

Book Reviews:

By Priscilla Long. *Where The Sun Never Shines: A History of America's Bloody Coal Industry.*

(New York: Paragon House, 1989. Pp. xxv, 420. \$24.95.)

By Maier B. Fox. *United We Stand: The United Mine Workers of America, 1890-1990.*

(Washington, D.C.: United Mine Workers of America, 1990. PP. vii, 609. \$29.95.)

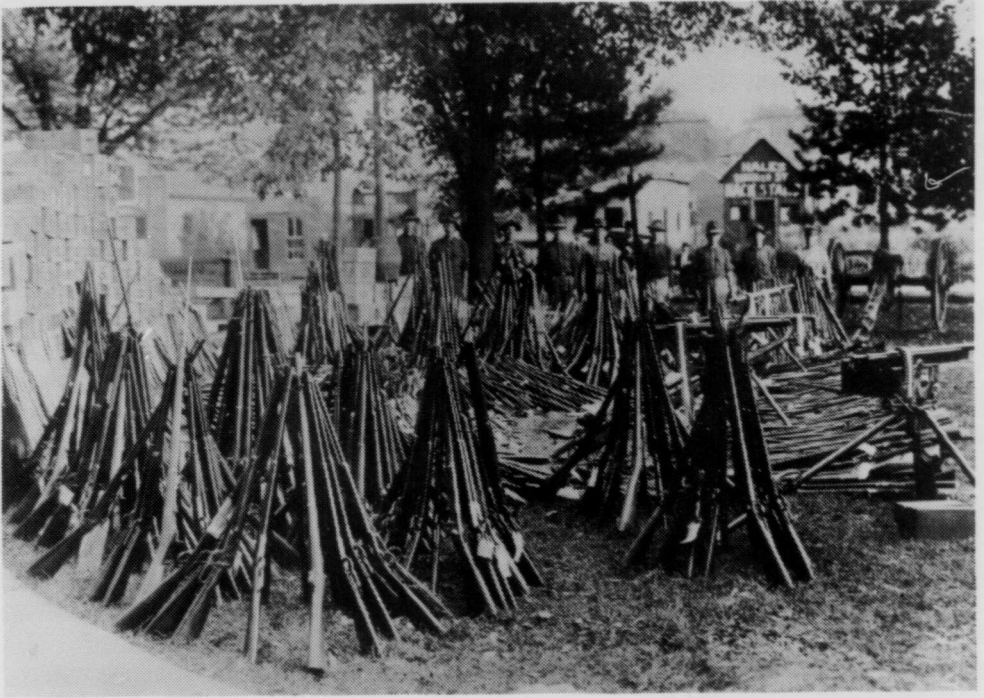
Coal mining and coal town culture flicker through labor history like a carbide lamp. Historians pursue each ray through the dark, jumbled past seeking to understand every bend, reflection, and flash of light. How coal was formed, how to extract it from the earth, the relationship between technology and work, the dangers of coal mining, the power relationships between coal operators and miners in the mines and in the coal towns, and how coal town culture differed in class, race, sex, and ethnic relations dominate coal culture historiography.¹

The American laborer emerged as pragmatic and job conscious from the early Commons-Perlman studies.² The know-how of the individual became the central determinant of the character and value of the American worker, and it was the organizing principle of the modern American labor movement. Pride in craft, it was argued, blunted the development of a working-class consciousness. Fox's study of the United Mine Workers of America, although sensitive to issues of race, immigration, and sex in the union's past, belongs to this genre of institutional studies.

Long's study, in contrast, rejects American exceptionalism. A "New Left" historian, whose thesis relates in tangled ways to Philip Foner's critique of American labor history, Long argues that American laboring men and women developed a militant class consciousness that was destroyed in the mine wars of the early 20th century. She believes that a working class democracy existed as an alternative to industrial capitalism, but it lost the struggle. She rests her case for a worker's culture partly on the "miner's freedom" of the skilled miner. Know-how is thus also critical to Long's thesis.³

These sharply different analyses of coal culture arise in part from differing definitions of the subject. Long conceived her work as a history of the United States coal industry told through the experiences of men and women in the coal fields. Sometimes polemical, Long emphasizes "bloody" conflicts in the class struggle. Fox, by contrast, writes a history of the United Mine Workers of America to celebrate the union's centennial. His work attempts a comprehensive survey of UMWA policies, its leaders, and its accomplishments. Reportorial in style, often dry-as-coal dust, Fox reviews the violent conflicts between labor and management in the context of the union's struggle forward over the past 100 years.

"Weary of narrow studies" (p. xxi), Long combines macrohistory with microhistory. She divides her work into two equal parts. Her first 165 pages are an analytical history of the coal industry from its origins in England to 1900. Her final 166 pages review developments in the Rocky Mountain coalfields, particularly Colorado. The first section entitled "Coal in America: A History of Work, Values, and Conflict" depicts the physical setting of the industry, the methods of work, the organization of the workplace, and the social relations within the industry. Long



The West Virginia militia seized and displayed over 200,000 rounds of ammunition, seven Colt machine guns, and 1500 rifles on the first day of martial law on Paint Creek, 1912. Photograph from Iconographic Files, West Virginia and Regional History Collection, West Virginia University.



Tent colonies erected by the United Mine Workers of America had to meet health and sanitary standards or be shut down by local authorities. This photograph of an unidentified tent colony is from the Van A. Bittner Papers, WVRHC-WVU.

argues that by 1870 a preindustrial set of social relations existed in coal town culture. Miners were artisans, independent craftsmen operating as contract miners who controlled work and influenced the division of labor. Owner-operators, not far removed themselves from the culture and values of the miners, shared a producer ideology with their workers. Coal town culture tended toward a "life-style that combined prideful work with a rich and communal leisure" (p. xxiii). By 1920, a new, industrial capitalism had transformed society. It destroyed the legacy of skilled work; it concentrated land ownership; and it fueled an "ongoing struggle between working people and their employers. . . ." that culminated in industrial warfare (p. xxiv).

Eruption of class warfare in the Rocky Mountain coalfields holds center stage in the section entitled "Coal in the American West: Catalyst of Conflict and Change." Class warfare, Long claims, dominated Colorado politics and economics in the two decades before World War I. Capitalists, fabricators of a new America, gained control of the West by first consolidating ownership of the railroads and then extending their control over the region's natural resources. Workers resisted fiercely, but they ultimately lost. A combination of a perfidious national union leadership and the power exerted by capital on government at all levels—local, state, and national—finally defeated the miner.

The Colorado Fuel and Iron strike of 1913-14 is pivotal. The final three chapters describe the strike and its aftermath. Long interprets the CFI strike as a cataclysm in U.S. History. The "Voice of the Gun" determined the victor in southern Colorado, a victory of industrial capitalism and its ideology of "corporate liberalism" (pp. 272, 305).

Corporate liberalism according to Long was a vehicle in the "triumph of conservatism," and she sees John D. Rockefeller's Industrial Plan, W. L. Mackenzie King's "company unions," and Ivy Lee's manipulations of the "public interest" through skilled public relations, as pillars underpinning the new ideology.⁴ The fourth pillar in this edifice of twentieth-century labor relations is cast by the UMWA national leadership succumbing to aspirations of power and wealth by accepting corporate liberalism. This leadership failure, begun by John Mitchell, culminated in the quest for absolute power by John L. Lewis.

