In 1920, Anzia Yezierska, a young Jewish woman, published a collection of short stories about life as an immigrant in America. The motion picture rights to *Hungry Hearts* was purchased by Samuel Goldwyn for $10,000 and the author was hired at $200 per week to write the script. Anzia rushed to Hollywood to fame and fortune. Newspaper reporters hounded her; she was the ultimate “Rags to Riches” story. But within a year, the young woman gave up her life as a celebrity in Hollywood. She returned to the East complaining that obtaining what to most immigrants was the American Dream left her “without a country, without a people.... I could not write any more. I had gone too far away from life, and I did not know how to get back.”

Yezierska wrote six books between 1920 and 1932, each providing a glimpse into the lives of immigrants in the Jewish ghetto. *Bread Givers* (1925), a semi-autographical novel, was most successful in capturing the conflict that lay within the heart of every Jewish woman. The novel’s protagonist, Sara Smolinsky, struggled to establish an identity for herself in the new world and eventually succeeded only by rejecting old world values as embodied by her father, a Talmudic scholar. Not surprisingly, Yezierska left her own family at the age of 17 in order to, in her words, “make herself a person.” As a writer, Yezierska drew upon her own experiences, avoiding the temptation to romanticize the journey of self-fulfillment. She realistically described the lives of dirt and poverty shared by Sara Smolinsky and the other thousands of Jewish women who settled on New York’s Lower East Side and in numerous Jewish neighborhoods scattered throughout America at the turn of the century. Yezierska believed that her purpose in writing was “to build a bridge of understanding between the American-born and myself... to open up my life and the lives of my people to them.”

However, Yezierska’s life and writing was filled with rebellion. Her characters, encouraged by the ideas of independence and financial reward that America offered, struggled against the traditional restraints of Jewish family and community. The journey entailed sacrifice and loneliness. Numerous famous immigrant women, such as Rose Schneiderman, Emma Goldman, Rose Cohen, and Rose Pesotta, examined their own lives and echoed Yezierska’s sentiments. Were their experiences and desires also typical of other young Jewish female immigrants? What societal conditions influenced their quest for self-identity? How do we place the life stories of immigrant women within the history of working-class America?

In *Daughters of the Shtetl: Life and Labor in the Immigrant Generation*, Susan A. Glenn examines the lives of the women Yezierska portrayed in her novels—young Jewish immigrant daughters, who, were mainly employed in the garment trades. *Daughters of the Shtetl* is one
more in a long list of books which details the experiences of the immigrant woman. In the past
two decades a number of significant studies have appeared, several of which concentrate on
Jewish women. Others such as Judith Smith's work on Jewish and Irish immigrant women are
comparative studies. When faced with yet another history of immigrant women, the reader won-
ders what makes Glenn's book significant.4

Daughters of the Shtetl is an excellent study which successfully shows how a specific group
of women underwent the process of acculturation, formed a class identity, and took an active
role in determining their futures in the workplace. Glenn believes that "two identities—Jewish
and female—together defined immigrant women's special place in the history of working-class
America."5 She contends that young Jewish women accepted "modernity" despite the influ-
ences of family and community. As defined by Glenn, modernity, in its simplest terms, means a
conscious determination to experiment and be receptive to change. The book is concerned with
how this process occurred, how it was manifested, and how it differed from our traditional ideas
of the middle-class "New Woman" of the 1920s.6

The most striking and perhaps unique aspect of Jewish women's working lives was their
involvement in the labor movement, and in particular, their visible roles in labor protest. When
we think of women labor leaders, the formation of the International Ladies' Garment Workers'
Union (ILGWU), and the rise of American Socialism, we invariably recall the activism of Jewish
women. Despite recent scholarship which has argued that women workers were relatively indif-
ferent to labor activity, Glenn proves that Jewish daughters, grounded in a tradition of radical-
ism, took the lead in organizing on the shop floor and jeopardized their jobs in order to gain
dignity as workers and as women.7 As seamstress and union member Fannia Cohn put it: "Many
girls came here from a revolutionary background. They were struck by the atmosphere of free-
dom here. But then they were plunged into the sweatshop. The sweatshop was not only a physi-
cal condition, but moral and anti-spiritual. . . . They were thrown out if they mentioned the Bill of
Rights in the shop."8

Daughters of the Shtetl is primarily concerned with the formation of working-class con-
sciousness among Jewish female immigrants. Glenn believes that labor activism and union
organization were indications that young Jewish women embraced the concepts of modernity,
which in the words of the author "meant breaking down traditional negative female stereotypes
and expanding the feminine presence and voice beyond the customary spheres of home and
marketplace."9 Certainly their experiences in the sweatshop and picket line were important, but
women also experimented with and received ideas about changing standards of morality and
women's place in American society outside the factory. What influence did family, religion, and
community have on young Jewish women? How did these women reconcile their roles as wage
earners with traditional expectations of marriage and motherhood? Historians have told us how
important education and leisure-time activities are to the formation of class culture.10 Did Jew-
ish women virtually ignore the world outside the sweatshop to concentrate on their lives as
workers? If this is true, what accounts for their desire to escape the drudgery of wage work,
either through marriage or financial independence (Yezierska's American Dream)? Did one only
"make of herself a person" by joining a union?

