

Anthony Wallace has written an ambitious and penetrating account of the anthracite coal industry in northeastern Pennsylvania. Genealogists looking for a local history of the Schuylkill County community of St. Clair will be disappointed. Wallace uses the mining village as a metaphor for an entire region that owed its economic viability to processing a single precious commodity. His version of events between 1830 and 1880 will not please those historians for whom the industrial revolution is a continuous and unbroken triumph for technology and progress.

As the subtitle of this book suggests, Wallace concludes that coal mining in and around St. Clair was inherently destined to fail and prevented the development of a mature, balanced economy. The economic failure of coal mining in this region, he argues, was based upon the stubborn assumptions of economic and political leaders who allowed their illusions concerning the worthiness of industrial development to dominate the sound advice of geologists and others that the mines in the anthracite region required substantial investment. Their unwillingness to make this investment led not only to financial ruin for most coal operators but also subjected great numbers of workers to dangers and risks of unparalleled proportions.

In the opening three chapters of *St. Clair,* Wallace carefully assembles the principal components of his story: the land and its resources; the coal barons and land owners; and the workers and their families. He establishes the all-consuming nature of the anthracite colliery by asserting that "each . . . was a self-contained commodity-processing unit. . . ." (p. 27) If one element, either human or technological, failed, everything else became useless. He presents short biographical sketches of the main coal operator groups as well as "biographies" of each colliery in the St. Clair community for, as he says, "collieries are almost like living beings. They are born, they grow and change, and they finally die...." (p. 101)

By using census data and other public records, Wallace also reconstructs the social structure of St. Clair and division of labor in the mines and breakers. This chapter, entitled "A Workingman's Town," is one of the strongest in the book as each ethnic group settles in the community, takes on specific jobs, and encounters the other major social and economic forces in the coal patch town. By the end of this chapter, the tensions and rivalries between the Welsh, English, Germans, and Irish are well-established.

Wallace reveals his chief premise in the middle chapter in which he maintains that the coal business depended upon an unbending faith in technological progress through the efforts of individual industrial heroes. Furthermore, those who promoted and sustained the industry placed the blame for failure squarely upon outside forces or subversive elements. Therefore, foreign competition needed to be contained through protective tariffs. On the other hand, safety in the mines did not require government intervention but could be achieved through more attention and care on the part of the miner.
The portrait provided here of the coal operator is decidedly unflattering. Presented with solid information by consulting geologists that "... in the vicinity of Pottsville, the intelligent colliers have long been aware of the relative unproductiveness of the ... strata," (p. 206) the operators clung to "illusions" that allowed them to raise capital investments and ignore obvious long-term problems.

The limited economic potential of St. Clair and other nearby mining districts became graphically clear in the 1860s and 1870s after a series of spectacular accidents. Once again, the coal operators had warnings of the inadequacy of the ventilation systems in their mines; nevertheless, their low profit margins discouraged most operators from taking the necessary measures to prevent underground explosions. Only regulatory intervention through state and federal legislation introduced the first mine safety standards. Wallace's description of Pennsylvania's early attempts to regulate the mining industry is a revealing account of the state's political culture in the mid-nineteenth century. Such was the influence of state Senator Samuel G. Turner in 1869 that he obtained an exemption for Luzerne County, his home, from the state's first mine safety law while neighboring Schuylkill County came under the full jurisdiction of this legislation. Sadly and ironically, a disaster in a Luzerne County mine at Avondale in September, 1869 cost the lives of 110 miners and led to an even more rigorous mine safety law in the following year that passed this time over the objections of Senator Turner.

The intensity of anger among the miners themselves over conditions in the mines matched the public outrage that led to the first mine safety laws. In 1868, under the leadership of John Siney, the miners organized the Workmen's Benevolent Association of St. Clair. This union was not the first in the anthracite region and it functioned for less than a decade. Yet it achieved an unprecedented influence over the relationship between management and labor and successfully lobbied for safety legislation, hospital facilities, and collective bargaining rights over such issues as wage scales, arbitration procedures, and the settlement of grievances. Siney and his membership brought about a true revolution that provided a foundation for later organizing efforts in the twentieth century. They left behind in their brief history, according to Wallace, "an inspiring legacy." (p. 276)

