historical Records. By the Committee on Preservation of Historical Records, National Research Council. (Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press, 1986. Pp. xvii, 107. \$17.95.)

This project was sponsored by the National Research Council, whose members are part of the National Academy of Science, serving to advise the

Federal government on matters of science and technology. The Council's Committee on Preservation of Historical Records, chosen for their special competences, was asked by the National Archives to provide independent guidance and "technically well-founded and realistic advice . . . on the preservation of information contained in paper based records whose originals may not be intrinsically valuable."

The problem faced by the National Archives is immense in sheer volume of paper (some three billion pieces), but in terms of appropriate responses the situation is shared by many archives and manuscript repositories on differing scales. Therein lies the usefulness of the book for those of us not at the National Archives.

The book is a blueprint for future action that begins in chapter one by listing recommendations. What follows, in essentially a subject format (environmental criteria, paper, photographic film, magnetic recording media, and optical disk), is a state-of-the-art review of various media and an elaboration on the initial recommendations. It is a technical study presented with brevity and clarity that makes it understandable for the lay reader.

The recommendations reiterate the established value of storage on archival quality paper and electrophotographic duplicating processes. Standards exist for these media and implementation is within the means of most librarians and archivists to consider as a plan of action.

The real merit of this study is in elaborating those areas in need of further study, such as the microenvironments of encapsulation and acid-free boxes and those areas requiring development of standards, notably optical disk. Especially important is the discussion of the dilemma of obsolescence in the age of machine-readable information. The seemingly exponential rate in which software and hardware are replaced provides new challenges for the retention of permanently valuable information. Solutions may lie in creative cooperative efforts between the manufacturers of the hardware/software and those technically skilled in the archival profession. Progress in this area is vital and dependent upon sustained political and economic support. Much of the needed research discussed here is beyond the means of most in the profession save a properly staffed large repository or a properly funded National Archives.

Indiana University of Pennsylvania

PHILLIP ZORICH

The Lenape: Archaeology, History, and Ethnography. By Herbert C. Kraft.
(Newark: New Jersey Historical Society, 1986. Pp. xviii, 303. \$24.95.)

Who were the aboriginal people encountered by the first Europeans in eastern Pennsylvania, New Jersey, southeastern New York and northern Delaware? Where did these "Indians" come from and how long had they inhabited this area? What was the basis for their strange customs and behavior? Above all what were their rights to the wilderness in which they lived and to the resources which it contained? These were questions asked by the first Euro-Americans, and these questions, reworded in response to subsequent events and contemporary realities, are still being asked today. Yet, it has proved particularly difficult to answer questions about these Native Americans. They had no written history, and they were highly susceptible to European diseases. Furthermore, they moved away from the Middle Atlantic region as more and more Europeans arrived.

Herbert Kraft is an archaeologist and anthropologist who has done archaeological work in eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey as well as ethnographic research among the descendants of the Native Americans of this area. Thus, Kraft is well-qualified to summarize knowledge of our predecessors whom he prefers to call the Lenape rather than the Delaware. His account is woven from archaeological evidence, ethnohistorical accounts and twentieth-century ethnographic research. The result is a thorough introduction to what is known about the Lenape.

After an introductory chapter in which he discusses the history of investigations concerning the Lenape, Kraft presents four chapters summarizing the prehistory of the Lenape beginning with the Paleo-Indians who were present in the Mid-Atlantic region by at least thirteen thousand years ago. Presumably because of his concern with making his account readable, Kraft relies extensively on ethnographic analogy. Few archaeologists would agree with every detail of his presentation, and a clearer distinction between fact and educated guess should have been made. Nevertheless, the end result is a good review which may prove useful to those of us introducing undergraduates to Pennsylvania prehistory.

The sixth chapter discusses Lenape spiritual beliefs and practices. The discussion is based largely on ethnohistorical accounts and ethnographic research although some mention of archaeological evidence is made. Although of some interest, this chapter seems largely unnecessary to the task of tracing Lenape history and prehistory. Kraft should either have expanded on other aspects of Lenape culture as well or resisted the urge to share details of belief and ritual. The danger is that the reader may conclude that other aspects of Lenape culture were so rudimentary as to have been insignificant.