In all fairness, Glenn devotes space to discussion of leisure and consumption. The photo-
graph on the dust cover of Daughters of the Shtetl shows three young women at the beach,
arrayed in the latest swimming costumes. Dress was important to the young immigrants. As the

References:
4. Glenn's book is significant because it is an excellent study that shows how a specific group
of women underwent the process of acculturation and formed a class identity.
5. Glenn believes that young Jewish women accepted "modernity" despite the influence
of family and community.
6. Modernity, as defined by Glenn, means a conscious determination to experiment and be
receptive to change.
7. Fannia Cohn's statement highlights the physical and moral conditions of sweatshop
work.
8. Glenn argues that Jewish women demonstrated activism and took the lead in
organizing on the shop floor.
9. Daughters of the Shtetl is primarily concerned with the formation of working-class
consciousness among Jewish female immigrants.
10. Historians have discussed the importance of education and leisure-time activities
in the formation of class culture.
seamstress Ida Richter noted: "We used to love the American people, to copy them. I wanted to be American very much. I saw people who looked better and dressed better and I wanted to be like that kind."11 Glenn believes that the desire to consume was reflected in the women's roles and identities as workers. The factory was school; co-workers taught each other about the latest styles (how to look not so green) and one reason to strike for higher pay was to be able to save a little from the wages normally turned over to the family.

Glenn's text is enriched by the use of extensive personal narratives. The words of the young Jewish seamstresses and activists give the book a kind of vivacity that only oral histories can provide.

Corrine Krause's book, *Grandmothers, Mothers, and Daughters: Oral Histories of Three Generations of Ethnic American Women*, also relies on personal recollections which provide a great deal of information about the lives of Jewish, Italian and Slavic women in Pittsburgh from the period of mass migration (1880-1920) through the 1980s. However, unlike *Daughters of the Shtetl*, the oral histories in this study center on the role of the family and intergenerational relationships and conflict. Paid work outside the home plays only a minor, supportive role in the lives of these immigrant women and their daughters. Although work was a frequent topic, it was discussed within the context of family.

*Grandmothers, Mothers, and Daughters* grew out of a project to document the lives of three generations of women in seventy-five families in the Pittsburgh area. The book contains eighteen of the interviews which the author edited into autobiographical narratives. Krause found that "continuity and change in behavior and attitudes were affected by class as well as by gender and ethnicity" over the three generations.12

The narratives in *Grandmothers, Mothers, and Daughters* can provide primary material for studying the roles that women of three generations played in the persistence of family and the formation of community. These life stories provide invaluable information on the struggles and resiliency of ordinary women who lived during times of tremendous change. They will be quite useful for students of ethnic and women's history. However, this volume also has some serious limitations. The narratives are virtually left to stand on their own merit. There is very little analysis of the historical setting, culture, or class. A brief chapter at the beginning of the book attempts to provide background material for the oral histories, but it is insufficient, particularly for the reader who is unfamiliar with the literature of immigration, ethnic and/or women's history. Unfortunately, the power of the women's words is diluted by an insufficient development of context.

These two books on ethnic women differ in a number of respects. *Daughters of the Shtetl* uses personal narrative to make a convincing argument that young Jewish women not only developed a class consciousness but embraced modernity as exemplified in their active role in labor conflict and unionization. *Grandmothers, Mothers, and Daughters*, relying totally on oral interviews, presents a collective portrait of ethnic women in Pittsburgh as filled with role conflict, but also a sense of family unity. Identity for the women interviewed in Krause's book was derived from within a family context rather than from the workplace. What factors could contribute to this fundamental difference between the two studies?

Both books suggest that although important work on the lives of ethnic women has been published within the last few years, historians are far from reaching a thorough understanding of the complexities that class and ethnicity have had on working-class women. Glenn's
study of Jewish working women has made that task easier. Those researchers involved in labor, ethnicity, class, urban, and women's history will no doubt find both books useful contributions.

Margaret Spratt, California University of Pennsylvania

Notes
2. Ibid.
5. Glenn, p. 4.
6. The author stresses that she does not use traditional definitions of modernity (progressivism, scientific inquiry, etc.) when studying Jewish women workers. For a discussion of modernity and labor history, see Daniel Rodgers, "Tradition, Modernity, and the American Industrial Worker: Reflections and Critique," Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 7 (Spring 1977), 655-81.
7. Leslie Tenter in Wage-Earning Women: Industrial Work and Family Life in the United States 1900-1930 (New York, 1979) not only suggests that women industrial workers showed little interest in union organizing, but she contends that ethnicity was unimportant when examining the lives of America's workers. Tenter states that "... by the early twentieth century, the children of immigrant parents were being assimilated to a larger working-class culture ... they came to share with one another attitudes toward personal conduct, family life, and political behavior that were broadly characteristic of a class rather than of a particular ethnic group." (p. 5) Other historians have recognized the importance of wage work on the formation of a collective female identity, see Sarah Eisenstein, Give Us Bread, but Give Us Roses: Working Women's Consciousness in the United States 1890 to the First World War (London and Boston, 1983); Mary H. Blewett, Men, Women, and Work: Class, Gender, and Protest in the New England Shoe Industry, 1780-1910 (Urbana, Ill., 1988); Patricia A. Cooper, Once a Cigar Maker: Men, Women, and Work Culture in American Cigar Factories, 1900-1910 (Urbana, Ill., 1988); Joan M. Jensen and Sue Davidson, eds. A Needle, a Bobbin, a Strike: Women Needleworkers in America (Philadelphia, 1984). The importance of ethnicity on shaping working-class experience is examined in Alice-Kessler Harris, "Organizing the Unorganizable: Three Jewish Women and Their Union," Labor History, 17 (Winter 1976).
9. Ibid., p. 3.
10. Although not based on specific ethnic group experience, a number of recent studies have concentrated on working-class women's culture. See Joanne Meyerowitz, Women Adrift: Independent Wage Earners in Chicago, 1880-1930 (Chicago, 1988) and Kathy Peiss, Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York (Philadelphia, 1986).

