

BOOK REVIEWS

The World of William Penn. Edited by Mary Maples Dunn and Richard S. Dunn. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986. Pp. xxv, 421. \$29.95.)

The Papers of William Penn. Volume 3: 1685–1700; Volume 4: 1701–1718. Edited by Mary Maples Dunn and Richard S. Dunn, with Craig W. Horle, Alison Duncan Hirsch, Marianne S. Wokeck, and Joy Wittenburg. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986, 1987. Pp. xxvii, 794; xxvii, 832. \$47.45.)

The Papers of William Penn. Volume 5. William Penn's Published Writings, 1660–1726: An Interpretive Bibliography. By Edwin B. Bronner and David Fraser. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986. Pp. xxvi, 546. \$40.00.)

The World of William Penn is a volume of twenty essays, nineteen of which were presented as papers at a conference in Philadelphia in the spring of 1981. Five of these essays focus on Penn himself: his personality, religious writings, business dealings, political maneuvering, moral and didactic posture. Another five essays concern the environment in which the Quaker leader operated in England and Ireland, while five more examine the transatlantic and American scene from the vantage points of Stuart colonial policy, Indian relations, and immigration from Wales, Scotland, and Germany. The final five essays deal with the Quaker context, fastening on spirituality, opposition to oaths, institutional organization, and business practices.

The opening essay (not delivered as a paper at the conference) by Mary Maples Dunn on Penn's personality is not only superior to any previous attempt to plumb the Quaker's psyche but lends a rich dimension to the succeeding essays. Depicting Penn's rejection of authority as a repetition of his alienation from and consequent repudiation of his father—a stance about which he also felt guilty, evidenced in his erection of a military statue to his departed father's memory and his later attraction to the Admiral's way of life, so clear in Richard Dunn's essay about his business dealings—Mary Dunn proposes that aggression and argumentation were sources of creativity and accomplishment for Penn but also placed in his way a tremendous obstacle to achieving close relationships with men (excepting his surrogate father, George Fox) and may account for his poor judgment about male employees.

However, Penn was capable of intimacy with women, and not only his two wives but also other females of his acquaintance. Surely this quality is related to his having spent the first eleven years of his life with his mother and older sister as his closest companions. Otherwise his childhood was a solitary one, which may help explain his mysticism. (And, like his father, he was often away from his own children, leading the peripatetic life he prized.)

Perhaps we could even expand our understanding of the gender distinctions

Dunn so convincingly pinpoints. In recalling that Penn enjoyed exercising power later in his life, she adds the important qualification that his own “deeply emotional responses to the authority of others . . . enabled him to set checks on his own excesses. . . .” In the patriarchal setting of Stuart England, it is not surprising that Penn was more tenderly inclined toward women than men.

Turning thus from Penn’s personality to the way that personality might have responded to cultural forces (such as patriarchy) is to remind ourselves that Penn was one of those rare people who crossed the boundaries of a rigidly stratified society; his personality enabled him to do so. Our recognition of the psychological forces at work allows us to appreciate better J. R. Jones’ observation that “Penn’s breadth of vision and imaginative liveliness constantly attracted attention. He was one of the few dissenters who displayed an ability to generalize issues, to develop new and original concepts, and to communicate these in terms that were intelligible to a general audience that did not share the particular experience, principles, and concerns of the separatist dissenters.” Indeed, this may be the very reason (responding to Hugh Barbour’s question on the subject) why Penn did not become the Quakers’ theological leader, and Robert Barclay did.

Some of the essays, in portraying one or another of the worlds Penn lived in, allow us to see his capabilities where previously we had seen shortcomings. Nicholas Canny describes the difficult agricultural conditions in Ireland, thereby making the case that Penn was wise to turn to America rather than trying to develop the estates his father had established across the Irish Sea. Richard T. Vann shows how few Pennsylvania Quakers had been in good standing in Britain, allowing us to speculate that Penn’s problems with them were hardly his fault alone. (Barry Levy’s essay on the familial revolution among Pennsylvania Quakers underscores their deviance.) Francis Jennings asserts: “Penn did not buy Indian rights ignorantly, and the Indians did not cheat him by making him pay again and again for the same tract. Neither of these long-accepted notions is true.” Penn’s achievement was to honor justice for the Indians while pursuing his own self interest.