The final two chapters in this book briefly chronicle the history of the Lenape from first European contact to contemporary times. Kraft presents a dispassionate and informative review of the Lenape's acculturation through trade, their decimation from various diseases and their displacement to the west and north. These chapters may also be useful to undergraduates, although they are less thorough than the prehistory chapters. Kraft's discussion of twentieth-century groups and events is far too short. Discussion of the problems and lifestyles of contemporary descendants of the Lenape would make the story of the Lenape seem more real. Too often we forget that Native Americans did not disappear with the nineteenth century, but remain an important part of our ethnic diversity.

These shortcomings do not negate the fact that Kraft has provided a scholarly introduction to the Lenape. This book is an important addition to the literature on the prehistory and history of Pennsylvania. I recommend it to all those seriously interested in the history of the Native American inhabitants of Pennsylvania and the Mid-Atlantic region.

Indiana University of Pennsylvania

SARAH W. NEUSIUS

Making Their Own Way: Southern Blacks' Migration to Pittsburgh, 1916-30.
By Peter Gottlieb. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987. Pp. xiii,
250. \$26.95.)

This book makes signal contributions to the histories of American blacks and of the Pittsburgh region. While its evidence falls short of sustaining some of its

conclusions as firmly as one would like, and while it contains, perhaps inevitably, one large gap in coverage, Gottlieb has written an important work.

The author takes issue with the flat judgment made by the writer Richard Wright, in *Twelve Million Black Voices*, that "perhaps never in history has a more utterly unprepared folk wanted to go to the city." Gottlieb argues instead that the Southern blacks who surged toward Northern labor markets from World War I to the Great Depression did so with deliberation, intelligence, and skill, basing their decisions and tactics on previous experiences and accurate information. This interpretation places him squarely beside those scholars who have recently emphasized elements of self-determination in the lives of both American blacks and workers in this country and Europe.

Gottlieb has mastered the vast existing literature on blacks and agriculture in the South, on migration, and on urban experiences in the North, as well as rich sources like the letters from prospective migrants to John T. Clark of the Urban League of Pittsburgh. He has synthesized this material well in retelling his story. He argues, plausibly enough, that since many blacks in the South moved frequently from one tenant farm to another, and since many of them gained industrial experience in logging camps, in gins and mills for processing cotton and cottonseed, in places where turpentine, fertilizer, bricks, and even iron and steel were made, in coal mines, or at river or seaport docks, they were well prepared for both migration and Northern industrial work. No doubt many were. However, in a set of personal interviews he conducted from 1973 to 1977 with sixty-five survivors—forty-seven men and eighteen women—of the migration to Pittsburgh, only thirteen of the men testified to the kinds of experiences in the South that would have thus bolstered their competence. The interviews do illustrate and illuminate, however, the story of black migration.

The migrants carried their rural Southern backgrounds with them, however, and their responses to work and life in Pittsburgh reflected their distinctive set of habits, hopes, and yearnings. Gottlieb contributes a penetrating analysis of black workers' responses to the grinding toil, danger, heat, cold, prejudice and discrimination they faced on the job. He shows, with the aid of statistics he created out of the personnel files of the A. M. Byers Co., an ironmaking firm, just how transient the Byers black workers were. One illustration suffices: in 1923 the company had to make 1,408 separate hirings of black migrants to maintain an average Southern black work force of 228. Some of these workers, especially the unmarried, possessed only short-range goals, and often quit after comparatively short stints and used their pay to take a rest, enjoy leisure, or visit other cities. Some workers returned to the South for a time, perhaps finding seasonal work there before making another try at Pittsburgh's hiring lines and pay envelopes.