Not as inspiring but just as integral a part of Wallace's narrative is the period of violence in the mid-1870s associated with the "Molly Maguires." Wallace places the activities of the Mollies in context against the declining fortunes of the coal industry, the agitation for mine safety, and the persistent and officially sanctioned religious and ethnic discrimination that pervaded the coal region. Irish Catholics bore the brunt of the social and legal injustices in this period and they turned for protection and retribution to a fraternal order known as the Ancient Order of Hibernians. A faction within this order functioned as the Molly Maguires. Wallace does not deny the violent episodes connected to the Mollies but he does point out that this violence was not random. To survive a hostile environment, the Mollies punished those who injured innocent Irishmen and protected fellow Irishmen from prejudiced judges and juries. Wallace rejects any connection between the Mollies and Siney's union and he also rejects the notion that the Mollies were part of a Catholic conspiracy bent on world domination. Both of
these myths were believed and promoted by important political leaders in the coal region and supported their rationale for blaming the problems of the coal trade on forces outside the trade itself.

This last point is fundamental to Wallace's thesis. The coal industry, he asserts, was "disaster-prone" because its leadership valued productivity over safety and blamed business failures on conspiracies and on disaffected, dishonest, or careless workers. His concern is that the lessons of St. Clair have not been learned. Even today, so many industries are driven by the same assumptions that propelled Pennsylvania's coal mining industry. Textile and auto manufacturers ask for protection against low-cost foreign imports. Nuclear-power advocates point to "careless workers" as the culprits in accidents and seek technological solutions to limit the margin of error. Steel producers cite organized labor as the cause for their declining share of the world market.

Wallace has written a superb book, one that will stand along side his earlier prize-winning work, Rockdale, on Pennsylvania's textile industry. His comprehensive study is marred by only two weaknesses, one minor and one more substantial. First, the book is sparsely annotated. Wallace produces fascinating documentation in his narrative but it is often unclear what sources he has used to derive this information. A more important concern is Wallace's assertion that coal operators continued to do business even while so many were losing money simply because they believed so thoroughly in the heroic nature of their industry and the American industrial ethos. The rewards for such patriotism must have been meager indeed. It is more likely that the monopolistic interests in railroads and iron companies provided the support for the industry that allowed it to weather severe cycles of boom and bust. By the late nineteenth century, these major interests dominated people and institutions of the coal region to such an extent that it became "'sort of separate and distinct state, called by its inhabitants 'Anthracite'.'" (p. 367) While Wallace hints at the connections between the state called Anthracite and other subregions of the industrializing America, he rarely ventures outside the boundaries of the Pottsville mining district and thereby misses an opportunity to explain the persistence of failed capitalists in the coal region. Despite this one conceptual flaw, this book should be in the library of every serious student of industrial history.

Brent D. Glass, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission

Leon Litwack and August Meier (Eds.). Black Leaders of the Nineteenth Century.

The editors of this excellent collection of essays have succeeded in overcoming the many hurdles such a project involves. They first had to decide which black leaders should be included. In their introduction, they note that earlier volumes in the same series (Black Leaders of the Twentieth Century and Southern Black Leaders of the Reconstruction Era) had included some people who might also be considered 19th century black leaders. To avoid repetition they omitted most Reconstruction figures and such
outstanding individuals as Booker T. Washington, T. Thomas Fortune and Ida Wells-Barnett. Space limitations forced other omissions, including Sojourner Truth, William Still and Prince Hall. While most of the essays focus on the contributions of a single leader, Harry Rabinowitz wrote about three Reconstruction figures and Eric Foner provided a provocative article on "Black Reconstruction Leaders at the Grass Roots."

These sixteen essays give ample evidence of the variety and adaptability of black leadership during and after slavery. Prior to the Civil War, slavery and an all-pervasive racism created an environment which was crippling to black leadership talent in white America. Yet some remarkable leaders emerged. Nat Turner led a small rebellion that shook the nation. Benjamin Quarles’s essay on Harriet Tubman disentangles myth from reality in that remarkable woman’s life. In his article on Frederick Douglass, Waldo E. Martin, Jr. emphasizes that it was Douglass’s objective to fulfill the vision of American freedom and justice for all American citizens.

Some of the leaders, viewing such a goal as an idle dream, turned to colonization outside the United States as the answer for black Americans. They totally rejected the white program of forced emigration, however, insisting it must be voluntary. Indeed, nearly all black leaders toyed at one time or another with the idea of colonization. It was a corollary of racial pride when the frustrations of trying to work within a hostile white-dominated society became too much to overcome. Mary Ann Shadd, the first black woman to edit a newspaper in North America, lived and worked in Canada after moving there in 1851.