By Arthur G. Smith. Pittsburgh Then and Now.
(Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1990. Pp. ix, 325. $35.00.)

This is one of the best selling books ever produced by the University of Pittsburgh Press. Moreover, it achieves its goal, as stated in the introduction, to be a book of record not one of interpretation. Using the extensive photographic archives of the Carnegie Library's Pennsylvania Division and the City Photographer Collection of the University of Pittsburgh Archives for an
Industrial Society, Smith compares the Pittsburgh cityscape between the 1890s and 1950s with the city as it appears today. Some of the photographic comparisons are startling and informative.

Yet *Pittsburgh Then and Now* is a missed opportunity. It appeals to the browsing public, but it could have contained information to enlighten and entertain them. Why should a local history be treated so lightly? A book of record should have the best possible photographic quality. The book should be an artifact worth keeping in itself, not a cheaply printed, amateurishly photographed book, but a keepsake, a memento. This book suffers from low-quality modern photographs, poor reproduction of all the photographs, and lack of information in the captions.

The most distressing aspect of the book is the number of errors in the identification of photographs. Page 52 shows a 1937 photograph of the 100 block of Smithfield Street; its modern counterpart on page 53 shows the 200 block of Smithfield Street. Here is a missed opportunity since the 100 block of Smithfield Street remains remarkably unchanged and would have made an interesting comparative photograph. An 1890s era picture of the 200 block would have included the Old Post Office which has been replaced by the sterile parking lot shown on page 53 of the book, and the contrast between those two pictures would have been interesting.

An architectural historian would immediately have suspected that the house identified as "Woodmont" on page 306 of *Then and Now*, and listed in Palmer's *Pittsburgh* as being in the city of Allegheny at the turn of the century could not have been there. The location given as 1136 Western Avenue was a part of what is today the historic district of Allegheny West. The district in the 1880s was comprised primarily of substantial upper middle class brick housing in styles ranging from Classical and Italianate to Second Empire. Frame structures were mostly modest alley houses. The idea of a frame mansion with enormous verandas being built in Allegheny West in 1900 is ludicrous considering that the mills ran at full tilt in the river flats below. A trip to the library at Pittsburgh History and Landmarks Foundation confirmed the suspicion. The plat book showed four moderately sized brick "city" houses on the block in question, and Scaife family photo albums show a series of photographs of the building of "Woodmont" in Sewickley, not Pittsburgh, between July and November of 1902.

A third error occurs on pages 310/311. The 1987 picture showing the house at 5045 Fifth Avenue is actually a reworked house from the 1870s, but it is not a reworking of the house shown as its 1905 counterpart on page 310. Two books on Pittsburgh's buildings, both Walter Kidney's *Landmark Architecture: Pittsburgh and Allegheny County*, and Frank Toker's *Pittsburgh: An Urban Portrait* illustrate 5045 Fifth Avenue and relate the story of its reworking from James Rees' 1870's Second Empire house to the present manifestation commissioned by James Hartwell Hillman, and executed by E. P. Mellon, architect between 1924-26. The 1870s house in question, however, is not illustrated in *Then and Now*.

Equally as frustrating as the errors are the omissions. On page 36 the 1932 shot looking up Duquesne Way from the 7th Street Bridge has a fascinating building in the background which greatly resembles the Carnegie Library in Oakland. It is completely unidentified, and the caption contains the phrases "it is probable" and "may have been." Would it not be better to research the structure which is behind the tracks and be able to identify it? A quick consultation of the plat books shows the building in 1923 as the North Public School at the SW corner of 8th Street and Duquesne Way. The Pennsylvania Room of Carnegie Library in Oakland has the annual reports of the School Board which reveal that the North public School shown in the photograph was built in 1894 and used as a school until 1935. It was demolished in 1936.
On pages 50/51 another stretch of Smithfield Street is shown with remarkably little change in the building. Instead of a comment about why Pittsburgh has so many stonefaced buildings with round arched windows (to emulate the courthouse in the Richardsonian Romanesque style), the comment "The west side of the street (left) contains numerous buildings that date from before World War I" gives us no information. An earlier comment on the changes in the city between 1906 and 1987 is equally vacuous; after two major wars, the decline of the steel industry and two renaissances Professor Smith notes that the two pictures compared show "that there is a higher density of working population in the city today than at the turn of the century. Skyscrapers hold more people than do buildings of only a few stories (p. 45)."

One minor complaint: there is no cross referencing among photographs. Pages 44, 134 and 135 show almost the same scene at three different points in time, but this is not pointed out in the captions. It would also be handy to have the photo credit identified in small print beside each image, or to have a workable index at the rear. Neither is provided.