The essays in *The World of William Penn* provide us with a context for a more profitable reading of *The Papers of William Penn*, although the editors’ clear introductions, thorough notes, and useful chronologies are more than sufficient guides. In my reviews of volumes one and two (*Pennsylvania History*, 49, no. 2, and 50, no. 4) I pointed out how primary sources illustrated the major issues of Penn’s public (and, to a lesser extent, his private) life. Volumes three and four provide the same opportunity as we view Penn first defending his colony (against Lord Baltimore, then against the English government; see the essay by Stephen Saunders Webb), then himself (his loyalty to James II, a function both of his defense of Pennsylvania and his dedication to religious toleration [see the essay by J. William Frost], made him suspicious to William and Mary), while simultaneously he sustained the losses of his first wife and eldest son and remarried. He returned to Pennsylvania a second time, fathered another son, and agreed to major constitutional changes before departing in 1701. During the next decade Penn had to defend his proprietary authority against English and American enemies, as well as fight the heirs of his steward, Philip Ford (see the essay by Richard S. Dunn), a battle which landed him in

debtors' prison. He became increasingly interested in selling Pennsylvania to the crown, but the transaction was interrupted by his stroke in 1712 and disability until his death.

Supplementing the manuscript writings of the first four volumes of the *Papers* is a fifth volume containing a complete listing of Penn's published work (including books to which he contributed only a part), from a Latin poem he drafted in 1660 to the two-volume collection of his works published posthumously in 1726, 135 titles (1½ million words!) in all. Each work is summarized, its context is explained, and the title page of the first edition is reproduced. Both editors have contributed essays to this volume. Edwin B. Bronner gives us a useful categorization of Penn's printed work, pointing out that more than on any other topic he wrote in defense of Quaker beliefs and practices, mostly in the early 1670s. David Fraser narrates the heretofore untold tale of Penn and the Quaker underground press, complete with pages of type-sorts to demonstrate how Quaker printers could be identified, and argues that Penn's publishing activity put him in the vanguard of fighters for free speech.

The *Papers* are dedicated to Albert Cook Myers, whose thorough work in collecting Penn's writing during the early part of the century can be seen as the genesis of the current collection; Hannah Benner Roach, who carried Myers' toil forward; and Caroline Robbins and Frederick B. Tolles, scholars whose interest in the Penn enterprise was critical to its realization. Yet it has been the herculean efforts of Richard S. and Mary Maples Dunn which have concluded the project, concluded it rigorously and with a never-failing attention to the highest quality production. We are grateful to them.

San Francisco State University

JOSEPH E. ILLICK

FARMING, ALWAYS FARMING. *A Photographic Essay About Rural Pennsylvania German Land and Life*. By. H. Winslow Fegley. (Birdsboro: The Pennsylvania German Society. Pp. 312. \$35.00.)

Anyone with an interest in rural Pennsylvania life might find something familiar among the photographs selected for this book. Three little barefoot boys in a farmyard happened to be distant relatives of a California native here to study Pennsylvania German culture. Other readers might find familiar the photograph of the house or barn they recently drove by while touring the Pennsylvania countryside. To know that his photographs would be used to assist and please people long after his death would have made H. Winslow Fegley a happy man.

Fegley belonged to a time-honored trend of photography as a serious hobby. Taking pictures was meaningful fun for him. He also crossed the boundary into the world of professional photography for commercial purposes. Fegley was one of *The Reading Weekly Eagle's* first photo-journalists. He also operated a postcard business in Reading. It is from H. Winslow Fegley's collection of photographs, housed in the Schwenkfelder Library in Pennsburg, Pennsylvania, that the photographs for *Farming, Always Farming* were selected.