There is ample illustration of the importance of the church and the convention movement in providing a training ground for black leadership. In his essay on Richard Allen, Albert J. Raboteau points out that Allen’s desire to bring the gospel to his “African brethren” was a more important factor in the founding of the black church than was response to white racism and discrimination. Among the many significant contributions of the black church in the United States was the cultivating of a talent for leadership. Allen was also a founder of the vital Negro Convention Movement, which provided additional opportunity for leadership training. Organizations that included whites tended to be dominated by them, and even the most liberal white allies had a paternalistic attitude towards their black associates. Separate organizations were essential for leadership training.

Most of the leaders discussed were among the more fortunate and better educated. Several authors used the word "elitist" in describing their subjects. As the editors point out, such elitism, which is an inherent aspect of nearly all leadership, usually included a sincere concern for the welfare of the masses of people they represented, even though those masses did not always agree with the programs proposed. Given the limited opportunity for black leadership, it was inevitable that personality struggles, bickering and rivalry sometimes erupted.

This book contains a wealth of information, with each essay packing a lot into a little space. A number of the leaders were lesser-known individuals whose contributions deserve more attention than they have received in mainstream historical writing. Both they and the better-known subjects are treated with new insight and with the benefit of
recent scholarship. It is an aspect of the history of black Americans that is only begin-
ning to receive deserved attention. Readers of this volume will reap a rich reward.
Larry Gara, Wilmington College

Francis Jennings. Empire of Fortune: Crowns, Colonies & Tribes in the
Seven Years War in America.

(New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1988. Pp xxiv, 520. $27.50.)

Empire of Fortune, the last in Jennings's trilogy (Invasion of America and Ambiguous
Iroquois Empire), is a rebuttal to and a replacement for Francis Parkman's France and
England in North America. It is vintage Jennings: pungently written; acerbic and witty in
style; exhaustive in detail and research; and sweeping in subject and conclusions.

Jennings tells a many-sided story in which the "Indians here have been restored to
central roles in what once was called the French and Indian War, but they no longer
appear as 'stage' Indians, homogeneously ferocious and treacherous." (p. xxi) One of
Jennings's major contributions in this work, as well as in his previous volumes in the
trilogy, is to open up a whole new view of the North American Indians. At the same time
he makes it very plain that this is not a definitive history of the subject, but rather, a work
to open the field to further research and analysis.

Not only has the author examined the various Indian tribes and the divisions that
existed among them, but he has also examined the French, the British and the American
colonists. Besides dealing with Massachusetts, New York, Virginia and Pennsylvania,
Jennings analyzes several factions within each colony. In the case of Pennsylvania, there
are the Governor and the Proprietary minions, Thomas Penn himself, Benjamin Franklin
and the Assembly, as well as Quakers in and out of the Assembly and their activities in
the Friendly Association. Added to this are "minor actors" in the field with their own
motives such as Governor General Vaudreuil, George Washington, Marquis deMont-
calm, Sir William Johnson, William Shirley, George Croghan, Conrad Weiser, Israel
Pemberton, and others. If this sounds confusing, it is. Compounding the complexity of
the argument is the fact that the analysis does not always flow chronologically. Repeated-
ly, the reader is told that more of this subject will follow or that we will pick up the
trail later in the study. The mass of detail and conflicting views at times become over-
powering, and the reader has to stop and question where he is in this thicket of
intrigue.

At this same time, true to his "revisionist" approach, Jennings takes on the historical
profession through the use of what he labels "Bibliographic Note." No writer is safe,
and many times his notes are more entertaining than the text. While the most heated
verbiage is reserved for Francis Parkman, few previous writers escape some censure. The
research and assumptions of Daniel Boorstin, Charles Beard, Bernard Bailyn, Lawrence
Henry Gipson, Sir Lewis Namier, Frederick Jackson Turner, as well as less famous
authors, come in for critical review. It is at this point that Jennings is most entertaining
and provocative.

As one would expect, Pennsylvania is central to this work and there is much in this
book that will be of interest to those studying the history of colonial Pennsylvania. And there are a few surprises. The Quakers, and especially Israel Pemberton and the Friendly Association, are seen as crucial to the eventual success of the British in the war effort. These efforts were successful in the face of stiff opposition from British officials, Pennsylvania governmental officials, and Thomas Penn. As in Jennings’s other writings, Thomas Penn is seen as little more than a rapacious conquirer. Provost William Smith comes off as little less than a libeler and petty minion of the Proprietor.