_Pittsburgh Then and Now_ is a useful compendium of old photographs from a variety of far-flung sources and for the energy required to assemble them the author should be commended. But fine graphics, pithy captions with real information and some sense of architectural history and urban design would have made this curiosity an excellent book instead of merely a popular one. What a lost opportunity.

Lu Donnelly, _Committee on Pittsburgh Archaeology and History_


(Pps. 31, 1245. Available at $100 the set from the Pennsylvania German Society.)

This two-volume work appears as Volumes 21 and 22 of the publications of the Pennsylvania German Society. Its completion marks the culmination of an effort "to record all monographs and almanacs printed in the German language between 1728 and 1830 in the territory of today's United States" (xi) which extended over a period of fifteen years. Karl John Richard Arndt in the United States and Reimer C. Eck in Germany were the editors for the two volumes. The University of Gottingen was responsible for supervising the project, and the Pennsylvania German Society published the finished work.

An earlier similar effort resulted in the publication by Oswald Seidensticker, for many years a German professor at the University of Pennsylvania, of _The First Century of German Printing in America, 1728-1830, . . ._ (Philadelphia, 1893). Since this pioneer work appeared, many additional examples of German printing have been located and identified, and several efforts have been made to publish information about some or all of them. In 1983 a qualified German bibliographer, Werner Tannhof, who was associated with the effort begun in 1974, came to the United States. While visiting libraries and private collections in more than sixty places, he found
many imprints which one could scarcely have expected any one researcher to have located a century before.

The number of imprints which Seidensticker listed in his work was 1,550; the number in the present two volumes is 3,151. Actual copies of some imprints could not be found, but these are included in the bibliography if the present editors had what was for them reliable evidence that they had once existed. The present work does not include either newspapers or the sizable and significant body of German broadsides, the latter of which, we are informed, are to be dealt with in a later volume.

Following the precedent set by Seidensticker, the editors arranged their 3,151 entries according to the year of publication of the imprint, the place of printing, and the name of the printer. The later two items are arranged in alphabetical order. In each case there is additional useful information about the entries. For example, the editors give some of the present locations where copies of particular works may be found, as well as the variant titles under which some of them were issued.

Three indexes greatly enhance the usefulness of this reference work: an author and title index; one of printers, publishers, and stereotypers; and one of the numerous places where German imprints were issued. Lincolnton, North Carolina, and Middlebury, Vermont, are among the places listed, together with many in Pennsylvania and its neighboring states.

Reference works are rarely, if ever, all-inclusive of their subjects. There is almost always something more to be found. In the preface of their work, the editors express the hope that "with these volumes a first decisive step has been taken towards a definitive bibliography of the first period of German Language Printing in the United States" (ix). In the opinion of this reviewer, the editors and their associates, while they undoubtedly have not uncovered every last German imprint published between 1728 and 1830, have achieved much more than taking "a first decisive step."

Charles H. Glatfelter, emeritus, Gettysburg College


Ileen DeVault argues persuasively that the transition from competitive to monopoly capitalism produced a "crisis" in the skilled trades. The crisis encouraged increasing numbers of craftsmen to prepare their children for work in the rapidly growing clerical sector. Situating her study within the historiography of social mobility studies, she is concerned with the central question of "how the rise of the clerical sector influenced the social organization of class at the turn of the century." (p. 6). Her study is a well-researched, statistically based, richly nuanced analysis of the forces responsible for the emergence of a white collar workforce, and of their effects on Pittsburgh's working people.

Even though the book focuses primarily on changes in work and occupations, a broader set of concerns shapes DeVault's argument. Fin de siecle America experienced dramatic and longterm social and economic changes that struck the nation's cities and their residents with
particular force. These changes propelled the "sons and daughters of labor" into the newly established Commercial Department of the Pittsburgh schools. Industries underwent a dual transformation. Formed into large trusts, they both raised their demand for white collar workers in increasingly bureaucratic and highly rationalized corporate offices, and reduced their need for skilled artisans as they implemented new technology that rendered the skilled jobs redundant. Accordingly, this eliminated these jobs as potential occupations for the worker's male children. As the numbers of lower level white collar jobs grew, so too did schools to train potential workers. Newly arrived immigrants filled the plethora of unskilled jobs in the large mills that lined the Allegheny, Monongahela and Ohio rivers. Immigration engendered a backlash of nativism that encouraged American-born workers, their children, and the children of old immigrants to seek out career alternatives. Similar pressures provoked Progressive Era concerns over the social and cultural practices of the newcomers. Progressives sought to remove control over education from local school boards (which had included a number of skilled workers) and to centralize it at the city level.