The Introduction, "Man Made the Town, God Made the Country," by Scott T. Swank, takes the reader through the history of photography and explains

Fegley as a country Dutchman. Swank sees the book as biographical and the photos placing Fegley in the context of turn-of-the-century America. But Fegley is unusual for his time because he documented historic buildings in rural settings, most of which were not immediately endangered. In this way he serves as a useful mirror of his times, balancing the tensions between city and country, modern and traditional, Pennsylvania German and English.

Swank argues persuasively that Fegley was a pioneer visual historian; that his message was composed into his photographs. Fegley's pictures were visual essays as well as visual records. As records, Fegley's photographs preserved a selected portion of early twentieth-century Pennsylvania. Study of this book will explain many facets of how and why Pennsylvania farms some of its most important crops such as potatoes, corn, tobacco, and apples.

The pictures are divided into two sections, *The Land* and *The People*. The section on the Land shows the landscape of the farm world and includes farmscapes, barns, barn-raising, farmhouses, limekilns, fences, mills, bridges, blacksmith shops, taverns, schools, churches and cemeteries. The section on the People is arranged according to the course of the farmer's year and includes moving day, Easter, plowing, cultivating, hay making, harvesting, market, summertime, potatoes, corn, tobacco, apples, women's work, threshing, butchering, Christmas, vendue.

The captions to the photographs are very detailed. They explain each picture and add a necessary historical perspective. With them the book becomes a valuable historical reference. It is most unfortunate that credit for their writing, and for the picture arrangement is buried. Alan G. Keyser and Frederick S. Weiser, the caption writers, could be cited as book authors along with H. Winslow Fegley. Their work makes this book all the more valuable. Credit should also be given to Dennis Moyer and Robert Walch who spent hours selecting and reproducing the photographs.

Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission

DONNA BINGHAM MUNGER

Once a Cigar Maker: Men, Women, and Work Culture in American Cigar Factories, 1900-1919. By Patricia A. Cooper. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987. Pp. xvi, 350. \$29.95.)

In 1909, some 100,000 cigar makers in the United States produced an incredible 6.7 billion cigars. Over 40 percent of these skilled workers, approximately 44,000, were members of Cigar Makers International Union (CMIU), an organization that was particularly strong in Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. Furthermore, cigar makers everywhere took great pride in the fact that one of their own, Samuel Gompers, presided over the growing American Federation of Labor. Paradoxically, at this very time when union cigar makers were experiencing organizational success, high wage levels and improved working conditions, the industry was in the throes of radical structural changes. Large manufacturers were determined to rationalize an intensely competitive industry and to maximize profits by using cheaper materials, hiring low-wage, unskilled female labor, dividing the labor process

and introducing simple machines. The goal was to manufacture an inexpensive five-cent cigar in an industry dominated by medium-priced (ten cents and up) cigars produced by skilled male cigar makers. During the 1920s, union cigar makers increasingly witnessed their livelihood threatened by corporate concentration, machine technology, female labor, cheap cigars and the competition of cigarettes.

This carefully crafted monograph explores the rise and fall of unionized cigar makers during the first two decades of the twentieth century. Employing the traditional industry, union and government sources, the author examines the work culture of the union male and non-union female cigar makers. Additionally, she enriches her account by skillfully exploiting over 40 oral history interviews with former male and female cigar makers.

Cooper acknowledges that she began her research with a "distinct prejudice" against male union members believing that the "CMI" and its leaders represented what was worst about the American labor movement in general: "its essentially narrow, conservative, selfish and patriarchal perspective" (p. 3). Instead, she discovered a vibrant work culture which emphasized autonomy, craft solidarity, artisanal pride and independence, workers' control and, in Thorstein Veblen's phrase, a passion for the creative instinct of workmanship. In perhaps the most provocative chapter in an altogether fascinating book, Cooper delineates the "travelling fraternity," a tradition of union members moving about the country from one cigar factory to another. Such travel afforded cigar makers individual freedom and independence, a heightened sense of collective identity and mutuality and helped to construct a national brotherhood of union members.

