Book Reviews:


(Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990. Pp. xvi, 290. $44.95, $14.95 paper.)

Joe Trotter's research on black industrial workers has now appeared in two works. His first book, *Black Milwaukee,* described the occupations and social status of African-Americans in that midwestern city. *Coal, Class and Color* looks at the black community in southern West Virginia in the early twentieth century. Trotter's concern here, as in his other studies, is the impact of industrial work and community life on blacks' relations among themselves and with other groups. Though the geographic settings of his studies change (his current research is on black workers in Alabama), the aim of his research remains fixed on explaining the alignments of race and class in the process of industrialization.

*Coal, Class and Color* portrays in considerable detail an important time and place in African-Americans' industrial experience. Beginning with the railroads' penetration of central Appalachia in the 1870s, black farmers and laborers moved to southern West Virginia to find jobs. Their concentration in construction and coal mining made them overwhelmingly manual workers, but gradually a thin strata of black professionals and business owners developed above the mass of wage earners. Black coal miners themselves constituted approximately one quarter of the mining work force in southern West Virginia from 1910 to 1930, a comparatively large percentage of an occupational group for blacks outside the South at this period. Settled in coal camps throughout a nine-county region, the black population supported a host of institutions, from schools at all levels to churches and fraternal organizations, to businesses and political clubs. There may not have been another part of the United States where black employment in one industry gave rise to such an array of educational, social, cultural and political organs. It was the milieu of black economic and institutional progress in southern West Virginia, Trotter reminds us, that nurtured the careers of such black leaders as Booker T. Washington, Abram L. Harris, and Carter G. Woodson.

Black coal miners' industrial status was the key to this development, and Trotter examines the variables of placement in job hierarchies, hourly wages, unemployment, and discrimination in hiring to explain black miners' place. Employers' biases, reinforced by widely accepted racial stereotypes, trapped black miners in the inferior job categories, though they worked throughout the mines. Seasonal and cyclical changes in coal production caused job losses and transiency among blacks, and mechanization of mining gradually reduced some jobs that they had once dominated. Recognizing the significant degree to which they shared employment conditions with white miners, blacks joined the United Mine Workers during union organizing campaigns. But this expression of class solidarity was usually muted by black miners' awareness of white miners' antipathy toward them as a group and by employers' willingness to cultivate their black miners' loyalty, especially during the welfare capitalism era of the 1920s.

The black middle class in southern West Virginia also placed a claim on black miners' support. Trotter shows that this claim was answered in several ways. Segregation in housing, education, social services and recreation turned black workers to the leadership of black businessmen,
educators and clergy. Virginia blacks retained the right to vote while other southern blacks were disenfranchised, and black leaders succeeded in persuading blacks to form a voting bloc to increase their political power. Though voting for local offices was often either non-existent (in unincorporated mining camps) or controlled by employers, blacks still elected a surprising number of county officials and even a few members of the West Virginia state legislature. The great preponderance of this activity took place through the Republican Party in the early twentieth century, and accrued mostly to the fortunes of middle class black office-seekers. But black political power also enhanced the resources of state-supported black institutions and resulted in the creation of the West Virginia Bureau of Negro Welfare and Statistics, a state agency headed by blacks, which at least indirectly helped to maintain blacks' voting strength in the 1920s.

As he did in his book on Milwaukee, Trotter uses the concept of proletarianization to conceptualize the processes of social development and transformation among blacks experiencing industrialization. By proletarianization, Trotter seems to mean simply the expansion of the manual laboring segment of a population, and he makes few specific connections between such developments and the contours of black experience. Elements in the rise of a black mining population—occupational changes, farm-to-industry migration, and new relationships among workers in a multiethnic industrial population—thus do little to refine our understanding of the concept. Only in the obvious importance of black miners as the majority and the economic foundation of the black community can Trotter show the significance of proletarianization. It is unclear how this process illuminates such dimensions of black life in the coal fields as women's status and fraternal organizations, which Trotter also covers in this book. We are left to wonder how useful he really finds this concept and whether or not his future studies of black workers will rely on it.

The contingent nature of these black workers' status emerges much more clearly from Coal, Class and Color. Though Trotter shows that it was fully formed by World War I, the black working class in West Virginia's coal regions had "a fragile socioeconomic foundation" (33). As it expanded further in the 1920s, this group "continued to lead a precarious existence" (63). Careful to clarify how blacks in the coal fields shaped their own experiences, Trotter also emphasizes that "their socioeconomic footing remained volatile" (95) after nearly half a century of industrialization. He demonstrates fully how racial discrimination, industrial depressions, differences between black workers and the black middle class all contributed to the tenuousness of the gains these migrants made.