Perhaps Jennings’s greatest contribution, however, is in showing that this was not a war of “savagery” versus “civilization,” but rather that there was savagery as well as compassion and civilization on both sides. Further, he has skillfully shown through the entire trilogy that we can no longer write about the “Indians” as if they were simply one group to be considered as minor actors on the stage of American colonial history. In sum, this is an important book that should be read by anyone interested in eighteenth-century American history and especially colonial Pennsylvania history. It is one that will surely spark controversy and discussion. It is a fitting climax to Jennings’s thirty year task.

George W. Franz, Penn State-Delaware County Campus

Harry M. Ward. Charles Scott and the "Spirit of '76."

Charles Scott was not a major historical figure, nor is he likely ever to be considered one. He was one of George Washington's brigadier generals during the Revolutionary War and, towards the end of his life, governor of Kentucky (1808-1812). His life deserves chronicling for many reasons, not least because he was representative of the time in which he lived. A staunch revolutionary patriot who moved from Virginia to Kentucky after the war to enhance his fortunes, Scott was one of a generation of mostly dutiful, sometimes ambitious, and always adventuromative soldiers.

Scott was born into a reasonably well-off Virginia family, wealthy enough to provide comfort, but certainly not rich enough to place it among the planter aristocracy. His grandfather had been prominent in New Kent county and parish activities, serving variously as justice of the peace, sheriff, coroner, and church-warden. The family owned sizeable acreage in Goochland (later Cumberland and Powhatan) County. Scott eventually came into a portion of that inheritance, which essentially freed him from the grueling aspects of day-to-day farm work. In 1768, he owned ten slaves; tobacco raising and flour milling were his principal money raising enterprises. A decision, however, in 1755 to join Virginia's effort to drive the French and their Indian allies out of the Ohio Valley affected the rest of his life. Thereafter until his death, military service and Indian fighting dominated his career. When the Revolution came to Virginia in 1775, Scott organized a militia company and was off to service for the next eight years, spending at one point almost an entire year (October 1775-1776) in the field. His dedication and willingness to serve had been avenues to steady promotion through the ranks; in the Continental Army

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he eventually became a brigadier general. Scott served with Washington during the middle states campaign in 1776–1777. He spent the winter of 1778 with Washington at Valley Forge, dealing with the incessant problems that plagued the encampment. His chief interest as a military officer was with the light infantry, which specialized in enemy harassment.

Later, while serving in defense of the southern states, he was captured during the seizure of Charleston in the summer of 1780. Scott was sent home and not paroled until July 1782 when he was exchanged. The waning months of the war were spent recruiting fresh troops for the Continental Army. Like other officers, the war's end brought to him an entitlement for substantial western land holdings, providing an opportunity to sell his Virginia holdings and move to Kentucky.

Scott was an early supporter of the separation of Kentucky from Virginia into a state, though he was not active in efforts to achieve statehood. Following a brief stint in the Virginia House of Delegates, he joined the effort to eliminate the Indians from Ohio, but command of the national army in the North West remained elusive because George Washington refused to support his appointment. At age 68, he ran for the governorship of Kentucky in 1808, though he had little previous political experience. His term as governor coincided with the growing enthusiasm for war with Great Britain. Scott was a vigilant defender of American honor, viewing British violation of American rights as a threat to American liberty. When Scott died in 1813 he was as committed to securing and maintaining liberty for the nation as when he entered military service in 1755, representing and exemplifying a basic theme of the new America.

Students of the Revolution and Early National Period will find Harry Ward's biography worth reading. It is splendidly written, nicely organized, and exhaustively researched. Unfortunately for posterity, Scott's personal papers are no longer extant. The papers, stored by his son-in-law, were destroyed by mice. Ward attempts to make up for this loss by painstaking research of the major and minor manuscript collections of the period along with virtually every other available source, and has succeeded in piecing together a cogent narrative. Still, the loss of Scott's papers leaves certain gaps in the narrative. As a result, little is told about his early life, his personal likes or dislikes, and not much is known about his thinking on the major issues of the day. The book instead mainly concentrates on his military activities, but that does not diminish its contribution to the literature of the period.

G. Terry Madonna, Millersville University of Pennsylvania


The story of Orthodox Quakerism is not well known. Although the activities and influences of Joseph John Gurney and the separations of the followers of Elias Hicks
and John Wilbur are familiar to Quakers and to American historians of religion, the further developments within Orthodoxy accounting for what became the fundamentalist wing of Quakerism are largely unknown even to most Quakers with historical interests. At a time when fundamentalism in American culture and in other religious traditions is receiving increased attention, we are fortunate to have Thomas Hamm's massively researched and illuminating study of the splintering of Quakerism into liberal, moderate, and fundamentalist wings.