In the CFI strike Long discovers local heroes. The life and labor activities of Louis Tikas, Greek immigrant leader murdered at Ludlow, and the agonies of Mary Petrucci, whose three children were killed, are woven into an artful tapestry of the hopes, dreams, and deaths of the laboring men and women of Colorado. Here Long is at her best. She documents the Ludlow massacre fully yet never loses sight of the everyday life of the strikers. She captures the spirit and aspirations of the workers who had to overcome cultural differences to achieve unity. The poignant portrayal of life in the tent colony and the dastardly attack by the militia company, largely composed of mine guards, come to life.

Long sketches the history of labor organizations in the coal industry and analyzes several of their leaders. Effective in delineating the jurisdictional disputes between the Western Federation of Miners and the UMWA, she consistently faults UMWA national leadership for ineffective policy. Her tone becomes shrill in her insistence that the failure of the UMWA to call a general strike to protest the Ludlow massacre lacked "visionary boldness" (p. 298). She believes that "corporate liberalism" could have been defeated by an uprising of the workers. The national leaders of the UMWA accepted a "face-saving way to withdraw" (p. 301) proposed by President Woodrow Wilson's three-man commission. Long believes that the union should have called a general strike. Why such UMWA defiance of the federal government would have been successful remains unexplained. The time for revolution passed; corporate liberalism triumphed; it controlled the

meaning of the American flag; and it disciplined the workers.

Maier Fox narrates the history of the UMWA. It is the story of a "progressive union" that "supplied great leaders" (p. i) to the American labor movement, promoted social legislation, contracted innovative welfare provisions for its members, and transformed the narrowly craft-based American Federation of Labor toward a broader-based industrial unionism. While Long emphasizes cataclysmic conflict, Fox offers a theme of continuous union struggle for betterment of the worker. He describes violence and the lost strikes in coalfields ranging from Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Colorado to Nova Scotia. He also comments on the failings of some national union leaders, particularly those of T. L. Lewis, who became an executive for the New River Coal Operators Association in West Virginia.

In chronological and topical chapters Fox surveys union development from the forerunners of the UMWA to President Richard Trumka's current policy of "Renewal." Union policies are explained, and key topical chapters on health and safety, mechanization and the transformation of work, and the relationship of the UMWA to the larger American labor movement are interspersed.

The impact of changing technology upon the miner and his work, Fox argues, created varieties of responses from miners. Miners who lost work or were "deskilled" were hostile to new machines for undercutting or loading; those who retained their jobs, as many did, or those who learned the necessary skills of the machine operator had reason to welcome technological innovations. Fox does not stop here. He relates the use of the new technology to the increased demand and production of coal. Then he links the innovations to the transformation of work in the mines and to how the new technology was linked to a resurgence of racism among miners. Unlike Long, who romanticizes the skilled miner of the handloading era, Fox views technological change as simultaneously beneficial and harmful to the miners. He does not omit the interests and aspirations of mineworkers who did not work at the coal face.

Fox is less thorough in assessing the UMWA Welfare and Pension Fund, its mismanagement by union leaders, and UMWA problems since World War II. To argue that the UMWA leaders viewed the Welfare and Pension Fund, the union-owned National Bank of Washington, and the union itself as a single entity is not sufficient to explain the fund mismanagement in the 1960s. The reform effort led by "Jock" Yablonski, his murder, and the conviction of Tony Boyle do not receive sufficient attention here.

The power relationship between the national office and the semi-autonomous districts of the UMWA appear repeatedly as a crucial issue in determining union policy. The union originated in the Central Competitive Field led by Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Illinois. Its structure and politics always reflected relative strengths of unionism in the various coalfields of the U.S. and Canada. The story of the union then, told well by Fox, is rife with sharp conflict between the national office and its locals. Fox perceives this conflict as a function of the union's procedural failings. He details a few of the most serious conflicts for control of the union, but he does not extensively analyze the consolidation of power in the national office managed by John L. Lewis.

Long views the centralization of power in the national office of the UMWA as a logical extension of the social and economic changes accompanying industrial capitalism. Local leadership proposed necessary social policies, she argues, but the national leadership ignored them. Modernization and its bureaucratization of management and unions, according to Long, destroy worker control over their own lives.

The two books rest on extensive research. Long cites 40 manuscript collections, 21 of which

are in Colorado. She offers a useful fifteen-page bibliography, and her footnotes are complete and accurate. Her chapter on the Colorado Fuel and Iron strike of 1913-1914 is particularly deep in sources. Fox cites over 100 different manuscript collections in his forty-five-page bibliography. His primary base, however, is the archives of the UMWA to which he had full access. Fox's system of notation, however, is useless. Footnotes are omitted. Fox (or his editor?) decided to list the sources at the end of each chapter. Readers must guess which source pertains to which fact or argument, an impossible task when the reference is simply Colorado Fuel and Iron Company Papers.

Neither study fully achieves its objective. Long does not study the history of America's coal industry. She ignores the 20th century except for the CFI strike and the emergence of "corporate liberalism." Nor does she explain why Mother Jones becomes a "political chameleon" (p. 331). Fox does not fully analyze the reasons for or the shortcomings of union policies. Was there an entrepreneurial spirit permeating union leadership? Did they admire and emulate powerful capitalists? Was there a massive gulf between the rank and file and the leadership that Long and other historians see as a key to union failure? If so, why? Responses to such questions might help us understand union policies and advance new insights into politics and power, its cultural and institutional sources, and the interstices between labor, capital, the law, and the state.⁵

Lou Athey, *Franklin and Marshall College*

Notes

1. Newer social histories of American workers examine every dimension of daily life in coal town culture. One distinction in the literature is the difference in historical experience of miners and their families in company-owned towns as opposed to those in independent, commercial towns, a distinction neither of these authors pursues. For technology and work, see Keith Dix, *What's A Coal Miner To Do: The Mechanization of Coal Mining* (Morgantown, 1990); for mine safety, see William Graebner, *Coal Mining Safety in the Progressive Period* (Lexington, 1976); for culture, see Herbert Gutman, *Work, Culture and Society in Industrializing America* (New York, 1976), and Ronald Eller, *Miners, Millhands, and Mountaineers: Industrialization of the Appalachian South, 1880-1930* (Knoxville, 1982); on ethnicity, see the pioneering work of John Bodnar, *Anthracite People: Families, Unions, and Work, 1900-1940* (Harrisburg, 1983); and for class, race and miners, see the analyses of Ronald L. Lewis, *Black Coal Miners in America: Race,*

Class, and Community Conflict, 1780-1980 (Lexington, 1987), and Joe W. Trotter, *Coal, Class, and Color: Blacks in Southern West Virginia, 1915-1932* (Urbana, 1990).

2. John Commons et. al. *History of Labor in the United States* (New York, 1935); Selig Perlman, *A Theory of the Labor Movement* (New York, 1928). Fox follows the approach of Philip Taft's *The A.F. of L. in the Time of Gompers* (New York, 1957).