The value of this book lies in its sheer detail about black miners in West Virginia. Scholars examining the emergence of black communities outside the rural South will find it useful in many ways. Coal, Class and Color also invites historians to examine the important relationships among upper, middle, and lower levels within ethnic and racial groups to locate points of cohesion and friction as industrialization reshaped their worlds.

Peter Gottlieb, State Historical Society of Wisconsin


This informative book adds an important chapter both to the history of cinema and to turn-of-the-century American social history. It documents the career of motion-picture exhibitor and producer Lyman H. Howe of Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, the most successful of the many entrepreneurs who took travelling exhibitions of moving pictures to America's smaller cities and towns, and sometimes to big cities, during the earliest years of the medium. The significance of this road-show cinema has largely been ignored in histories of American film, which have concentrated on production (primarily on the development of film as an art form) and on the establishment of permanent theaters in larger cities. As the book demonstrates, Howe was able to parlay his interest in mechanical reproduction of "reality," his good sense of timing, and his keen awareness of the ideological expectations of his mostly middle-class audiences into a successful film production and exhibition business, one that survived well beyond the time when it was obvious that the future of commercial American cinema lay with the big Hollywood production studios and their networks of movie theaters.

A professor of film history at Columbia and New York Universities, Charles Musser is also author of the first volume of a projected ten-volume *History of the American Cinema (The Emergence of Cinema)*, Scribner's, 1991), among other work. His collaborator, Carol Nelson, is a Pennsylvania documentary film producer. She admits to an "obsession" with Howe, whose family mansion in her home town of Wilkes-Barre aroused her curiosity for years before she began in 1978 to uncover the facts of his largely-forgotten career (p. xi). The first result of that research was a 30-minute film, *Lyman H. Howe’s High Class Moving Pictures*, which Nelson jointly produced in 1983 (with Ben Levin), with support from the Pennsylvania Humanities Council—from which the film is available.

With its many excerpts from Howe programs, the film is an excellent complement to the book, which tells its story in great detail—including many photographs, frame enlargements, and other documents, along with a complete Howe filmography. Howe's career as a traveling exhibitor started in 1883 when he began showing a 5,000-pound scale model of an anthracite coal mine and breaker. He was soon exhibiting around Pennsylvania a considerably more portable curiosity, the Edison phonograph, fascinating audiences with everything from "artistic whistling" to sermon extracts. All the while he was cultivating a broad middle-class audience, often including sponsoring church groups, which served him very well when in 1896 he switched to moving-picture exhibition. Tailoring his travelling programs to the tastes of his conservative audience (which was uncomfortable with the more risqué programming and the mostly working class audiences of the storefront Nickelodeons), Howe built a profitable multi-unit film production and exhibition enterprise that was active from New Jersey to California through World War 1.

This was an era when film exhibitors were often better known to the public than film producers, and Howe demonstrated considerable creativity in arranging short films into entertainment packages. As Musser and Nelson point out, his trademark programs characteristically con-
stituted a conservative “cinema of reassurance” (p. 4), with their accounts of traveling European aristocrats and royalty, military processions and maneuvers, celebrations of western imperialism, and comic (sometimes racist) skits. Howe was also important, we learn here, for the sophisticated backscreen sound effects (including speaking parts taken by actors), which he developed. They were widely imitated by his competitors, in a “Silent Era” whose films were rarely silent.

The ideological and technological implications of Howe’s career are drawn clearly, if briefly, in the Introduction and Conclusion. They are explored sporadically in the year-by-year narrative account, which suffers at points from a labored prose style and from an excess of detail. For example, verbatim news reports and program notes that might more conveniently have been excerpted, or included in the appendices. Concise summaries at the ends of chapters can ease the way for readers who may be somewhat overwhelmed by the detail in which this interesting and significant piece of cinema and social history is told.

Wallace S. Watson, Duquesne University

By Michael Kammen. Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture.


In this provocative book, Michael Kammen sets out to explain “when and how did the United States become a land of the past, a culture with a discernible memory . . .” (p. 7). To do so, he examines a wide range of thought and activities: the ideas of intellectuals; the work of museums; the displays of pageants and reenactments; the creation of parks and monuments; the accomplishments of collectors of Americana; the reconstruction of historical sites; and the activities of historical societies and patriotic groups. Given this encyclopedic scope, it is surprising that Kammen omits discussion of the energetic late nineteenth-century antiquarian historians who produced shelf-fulls of local histories, such as Scharf and Westcott’s History of Philadelphia.

Kammen finds that until about 1870 Americans gave short shrift to the past, feeling that it was a burden, hindering the commitment to progress which they proudly felt defined the United States. This attitude began to change between 1870 and 1915, and after 1915, Kammen believes, “a historically based public culture [developed] for the nation as whole . . .” (p. 299). This development continued after 1945, evolving in the 1970s and 1980s into a broad but shallow interest in the past, characterized by what Kammen describes as “selective amnesia.”