Gender figures prominently as a category of analysis in this complex argument. Using the records of the Commercial Department of the Pittsburgh High School for the early 1890s, DeVault tracked students through the 1900 Manuscript Census and several city directories. To be sure, historians have long employed broad Census categories such as ethnicity and gender to interpret workers' behavior. Examining the occupations of Commercial School students' siblings who did not attend the school, DeVault compared their likely attraction for the "sons and daughters of labor." She concluded that young people and their families chose the long-term goal of attending the Commercial School, rather than entering the labor force and reaping the short-term rewards. They did this for different reasons: Young women almost invariably would have found work in the needle trades, sales and teaching that paid comparatively poorer wages, required longer hours, and involved long bouts of unemployment. Young men, on the other hand, who would normally have been expected to enter their fathers' crafts, chose instead to train for the white collar world. They did so because nineteenth-century industrial trades faced an uncertain future in an environment of monopolization and mechanization; moreover wages, hours and conditions in clerking compared favorably with even the best of the skilled blue collar trades, such as glass blowing and iron rolling. In addition clerking offered at least the promise, although not normally the reality, of social mobility. For both, the white collar conformed to either present or desired social status. But rewards on the other side of the collar line also differed for men and women, with men likely to remain and advance while entry-level, dead-end jobs awaited young women.

Like most good books, DeVault's raised at least as many questions as it answered. Most of the "sons and daughters of labor" in her Commercial school sample came from the Lawrenceville and Hilltop areas of Pittsburgh, which DeVault examines in greater detail to ascertain the impact of changes in workers' communities on workers thinking about occupational options for their children. But how representative of their fellow workers were the tradesmen in these communities? Lawrenceville raises little concern; however, the same may not be true for her use of Hilltop. In 1880, the vast majority of Pittsburgh's skilled window-glass workers, a trade that figures prominently in her analysis, lived among the mills and factories on the flat lands along the Monongahela River, not on the Hilltop. Did many still remain? What occupations did their children follow in 1900? More broadly, how did the life choices made by workers and their
children across the spectrum of trades compare with those who sent their children to the Commercial School?

Sons and Daughters of Labor is stimulating reading and a long-awaited corrective to the prevailing image of Pittsburgh. If the book's cover suggests the traditional identification with steel mills and brawny, blue-collar work, its contents reveal a new world of offices and an observable shading of the collar line.

Richard O'Connor, *Historic American Engineering Record*


(New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988, Pp. lxix, 727. $60.00.)


(New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991, Pp. lxx, 708. $65.00.)

These two volumes under review, 1435 pages of text, include approximately sixty percent of the extent documents (all or in part) and cover eight months in the life of Benjamin Franklin, most of which were spent as part of the American commission to France. In an effort to reduce the sheer volume of the documents the editors have printed "... in full everything that came from Franklin's pen, and everything that throws light on his official activities and his unofficial and multifarious dealings with individuals" (v. 28, p. lxi). The correspondence of the Commissioners are only summarized, since they appear in full in *The Adams Papers.* Additionally, the editors have dealt with the bulk of documents as they have dealt with them in the previous volumes covering the French period: they have established a number of categories, provided one example, and discussed similar letters in headnotes. Among the categories are commission seekers, emigrants, favor seekers, offer of goods, proposals, intelligence reports. These categories change from volume to volume.

The material in both volumes demonstrate the administrative detail involved in diplomatic missions and the role that personalities play in these events. But there is little sense of the great events which occurred during the four months covered by Volume 27. During that time Congress rejected the Carlisle Commission, and war between France and England finally broke out in the Channel. On the diplomatic front, the ratifications of the treaties signed the previous February were exchanged and articles 11 and 12 of the treaties dealing with export duties on molasses and other goods were deleted. Yet, one reads only of individual complaints and petty bickering, and one can see the disintegration of the Commission. An important reason for the mundane nature of the documents in that the French had appointed Conrad-Alexander Gerard as minister plenipotentiary to Congress and the French government was working through him rather than through the Commissioners.

On a personal level, Volume 27 shows Franklin's efforts to set up an exchange of prisoners and his prodigious efforts at propaganda as he worked to keep a positive image of America.
before the French. As previous volumes reveal, the esteem in which the French held Franklin was not matched by his fellow Commissioners. Privately, Franklin's attention turns from Mme. Brillon to Mme. Hélvetius. In the words of the editors, "the fascination of this volume lies in the insights it affords into Franklin's private life and his talent for escaping loneliness by slipping "into a cocoon of affection and warmth" (p. lxv). Other matters covered include Franklin's involvement with the Masonic Lodge and with the French scientific establishment, and his collaboration with Antoine-Augustin Parmentier on behalf of the potato.

Volume 28 continues the same themes, although it ends with the final disbanding of the Commission and the appointment of Franklin as minister plenipotentiary to the French Court. One of the central themes of this volume is the commissioners' efforts to meet all the demands for payment placed upon them. Another nettlesome problem that preoccupied the Commissioners arose from the conditions under which prisoners of war were being held in England.

However, the major part of Volume 28 deals with the implementation of the Treaty of Alliance and the Treaty of Amity and Commerce. Now began the difficult task of meshing the interests of the two nations as they attempted to put into practice the principles espoused in the treaties. Among the issues that needed addressing was privateering, protection by the French of American shipping, and the efforts to bring Spain into the war on the side of America. Of course, underlying all of this was the disintegration of the commission itself and the eventual appointment of Franklin. While Congress had abolished the commission on September 14, 1778, unofficial news did not reach Paris until the end of November, and Franklin did not receive official notification of his appointment until February 12, 1779. Immediately, Franklin took charge and accepted the responsibility that came with his appointment. During the period covered by Volume 28, Franklin turned seventy-three, and he continued his scientific and Masonic activities in France, although there is little in the way of correspondence with his family in America.