3. Philip Foner, *History of the Labor Movement in the United States* (New York, 1947-1964). P. Long, ed. *The New Left: A Collection of Essays* (New York, 1969). Carter Goodrich, *The Miner's Freedom* (Boston, 1925).

4. Gabriel Kolko, *The Triumph of Conservatism* (Glencoe, Ill., 1963).

5. For a penetrating review of the literature on American labor and a fresh analysis of the state, the law, and the American labor movement see William Forbath, *Law and the Shaping of the American Labor Movement* (Cambridge, 1989).

By Robert L. Reid, ed. *Always a River: The Ohio River and the American Experience*.

(Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991. Pp. xvi, 250. \$35. Cloth; \$12.95 Paper.)

During the summer of 1991, a floating exhibition on the history and meanings of the Ohio River stopped at nineteen different cities along the 981 mile course of the stream. Sponsored by

the Humanities Councils of all the states adjoining the Ohio and coordinated by the Indiana Humanities Council, the exhibition offered historical, geological, environmental, engineering, and fictional perspectives on the past, present, and future of the Ohio Valley.

Always a River was written to accompany the exhibition. In separate essays, seven scholars offer lively descriptions of life along the Ohio. While there is a strong emphasis on the nineteenth century—the heyday of the river as a commercial and transportation network—the authors do not neglect the continuing importance of the Ohio at the end of the twentieth century. All of the essays make for rewarding reading. The geographer John Jakle provides a fascinating analysis comparing the concerns and experiences of a late eighteenth-century traveler on the river with those of the late nineteenth-century historian and traveler Reuben G. Thwaites. Leland R. Johnson details the efforts of government engineers to make the Ohio a more convenient and less disruptive force in the lives of human beings. Boyd Keenan, a political scientist, discusses the ways in which the development of the nuclear industry has affected the valley. Darrel Bingham traces the history of commerce and industry along the Ohio. Hubert G. H. Wilhelm, another geographer, offers a wealth of interesting information about settlement patterns and historical artifacts in southern Ohio in the nineteenth century. And Michael Allen brings alive the world of those people who have actually worked on the Ohio; particularly appealing is his account of life on towboats, reflecting as it does his personal experiences as a “river rat” in the 1970s. In short, *Always a River* achieves its goal of introducing non-specialists to the world defined by the “beautiful river.”

My personal favorite among the seven essays is Scott Russell Sanders’ “The Force of Moving Water.” What I found exciting was less his general history of the Ohio, than his personal attempts to come to terms with what he calls “riveness.” For those of us who grew up and/or live near the Ohio, it is, despite human efforts to regulate or transform it, a permanent, if imprecise, presence in our lives. Sanders understands this well. Particularly moving is his description of his efforts one night in Cincinnati to explain the appeal of the Ohio to his children, only to conclude that he should sit in silence with them beside it. Sanders’ point that “the shudder of the great muscular dragon body slithering in its bed” is “the truest speech about the river” (p. 29) reminded me of the old observation that what human beings can describe easily with words probably is not worth writing about in the first place. Indeed, I think that Sanders would take comfort, as I do, in the fact that as good as the authors of *Always a River* are in examining its history, the Ohio itself remains elusive.

Andrew Cayton, *Miami University*

By Bruce Kuklick. *To Every Thing a Season: Shibe Park and Urban Philadelphia, 1909-1976.*

(Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991, Pp. xii, 237. \$19.95.)

Shibe Park opened its gates on April 12, 1909—the first concrete and steel baseball stadium in the United States. Renamed Connie Mack Stadium in 1953, it hosted its last baseball game on October 1, 1970, with fans literally ripping the turf and seats apart in search of souvenirs and memory. With this ball park as his focus, Bruce Kuklick explores the business of baseball, the changing composition of Philadelphia’s neighborhoods, ethnic and racial tensions, the deterioration of urban infrastructures, the meaning of Shibe and baseball to the people who entered its

portals and who lived and worked in its shadows, and the importance and fragility of historical memory. Relying heavily on baseball club records, local newspapers, and the voices of baseball fans and local residents, he sets the occasional triumphs of Connie Mack's Athletics and their more frequent mediocrity into larger themes. They include a critique of capitalism in general and baseball capitalism in particular, the ineptitude of local government in managing the problems of rebuilding and revitalizing a deteriorating city, racial antagonisms that divided Philadelphia, and the racist policies of baseball magnates who impeded progress towards integration on and off the ball field.

Whether describing Mack's conscious efforts to dismantle championships teams in order to heighten fan interest in the 1930s or Richie Allen's nightmare days as a Philadelphia Phillie when the city exploded in racial turmoil in the mid-1960s, Kuklick provides rich detail and good story in developing his arguments. He also imparts a sense of the place of a baseball game in the lives of everyday people. As he puts it, the opportunity to see athletic excellence allowed "spectators [to participate] imaginatively in what was beyond their power" and provide them "a few moments of enjoyment that lifted their lives above the ordinary" (p. 14). Memories of such interludes or of attending political rallies or boxing matches within the friendly confines of Shibe, imaginatively recreated and passed down from generation to generation, he suggests, also provided people a sense of community identity and helped define their own connection to a larger history. Although memories and places disappear with the simple passage of time, Kuklick reminds us that "there is something to be said for memorial and remembrance of a world we have lost" (p. 7).

At its best, which is most of the time, *To Every Thing a Season* demonstrates how sport history as social history can expand our understanding of the lives of everyday people by focusing on how they spent their leisure time—time they controlled away from the workplace. More attention to their feelings and beliefs would have further enriched Kuklick's arguments and speculations. It might have also resolved an apparent discrepancy between his admiration for fan loyalty to the Athletics, regardless of record or management's malfeasance, and the claims of club owners that falling attendance compelled them to abandon both Shibe Park and Philadelphia. These are minor quibbles, however, over a book that enhances our knowledge of baseball and Philadelphia in ways that go significantly beyond both concerns.

Peter Levine, *Michigan State University*

By Dennis B. Downey and Raymond M. Hyser. *No Crooked Death: Coatesville, Pennsylvania and the Lynching of Zachariah Walker*.

(Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991. Pp. xv, 173. \$28.95.)

The facts of the case are not in dispute. On Saturday, August 12, 1911 Coatesville, Pennsylvania, a small steel-making town about forty miles west of Philadelphia, was celebrating its fall harvest, with many farmers and townspeople present. That night a black Virginia-born resident, Zachariah Walker, who had been drinking all day, fired at two white mill workers and, when accosted by Edgar Rice, a popular local coal policeman, shot him dead. Sunday morning, trapped in a tree, Walker shot himself, but survived and was taken to a local hospital. During the day, rumors swirled that he should be lynched. In the evening a mob of local citizens forced their way into the hospital, dragged Walker to a nearby field, placed him over a fence railing and,

with straw from a local farm, set him afire. Three times he dragged himself from the flames—begging them not to deal him a “crooked death”—only to be beaten and returned to the flames. It was not an unruly crowd; gentlemen stepped aside so that women and children might have a better look. Pieces of bone and of the fence railing were kept as souvenirs. Despite grand jury indictments, an aggressive state prosecution and overwhelming evidence, juries returned not-guilty verdicts against all defendants. A “conspiracy of silence” on the part of the local press and citizens prevailed, and people denied, minimized, defended, and quickly forgot what had happened.