As in his previous work, Kammen is sensitive to dualisms. These patterns simultaneously encouraged, hindered, channeled, and redefined the shaping of historical memory, among other things accounting for the selective amnesia. Thus he discusses the early twentieth-century debate among collectors whether to focus on folk or high art. He also examines other subjects: the continuing interest in regional consciousness, especially in the South in the aftermath of the Civil War; the uncertainty whether the model for a common culture should be sought in Europe or the United States; the temporal juxtaposition of Menckenesque cynicism and the deliberate canonization of myth, such as the Betsy Ross house; the increasing but distorting impact of the commercialization of the past, such as at the American Adventure pavilion at EPCOT Center; the
limited role of the federal government, at least until the 1930s, in encouraging preservation and understanding of the past, in contrast to the thrust of other national governments; the impact of the growth of pride and self-awareness among immigrant groups; the influence of ideology, such as racism or cold warriorism, in discouraging a complete appreciation of the past; and the continuing uneasiness among Americans caused by a concern that celebrating the past implies a negation of accomplishments in the present.

These patterns suggest the impossibility of the central government successfully defining a standard history curriculum and implementing it with national tests. As Kammen observes, Washington has always been reluctant to be involved in defining the past; policy makers have understood the decentralized and multi-cultural nature of our society and consequently feared the conflict that would come from a too intrusive federal presence.

It is because of its bearing on such questions that Mystic Chords of Memory is an important book. It is wide-ranging but well-organized; sophisticated but accessible; balanced in treatment but not afraid to express opinions. Everybody can learn from it.

Robert J. Gough, University of Wisconsin—Eau Claire

By Richard B. Stott. Workers in the Metropolis: Class, Ethnicity, and Youth in Antebellum New York City.


There now exists a small shelf of books about the artisan origins of the American working class, that like its English and European counterparts, was created by the breakdown of the traditional craft system and its transformation into an outwork and manufacturing system of production. In the process, independent artisans became permanent journeymen, or what amounted to the same thing, a class of wage-dependent workers. Finally, in the course of the nineteenth century, these workingmen created a distinctive working-class way of life by drawing upon craft traditions and artisan republicanism to create national trade unions and their own voice in local party politics.

In Workers in the Metropolis, Richard Stott casts doubt on this recounting of the making of the American working class. Looking intensely at New York City workers in the twenty years between 1840 and 1860, Stott suggests instead that the heart of the city's antebellum working class was composed of young, immigrant men of peasant origins who possessed nothing of the traditional artisan outlook we have come to associate with the rise of the American working class. By 1885, Stott tells us, 84% of New York City's manual workers were foreign-born, with Ireland, Germany, and England contributing the greatest number. This massive influx of immigrants recomposed the city's working class, and as they took up residence in the boardinghouses of the city's lower wards, these immigrant workers created their own culture that had little to do with the artisan-based working-class culture of the past.

The foundation of this culture was an "abundance consciousness" that came from the immigrants' perception that wages, food, and the general standard of living were better in America than in the Old World they had left behind. Having little experience with artisanal work rhythms, these young men worked hard and played hard as well, creating by mid-century a
youthful, highly masculine "Bowery culture" centered around taverns, fire companies, and other forms of popular recreation. According to Stott, this culture of diversion combined with the experience of comparative abundance to create a working class that was well-satisfied and, unlike their artisan predecessors, found little to protest in the circumstances of their lives.

Its an intriguing argument, and Stott makes a convincing case for the existence of an immigrant youth culture in antebellum New York City. But some important questions remain unanswered, not all of which can be addressed in a short review. If the arrival of thousands of foreign-born young men recomposed the city's working class after 1840, did this new working class obliterate its predecessor? There were real continuities between the artisan working class of the early nineteenth century and its mid-century successor, and Stott's youth culture is reminiscent of nothing so much as the "traditionalists" Bruce Laurie discusses in his Working People of Philadelphia (1980). The difference is that Laurie locates his version of plebeian culture in the pre-immigrant past. The rough-hewn culture he describes had a long history and was still very much alive when the first immigrant workers arrived in Philadelphia. Was New York City so different?

At the same time, one wonders what happened to these young workers and their leisure culture once they married and began to confront the responsibilities of family life. Did abundance seem so assured once these workers moved from rented rooms to row houses and once they had more than themselves to feed and clothe? Such questions can't be answered by focusing on a twenty-year time span, but they are crucial to an evaluation of Stott's view of the mid-nineteenth-century working class.

These comments are not meant to detract from Stott's thought-provoking book, but to point out areas that remain to be investigated. Stott's thesis deserves careful attention and historians will, I suspect, be debating it for some time to come. And that, in the end, is the highest praise of all.