Unfortunately for union cigar makers, the positive features of their work culture formed only one side of the coin. The other side encompassed craft exclusivity, male union supremacy and a stubborn arrogance of gender. The CMIU's failure to organize women cigar makers played into the hands of the manufacturers and helped to bring about the union's demise. Cooper's treatment of the non-union female cigar makers is first-rate. Focusing on two centers of female labor, Detroit and the towns of southeastern Pennsylvania, she demonstrates convincingly that the newcomers to the trade fashioned their own distinctive work culture and their own traditions of resistance and accommodation. Further, she suggests that women cigar makers were ready to hoist the union banner alongside their male counterparts. The males, however, were unable to overcome the limitations of their work culture to forge such an alliance. With this failure went the last hope for the union of cigar makers.

In summary, I could take issue with some minor points of emphasis but I won't. This is a sophisticated work of thorough scholarship. The author accomplishes what she set out to do. And she does so with a fine sense of balance, a deep commitment to honesty and an abiding empathy for the lives of those she studied.

Rider College

JOE GOWASKIE

To Secure the Blessings of Liberty: Pennsylvania and the Changing U.S. Constitution. By Louis M. Waddell. (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1986. Pp. iv, 69. \$4.95 paper.)

To Form a More Perfect Union: The Federal Constitution and Pennsylvania. By Paul E. Doutrich. (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1986. Pp. 20. \$1.00 paper.)

These are two new publications of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission on Pennsylvania's role in the formation and development of the U.S. Constitution. Dr. Doutrich's *To Form a More Perfect Union* describes the birth of the Constitution in Philadelphia in 1787. Dr. Waddell's *To Secure the Blessings of Liberty* contains a collection of leading Pennsylvania cases interpreting important doctrines of the Constitution up to the present day.

Both booklets are designed for the general reader, but they could also serve as useful texts in schools and colleges in this Bicentennial year. Both are well recommended as clear, readable, well-written and researched texts.

Dr. Doutrich's work is a short (20 pages) but excellent summary of Pennsylvania's strong contribution to the adoption of the U.S. Constitution. Starting with the Pennsylvania's Charter of Liberties in 1682, the author gives us in brief the historical background from colonial times through the inadequate Articles of Confederation of the new republic.

The body of the text reveals Pennsylvania's leading role in the Constitutional Convention and during its subsequent ratification. The greatest obstacle to the Constitution was the rivalry of the large and small states. The large states wanted a voice proportional to their population size, while the small states feared they would be dominated by their larger partners. The large states were New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and Virginia. New York and Virginia were too partisan in their "large state" advocacy, stirring the opposition of the smaller states. The delegation from Massachusetts had no strong individual leaders in the Convention, other than perhaps Rufus King. Pennsylvania, however, which was strongly committed to a new Constitution, had a more moderate stance and in addition, a historical regard for individual liberties, which appealed to the smaller states. And the Pennsylvania delegation had strong individual participants, in particular Benjamin Franklin, James Wilson and Gouverneur Morris. Doubtless the fact that the Convention was in Philadelphia gave the local delegates some stronger authority.

After the Constitution was adopted, Pennsylvania was the first large state to ratify it, and this prompt action was crucial to the ultimate adoption by the needed majority of nine by June of 1788. When this occurred, Philadelphia within only a week's time was able to organize a great Constitution Parade on July 4, 1788 to celebrate the event, another gesture to bring in the remaining states.

Dr. Doutrich gives us an excellent sketch of these events and conveys a good sense of Pennsylvania's leadership. It is nicely illustrated and provides a useful list of additional readings. Of course, this Bicentennial year has been adding constantly to the latter.

Dr. Waddell's *To Secure the Blessings of Liberty* collects leading Pennsylvania cases on constitutional law. These are gathered into four categories: government power; commerce and business; crimes; and individual rights.

These are not, however, case reports in the usual sense of a mere reprint of the court's opinion. Instead, these are descriptive accounts of the cases themselves, giving the historical setting, the facts and result of the case itself, and finally,

subsequent development in that particular issue of constitutional law. Written in a clear and readable style, these case accounts give us an easy comprehension of their points of constitutional controversy.