If the basic facts are clear, the larger significance is not. As the authors observe, lynching is a distinctive form of American mob violence confined primarily to the South. Nineteen-eleven witnessed some seventy-one other lynchings, all in the South. The authors shed little light on the conundrum of northern Coatesville. They mention rapid demographic and racial change, as European immigrants and Southern black migrants poured into the town's booming steel mills. However, full employment should have reduced, not increased, tensions. Moreover, criticism of outsiders focused primarily on white immigrants, and racial, ethnic and demographic change were the norm for northeastern American communities. The authors appeal to sociological theories about “boundary maintenance” to explain how respectable citizens could engage in, and later cover up, such an act. To be sure, the trial jury—composed of local farmers and businessmen—refused to convict; yet how to explain that the grand jury—with the same type of composition—had delivered strong indictments?

References to other patterns of northern racial violence and intimidation—in Coatesville and elsewhere—would have better served the purpose. What had been the response to previous (and subsequent) disruptions of northern small-town mores by black outsiders? Nearby Chester, for example, which had condemned Coatesville's lynching, was the scene of a major race riot following World War I. Coatesville stands out both for occurring in a northern state and also for the fact that it became a focus for the fledgling NAACP and its *Crises* magazine editor W. E. B. DuBois to demonstrate that lynching was a national problem that deserved a national law. Not until 1923 did Pennsylvania pass such a law; the U.S. Congress never passed one; but lynchings steadily declined during the twentieth century. Coatesville remains an American tragedy, but its deeper significance and origins continue to elude us.

Laurence A. Glasco, *University of Pittsburgh*

Guide to the Manuscript Collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

(Philadelphia: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1991. 836 Pp. Introduction. Explanatory Note, index. \$100.)

Scholars of Pennsylvania and the nation have long awaited the appearance of the third edition of the *Guide to the Manuscript Collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*. Founded in 1824, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania is one of the nation's largest and most important research centers. The archives and manuscript collections it holds are of value on almost any aspect of American history.

The original intent of this *Guide*—a product of work begun in 1977—was to survey and describe the collections acquired by the HSP between 1949 and 1976. The staff of the HSP ultimately proceeded to “revise substantially the post-1949 descriptions” as well as to catalog its

manuscript collections into the Research Libraries Information Network (RLIN) online system (from "Introduction"). These commitments, along with the demands of "more modern methods of sharing information," apparently occasioned the delay in publication.

Prepared over a 130 year period, and involving a number of different compilers, this comprehensive reference guide to the Society's holdings of over 836 pages summarizes 2170 collections—from a single document (James Wilson's draft of the Constitution and corrected copy of the same) to some 500,000 items. Spanning the period from 1630 to 1980 and covering approximately 30,000 linear feet or 15 million items of historical materials, the collections include autograph books, diaries, financial records, meeting-minute books of organizations, personal and business papers, letters, military orderly books and so forth. The richness extends from the official and private correspondence of William Penn (1644-1718) to the records of the American Negro Historical Society, (1790-1905).

The *Guide* is organized around the individual entries, each of which holds an assigned collection number. Occasionally letters were added with the numbers (e.g., 250A, 250B) in order to indicate that the groupings of manuscripts were accessioned from different sources or at different times; but, the lots are classified under the same number because they are presumed to be a coherent body of papers. Here, as elsewhere, readers will find artificially created entries to deal with the single volumes or small series of volumes. All the descriptions were prepared "according to the standards established by AACR2." Thus, each entry will consist of the following data elements: main title, type of records, inclusive dates (bulk dates will be indicated with parentheses), and size of the collection. Most of the entries will also include modest amounts of biographical/historical information; descriptive notes; provenance, when known; and publication history where relevant. The 124 page index, which follows Library of Congress Subject Headings and AACR2 personal and corporate name headings, is keyed to collection numbers and not page numbers.

Although this publication will be of great use to researchers who wish to study American history, it has shortcomings. First, the *Guide* contains only 558 entries covering collections acquired since 1949, or under twenty-five percent of the total. Of this number 56 entries are "No Entry" or "Cancelled Entry." Second, a sizable body of manuscript material still held by the HSP is not reported in the third edition. As a user one must be disappointed, since this means that what potential users may well have here is largely a reprinting of the 1949 *Guide*. Descriptive changes to entries 1 thru 1611, which are from the 1949 *Guide*, are quite modest. Third, a fairly large number of the post-1949 entries do not include information on the donor or the date of receipt. Further, in the reporting of volume figures, some entries are in linear feet, the number of items, or the number of volumes. My point is that, using a conversion table, greater effort should have been given to converting 600 items into linear feet and so forth.

Nonetheless, I am grateful to have the third edition of the *Guide to the Manuscript Collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*. The second edition has long been out of print, so it is also good to be able once again to disseminate these contents. Special thanks are due to the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Pew Charitable Trusts whose generous grants made possible the preparation and publication of this *Guide*. Acid-free paper was used. Researchers can only hope that Society plans to publish the fourth edition will take less time than the half-century interval between the second and third.

Roland M. Baumann, *Oberlin College*

Edited by John Catanzariti, E. M. Nuxoll and M. A. Y. Gallagher. *The Papers of Robert Morris*, Volume 7.

(Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1989. \$55.00.)

As the Confederation government's Superintendent of Finance in the 1780s Robert Morris was an indispensable man. But indispensable men remain so only as long as they are needed, and need comes from the perception of those they serve. During the six months chronicled by Volume 7 of the *Papers of Robert Morris*, Morris's position and power steadily declined because the members of the Continental Congress and many of their constituents wished, with the end of the war in sight, to return the focus of political and economic affairs to the states and effectively made any national solution to the economic crisis facing the new nation impossible.

Robert Morris was a nationalist and much of this volume is concerned with his effort to force the congress to adopt a funding scheme that would enable it to meet the demands of foreign creditors as well as its own citizens. Morris contemplated a revision of the Articles of Confederation in 1783 similar to that later enshrined in the Constitution. Morris' views are presented very clearly in the "Observations on the Present State of Affairs" of ca. 13 January 1783 (pp. 304-307), and in his letter of 8 March 1783 to the President of Congress (pp. 513-538), containing his response to the funding plan then being considered by the congress. The "Newburgh Conspiracy" is dealt with at some length, and if the editors found no new documents directly implicating Morris, it is clear that he was willing to use the army's unrest, as he did his resignation, to bring pressure on the congress to adopt his solutions. Morris's failure to achieve his ends was almost inevitable because the members of congress lacked both the will and power to act.

The documents in Volume 7 show the full spectrum of Morris' activities and fully delineate the routine matters that occupied most of his time. The editors make clear the degree to which Morris's public and private responsibilities were intertwined and the extent to which his personal credit was a major support of the public's finances. The editors are to be commended for including in Appendix I the early records of the Bank of North America, an important aspect of Morris's plan for the nation's finances. Finally, the inclusion of Morris's diary enables the reader to keep track of Morris's correspondence and daily schedule.

The editors have done their job well. Their mastery of the arcane world of 18th century finance is complete, and for this reader, very enlightening. The texts presented are accurate and the annotation concise and appropriate for its purpose, although I question the need for multiple identifications of the same person. James Lovell, for example, was identified twenty times as the collector of taxes for Massachusetts. The occasional head notes provided for important documents are particularly valuable. The volume is further enhanced by a full and accurate index and a list of documents omitted from the volume, with their locations.