Ronald Schultz, University of Wyoming


Benjamin Franklin Bache edited the Philadelphia General Advertiser (or Aurora, as it was generally known) during the 1790's, making a reputation as the most partisan and extreme of the Republican opponents of the Federalist administrations, and of the editorial supporters of the French Revolution and democratic radicalism. This is the first full-scale biography of Bache and, aside from the brief analysis in Jeffery A. Smith's Franklin and Bache (1990), the only modern account.

Born in Philadelphia in 1769 to Benjamin Franklin's daughter Sarah and her husband Richard Bache, young Benny accompanied his illustrious grandfather to France on his diplomatic mission in 1776. He remained in Europe for nine years, in private schools in France and Switzerland, learning the crafts of printing and typecasting. For most of this period the youth was shamefully neglected by his grandfather. The first three chapters of Tagg's book use developmental theory to explore the relationship between Franklin and Bache.

Bache returned to America with his grandfather in 1785, and on Franklin's death in 1790 he inherited Franklin's printing and typecasting equipment and his books. It was, Tagg notes, "as
Franklin clearly intended, . . . a legacy that only became valuable as Benjamin put it to use, as he applied industry to these materials" (p. 75).

He used his legacy to establish the General Advertiser in late 1790 as part of his printing and typecasting business. The rest of Tagg's book exhaustively details the eight years of Bache's direction of the paper. The underlying themes are Bache's radical ideology and his unquestioning support of the French Revolution through all of its twists and turns. Foreign policy received most of Bache's attention as he led the opposition to Federalist foreign policy and launched a violent personal attack on George Washington in 1796.

The culmination was the Sedition Act of 1798, "neatly tailored to fit Bache and a few other inveterate opponents of the Federalists" (p. 371). He was arrested for seditious libel under state law in June 1798, but died in the yellow fever epidemic before the case could be tried. Tagg concludes that in the 1798 controversy over free speech "Bache was a failure. . . . He did not venture toward the libertarian ideas just emerging in America that in a democratic society political opinion had to be left free regardless of truth or falsehood. He could not, because he subscribed to the political theory of his opponents, that there are ultimate political truths" (p. 398).

Historians of journalism will find much valuable material here on the partisan press of the 1790s—on Bache's Federalist opponents John Fenno, William Cobbett, and Noah Webster, and his more moderate Republican ally Philip Freneau. Nor does Tagg neglect the business side of Bache's operations, characterized by mis-management. There is much detail on Philadelphia politics. One may question, however, whether a man who died at age 29 after a public career of only eight years deserves a biography of over 400 pages.

Tagg's research has been extensive in both newspaper and manuscript sources, including some only recently opened. The book is well-written and its critical conclusions grounded in the evidence. It will prove very useful to historians of the journalism and politics of the early American republic. For them, he locates Bache as "a transitional figure in a transitional age. Though he was a product of elements we associate with the eighteenth-century past—Franklin's moral engineering, and Enlightenment thought and psychology—Bache's life and career foreshadowed the era that was to follow, an era that celebrated a new kind of autonomous action, a consistent democratic ethic, and a vision of progress" (p. 401).

James L. Crouthamel, Hobart and William Smith Colleges


Patrick Cooney has written an informative and very useful guidebook to historic sites in eastern New York, New Jersey, northern Delaware, and eastern Pennsylvania from Scranton to Lancaster and Philadelphia. This guidebook is written for readers with a general interest in American and local history who would like to learn more about sites before they visit. Its principal advantage over other guidebooks is that it organizes historic places chronologically, putting each site very briefly in the context of historic trends during a particular period.
The author's goal was to "write a guidebook that answers the major questions inquisitive travelers" ask about historic places (p. XVI). Toward this end, Cooney groups sites that are close geographically and temporally. He divides historic locales into twelve periods from the mid-seventeenth to mid-twentieth century, and introduces each era with a very brief essay outlining historical trends. Cooney then divides each era into several short chapters, each organized around a group of historically related sites near each other. He summarizes each site's history, and notes its location and visiting hours. For example, in the "Later Settlements" period (pp. 29-51), the author introduces early Quaker settlement in New Jersey and southeastern Pennsylvania, and Pennsylvania Dutch settlement, including the Amish, Mennonites and Moravians, in eastern Pennsylvania. Cooney summarizes the histories of twenty-four sites associated with Quaker and Pennsylvania Dutch settlement in Pennsylvania.