In a text as short as this, the author was obliged to make case selections with which some other scholar or attorney might not agree. The common thread is that each case arose in Pennsylvania, but that is usually only matter of geographical chance, and the constitutional issues are general in application. Only a few cases could be said to be of particularly Pennsylvanian matters, such as the Amish school case (freedom of religion for this local sect) and the Girard Will cases (separation of church and state). Some of the cases, while interesting in themselves, (such as *Liggett* or *Sullivan*), did not decide new issues, but restated generally accepted constitutional doctrine. These are, however, minor observations not detracting from the sound value of this work.

University of Pennsylvania Law School

NICHOLAS SELLERS

"Venerate the Plough": A History of the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture, 1785-1985. By Simon Baatz. (Philadelphia: The Society, 1985. Pp. xii, 124. \$25.00.)

As an aspect of its bicentennial, the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture (PSPA) published *Venerate the Plough*. Anniversary histories, whatever their time frame, pose unique challenges to their authors. In this instance, because periods of activity alternate with inactivity, continuities are difficult to establish. The author, trained in the history and sociology of science, recognizes the anomalies inherent in the location of this, the oldest American agricultural society, in an urban context and its dependence on a non-farm constituency. His analysis of PSPA leaders shows that characteristically they included civic minded patricians, scientists and the professoriate and gentlemen farmers. Indirectly this analysis of the socio-economic status of PSPA members constitutes yet another study of the Philadelphia patriciate and its interaction through voluntary societies.

Two-thirds of this brief volume treats the years 1785 to 1861, the longest and best known phase of the Society's activity. Recognizing the absence of "dirt" farmers in its ranks, the PSPA published *Memoirs* containing papers and communications, with state subsidy it sponsored agricultural fairs, and it popularized scientific findings which appeared in an almanac. Lack of funding frustrated ambitious projects for a "pattern" *i.e.*, demonstration farm, a botanical garden and veterinary training. After 1861 for nearly fifty years the PSPA was essentially moribund. Mr. Baatz bridges this lacuna with a chapter on the Farmers Club which originated as a subgroup of the Society but soon became completely autonomous. Its importance, however, was not as an agricultural group but rather as a club of the upper echelon of Pennsylvania Railroad management and their associates. The digression provides interesting sociological evidence about the sources of this Gilded Age managerial elite but offers neither information about the Philadelphia Society nor evidence that the Farmers Club substituted for the PSPA.

In 1909 the PSPA was rejuvenated due to initiatives of Leonard Peterson. He had been State Veterinarian and was a dynamic staff member of the Veterinary School of the University of Pennsylvania. He intended to use the rehabilitated

society to spearhead a campaign against bovine tuberculosis. This became the primary mission of the PSPA into the 1920s. In this phase of its history the Society was a progressive agency for social change. Its members included patricians proud of an ancient institution and reformers promoting scientific agriculture, the rural life movement and public health. Academicians, particularly scientists from the University of Pennsylvania's Schools of Biology and Veterinary Science provided technical knowledge and, not coincidentally, justification for enlarged research efforts. Businessmen and large eastern farmers also participated. A two page epilogue, without elaboration, records discussion by the Society of New Deal agricultural measures in the 1930s and an increase in agribusiness members thereafter.

The volume adequately addresses two important questions: what was the socio-economic status of the Society's leaders and why did an essentially urban constituency for so long concern itself about agriculture? Unfortunately it has defects as an institutional history. Its treatment of organizational evolution is weak throughout but is most evident concerning the 20th Century. The least understandable omission is in coverage of developments of the PSPA in the half century since Rodney H. True's "Sketch of the Society" (1936) and Volume 6 of *PSPA Memoirs* (1939) assembled portions of the documentary records of the first 150 years. The volume contains neither clues as to present membership, programs and agenda priorities of the Society, nor does it trace transitions in the organization in the last fifty years. If records were insufficient to address such matters, future historians and the archives as well as this volume might have been well served by a selective oral history project to recapture needed data.