These two volumes also mark an editorial change of the guard. Volume 27 saw as editor Claude A. Lopez, who had worked on the Franklin Papers since its inception. With Volume 28, Barbara Oberg has assumed the position of Editor and Ms. Lopez has assumed the title of Consulting Editor. Even with these changes, the editorial quality of the edition remains outstanding. The Papers of Benjamin Franklin continue as a monument to superior documentary editing.

George W. Franz, Penn State Delaware County


(Johnstown, PA: Johnstown Area Heritage Association, 1991. 69 Pp., index, illustrations. $12.95.)

At first glance Jaybird is simply a visually pleasing coffee table book designed for a popular readership and thus serious scholars need not bother with it. After all, the limited text is forced to compete with endless illustrations, there are no footnotes or endnotes, and seven pages of this already slender work are given over to genealogy. What a thoroughly damning indictment.
For scholars willing to look beyond these "high crimes and misdemeanors," however, there is a lot of business, industrial, and transportation history packed into 69 pages. Historians of technology might also want to look at this work. In addition, the book features the 19th century careers of two men who later became quite prominent: Tom Johnson, four term reform mayor of Cleveland, and Arthur J. Moxham, head of product development and a Board member at duPont.

The title of the book suggests a narrow focus: Arthur Moxham producing varieties of the flanged Jaybird rail for street railways at the Johnson Company near Johnstown between 1883 and 1898. However, the greater portion of James Alexander’s narrative cuts a much wider swath as it chronicles several decades, includes a large cast of leading characters, and sprawls across the landscape from Louisville, Kentucky to Birmingham, Alabama to Johnstown to Lorain, Ohio. The story underscores the importance of blood lines and marriage alliances as a means of financing 19th century industrial efforts. Thus it reinforces Anthony F. C. Wallace’s dictum that kinship is the key to early industrial financing.

The complex story begins in post Civil War Louisville with enterprising young men running the Louisville rolling mill—later Louisville Iron and Steel. The cadre includes: Tom Johnson, boy genius of street railways; Thomas Cooper Coleman, august local iron baron; Fred and Biderman duPont, renegades from Wilmington who dazzled Louisville with their entrepreneurship; and Arthur J. Moxham, apprentice iron master. (Biderman married into the Coleman family in 1861 as did Moxham in 1876.) Leading this tightly bonded group in net worth was Fred duPont, said to be worth $3,000,000.

In 1879 Biderman duPont branched out by building the Birmingham Rolling Mill, selecting Arthur Moxham to design the plant and serve as its superintendent. While at Birmingham, Moxham was visited in 1881 by Tom Johnson (now in street railways in Indianapolis) who “had designed a street railway girder rail that combined the structure of the standard railroad T-rail with the market advantages of some of the odder-shaped strap rails commonly used on horsecar lines” (p. 17). Moxham, with considerable practical experience, worked out a means for producing this unusual shape or Jaybird. Possessing a technical solution, Johnson and Moxham gained financial support from Fred duPont, chartered the Johnson Steel Rail Company in 1883, and moved to the Johnstown area to manufacture this rail in conjunction with the Cambria Iron Company.

As the rail business boomed the Johnson Company completed a substantial rail mill just outside of Johnstown and built a community to be known as Moxham. (The town was planned by Tom Johnson in 1887 and was linked to Johnstown by rapid transit.) Though production figures or profits are not presented, the Johnson Company apparently enjoyed an outstanding decade and something of a monopoly between 1883 and the devastating Panic of 1893.

Despite the onset of a grinding depression and the fact that leading financial supporter Fred duPont had recently been killed in a Louisville bordello, the Johnson Company in late 1893 expanded by building a plant in Lorain, Ohio. Good idea, horrible timing. The depression continued for several years, Johnson rail patents were successfully challenged in the courts, and by 1898 the firm became a wholly owned subsidiary of Federal Steel.

As business history in the narrowest sense this work provides little insight into labor relations or life in Moxham and this will disappoint readers. Still, the book is useful in other ways: it underscores the importance of kinship in financing industrial ventures, it describes the early
careers of two luminaries, and it provides historians with research on the Johnstown area—unrelated to the flood!

Thomas R. Winpenny, Elizabethtown College

By Margaret Marsh. Suburban Lives.


This is a fascinating, complex, yet accessible book about the origin, development, and relationship of United States suburbs and domesticity, in theory and practice, from the antebellum period to the Great Depression. Although they originated from different sources, both, by 1900, had coalesced into a focus on “masculine domesticity” (p. xiv) and the centrality of place rather than home ownership. The 1920s, Margaret Marsh persuasively argues, saw the return of ownership as essential and the evisceration of masculine domesticity as a challenge to existing gender relations.

Suburban Lives, however, is not just about the idea of suburbs and domesticity, but also about how people experienced them. Marsh illustrates her larger points with succinct descriptions of changing suburban life in which she discusses: material culture (including clear expositions of house floor plans); gender relations; social composition; social life; internal family relations. Readers of this journal will find especially interesting the portraits of two Philadelphia suburbs—Overbrook Farms and Haddonfield, New Jersey—but Marsh also examines several suburbs of Boston as well as Palos Verdes, California.

This is a wide-ranging book that should attract different kinds of readers interested in a variety of topics. Marsh’s discussion of “masculine domesticity” is especially important.