This volume incorporates numerous places in eastern Pennsylvania associated with social, cultural, political, economic, military, art and architectural history. The wide range of historic places includes Conrad Weiser Park in Womelsdorf, the Moravian Museum (Gemein House) in Bethlehem, Independence Hall in Philadelphia, Andalusia (the Nicholas Biddle Estate) north of Philadelphia, the Ashland Anthracite Museum in Ashland, Wheatland (President James Buchanan's home) on the outskirts of Lancaster, the Gettysburg National Military Park, the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in Philadelphia, and the U.S.S. Olympia moored in Philadelphia, to name a few. Not all periods are well represented by Pennsylvania sites; the "Progressive Era" (pp. 283-304) includes Longwood Gardens near Kennett Square as the only Pennsylvania locale. Nevertheless, the reader is offered an impressive array of historic sites in eastern Pennsylvania.

The guidebook's shortcoming is that the contexts provided for many sites are too brief, leaving the reader with unanswered questions about the significance of sites and how they relate to broader historical trends. The introductory essays for each period are very short, and the histories of individual sites sometimes focus on colorful personalities to the neglect of fuller context. For example, the entry for Governor Printz Park in Essington describes the autocratic leadership of Governor Johan Printz and the feistiness of his daughter Armegott, but overlooks Governor Printz's efforts at checking Dutch and English encroachment on New Sweden. Yet, even with limited context, this volume offers a better introduction to the historic sites of eastern Pennsylvania than most—more cursory—guidebooks currently on the market.

William Sisson, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission


Is Woodrow Wilson coming back into style in the post Cold War World? Nordholt, a Dutch scholar who has written widely on American history, provides a distinctly European answer in a book beautifully translated by Herbert H. Rowen. The author admires Wilson's idealism while at the same time pointing out how this idealism placed severe limitations on Wilson as a world leader.

Nordholt's Wilson should be read in conjunction with August Heckscher's Woodrow Wilson (1991). Of the two books, Heckscher's is more comprehensive and conventional; Nordholt's is impressionistic and unorthodox. Both authors fundamentally admire Wilson, defend his actions,
and accept his liberal internationalism. It is instructive to compare them with Lloyd E. Ambrosius's *Wilsonian Statecraft: Theory and Practice of Liberal Internationalism during World War I* (1991). Nordholt and Heckscher see Wilson as a man ahead of his time. Ambrosius argues that Wilson's liberal internationalism suffered from lack of realism. All three authors are closer on these points than they might imagine.

Nordholt attributes Wilson's powerful ability to captivate audiences with his idealism to a life-long interest in poetry, a central theme in the book. Nordholt believes that Wilson ultimately failed because as a poet and a nineteenth-century romantic he had little sense of reality. This explanation gives insight into Wilson's character without really unlocking the riddle of the man.

According to Nordholt, Wilson maintained a rigid set of principles throughout his life, often applying them without regard for practicality. The author points out that Wilson knew little about Mexico, China, or Europe. Yet, often acting as his own secretary of state, Wilson applied his principles to situations that he did not fully comprehend. Naive optimism coupled with ignorance allowed Wilson to suggest solutions to international problems that more worldly leaders could not visualize. Ignorance of world affairs, however, had much to do with Wilson's ultimate failure at Versailles.

Nordholt relies heavily on *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson* so ably edited by Arthur S. Link and his colleagues. The National Historical Publications and Records Commission and the National Endowment for the Humanities sponsor numerous comprehensive documentary editions, and books like Nordholt's prove the enormous value of these editions to scholars. To further stimulate the study of American history abroad by scholars such as Nordholt, the federal government should donate sets of these modern documentary editions to major foreign research libraries.

The book has deficiencies and scholars need to be wary of certain problems. Wilson as national war leader is ignored by the author, and his role in the politics of the Progressive Era is not adequately explained. And numerous rhetorical questions add little to the text. Despite such difficulties, Nordholt's work is an interesting and, at times, provocative addition to the expanding literature on America's controversial twenty-eighth president. Foreign scholars writing on American history can make important contributions to our understanding of the relationship of the United States to world events. Nordholt's *Wilson* is a good example of what can be done.

David L. Wilson, *Southern Illinois University at Carbondale*

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**By Stephen P. Waring. Taylorism Transformed.**


The author, an intellectual historian well grounded in the "new labor history," seeks to place management ideas in a historical and social context. More specifically, he describes scientific management theories since 1945 and engages the interpretation of business management offered by Alfred Chandler. This book proves an incisive description, analysis and critique of several major strands of management theory based on the scientific management precepts of Frederick Taylor. Since 1945 management mandarins have divided into two philosophical schools as the bureaucrats emphasized more efficiency through sophisticated techniques and
the corporatists focused on the development of more "democratic" forms of leadership and participative styles of management. The bureaucratic school emphasized centralization and the separation of planning and execution while the corporatists favored decentralization and more integration of planning and implementation. While recognizing these differences in emphasis, Waring correctly pinpoints their common focus on management control of the production process and the labor force due to a common acceptance of a management dominated model.