Dickinson College

WARREN J. GATES

Independence: The Creation of a National Park. By Constance M. Greiff. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987. Pp. xiv, 281. \$24.95.)

This book, written obviously to be *the* history of the national park centered on the United States' most historic building, has a twofold character.

On the one hand, it is a sort of corporate history, meticulous but not apt to be very interesting unless you were personally involved: who held what office when, what he tried to do, what others wanted to do instead, and what they all ended up doing. To a noninvolved reader the account seems well balanced and impartial.

More interesting to the general reader is the contribution of the Park campaigns over thirty years to concepts of historic preservation, historical research, archaeology, restoration, and the creation and running of a national park. While the Park was being planned and realized, these arts developed, and in a large measure because of the Park.

This reviewer lived in Philadelphia in the 1940s and 1950s, long enough to see what changes were made in this part of the city and, especially, what was lost. One might wish that the experience of Philadelphia, so valuable in so many ways, had been gained elsewhere at some previous time. We lost the spectacular Gothic Jayne Building, the cast-iron Classical Penn Mutual Building, Frank Furness' Guarantee Trust and Safe Deposit Company, and some others because the National Park Service had neither the powers nor the inclination to save

them and adapt them for public or private use. Nor did the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, owning the mall that ran north from Independence Hall, see any more reason to save even the fronts of some interesting Victorian commercial buildings on its property. Today, National Register listing might well have saved all these buildings and have made them rehabilitated elements of a historic city neighborhood.

But the time for such an idea had not quite come in the early 1950s. The successive ideas on What to Do with Independence Hall, beginning early in this century, make a nice chapter in the history of American taste, and deserve a little and well-illustrated book. Ideas from 1915, the 1920s, and the 1930s suggested forecourts and plazas, opposite the Chestnut Street front, of such grandeur that poor little Independence Hall might have looked quite dowdy by contrast. Judge Edwin O. Lewis, president of the very influential Independence Hall Association from its founding in 1942, wanted monumentality as well, with selected shrines grandly sited. The trend, later, was toward a smaller-scale park, whose layout would allude to eighteenth-century street patterns. Charles E. Peterson, architect for the National Park Service who came to Philadelphia in 1947, wanted to preserve the Jayne and other buildings from after the magic cutoff year of 1800, and made his ideas known to no avail. As time went on, researchers advanced the science of restoration, eliminating guesswork with care, imagination, luck, and great expenditures of time and money that others tried to deny them. Factions quarreled, sometimes distastefully, sometimes amusingly: technically, Independence Hall belonged to the City of Philadelphia, but removing the Liberty Bell from it was allowable because it was a musical instrument, not an integral part of the fabric.

The history as a whole is necessary for the record, but it is the history of philosophies and techniques, applied to the Park and its buildings, that is really interesting. If I have one complaint, it is that the graphics are starved. The master plans, so reduced, are wispy; there should have been an outline plan in bold line of the Park as executed, with extant and important demolished buildings shown and labeled. There should have been more pictures of the important demolished buildings, and of typical block fronts as they were in 1950. Perhaps, some day, someone will do a *Lost Philadelphia*—it would have to be a big book—that will make up for this lack.

Pittsburgh History & Landmarks Foundation

WALTER C. KIDNEY

New Deal Labor Policy and the American Industrial Economy. By Stanley Vittoz. (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1987. Pp. ix, 241. \$24.95.)

In *New Deal Labor Policy and the American Industrial Economy* Stanley Vittoz attempts to assess the formulation of New Deal labor policy during the 1930s from what might be called a neo-revisionist perspective. Although explicitly acknowledging his acceptance of revisionist historians' judgments on the essentially conservative functions of New Deal reforms, he distances himself from those who have argued that they were brought about by a self-conscious group of "corporate liberals," acting in their own interest to preserve the

dominance of American capitalism by accepting realistic change. Instead, the author adopts a much more nuanced position, using the development of national labor policy as an analytical tool with which to delineate the origins of these critical reforms in the relation of organized labor to American business. In so doing, he argues that labor policy was manifestly *not* the creation of “wily capitalists and their highly placed political allies” but a “spontaneous product of a plurality of contending interests” (p. 8). Nevertheless, while conceding that a pluralist interpretation of the genesis of the Wagner Act is correct on its *facts*, Vittoz contends it reveals that what is needed is an integration of “an account of routine interest-group struggle” (p. 12) within the broader context of a revisionist interpretation of reform within the American capitalist economy.