Although surprising to those who associate Quakerism with pacifism, humanitarian service, and a kind of eccentric religious liberalism, Hamm's story will have a familiar ring to historians of American Protestantism. Its theme is acculturation leading to division. After providing a portrait of the sectarian Quakerism with which the century began, he recounts the reasonably well-known division of Quakers into the followers of the liberal Elias Hicks, the evangelical Joseph John Gurney, and the conservative John Wilber from the 1820's to 1860. He then charts his own course through what he calls the "renewal" of Quakerism among the Gurneyites from 1860 to 1875; the revivalist "revolution" under the influence of the interdenominational holiness movement from 1867 to 1880; the realignment of Quakers from 1875 to 1890 into Conservatives, Moderates, and Revivalists; the struggles within Quakerism from 1875 to 1895 over issues unique to them (the adequacy of the doctrine of the Inner Light, the matter of whether Quakers should use pastors, and the appropriateness of ordinances or sacraments); and the rise of Modernist Quakerism and its struggle for control of the Orthodox wing against the holiness revivalists from 1895 to 1907. Hamm ends his study at the point at which it becomes clear that the splintering will not be repaired and at which the origins of the three major movements of modern American Quakerism are discernible.

Winner of the Brewer Prize of the American Church History Society, Hamm's study is a major contribution to American religious historiography. The author has constructed his account after consulting over twenty manuscript collections of Quaker papers, virtually all of the relevant published Quaker Yearly Meeting and Discipline records and periodical literature, and an extraordinary number of published writings of various sorts by and about Orthodox Quakers. The interpretive structure erected on this weighty ballast is clear and credible, if not always thoroughly convincing. Even where Hamm fails to persuade that the evidence leads inevitably to his interpretation, his account is nuanced and balanced. Alert to socio-economic ways of accounting for divisions within Quakerism, he devotes himself mainly to descriptions of the development of Quaker beliefs and practices and to biographical sketches of little-known leaders of the various wings. His charts and tables on the latter enable readers to compare their geographical origins, education, and religious highpoints and are among the most useful components of the book.

The major limitations of the study stem from the author's fledgling status as an historian of American religion. He appears to come at his materials without extensive knowledge of the Quaker history preceding the rise of Orthodoxy in America and without much experience interpreting the inner religious life. The chapter on "The Quaker Vision of Religious Life 1800-1860" is the least satisfying of the book, primarily because
it is based on inadequate knowledge of earlier Quakerism, oversimplifies the evangelicalism and sectarian Quakerism that it is contrasting, and discusses Quaker spiritual development in a wooden way. Although the book gains in authority when the author is discussing the Quakerism represented in the sources he has mastered, even here he seems at times tentative and cautious in setting the context for his study and developing theses regarding why certain developments occurred. The treatment of the influence of the interdenominational holiness movement on evangelical Quakerism is a good example. On these matters and others the author has judiciously and cautiously used certain secondary studies to help him interpret his sources, but he lacks the kind of contextual command that could bring his subjects more fully to life.

Hamm's is a welcome new voice among American religious historians. It is to be hoped that he will go on from this auspicious beginning to gain authority and resonance as an interpreter of American religion.

Melvin B. Endy, Jr., Hamilton College

Karl J. R. Arndt, George Rapp's Years of Glory: Economy on the Ohio, 1834-1847.


This is the seventh volume in Karl Arndt's documentary history of the Harmony Society. Covering the years between 1834 and 1847, the years between Frederick Rapp's death and the death of George Rapp, the volume completes the journey of the Harmony Society from Harmony, Pennsylvania to New Harmony on the Wabash to Economy on the Ohio. The materials included here are drawn from English, French and German sources and are printed in all three languages. Many, but not all, are translated in the text.

Antebellum America was a breeding ground for utopian schemes and societies, and the commitments that led individuals and groups to pursue their utopian dreams are clearly outlined here. George Rapp provided the guiding vision, the bountiful American West provided the land and resources, and Harmony Society members furnished the labor and resolve that enabled the society to survive. Powered by a faith in Christian communism, these settlers not only carved a utopian society out of the wilderness, but created a thriving economic community that produced a diversified array of products and engaged energetically in commercial capitalism. The Harmony Society eventually embraced an extensive business empire, invested their funds in numerous Jacksonian banks, constructed an assortment of manufacturing enterprises, and became intimately enmeshed in the periodic fluctuations of the antebellum economy. They came to support Whigs, tariffs, and internal improvements; becoming virulently anti-Jacksonian when Andrew Jackson moved against the Bank of the United States. Indeed, they became so distrustful of the Jacksonians that they amassed a multi-million dollar treasury of gold and silver as insurance against the politics of banking.