Waring examines and analyzes operations research and management science, sensitivity training and job enrichment and concludes that they fail to challenge the bureaucratic system and enhance neither efficiency nor democratization. However, the theories of Herbert Simon, Peter Drucker and Japan boosters receive particular attention. Simon, a Nobel laureate and Carnegie Mellon University professor, investigated the decision-making process in economic organizations. Humans, in his view, were best adapted to a routinized life in a bureaucracy where they would surrender autonomy for some satisfaction of personal goals in an arrangement he called "satisficing." Although Simon's theories far surpassed Taylor's ideas in sophistication, both approaches accepted hierarchy and depicted human beings as machines. Peter Drucker, a world-renowned management consultant, pursued a corporatist approach focused on management by objectives and self-control and tried to synthesize corporatism and bureaucracy to create a new form more applicable to the growing group of "knowledge workers." However, the absence of social harmony and the lack of appropriate leaders undermined the Drucker approach. Management mandarins, in response to the defects of these domestic models, increasingly focused on the Japanese economy which seemed to combine both efficiency and harmony. To many Japan boosters, the quality control circle, a practical and humanitarian technique, exemplified the Japanese success story. Critics highlighted flaws in the Japanese system, particularly its management manipulation and its dual labor market, which penalized women workers. Therefore, they declared the Japanese approach inapplicable to the United States.

The author succeeds in achieving his two principal purposes. He incisively describes and analyzes recent scientific management theories and exposes their flaws as systems of production and coordination. He also pinpoints a key weakness in Alfred Chandler's writings on business management. Chandler attributes bureaucracy to technological imperatives and market forces, but ignores the role of government and power issues in the marketplace. Ironically, Waring also downplays workplace issues by neglecting the roles of shop floor activism, the labor movement and the changing labor force. The emphasis on theory results in the absence of an examination of scientific management practices in the auto, steel and garment industries. More use of the "new labor history" approach of David Montgomery would have enriched the book and provided a more insightful examination of the topic. In spite of this limitation, this is a valuable book which, along with the works of Daniel Nelson and Harry Braverman, increases our knowledge and understanding of Frederick Taylor and Taylorism.

Irwin M. Marcus, Indiana University of Pennsylvania
By Gerald N. Grob. *From Asylum to Community.*


Unlike Gerald Grob's previous histories, which explored the development and functioning of institutions in a rich social context, the present study is primarily a policy study. It is also a fascinating one. Professor Grob focuses on the declining reliance on institutionalization in dealing with the mentally ill, as new treatments, new policy actors, and new professional divisions and values moved toward outpatient settings. The book is divided into roughly two chronological sections, with the first eight chapters detailing the factors that combined to challenge the institutional paradigm, beginning with treatment experiences in World War II and extending through the 1950s. The remaining chapters cover the new policies and new facilities that emerged from this innovative climate, from the 1960s until the present. Additional sources of innovation are included in this most contemporary period, including new intellectual challenges to psychiatry and changing civil liberties initiatives, but the main emphasis rests on the emergence of Community Mental Health Centers as an alternative to classic institutionalization.

A concurrent theme, splendidly developed, involves the series of changes surrounding professional psychiatry, as it moved from a predominant institutional base, in 1940, to a much more diverse but disputatious array of activities. New divisions within the profession followed from rapid growth during and after World War II. New treatment methods, particularly of course novel drug therapies, altered established emphases. The rise of competition in clinical psychology and clinical social work is worked in effectively, though somewhat more briefly.

Greater federal initiatives played a major role in the reevaluation of institutionalization. So did state assessments, including one in Pennsylvania during World War II (though in general Pennsylvania is not portrayed as a bellwether policy case). Popularized accounts figured in, and Grob offers an interesting section on the imagery of muckraking articles, the movie *Snake Pit,* and other jolts to public consciousness, directed against the institutional model. Only a fuller account of budgeting factors, including insurance impact, is missing from an otherwise stunning portrayal of the emergence of a new policy context; Grob probably lets state and federal government off too lightly in not stressing more fully the thirst for budget cuts.

The section on institutional alternatives is less fully limned. The policies themselves are clear enough, among other things through a lengthy discussion of Kennedy administration initiatives, but assessment of their impact trails off somewhat. References to the homeless, a single table on the growing rates of outpatient treatment (from 22% to 57% of total mental health treatment contacts between 1959 and 1971), merely set the stage for a fuller contemporary history of the results of new policies. Even institutionalization needs fuller attention, for though its relative standing declines, and though lengths of stay lessen particularly with changes in the treatment of the elderly, the absolute number of institutionalization instances goes up in the same period.