Volume 7 of *The Papers of Robert Morris* is indispensable to understanding the finances of the American Revolution. It illuminates Robert Morris's career, but it and the preceding volumes of the series provide information on eighteenth century economics and finance that is available nowhere else. Historians of the Revolution, whether political, economic, social, or diplomatic, must take into consideration the career of Robert Morris and the scholarship so evident in the published volumes of his papers.

Gregg L. Lint, *The Adams Papers*

By Firth Haring Fabend. *A Dutch Family in the Middle Colonies: 1680-1800.*

(New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1991. xviii, 325. \$49.)

This book began as a doctoral dissertation in American Studies, completed in 1988, that the author wrote under the supervision of Patricia U. Bonomi at New York University. It must have been an extraordinary dissertation because it has become an excellent book.

Firth Haring Fabend studied the middle class Haring family over five generations from the last seventeenth through the late eighteenth centuries. She followed its members from New Amsterdam, later New York, across the Hudson River to the sixteen-thousand acre Tappan Patent in the Hackensack Valley of southern New York and northern New Jersey which they settled in the early 1680s. She described the normal family activities of marrying, bearing children, developing the land, and bequeathing property to descendants, not only literarily but also statistically in understandable charts. Dutch inheritance patterns, she claimed, were more favorable to women than the English customs.

Although this information alone constitutes a contribution, Fabend also has placed the Harings in the context of the well-known developments of their times. She was able to do this because the Harings, though not of the elite, were active citizens. She noted a direct connection between the Harings' Reformed religion, their involvement in the Dutch Wars of Independence against Catholic Spain in the late sixteenth century, their support for Jacob Leisler's "Glorious Revolution" against the Catholic Stuart administration of their colony in 1689, and the revolt of most Harings against British control of the mainland North American colonies in the 1760s and '70s.

As has been the case with many families, the Harings did not remain united. Fabend pointed out that as the family grew, members took opposite positions on divisive issues. Among them were religion and politics, "inextricably related in the eighteenth-century Dutch American mind" (p. 198). Most Harings had adhered to the pietist faction within their church and supported the formation in 1737 of a local administrative body called the "coetus" which obtained permission from Dutch church officials to train and ordain candidates for the ministry in America. Some Harings were repulsed by what they considered pietism's excesses and became supporters of the "conferentie" faction. The controversy split the Tappan congregations, with Harings going in both directions. This division continued into the Revolutionary Period. In one of the book's most poignant passages, Fabend describes how the War for American Independence "was for the Haring family an unmitigated disaster" (p. 210). The disputes prior to the armed conflict disrupted their trade in agricultural produce. During the war, both the British and American armies ravaged their property and terrorized their people in this "Neutral Ground" (p. 216). Most Harings supported independence, one even voting for it as a member of New York's revolutionary government. A few did not, were castigated as disloyal to the American cause, and had their property confiscated.

Fabend consulted a wide variety of sources in the preparation of this book. Primary materials include manuscripts, published journals, church records, and official documents. The list of secondary works contains books, articles, theses, and genealogies. Prominent on the list are recent publications, especially family and town studies, emphasizing that Fabend was well aware of her contemporaries' scholarship. These sources are cited throughout the text, providing helpful suggestions for further study.

Fabend has provided much more than a study of the Harings. Readers who are interested in the history of families, women, communities, immigrants, religion, politics, and the Revolution

in early American history will find this book rewarding. It is another in a growing number of worthy studies of the long-neglected Middle Colonies.

John B. Frantz, *The Pennsylvania State University, University Park*

By Frederick Luebke. *Germans in the New World: Essays in the History of Immigration.*

(University of Illinois Press, 1990. Pp. 224. \$24.95.)

These carefully crafted essays constitute one of the volumes in the Statue of Liberty/Ellis Island Centennial Series and join those books and many others in the burgeoning study of nineteenth century immigration. Each of these essays except the last has already appeared in print, in books and journals, as Luebke points out, in which they might not be readily available. Each is closely related to his major books on the experience of nineteenth and early twentieth century German arrivals in America and Brazil.

As might be expected the essays echo one another. They remind us repeatedly that unlike Italian or Norwegian immigrants, and in spite of stereotypes to the contrary, nineteenth century German arrivals were hardly a unified group economically, socially, religiously, or politically. When they could get together as a political block it was chiefly to oppose threats to values they took for granted: they fought prohibition, women's suffrage, and legislation that disrupted their parochial schools. But, from another point of view, they constituted a unit. In common they had the wish to retain their culture at the same time they faced the pressure of the larger society around them. Luebke feels that twentieth century social and voting patterns continue to reflect the heavy Germanic elements in the Great Plains states.

Pennsylvania scholars will find material of value to them only tangentially. The mirror that might, at least, have proved interesting, would have been the experience of nineteenth century German immigrants which repeated those of their eighteenth century predecessors. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg compared parochial schools to a soaking rain and preaching to a sudden storm, verbiage the Missouri Lutherans could have repeated. Although the documentation is not extensive, the voting patterns data indicating which German townships in southeastern Pennsylvania waited the longest to establish public schools reveal that they shared the later Germans' fear of the threat of public, and therefore, English education. Although *Germans in the New World* includes these Pennsylvania Germans, their mention was worthy of perhaps more than the two pages 159 and 160, and the terse dismissal that "most German immigrants assimilated rapidly into colonial society." The German language, at least one form of it, will have survived longer in Pennsylvania than in Nebraska, when all is said and done. It is not all that many years since here and there one found an older person in rural southeastern Pennsylvania who could not speak English although her forebears had arrived over two centuries before!

The case of the Germans in Pennsylvania is unique, not only for the much studied Pennsylvania Dutch subculture, but also because of a large, and virtually unstudied, nineteenth century immigration which faced a double assimilation: first, of the German culture already planted and second of the American, English culture-what the Dutch called "Irish"-around them. This second wave of Germans in Pennsylvania cries for a Frederick Luebke to analyze their experience.

One might also profitably compare Germans in the United States to those in Canada, as well as Brazil; but the great dissimilarity of the parent culture in Brazil makes Luebke's study of the

Germans there highly instructive. Readers will also be grateful for the insights gained by freeing oneself from "filiopietistic" chronologies and entering analysis from economic, social and political vantage points. Luebke's abiding contribution to the study of Germans in America is the precisely constructed picture of these people, painstakingly compiled from the records of their own organizations and spokesmen, and of their observers and foes.

Frederick S. Weiser, *New Oxford, Pennsylvania*

Edited by Paul H. Smith, Gerald W. Gawalt and Ronald M. Gephart. *Letters of Delegates to Congress*.

(Washington, D.C.: Congressional Printing Office, 1989. \$55.00)

... The enclosed papers contain the best intelligence we have from the Southward, our affairs there appeared prosperous, our Army gaining Strength, & in Several Instances considerable advantages against the Enemy. . . .

So begins the first letter in Volume 16 of *Letters of Delegates to Congress*, which includes the letters of the delegates to the Continental Congress dated from September 1, 1780 to February 28, 1781.