New Deal Labor Policy and the American Industrial Economy is organized around a tri-partite structure. In the first section, Vittoz examines the pre-Depression state of a group of selected, highly competitive industries: textiles, ladies garment manufacture, and bituminous coal-mining. Largely focusing on the competitive situation facing each of them during the 1920s, he shows that segments of these industries had become quite disenchanted with the intensely competitive nature of the business. In the latter two cases, influential industry spokespersons began to look on unionization as a useful way to equalize and stabilize the costs of production after the failure of voluntary attempts to control chaos in their markets—both important precursors to a softening of business attitudes towards early New Deal schemes for industrial reform. In the second part, the author charts the labyrinthine legislative course of the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) and business’s and labor’s responses to its codes and seminal provisions regarding collective self-organization and representation for workers. The final portion of the book treats the legislative wranglings involved in the ascent of the National Labor Relations Act (Wagner Act) out of the ashes of the recently-declared unconstitutional NIRA. Moreover, it briefly sketches the outlines of the economic power struggles engendered by the Wagner Act in the auto and steel industries in 1936–1937. In both cases, Vittoz convincingly argues that the array of forces on the floors of legislatures and in the plants of mighty corporations provide strong indications that the development of New Deal labor policy owed little to the shrewdness of “corporate liberals” in the American business community. The reforms were a result of an interest group power struggle, initiated by labor, pushed forward by its middle-class allies, and made possible because of the decline in business prestige as well as a temporary lack of business cohesiveness during the beginning stages of the struggle.

The book as a whole is impressively researched, shows that the author has a command of the intricacies of the twentieth century economic histories of the industries he examines, and is balanced and on solid ground in his contentions. Its shortcomings are a failure to unearth anything truly new in the research and a tendency towards the use of inflated language. On the whole, though, Vittoz renders a work that serves as an admirable example in the use of caution in making historical judgments.

Paddy and the Republic: Ethnicity and Nationality in Antebellum America. By Dale T. Knobel. (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1986. Pp. xx, 251. \$27.95.)

The technique of content analysis is central to this study of the popular image of the Irish in America from 1820–1860. From a systematic sample of seven major categories of publicly printed sources across the United States, the author identified 2,255 references to immigrants and ethnicity. He found 392 distinct descriptions which he further classified and evaluated on a quantitative scale. His method appears to be logical and consistent, and allows him to define with precision the language used to portray the Irish. For example, he finds that compared to the largely favorable terms used to describe German immigrants such complimentary terms constituted only 5 percent of the depictions of the Irish.

Knobel's conclusions shed a great deal of light on the issues of ethnicity and nationality in general as well as the specific Irish stereotype of Paddy. The Anglo-American description of Paddy's abundant negative characteristics—Catholicism, rowdiness, poverty, and drunkenness—evolved from ones that were a matter of an unfavorable environment and culture to those associated with an inherently inferior people. By the 1850s, the "ignorant Irish" were seen as corrupted by nature, not nurture. The pseudo-science of phrenology and physiognomy suggested that the Anglo-Saxons and Celts were distinctive peoples who were best separated into their own nations. The distinction of the Irish as a separate people did not, however, endure because the putative physical difference was at best superficial, unlike the readily distinguishing appearances of blacks and whites. Yet, the concept of race and the superiority of Anglo-Saxon ethnicity had been linked by mid-century as an essential qualification of American nationality.

Knobel revises common wisdom when he argues that the Know-Nothings' bias against the Irish was based not on the deterministic racial arguments of the 1850s but on acquired flaws in character due to deleterious cultural influences. Nativists embraced the traditional republican idea that the nation's well being depended on a virtuous and intelligent citizenry. If character was based on nurture, these conservative reformers held forth the possibility that the Irish might be "Americanized," but they noted that the process of uplifting a blighted people would not be easy.