Notwithstanding its economic success, the Society's name was a misnomer. Turmoil rather than harmony seemed to characterize its history during these years. Although
it prospered under the leadership of George Rapp and agents R. L. Baker and JacobHenrici, various factions constantly jockeyed for influence, debts were often difficult to collect, and members frequently expressed their displeasure at the guiding hand and power of George Rapp. When Rapp died in 1847, fellow founders scurried to claim a share of the Harmony Society’s wealth, although the Society remained intact for another fifty years. His death, however, revealed that the Society’s success perhaps stemmed more from George Rapp’s leadership and vision, as well as from its economic success, than it did from any generalized utopian bond among its constituent members.

This volume will be a gold mine for genealogists, but its utility is somewhat more problematic for historians. Aside from its outrageous expense, historians will have to overcome some editorial obstacles. Unlike previous volumes, this one lacks any significant editorial apparatus. There are brief headnotes, which are useful, but virtually no annotations. Synoptic headnotes for untranslated German documents are particularly useful, but one does not know to what extent this volume represents a calendar of the Harmony Society manuscripts. In addition, some of the documents are incomplete excerpts; the rationale for particular excerpts is not always clear. The brief summaries which introduce each year are welcome and useful, but we do not know what is omitted and why. Clearly a labor of love, this seventh volume of Harmony Society manuscripts provides a glimpse into a long-lost world. Historians who wish to explore that world in greater detail, however, must still consult the original manuscript.

John Andrew, Franklin and Marshall College


(Gettysburg, Pennsylvania: Gettysburg College, 1987. Pp. xii, xiii, 1096. $45.00.)

Gettysburg College—known as Pennsylvania College of Gettysburg until 1921—owed its incorporation in 1832 to the desire of its Lutheran founders to advance the cause of liberal education within their own moral and spiritual framework. Lutherans then accounted for about one-third of all Pennsylvanians who were of German or Swiss extraction. The Lutheran ministry was a favorite goal among the college’s students (as late as 1904 half of all Gettysburg graduates had entered the Lutheran ministry), and for many years Lutherans formed the majority of the College’s faculty and board of trustees. The Lutheran church provided steady if modest financial support and controlled a substantial portion of the school’s endowment. However, the college’s charter forbade discrimination on religious grounds. Students from all denominations were admitted, and broad Christian teachings shaped the curriculum.

Gettysburg thus offered in its early years the kind of moral and intellectual training considered customary and appropriate for a young man desiring to enter nearly any profession. In this respect, the college differed hardly at all from hundreds of similar institutions throughout the nation. It remained true to its founders’ principles even as the
nation underwent industrialization late in the nineteenth century, and as higher education in general became more utilitarian.

Perhaps because of its refusal to make significant concessions to business leaders who wanted to see the curriculum more influenced by the needs of employers (and also because it could count so few industrialists and other men of wealth among its alumni), Gettysburg experienced chronic difficulty in securing private financial support. As late as 1904, its $200,000 endowment ranked as the smallest among the nine private colleges that had been founded in Pennsylvania before 1865.

Not until after World War I did Gettysburg consider serious modifications and additions to its arts and sciences curriculum. By 1922 the college was offering bachelor of science degrees in engineering (civil, mechanical, electrical and industrial), business administration, and teacher education. Eight years later, fully 70 percent of all students were earning B.S. rather than B.A. degrees. The faculty expressed serious concern that these new programs were undermining Gettysburg's original mission and siphoning off funds that were badly needed to bolster instruction in the liberal arts. By 1945, all three programs were phased out.

Gettysburg also wavered on the matter of coeducation. It did not admit women students until 1888, only to close its doors to them in 1933. Two years later, struggling to keep enrollment up in the depths of the Great Depression, women were once again welcomed.

Total enrollment grew from 579 in 1940 to 1,954 in 1985, at which time Gettysburg had awarded nearly 15,000 degrees over the previous century and a half. The physical plant grew correspondingly, helped along by six major fund-raising efforts between 1904 and 1945, and a virtually continuous quest for funds since the Greater Gettysburg campaign began in 1947. Finally, in curricular affairs, Glatfelter shows that the college still adhered in the 1980s to the core of its mission of 1832: to educate the whole person intellectually, socially, morally, emotionally, physically and spiritually.