This volume continues the important task of pulling together scattered documentary sources on the Continental Congress from a wide variety of locations, both public and private; from the University of Pennsylvania to the Library of Congress. Although a rich historical source of information, letters can be a confusing resource when trying to compile the information contained within them. What this volume of American revolutionary period documentation creates is a cohesive body of material that in its chronological organization allows scholars to compare both the developments of the period and the personalities involved.

The introductory sections benefit the reader's understanding of the letters. One entitled "Editorial Method and Apparatus" clearly explains the editorial methods of this documentary editing project. Another, the "Chronology of Congress" is a comprehensive outline of the substance of congressional activities, while the "List of Delegates to Congress" is an easy reference to who and when the members attended.

The indexing reflects an emphasis on politically related topics, however, the editors have incorporated a smattering of other topics including such items as shoes, tea, and delegate expenses. The index is well cross referenced; however, the main entries do tend to concentrate primarily on names over topics, with the topics as subentries. A particularly useful aspect of the index is the fact that the editors have chosen to boldface the delegates that attended congress between the dates included in this volume, which is explained in a short description of the index located at its beginning.

Each letter entry is skillfully footnoted with extensive reference and explanatory citations, found directly beneath each letter. The larger, boldfaced fonts of the letter identifications make it easy to find each entry. Likewise, the transcription and editorial methods maintain the flavor of the original with spelling such as "endeavor" and "George Town," while making it easy for the modern reader to understand the contents.

In addition to political historians other scholars should be interested in the volume as a rich source of cultural and social history. For example, a letter dated February 20, 1891 from James Lovell to Elbridge Gerry includes information on traveling and boarding house miscellany, with

an understanding of human nature. "It is difficult to persuade People on so long a Journey to take even small Things, but I do find some" (pp. 726-27).

Therefore, scholars and students in a wide range of fields from the political to the cultural history of the 18th century will find this volume useful. Philadelphia in 1780-1781 was a rich center of cultural, economic and political development in the American revolutionary period, making it an excellent choice for the seat of the Continental Congress, and making these letters an excellent resource.

Wendy L. Kenerson, *The George Washington University*

Edited by W. W. Abbot and Dorothy Twohig. *The Papers of George Washington*, Colonial Series, Volume 7: *January 1761-November 1767*.

(Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1990. Pp. xxii, 586. \$45.00.)

Edited by Philander D. Chase. *Revolutionary War Series*, Volume 3: *January-March 1776*.

(Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1988. Pp. xvii, 615. \$47.50.)

Edited by Dorothy Twohig. *Presidential Series*, Volume 3: *June-September 1789*.

(Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1989. Pp. xxviii, 651. \$42.50.)

Of the men and women who founded the United States, George Washington stands among the few whose force of personality and strength of character dominated the establishment of the new nation. As such, he remains the object of our curiosity and research, as we seek to find through him the explanations of our past and the origins of our present. In pursuit of these goals, historians continue to labor through the mountain of material relating to Washington, resulting in an explosion of secondary literature. Since 1984 alone at least five scholarly monographs on some aspect of Washington's life have appeared in print (Frehling, Higginbotham, Longmore, Schwartz, Wills), and, given his importance, more will undoubtedly appear. Thus, the Herculean effort by the editors of the *Papers of George Washington* to organize and disseminate the volumes of the personal and public papers of the first president deserve special attention and credit.

The entire project, when completed, will surpass the rich efforts of John C. Fitzpatrick, the editor of *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-1799*, in 39 volumes. To the credit of both Fitzpatrick and the editors of *The Papers*, that will be no small accomplishment. For example, in volume seven of the Colonial Series of *The Papers*, which covers the period 1761 to June 1767, there are 312 items, compared to 68 items published by Fitzpatrick for the same time frame. Volume three of The Revolutionary War Series encompasses January to March 1776 and includes 403 entries, while volume 3 of the Presidential Series covers June through September 1789 and contains 341 items. For the same time periods, Fitzpatrick included 184 and 41 items, respectively. Clearly, the scope of *The Papers* is broad.

The organization of *The Papers* also merits mention, as it uniquely divides the material into essentially five categories. The first category comprises the six volumes of Washington's diaries, that begin in 1748 and conclude at his death in 1799. With that phase of the project completed in 1979, the editors categorized the private and public correspondence of Washington into four

sections: the Colonial Series, the Revolutionary War Series, the Confederation Series, and the Presidential Series. Of the four sections, seven volumes have been published in the Colonial Series, while three volumes each are currently available in both the Revolutionary War and Presidential series. Collectively, 20 volumes have been published, with many more apparently planned. The three volumes listed in the introductory caption, volume seven of the Colonial Series, and volume three of the Revolutionary War and Presidential series represent the latest editions. *The Papers of George Washington*, now at least 22 years in production, and requiring many more years to complete, make the project one of the country's longest-standing public history programs. It shares a prestigious place alongside the publication of the papers of Franklin, Adams, and Jefferson.

Critical to the success of any publications project is the coherency and consistency in editorial style and selection. On both standards *The Papers* excel, producing readable transcripts, while, according to the editors, providing nearly every item written or received by Washington (Colonial Series, 1:xvi; Revolutionary Series, 1:xx). On the latter point, the selection of the materials to be published is always a difficult decision for editors, since that decision is often dependent upon the intertwined realities of funding and time. Despite these restraints, the editors have resolved to be as inclusive as possible. However, not all would agree. Citing the pressures of limited finances and the need to finish quickly, a recent reviewer of the latest volume of *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, for example, asked if that volume contained "too many documents" and wondered if the editors should have been "more ruthless." That reviewer insisted that although the observation might seem unfair, the question was legitimate (*PMHB*, 114 [1190]:296). Selection remains a debatable issue, especially when money is the critical consideration. Editors are forced to be judicious. Nonetheless, when feasible, the ultimate objective of an edition, is to supply the public with as much of the original manuscript material as possible. The principle benefits of such a policy is that it reduces handling of the original documents and eventually proves to be a more efficient way to publish primary sources. Finally, it allows the researcher to decide what information is significant.

Selection is also motivated by internal considerations, such as fragmented and incoherent notes, and undated or unsigned documents. For example, in volume three of the Presidential Series, the editors were confronted with items not directly attributed to Washington himself, but written on his behalf by his secretary Tobias Lear. The editors chose not to include those items in the table of contents, and hence, they are not part of Washington's papers; but, and in fairness to the editors, most of the Lear letters are usually found in the extensive and explanatory footnotes of other letters, as well as in the index. Thus, Lear's response to George Mason's 19 June 1789 recommendation of a friend for a federal office is found at the conclusion of Mason's letter. Fitzpatrick, on the other hand, included some of Lear's letters as part of Washington's papers. Whether or not they should be considered is debatable, but since the editors include nearly all of Lear's correspondence cited by Fitzpatrick, and a good deal more, the point is perhaps moot.