Steve Rosswurm, Lake Forest College


When Philadelphia: Portrait of an American City by the late Edwin Wolf 2nd was first published in 1975, it found a receptive audience. Both the text and the images in this well-produced illustrated history appealed to the reading public. Now it has been reissued with a new chapter by Kenneth Finkel of the Library Company covering the years from 1975 to 1990. Those years also saw a profusion of scholarly and popular works on Philadelphia. The interpretation of the city’s history and the way images are used to understand that history have changed over the past decade and a half. The reissuance of Philadelphia: Portrait of an American City with the pre-1975 chapters virtually unaltered thus provides an interesting opportunity to look at the strengths and weaknesses of the traditional illustrated city history.

The book is explicitly designed as an overview of Philadelphia’s history for the general reader. Wolf made no claim to be scholarly or comprehensive, but tried instead to give “the
flavor of successive eras” (p. 8). Including the new chapter, the book is organized into thirteen chronological sections, and the balance is admirable—four chapters before 1800, five on the nineteenth century and four on the twentieth century. Each section consists of a short text introduction followed by numerous illustrations with explanatory topical captions discussing one or more images. About two-thirds of the prints and photographs come from the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and the Library Company. Most of the illustrations and text deal with politics, business and industry, philanthropy, culture, the arts and architecture, and urban improvements.

The obvious virtues of *Philadelphia: Portrait of an American City* are its accessibility and the breadth of its coverage. The texts and captions are well-written and jargon-free. The view of the city is encyclopedic, touching upon immigration, black history, popular culture and row houses as well as on the well-known highlights of Philadelphia’s past. The book’s deficiencies are also clear. Neither the individual chapters nor the book as a whole is organized thematically and there are few attempts to follow trends over time; the coverage is broad but not deep. Wolf had relatively little to say about the city’s social structure, class and ethnic relationships, political ideology, neighborhood development outside the downtown, or women in Philadelphia. The sources and nature of the images which dominate the book are not investigated. While many topics are treated, it is not clear that some might be more significant than others during a given period; thus in the 1900-1930 chapter the theater and immigrants each have a page of illustrations. The effect of the book is kaleidoscopic rather than analytical, as it was intended. To his credit Wolf was only moderately boosterish, with the exception of an unfortunately sunny chapter on 1945-75. The general tone is that despite ups and downs Philadelphia has been and remains a pleasant and charming place to live.

In the last chapter, Kenneth Finkel tries to add a more critical note closer to the reality of Philadelphia in the 1980s. But as in the rest of the volume, the illustrations present a narrower and rosier view than Finkel’s excellent text. Views of the MOVE crisis and other urban problems are succeeded by grouped images of the arts, Live Aid, sports, the restaurant renaissance and historic preservation. Nevertheless, the final section adds significantly to the volume’s basic value as a survey of the city’s entire history. *Philadelphia: Portrait of an American City* still succeeds in conveying a story that is more than mayors and monuments. More importantly, it does so in a way that—in contrast to more analytical scholarly works—can reach the large popular audience which remains interested in history.

Fredric Miller, National Endowment for the Humanities


Robert F. Burk’s study of the political activities and ideas of the du Pont family is an important addition to the growing literature on the relationship between business and the state in the twentieth century. The focus of this book is on Pierre, Irenee, and Lammot du Pont who, with their associate John J. Raskob, controlled the Du Pont Company and owned more than twenty-five percent of the stock in the General Motors Corporation during the years between 1915 and
In the 1930s and 1940s, the du Ponts and Raskob were among the nation’s most prominent critics of Franklin D. Roosevelt’s New Deal as they fought the rise of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the growing role of the federal government in economic life. Burk’s book is a thoughtful attempt to define the content of the du Ponts’ conservatism, which he sees as being characterized by “corporatism” and “cosmopolitanism.”

Having spent the first quarter of the twentieth century building America’s two quintessential modern corporations that were characterized by centralized administration and high technology, the du Ponts did not seek to return to the nineteenth century which they saw characterized by decentralized competitive capitalism and rural populism. Burk sees the du Ponts as modernists and much involved in what Robert Weibe has called the “search for order.” But their search for order was very different from the one which was ultimately embraced by Franklin D. Roosevelt. The du Ponts sought to establish a corporate state organized according to business principles and controlled by business men. They opposed the New Deal’s broker state that they feared would force corporate America to share power with organized labor and other interest groups.

This framework helps to explain several problems that have defined the writing of the political history of the 1920s, and 1930s. It contributes to an understanding of the relationship between the business community and the reform impulse of the early twentieth century, showing that there was a wide spectrum of political opinion within the business community. Corporate liberalism and laissez-faire capitalism were not the only alternatives under debate.

Burk sees the du Ponts’ support for the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment in the context of their broad political ideology. He shows that historians have been somewhat simplistic when they have explained Pierre du Pont’s support for the movement to repeal prohibition as growing out of the realization that the legalization of alcohol would shift much of the burden of federal taxation to the liquor industry.

This portrayal defines the du Ponts’ aims much too narrowly. This book shows that the du Ponts’ fight for repeal was part of an effort to defeat the insurgency politics of the midwestern progressives and populists. If this could be accomplished, they believed, then it would have been possible to establish a state controlled by the large corporations. This is the reason the du Ponts and Raskob invested so heavily in the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment, the Democratic Party during the Al Smith era, and finally in the American Liberty League.