Two serious weaknesses are likely to prevent this work from capturing the interest of Gettysburg alumni or those readers who simply want greater knowledge of the history of higher education in Pennsylvania. First, the book's organization is more suitable for reference use than for telling a good story. Chapters are arranged chronologically and then divided topically under such headings as trustees, presidents, finances, curriculum, physical plant, student life, and athletics. The boundaries of each topic are so sharply drawn that the reader does not get an appreciation for the interaction of the various elements that simultaneously influenced the college's development. Nor does this kind of organization breathe life into an institution. On the other hand, Glatfelter's approach is refreshing in that he does not dwell on presidential administrations and gives due recognition to the many other elements that helped to mold the college.

The more serious flaw is that an overall picture of Gettysburg as a case study of a private liberal arts college is lost amid an almost incomprehensible mass of detail. For instance, the reader is treated to a list of days in the late 1800s on which no classes were held and the reasons therefor (p. 298), a biographical portrait of the College's second janitor (p. 265), and how the college flagpole came to be erected (p. 844). Even the most
dewy-eyed old grads would be hard pressed to sustain interest through 1,096 pages of this sort of trivia.

Consequently, the book's value is primarily that of a reference work for members of Gettysburg College's immediate family. It could have been much more had Glatfelter more frequently asked himself the question, "so what"? as he made his decisions about what to include in this history.

Michael Bezilla, Pennsylvania State University - University Park


(University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1987. Pp. x, 362. $60.00.)

The college or university history has become a common fixture of American academic presses. These works are frequently characterized by their laboriously detailed narration of the buildings, administrators, teachers, and successful students of the institution bereft of context or interpretation. Michael Bezilla's history of Penn State's College of Agriculture, however, is far superior to the nostalgia written by graduates or retired administrators. The large size of the volume (13 x 10.5 inches), its attractive binding, and the large number of excellent photographs should not lead one to assume that this work is merely a coffee table book for College of Agriculture alumni or generous benefactors to the endowment. *The College of Agriculture at Penn State* is a well written history which places the school firmly within the context of American history and higher education in the United States.

Bezilla begins his narrative of agricultural education and research in the Commonwealth well before the founding of the Farmers' High-School of Pennsylvania, the predecessor of Penn State University, in 1855. Although the work lacks a strong thesis statement, the recurrent theme throughout is the struggle to establish and maintain an educational and research institution for agriculture within an environment married to classical and liberal arts education.

Despite the fortuitous appointment of Evan Pugh, an agricultural chemist trained at the University of Gottingen, as the first president of the institution in 1855 and the passage of the Morrill Land-Grant Act in 1863, the survival of agricultural education at Penn State was not assured. During the middle 1860s and 1870s, the appointment of classically educated administrators suspicious of applied and vocational programs threatened the survival of agricultural research and education at Penn State. By the final two decades of the nineteenth-century the agricultural enterprise at Penn State and the College of Agriculture were secured by sympathetic administrators, able faculty, and an increasingly sophisticated understanding of the relationship between agricultural education and government policy.

After its existence was assured, the College of Agriculture was faced with defining its role and purpose in an increasingly non-agrarian nation and determining which groups should constitute the institution's principal clients—farmers, educators, or
researchers. Much of this agonizing search for a proper direction for Penn State and its College of Agriculture was settled by the passage of the Hatch Act of 1887 which created and financed the state experiment stations. Similarly, Penn State's initial efforts with extension field agents were formalized and supported with federal funds in 1914 with the passage of the Smith-Lever Act. These federal mandates did much to help resolve questions about the role and direction of agricultural education in the Commonwealth and in the nation as a whole. As the twentieth century dawned, the direction of the agricultural college was charted as a complex course to school agricultural educators, train scientific investigators, perform research, and distribute the fruits of agricultural research directly to farmers through extension.

Bezilla’s history of the College of Agriculture at Penn State has some weaknesses. Certain historical events that provoke interest are treated too briefly. There are occasional lapses into a more narrative and less critical and analytical mode. The book's lack of footnotes or chapter notes will be frustrating to scholarly readers, although there are bibliographical notes in a final section of the book that refer back to the text. Despite such drawbacks this volume has a great deal to offer the historian as well as the enthusiastic alumnus. This is no superficial show-piece; it is a book of substance and intelligence. It adds quite elegantly to the history of agricultural education in the Commonwealth and the nation.