If living for the day helped to produce behavior that Pittsburgh employers called simple unreliability, Gottlieb shows that the workers' transiency also owed much to rebellion against incompetent supervision and unfairness in work assignments and pay. Workers were also intelligent enough to seek other jobs that were less hot in summer, cold in winter, dangerous, degrading, and dull, and perhaps accompanied by living conditions better than a crowded company bunkhouse. His interviews and the Byers files provide support for this thoroughly convincing picture. But what is also needed is comparison of transiency of white and black employes, and Gottlieb, who notes how few such comparisons exist, presumably could have developed one out of the Byers files.

Gottlieb's principal focus is on the workers who were drawn into heavy industry. This means that he deals very largely with males. He has far less to say about the women who migrated to the North with them, who followed them later, or who came independently. Few institutional records exist for the work of these black women, who, unlike men, failed to gain access in numbers to industry; nine out of ten of the substantial number who worked remained in domestic and allied services. Here Gottlieb's interviews of women add comparatively little to the migrants' story of work and life.

As a contribution to the study of rural-urban migration, this book provides sustaining evidence rather than fresh theory. As history about an area, however, it has greater significance. Neither the city of Pittsburgh nor the larger industrial region to which it belongs possesses an adequate modern history. But scholars are adding, piece by piece, to the information needed for the writing, and this piece by Peter Gottlieb places into that structure some essential findings about these twentieth-century black migrants and their work and life in Pittsburgh.

Carnegie Mellon University

DAVID H. FOWLER

Fordson, Farmall, and Poppin' Johnny: A History of the Farm Tractor and Its Impact on America. By Robert C. Williams. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987. Pp. ix, 232. \$24.95.)

Robert C. Williams has produced an outstanding treatise on agricultural and technological history, in which he covers virtually every facet of the evolution of the gasoline tractor and its influence on farming and rural life.

Older works on farm tools, such as Robert L. Ardrey's *American Agricultural Implements* (1894), featured illustrations, inventors, and technological descriptions. In 1931 Leo Rogin introduced a broader perspective by analyzing the effects of agricultural machinery on labor productivity. In later years Reynold M. Wik and R. Douglas Hurt, among others, have interlaced technology with agricultural economics in their studies of the evolution of farm equipment through the era of the steam tractor. Williams carries forward their comprehensive approach.

The steam tractor was too expensive and cumbersome for use on smaller farms of the type prevalent in Pennsylvania. The gasoline or internal combustion tractor began to supplant it for threshing and plowing by the time of World War I. Williams expertly traces the development of the gasoline tractor from the first workable model, built by John Froelich in 1892, to the present.

International Harvester and several other farm implement firms began production of internal combustion tractors in 1906. At first their goal was to replace horses with cheap, small, and versatile machines. But since most agricultural equipment had been horse drawn, they found it necessary to redesign their tools to mesh with the new tractor power.

Henry Ford brought mass production to the tractor industry in 1917, when he commenced the assembly-line fabrication of the Fordson and reduced prices to a level where many more farmers could afford to mechanize. Nevertheless, Ford lost the struggle for control of tractor manufacturing to International Harvester, which could offer an extensive line of farm equipment through its dealer network. In 1924 International Harvester started mass production of the

Farmall, a general-purpose, row-crop tractor that could be used for cultivating a wide variety of plants on smaller farms. Soon most other tractor makers entered the competition with their own nontraditional machines. John Deere featured a two-cylinder engine known as "Poppin' Johnny" because of its exhaust noise. Allis-Chalmers pioneered with rubber tires.

From 1940 to 1980 manufacturers refined existing designs. For example, Harry Ferguson invented a "three-point" method of attaching implements to small, lightweight tractors. Originally a collaborator with Ford, Ferguson later joined with Massey-Harris Limited to form Massey-Ferguson. The number of tractors on American farms crested in 1965; even in the 1950s their production in the United States had begun to decline. More and more the demand for smaller machines was met by foreign imports, while American manufacturers increased tractor size and horsepower, often installing a four-wheel drive.