The editors provide transcriptions that resemble the original as much as possible, while adjusting, either silently or through brackets, those areas that would prove confusing or incoherent. The result is a very readable transcript that allows the researcher to move quickly through the material. The policy is a fair compromise between the antiquarian, who believes in an exact reproduction, and who would have us print pages upside down if that is how they appeared in the original, and the strict modernizer, who threatens to convey different meanings in revised reproductions. The equitable balance in the transcripts is accompanied by well researched foot-

notes. Besides biographical descriptions of individuals mentioned in the text, the footnotes also provide explanations of historical events as well as extracts from additional manuscripts and letters that further develop context for the document. Thus, in the "Plan for Attacking Boston" forwarded to Washington by his generals in 1776, the editors include in their annotations portions of William Heath's *Memoirs* and two letters from Robert Harrison to Artemas Ward. A combined name and subject index is located at the end of each volume, with references to other volumes for further description. None of the volumes, however, contains a chronology, which would have served as a useful guide to the reader.

Volume seven of the Colonial Series (1761-1767) encompasses Washington's life at home in Virginia after the battle of Fort Mifflin and the western campaign. Unfortunately, as indicated in one of the footnotes, Washington was not in the habit of saving personal letters at this point in his life, which leaves a gap in his correspondence. Nonetheless, there is a wealth of information regarding his business transactions, affairs at Mount Vernon, and his guardianship of two stepchildren, John and Martha Custis. The volume also contains numerous cash accounts and invoices, and includes Washington's election to the Virginia House of Burgesses in 1761 and 1765 as the representative of Frederick County and Fairfax County, respectively. Included among these papers is a complete poll sheet for the 1765 election, listing each voter by name and the candidate of his choice. If only all colonial elections were so meticulously recorded. The index to this volume, however, fails to cross reference to other volumes, which would have been helpful for biographical identifications.

Volume three of the Revolutionary War Series covers a shorter period, January to March 1776, and presents Washington's often frantic efforts to organize a national army and prepare his defenses. His scope of action ranged from plans to attack the British forces at Boston to his concern over the discipline of his soldiers. This correspondence included a greater array of national figures, and reflected the importance of his stature. Among those prominent men were John Hancock, John Adams, Timothy Pickens, Joseph Reed, Philip Schuyler, Benedict Arnold, and Samuel Adams. The volume also provides Washington's daily general orders for the army, including commands for all the soldiers to report for duty, the notifications of courts martial, and the marching orders for the troops. Not all of the orders had their intended effect: in a letter from Washington to the Massachusetts General Court (13 January 1776) he pleaded for more arms, for "in spite of every order" he had given, the soldiers often took the guns they were issued and went home.

Washington faced a completely different world in volume three of the Presidential Series. As opposed to an invading army, he contended with an army of office seekers who recommended themselves for a variety of public posts that lay in his, or the Senate's, disposal. The editors provide a valuable service by identifying the applicants, and including additional information about the application. For example, Joshua Mersereau's 13 July 1789 application for "Some employment, in the Custom house Department" was supported by letters of recommendation from Clement Biddle and Thomas Mifflin, as indicated in the footnotes. The additional information provides a context for what was simply one among many supplications for federal employment. The volume also includes personal and public correspondences, as well as letters offering advice to the new president. One letter came from the Maryland state senator Zephaniah Turner, who complained that the country was overrun with lawyers and wondered if it were not possible to curtail their numbers, perhaps ordering each state to have "but Two Lawyers," one to act for the defense and the other for the plaintiff. Washington, apparently did not reply.

The three latest volumes of *The Papers* continues the tradition of fine scholarship established by the previous volumes, and mark the steady efforts of the editors to bring Washington's world closer to the public.

Joseph S. Foster, *Biographical Dictionary of Early Pennsylvania Legislators*

Edited by W. Springer Menge and J. August Shimrak. *The Civil War Notebook of Daniel Chisholm: A Chronicle of Daily Life in the Union Army 1864-1865.*

(New York: Ballantine Books, 1989. Pp. xxii, 202. \$9.95)

Those viewers who were introduced to and excited by recent PBS television miniseries on the Civil War would do well to read this inexpensive paperback. *The Civil War Notebook of Daniel Chisholm* primarily consists of the diary of one Union soldier and the letters of two others, all of whom enlisted in the ranks in Uniontown, Pennsylvania (near Pittsburgh) in February, 1864.

Two of these men fought in over twenty engagements from the summer of 1864 until Lee's surrender in April, 1865. The third man fought until late June, 1864, and spent the remainder of the war in various hospitals. They all served in the same army unit (K Company of the 116th Pennsylvania) and provide three perspectives on enlisted men who fought as members of Grant's Army of the Potomac.

Sergeant Samuel Clear began his diary in February, 1864, just before enlisting, and continued it on a daily basis until returning home in July, 1865. Predictably, his quotidian details of army camp life before his unit reaches the field of battle reflected the tedium of such an experience; a bout with mumps, moving tents hither and yon, routine fatigue duties, and boredom mark the early pages.

But once the Battle of the Wilderness begins in early May, the pace of the narrative quickens; its tone deepens and the reader is sucked into the vortex of America's most brutal war and some of the deadliest battles in military history. Clear described in gritty detail the bloody fighting, the constant marching in all kinds of weather, the backbreaking building and tearing down of breastworks and trenches, the arduous task of destroying Confederate railroads by hand, and the death of so many of his comrades and enemies. For example: "A tempest of shells shrieked through the forests and plowed through the fields; I went over the works and seen the Johnnies lying in piles, the dead laying on the wounded holding them tight, and hundreds torn into pieces by shells after they was dead" (pp. 17-18).

After being wounded, Clear three times refused orders to go to a hospital. His voice is that of one with a job that must be done until he is totally unable to do it. When he had the rare opportunity to sleep soundly, he seemingly always comments accordingly. Through the summer of '64 he constantly remarks about the deadly fire of sharpshooters from both armies. There are other times when he is too hungry to sleep.

Clear pointed out that by June, 1864, casualties had reduced the regiment from 867 men to fewer than one hundred and his company from 87 to ten men. When spring arrives in 1865, Clear and his cohorts anticipated a Confederate collapse; in fact the sergeant missed predicting Lee's surrender by only one day. Perhaps because of constant writing for more than a year, Clear's entries became more eloquent as the terrible days of war accumulate; after Lee's surrender, Clear's lament for his friends who have died is nearly elegiac; when he writes of the

assassination of Lincoln he is positively so. Remarkably this diary contains almost no reference to home in western Pennsylvania, as if the soldier feared to allow family and acquaintances to witness on the grim business of war.

The letters of Daniel and Alex Chisholm, however, are full of references to and questions about matters in Uniontown and Fayette County. Addressed mostly to the soldiers fathers, the letters are full of urgent pleas for money, packages, and more correspondence from the family and local friends. One matter of constant reference concerns whether their father should or will be able to buy the property on which the family lives by using the sons' enlistment bounties and pay to accumulate the purchase price. There is less war detail here, because most of the letters are by Daniel, who was removed from the fighting in June, 1864.

Menge and Shimrak provide a helpful overview of the war in their introduction, with no effort at grand interpretation or revision; they allow the soldiers' words to stand on their own. Randolph M. Kelley, *Community College of Allegheny County, Allegheny Campus*

By Thomas R. Winpenny. *Bending is not Breaking: Adaptation and Persistence Among 19th Century Lancaster Artisans.*

(Lanham, MD, University Press of America, 1991. \$35.75, paper \$17.75.)