Burk shows that during the early years of the depression the du Ponts realized that the economic crisis would inevitably result in an expansion of government economic regulation. Pierre du Pont was willing to work with Franklin Roosevelt during the New Deal’s NRA period when Hugh Johnson, a supporter of “industrial self-government” appeared to be working towards the establishment of a corporate state. Pierre sat on the NRA’s Labor Board for much of 1933 and 1934. It was only after the National Industrial Recovery Act was declared unconstitutional and the New Deal moved left, seeking the support of organized labor by endorsing the Wagner Act, that the du Ponts broke with FDR and established the American Liberty League. Burk convinced this reader that the Hamiltonian-Jeffersonian dichotomy, which was first applied to the New Deal period almost forty years ago by the historian Broadus Mitchell, is still a useful tool for understanding the politics of the 1930s.

The Corporate State and the Broker State presents an interesting thesis and provides the reader with a great deal of new and important information on the role that the du Pont family and John Raskob played in national politics during the inter-war years. The narrative history of
the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment and the American Liberty League is useful and informative. Unfortunately, the work is marred by Burk's tendency to personalize his dislike for the du Ponts and characterize them in terms which are unflattering to the point that some readers might question his objectivity. Time and again, General Motors is referred to as the jewel of the du Pont empire as if it were some captured treasure. Pierre, Lammot and Irenée du Pont are described as barons of the Brandywine and pictured as arrogant, angry, intemperate, grim, paranoid, dour empire builders with all the requisite anti-Semitic, racial, and class prejudices. All those characterizations are, of course, entirely subjective and, when they are repeated on virtually every page, they tend to subtract from the credibility of the book rather than strengthen its argument. Part of the problem stems from the fact that when Burk describes the passionate debates between the supporters of the New Deal and the Liberty League he appears to find it difficult to rise above the partisan rhetoric of the time. As a result, the larger questions which Burk defined so well in his introduction and first several chapters tend to get buried in the later sections of the book which focus on the details of the du Ponts' fight against FDR and the New Deal.

Michael H. Nash, Hagley Museum and Library


John C. McWilliams has written the first history focusing on an important but relatively unknown American official. Harry J. Anslinger, the nation's first drug czar, headed the Federal Bureau of Narcotics (FBN) as commissioner from its inception in 1930 until his retirement in 1962. Anslinger was born in Pennsylvania, the eighth child of parents who had immigrated to the United States from Switzerland in 1881. His public life took him to places far from home, but he never severed his ties to central Pennsylvania.

What is already known about Anslinger's career can be found in the scholarly work of David F. Musto, M.D., Alfred R. Lindesmith, Douglas Clark Kinder, and this reviewer, among others. It is McWilliams's contribution to portray Anslinger as an active and avid crime fighter in more vivid terms than we have previously had available. McWilliams portrays the commissioner as a "multidimensional figure whose peripheral activities have been skimmed over or totally ignored by recent authors" (p. 188).

McWilliams set two primary tasks for himself. He first wanted to determine precisely what was the role of the FBN in controlling narcotics-related crime at home. Second, he sought to uncover the role of Anslinger and the FBN in wartime and postwar intelligence operations. Concerning the former, McWilliams persuasively argues that Anslinger engaged in law enforcement activities in excess of his bureau's mandate. This activism inevitably meant bureaucratic conflict with other federal agencies, notably the Federal Bureau of Investigation, which showed little interest in pursuing Anslinger's claims about the existence of organized crime in America until the issue could no longer be ignored. As McWilliams rightly observes, "Anslinger was far ahead of [J. Edgar] Hoover in realizing that certain criminal activities were highly organized" (p. 135).

McWilliams is on more speculative grounds in writing about Anslinger's connection to intelligence activities and even covert operations. He wisely recognizes the limits of documentation
where these issues are concerned, while acknowledging his responsibility as a scholar to raise questions that yield no easy answer. It is not clear, however, how Anslinger's three primary operatives, George H. White, Garland H. Williams, and Charles Siragusa, who "functioned as important intelligence gatherers" (p. 174), moved with relative ease from the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) to the narcotics bureau to the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). White and Siragusa evidently played major roles in CIA drug testing projects. Let us hope that in the future McWilliams or some other scholar will suggest how such activities affected the basic mission of the FBN, which presumably concerned drug law enforcement and the shaping and implementation of U.S. antinarcotic foreign policy.

Despite its attributes, *The Protectors* has several flaws that impair its worth. McWilliams never really engages those scholars who "have [not] bothered to examine [Anslinger] beyond the surface" (p. 9). Had he done so, he would discover that the differences he sees are more in degree than in kind. Nor has he examined records of the OSS and the Department of State that would have strengthened his basic argument about the reach of Anslinger's influence into foreign policy and the realm of national security. And, on some matters central to his claim for a "multidimensional" Anslinger, the documentation is far too slender. I must also point out that the copyediting is hardly what the reading public has the right to expect; numerous typographical errors become quite distracting.

These flaws aside, McWilliams has written a good first book that will prove useful to other scholars and will tell the general public something about the many facets of narcotics control in the United States. If there is any historical lesson to be learned from Anslinger's lengthy tenure at the FBN, it may be that unchecked power is something of an intoxicant and tends to become its own reward.

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