Williams devotes three chapters to a thorough discussion of the changes wrought by the tractor on agriculture, country life, and the American economy. The gasoline tractor was an important force in the production of greater amounts of cheaper food by fewer people. Increasingly the mechanized farm became larger and more specialized, as well as more dependent on outside fuel and other off-farm purchases. After World War II the tractor caused a large-scale displacement of both horses and manpower. For many small farmers, it was an enemy which drove them, along with rural capital, to the cities. For some commercial farmers, it offered possibilities for economic survival. Yet it also posed the hazards of increased capital requirements, farm debt and mortgages, and accidental death or injury. As Williams summarizes American agricultural history since 1919, "The tractor was never the only influence at work, but was intertwined with other factors throughout the era" (p. 152).

The volume contains a thirty-seven-page bibliography of books, articles, and government documents, plus fourteen pages of illustrations. The author possesses superior qualifications for his specialty. A third-generation tractor owner, he is both a Texas farmer and the holder of a Ph.D. in history from Texas Tech.

West Virginia University

WILLIAM D. BARNES

Let This Life Speak: The Legacy of Henry Joel Cadbury. By Margaret Hope Bacon. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987. Pp. xvi, 253. \$27.50.)

According to Mrs. Bacon, a leading authority on the history of the Religious Society of Friends, Henry J. Cadbury ranks with Rufus M. Jones as one of the two most outstanding Quakers of the twentieth century. In this well-written and readable biography, Mrs. Bacon traces Cadbury's life in chronological fashion from his birth in Philadelphia in 1883 to his death in Haverford in 1974. She takes her title from a saying of George Fox, "Let your lives speak." Cadbury's life spoke in three main areas: as a gifted teacher, as an outstanding scholar, and as a social and political activist.

He was born into a prosperous Quaker family with English roots and was related to the Cadburys who developed the chocolate business in England. He was educated at William Penn Charter School, Haverford College (A.B. 1903), and at Harvard (M.A. 1904 and Ph.D. 1913). His teaching career was spent

mainly at Haverford, Bryn Mawr, and Harvard, where he was Hollis Professor of Divinity from 1934 to 1954. He used mainly the Socratic method, encouraging his students to think deeply and develop their own philosophies.

He made important contributions to Biblical scholarship, especially in the study of books of Luke and Acts. However, Mrs. Bacon does not develop as fully and explicitly as she might the exact nature of these contributions. He was on the committee which produced the Revised Standard Version of the Bible in 1952. Another one of his scholarly interests was Quaker history, in which he published significant books on George Fox and John Woolman. A prolific author, he wrote twenty-nine books and pamphlets, fifteen introductions and chapters in books, and more than one hundred articles.

Henry Cadbury was not theologically inclined and apparently kept many of his personal beliefs to himself. One suspects that he was something of a skeptic. In any case, he believed that actions speak louder than words and that good works are a better measure of one's religion than declarations of faith. Perhaps his greatest achievement was the part he played in the founding of the American Friends Service Committee in 1917. He served as chairman of this distinguished relief agency for much of his later life.

An outspoken pacifist, he was suspended from his teaching position at Haverford on account of a letter he wrote to the Philadelphia *Public Ledger* decrying the wave of anti-German hatred which swept through the United States during World War I. He was an ardent defender of civil liberties. He lent his support to young men who refused to serve in the armed forces. While at Harvard he signed a Massachusetts loyalty oath only under protest and with written reservations. He fought McCarthyism in the 1950s. In the 1960s, when he was over eighty, he took part in a Quaker vigil at the Pentagon to protest American involvement in Vietnam.

Cadbury was much in demand as a public speaker. He had a keen sense of humor, and his addresses were laced with jokes and witticisms. Mrs. Bacon supplies numerous examples of this characteristic. She also includes many anecdotes concerning his private life. Within the limits of a strictly chronological approach, as opposed to topical analysis, Mrs. Bacon has provided all that a scholar might expect. This book is based on extensive research in primary sources, and it has a large section of endnotes as well as an extensive bibliography. Henry J. Cadbury comes alive again in her warmly sympathetic book.

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