The author, a professor of history at Elizabeth College, has written this brief book (just over 100 pages) about the artisans of Lancaster, Pennsylvania. His main argument is that industrialization and with it the establishment of the modern factory system did not drive the master artisan into obsolescence. As a result, Winpenny questions the major thesis of E. P. Thompson in his work: *The Making of the English Working Class*, and to lesser degree Susan Hirsch's book, *Roots of American Working Class*, that studies the growth of the factory system in Newark, New Jersey between 1820 and 1860, as well as Allan Dawley's work, *Class and Community*, which discusses the cordwainers in Lynn, Massachusetts.

The author draws five conclusions about the life of the Lancaster artisans: (1) the artisan persisted throughout the period 1819-1880; (2) the artisan used advances in machinery during the 19th century to his advantage; (3) cultural factors make a difference on the question of persistence; (4) if artisans failed economically, it was not necessarily due to the coming of the factory system and; (5) some of these artisans made enough money to use these earnings to expand their place of business and, in effect, become industrialists.

This work is heavily documented. Winpenny consulted all the major primary sources available to him: account books, federal manufacturing and population census schedules, tax records, credit reports and newspapers. However, it would have been interesting to see a comparison of the 1860 and 1870 manufacturing and population census schedules for these artisans. The population schedules in these two years asked the individual's personal and real estate worth. For example, two of the artisans the author mentions are Daniel Altick, a master coachmaker and Amos Miley, a master saddler. The 1860 population census schedule shows Altick's real estate worth of \$10,500 and a personal estate worth of \$6,000, while Miley's census report indicates no real estate worth and only \$100 of personal estate. The manufacturing census schedules for 1860 substantiate the data on Altick but not for Miley. A comparison of the 1860 and 1870 population census schedules for other artisans of Lancaster would be interesting to

see. This is a minor matter and does not detract from the overall value of this work.
Robert J. Plowman, *National Archives-Mid Atlantic Region, Philadelphia, PA*

By Walter M. Brasch. *Forerunners of Revolution: Muckrakers and the American Social Conscience.*

(Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1990. pp. ix, 181. \$38.00, paper \$18.50.)

In *Forerunners of Revolution* Walter Brasch traces the development of "muckraking" in American journalism from the pre-Revolutionary period, wherein the author states that Thomas Paine and Samuel Adams would have been labeled muckrakers if the term were available, to its "peak" in the three decades from 1880 to 1910. In what proceeds at the outset as somewhat of a biographical journey, Brasch discusses the motives and character of a continuous succession of journalists and authors to whom he ascribes the noble title of muckraker. After an interesting discussion of the rise, fall, impact and effects of muckraking's heyday (1880-1910), the author leaps forward to the 1960's for a further glimpse at muckraking activities.

There are several major themes that run through the book. One is Brasch's labeling of journalists, specifically those journalists with socially critical minds, as champions of social conscience. . . . "who cared about society and the people they wrote about" (p. ix). A second theme, more convincingly argued than the first, is that the muckrakers, and those journalist throughout American history who wrote in the "muckraking" style, reflect, and report on, periodic awakenings of the American social conscience. Though Brasch clearly points out that this awakening usually manifested itself in sideline cheering rather than in action against the existing social order. A third theme argued by the author is that "although it breathes hard muckraking still lives" (p. 133).

Brasch's attempt to link the efforts of particular American journalists and writers such as Carl Schurz, Jacob Riis, Ernest Crosby, with that group of muckraking journalists whose energies were focused into an organized and comprehensive look at American social issues is interesting if not comprehensive.

This does not, however, detract from his chronicle and analysis of the activities of the journalists who were the muckrakers. The efforts of Tarbell, Steffens, Lawson, Baker, Phillips and Sinclair are discussed in an interesting and informative manner. Though the inclusion of Sinclair's monologue "Conspiracy of Silence" (chapter 5) provides an interesting example of the obstacles faced by investigative journalists, it seems out of place in what otherwise proceeds as a critical analysis.

Especially interesting is Brasch's discussion of the evolution of *McClure's Magazine* from the journal of "the American Dream" to a . . . "direction that brought social issues into a realm that people could understand and be affected . . . (p. 45), to a magazine driven by market appeal. The author reveals the genesis, fruition and wane of progressive muckraking. Brasch identifies the components of exploited Americans, indignant journalists and willing and courageous newspaper and magazine owners (p. 153) as crucial to the success of urban, political, corporate and social reforms effected early in the twentieth century. He argues that similar elements would need to be present for future reform.

Brasch believes that investigative journalism of the muckraking caliber still exists in journalists who "feel the fire of reform" (p. 152). This book is worthwhile reading. It should be employed as

a supplement, though, rather than as an encompassing survey for those interested in exploring the muckraking contributions to the Progressive Era.

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Contributors:

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MARGARET MARSH is Professor of history at Temple University. Her articles have appeared in the *Journal of American History*, *American Quarterly*, the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, and *Pennsylvania History*. Her book *Suburban Lives* appeared in 1990. Currently, Marsh and her sister, Wanda Ronner, a gynecologist, are working on a medical and sociocultural history of infertility and its treatment in the United States.

PHILIP SCRANTON is Professor of History at Rutgers University, Camden and will in 1992 also become Director of the Center for the History of Business, Technology and Society at the Hagley Museum and Library, Wilmington, DE. His research has focused on urban industrialization and decay, chiefly in three books on Philadelphia: *Proprietary Capitalism* (1983, paperback, 1987), *Work Sights* (1986, with Walter Licht), and *Figured Tapestry* (1989). At present, he is writing a manuscript on batch and specialty production during the Second Industrial Revolution. Tentatively titled "Endless Novelty," it will profile the development of non-mass production industries (furniture, machine tools, heavy equipment) in cities from Providence and Newark to Cincinnati and Grand Rapids, c. 1870-1940.

LIZABETH COHEN teaches American social history at Carnegie Mellon University. Her first book, *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919-1939* (1990), won the Bancroft Prize and the Philip Taft Labor History Award. She is now investigating how people have carried out their struggles over class, race and gender during the post-World II era through their power as consumers.

FRANCIS S. FOX is a retired executive for a prominent book publisher. His work on the Prothonotary in Pennsylvania politics is part of a larger study in progress on Northampton County in the Revolution.

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Pennsylvania History will publish a special theme issue on "Oral History in Pennsylvania" in 1993. Linda Shopes, historian at the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, will serve as guest editor. The issue will include a historiographic essay written by the editor and reviews of current literature. It might also fruitfully include substantive articles that draw upon interview materials in imaginative ways, extensive excerpts from extant interviews, discussions of current oral history projects and the public presentations—exhibits, films, books, etc.—resulting from them, and other work as appropriate. We are currently seeking proposals for articles and shorter pieces, as well as information about existing oral history collections relevant to Pennsylvania history. Potential contributors are advised to consult the essays on oral history appearing annually in the *Journal of American History* since 1987. Please direct all correspondence to:

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The Pennsylvania Historical Association

The Pennsylvania Historical Association is the only statewide historical society now active in the Commonwealth. By its annual meetings held successively in different parts of the state, its publications and its cosponsorship of an annual research conference, the association endeavors to stimulate scholarly activity and arouse popular interest in the state's history.