What is missing, in fact, is a social history dimension. The mentally ill and their families enter in too rarely, both as participants in new treatment settings and as factors in the creation of new policies themselves. Here, clearly, Grob's achievement establishes a framework within which a fuller historical account can be developed, by state- and local-level case studies above all. The same attention to overall policy context in the 19th century has generated a rich, second-generation historical harvest, in which Professor Grob himself has creatively participated. We can now hope for the same additional effort within the dynamic model this book provides for

The bulk of this volume (300 pages) consists of facsimile reprints and recreations of bills of mortality from a variety of sources for the city of Philadelphia between 1721 and 1859. Over half of the book (234 pages) is devoted to facsimile reprints of mortality bills published by the Board of Health annually from 1807 through 1859. The bills list numbers of deaths by year and by month, broken down by age, disease, and gender. Just a quick glance through the mortality bills produces interesting results. The major causes of death, it would seem, were dropsy, cholera, “congestion of the brain,” consumption, convulsion, croup, “debility,” apoplexy, scarlet fever, typhoid fever, dysentery, diarrhea, brain disease, heart disease, marasmus, old age, palsy, and small pox. By the 1850s, deaths in childbirth were relatively rare (2-3 per thousand female deaths), but large numbers of babies were stillborn (ten percent of all children’s deaths and six percent of all deaths). Children seemed particularly susceptible to asphyxia, burns, cholera, “congestion of brains,” and “of lungs,” consumption, convulsions, croup, debility, cyanosis, brain disease, heart disease, diarrhea, “dropsy of the brain,” drowning, dysentery, “effusion of brain,” scarlet fever, typhoid fever, whooping cough, “inanation,” marasmus, measles, scrofula, small pox, and inflammation of the brain, bronchii, lungs, and bowels.

Another 48 pages contain facsimiles of mortality bills published by Christ Church between 1737 and 1788. These include information on christenings and burials by gender, religion, age, race, and disease. Bills of mortality were recreated from a variety of sources from 1721 to 1807. Seven documents from the American Weekly Mercury between 1721 and 1742 include births, christenings, and burials, with some breakdowns by gender, religion, and race. Five documents were recreated from the Pennsylvania Gazette between 1729 and 1733, including burials and christenings by religion and race. Ten recreated documents from miscellaneous sources cover the years 1738-1766 and include information on burials, christenings and baptisms by religion, race and age, and breakdowns by disease after 1768. Bills of mortality printed by Zachariah Poulson between 1787 and 1801 were recreated, including information on births and deaths by religion, sex, race, and occasionally age. Finally, returns of the Philadelphia City Board of Health from 1802 through 1807 were recreated, including burials of adults and children, religion and race by burial ground, and, in 1807, a breakdown of diseases.

Professor Klepp has included a brief history of the differing purposes behind the collection of statistics about life and death in Philadelphia during its first 175 years. The volume also contains a bibliography of demographic works relating to Philadelphia. The bibliography is strongest when confined to demography; the listings under “economic conditions” and “socio-economic status/class” were far too brief for the lengthy period under consideration.

The volume pulls together material that is scattered in several archives and should be of use...
to researchers interested in the demographic history of Philadelphia. It could also prove useful to faculty who wish to give students first hand experience using primary sources.

Mary M. Schweitzer, Villanova University


The importance of the upper Susquehanna River drainage during its 18th century transition from a native shared resource area to a focus of colonial exploitation clearly deserves serious study. Unfortunately, Mancall misses many opportunities to delineate the significant factors which made this an unusual sector of the shifting colonial frontier. His description of the natural resources and how they were utilized by natives, and then by colonial settlers during this dynamic century of change fails to develop a coherent picture of the Native American component and thereby weakens his presentation.

The beginning of this book appears to be an addition to Mancall's dissertation, “Environment and Economy: The Upper Susquehanna Valley in the Age of the American Revolution” (1986). The idea is excellent, but the execution falls short. The first 90 pages of this text provide only an opaque view of the complex aboriginal history of this region. Beginning with Chapter five, “The Colonists' Economy,” Mancall employs useful original documents to describe European expansion into this region during the 18th century.

Abundant land with useful natural resources encouraged settlement in these valleys, stimulating developments at odds with British colonial policy. Mancall does not portray these significant conflicts as causes of the American Revolution. He also fails to indicate why the colonial frontier bulged west in this particular region. By ignoring critical factors in the history of this segment of the Pennsylvania-New York boundary, marginal to native as well as colonial centers, the economic value of the region is falsely inflated. In fact, the Upper Susquehanna, abandoned by the Susquehannock around 1525, was at best a shared resource zone for the 200 years before other native groups began to arrive in the 18th century. Only the Susquehannah Company's later attempts at settlement are described here in any detail.