This book is very good in explaining the popular image of the Irish in America. The author interestingly notes that gender differentiation was irrelevant in the perception of the Irish—Bridget was Paddy in skirts. An implicit assumption is that there was a uniform national adherence to the Irish stereotype from North to South. But were there no differences between the way Bostonians viewed the "Hibernian hordes" who arrived in large numbers during the potato famine of the 1840s and the way other regions of the country saw them? In addition, his suggestion that "the late antebellum stereotype of the Irish was an autonomous source of interethnic prejudice quite independent of material or ideological conflict" (103) is only partially persuasive. How did the pejorative and persistent view of the Irish develop and flourish, whether in England or America, unless intimately intertwined with ideological, religious,

and economic issues? Although this study is an exemplary use of content analysis, the technique tends at times to isolate language from its social content.

University of Connecticut

LAWRENCE B. GOODHEART

Black Coal Miners in America: Race, Class, and Community Conflict 1780–1980. By Ronald L. Lewis. (Lexington, Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 1987. Pp. xv, 239. \$25.00.)

As of 1980, black workers comprised only 2.3 percent of the total workforce in the American bituminous coal industry. This statistic obscures the fact that blacks, throughout the first half of the twentieth century, constituted a much more significant part of the labor force in this critical industry. In 1930, for example, black coal miners made up nearly 10 percent of the industry's total workforce. And in the southern Appalachia coalfields, where blacks have historically comprised a much larger part of the labor force in coal, black employment reached a peak of 38 percent at the turn of the century. Despite the important role blacks have played, their experience in, and contributions to, this country's coal industry have not been recognized or documented. Ronald L. Lewis' *Black Coal Miners in America* is a well-crafted book that goes far toward filling this void.

A central thesis of Lewis' analysis is that the experience of blacks in the coal industry, socially and economically, has not been monolithic. He contends that the different circumstances experienced by black coal miners has been largely a function of region. In light of these varied experiences, Lewis employs a framework that delineates the distinctive regional histories of these workers, as well as the forces that shaped these histories. This comparative regional approach highlights the different patterns of race, class, and community conflict faced by blacks who labored in this country's mines over the past two hundred years.

The first section of Lewis' book examines the system of forced labor, including slavery and convict leasing, that existed in the southern coalfields from the mid-1700's through the early twentieth century. The next three sections of the book examine the experiences of black miners in the three major regions of the American coalfields. In the South, Lewis found that the exploitative nature of the forced labor system was preserved in the system of segregation employed by southern mine operators. The lower wage scale for blacks served to depress wage levels across the industry and the use of blacks in the role of strikebreakers rendered futile the efforts of the fledgling coal union to raise wages. While the southern coal industry was greatly dependent on blacks as a mechanism to control the workforce, these same workers were virtually excluded from the industry in the North. This exclusion stemmed from the resistance of white miners who saw blacks as a threat to the existing economic and social order. In the Central region, including the coalfields of Pennsylvania, black miners experienced still a different set of circumstances. Here, the demand for labor caused mine owners to offer blacks equal pay for equal work. Large numbers of blacks flocked to this region where the coal industry operated on the premise that a "judicious mixture" of black and white workers was the most effective way of

maintaining control over the labor force. In the final section of his book, Lewis discusses the market and technological forces that have contributed to a dramatic reduction in the overall workforce in the coal industry today, a reduction that has nearly eliminated black miners from the industry entirely.

Black Coal Miners in America is an example of first rate historical scholarship. It is a thoroughly researched study that manages to address all of the significant forces and institutions bearing on the lives of blacks working in this industry over the past two centuries. While individual readers might take issue with the relative emphasis accorded these various social, political, and economic phenomena, none are ignored. Lewis' book clearly makes a contribution to the fields of black, social, economic, and labor history, both in terms of the subject it addresses and the quality of the work.

The Pennsylvania State University

PAUL F. CLARK