M. Edward Holland, Texas State Library & Archives


David Labaree’s chronicle of the development of Philadelphia Central High School provides more than a standard institutional history. This volume explores the political and economic conflicts that affected the emergence of the high school as a truly popular institution. According to Labaree, Central may be viewed as a classic example of the right kind of institution opened at the right time, as the new high school secured substantial middle class support at a critical time in the expansion of public education in Philadelphia. For over fifty years, Central High School had a city-wide monopoly on the coveted high school diploma which became a valuable commodity in a rapidly changing industrial society. Middle-class parents viewed a Central degree as an opportunity to secure a unique form of cultural property which would ease boys into a middle-class existence distinguished from working-class wage earners. Since business ownership was becoming an increasingly unreachable goal, the business employment guaranteed by a Central diploma offered a valuable hedge against a child’s drop into proletarian ranks.

The author notes that the chronicle of Central High School is not a view of a typical American high school, since Central was an all male, highly selective, highly autonomous institution at a time when most high schools fitted into a rather different pattern. Labaree emphasizes that it is the mixture of unique and generic qualities that makes Central a useful subject for study, as the exceptional influence of its graduates is bal-
anced by more typical tensions that have marked the historical development of the American high school during the past century and a half. Thus we see tensions between citizenship training and vocational training, teacher autonomy and subordination, and open and selective access.

Labaree also includes a stimulating discussion of the development of high school teaching as a viable career when he recounts the threats to secondary teachers' status from upwardly mobile elementary instructors. The author insists that the occupational characteristics of the modern teacher finally fell into place at the point where the high school teacher's downward trajectory finally intersected the rising fortunes of the elementary teacher. This process ultimately produced an administratively subordinate but instructionally autonomous teacher who was disempowered within the school but all-powerful in the classroom.

On balance, Labaree has provided readers interested in social and educational history with a fascinating view into the development of the modern American high school.

Victor D. Brooks, Villanova University


Huss's second volume of the history of the Masonic Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania is a persuasive study of the order during the past one hundred and thirteen years. In its four chronologically and topically arranged chapters, the book treats the activities and leadership of Masonry in the commonwealth during these years from an institutional viewpoint. The book revolves around three major theses: the institutional and operational functions of the Pennsylvania Grand Lodge, its relations with local lodges in the commonwealth and those with other state grand lodges, and its fostering of "fraternal philanthropy."

The first two chapters show that the Pennsylvania Grand Lodge engaged in numerous activities between 1874 and 1900. An important institutional function of the Pennsylvania Grand Lodge was to improve its public image. Both chapters contain vivid accounts of cornerstone laying ceremonies for municipal buildings, hospitals, and colleges. There are fine sections about the festivities regarding the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the grand lodge and about the remodeling of Egyptian, Ionic, and Oriental Halls in the grand lodge temple in Philadelphia. The scholarly contributions of MacCalla and Sachse regarding early eighteenth century Pennsylvania Masonry, the problems of recognition relating to the Grand Lodges of Cuba and Mexico, the reasons for the rapid growth of Masonry in western Pennsylvania, and the appeal of the Craft to varying middle-class groups in the state are each extensively investigated.

Grand lodge activities and accomplishments during the twentieth century are well explained and assessed. The book devotes considerable attention to major celebrations
sponsored by the grand lodge and to the achievements of Pennsylvania Masonic scholars during this century. There are fine sections about significant findings in *Freemasonry in Pennsylvania, 1727-1906* by Norris Barrett and about those in *Old Masonic Lodges of Pennsylvania, 1730-1800* by Julius Sachse. Moreover, celebrations paying tribute to Washington, to Franklin, to the bicentennial of the American Revolution, and to the two-hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Pennsylvania Grand Lodge are described in extensive detail. Yet, the most impressive sections in this institutional study concern the efforts of grand lodge leaders to implement the Masonic and Enlightenment concept of benevolence during this century. Huss lucidly explains the pertinent activities of the Elkins Home, of the Elizabethtown Masonic Home, of the Patton School, of the National Center for Juvenile Justice, and of the Pennsylvania Foundation for the Prevention of Drug and Alcohol Abuse Among Children. Finally, the Solomon II Project, which centers on the efforts of current grand lodge leaders to revitalize interest in Masonry throughout the commonwealth, is concisely explained.

This history of Pennsylvania Masonry has much to recommend it. Based on primary sources from the archives of the Pennsylvania Masonic Grand Lodge, the book is written in a lucid style, is well organized, and is institutional history at its best. This work contains detailed appendices about Pennsylvania Masons and lodges, but lacks a bibliography and a discussion of the relationship of Masonry to cultural, political, social, and urban patterns in the commonwealth. Nevertheless, Huss's study breaks new ground in accentuating the thesis of "fraternal philanthropy" and is as valuable as the Masonic grand lodge histories of Carter and Lipson.

R. William Weisberger, *Butler County Community College*