Clearly missing from this presentation are relevant archaeological data from before 1750. The complex maneuverings of the Five Nations, leading them to becoming Six Nations in 1722 as part of their policy of attracting “allies” to this region, are not explained. Mancall is surprised (p. 46) at the survival of cultural identity among the native peoples, reflecting a stereotype rather than an understanding of the separate histories of these many native groups. Mancall also lacks an understanding of the small size of these native populations before as well as after 1500, leading him to overestimate their impact on the landscape. The native “villages” here after 1700 were rarely more than a scatter of wikiups and cabins with few inhabitants. However, their foraging lifestyles required large territories in order to sustain these small numbers.
Even horticulture as practiced by the Susquehannock or the Five Nations never provided a stable economic base, requiring that they supplement their diets with foraged resources drawn from huge areas. Mancall does note that native populations in this region were not large, but repeatedly explains this with the popularly accepted idea of "demographic catastrophe" (pp. 27, 46). Scholars working in this region find just the reverse.

The role of these people in the fur trade is also poorly portrayed, with Mancall confusing a marginal local economy with the big business of long distance trade involving native entrepreneurs. By 1700 the Five Nations controlled the serious fur trade throughout this region and beyond, with the limited catch of local hunters being a faint shadow of the greater industry.

Numerous repetitions throughout the text could have been caught by careful editing. Many important observations are unreferenced, and contradictory statements abound. The native history of this region and how it set the stage for colonial settlement is a tale which deserves to be told. Unfortunately, this volume offers only a limited view, with a beginning which detracts from the original goals of Mancall's useful research on the colonial settlement of this area.

Marshall Joseph Becker, University of Pennsylvania


George Stewart has always been one of my favorite writers. His Ordeal by Hunger, a history of overland disaster of the Donner Party in 1846-47, remains one of the more vivid pieces of historical writing. Now with the reissue of this 1959 story, Stewart fans and Civil War "buffs" can enjoy an old treat.

Having given the writer such an introductory accolade, I must retreat with one significant caveat. Stewart's and my interpretation of the significance of the battle of Gettysburg and Pickett's charge are at severe odds. He argued that if "Gettysburg provides the climax of the war, then the climax of the climax, the central moment of our history, must be Pickett's charge" (ix, my emphasis). He continued by calling Pickett's charge "a part of world-history" resulting in a truly united America which after the Civil War emerged as a world power and ultimately won World War II. One would assume, in today's context, the logic is that the Union Army's beating back Pickett ultimately led to the victory of democracy in the Cold War. Unquestionably, Stewart's claim about the significance of Pickett's charge is grossly overstated.

Yet, the reader must not allow an interpretation to spoil a good yarn. The third day at Gettysburg did provide great drama, and Stewart presents it exquisitely. Like a good playwright, Stewart sets the stage with the persona. Lee is seen as the Virginia gentleman who happens to be the masterful tactician that sets the battle into motion and then steps back from the action. Longstreet must suffer again from historical writing as the "doubting Thomas," but Stewart exonerates him from any blame for the defeat. Pickett, a competent if not outstanding officer,
becomes the figure trapped in a tragedy greater than he could ever imagine.

Stewart follows the clock quite closely as the battle unfolds. He begins the story early in the morning as the Confederates collect for the planned attack, and then throughout the day Stewart takes the reader back and forth across the lines. We know, of course, that the charge is coming eventually, but in his chapter on the "noon-day lull" we can feel the tension build. Longstreet's skepticism about the merit of the attack builds, the Confederates on the line grow anxious, Meade and the Union officers languish in a noon-day meal, and the Confederate artillery prepare their cannons. Then about 1 p.m., the Confederate cannonade begins, and the battle is set into motion. Pickett and his Virginians pour into the meadow between the opposing lines and charge into the teeth of the Union rifle fire. They breach the Union line at the angle but are outflanked and beaten back. According to Stewart's interpretation, the Union is saved and a new America ultimately emerged out of the life and death struggle at Gettysburg.

Despite the flawed interpretation, Pickett's Charge is an engrossing book, graced with excellent maps, and crafted by a masterful storyteller.

W. Wayne Smith, Indiana University of Pennsylvania


Figured Tapestry is a very important book. It will prove significant for almost all economic, social, business, and labor historians. For students of the textile industry or of Philadelphia history, it will be almost a holy text.

In this, and in his earlier book, Proprietary Capitalism, Scranton sets out to answer a group of questions: what distinguished the Philadelphia textile mills from the integrated, corporate, staple goods mills of New England, and what significance does the Philadelphia variant have for a history of American industrialization, entrepreneurs and industrial relations? How did the Philadelphia system, intact by the 1880s, fare over the next 75 years? Finally, just how exceptional is the Philadelphia textile case?

Scranton quickly identifies the special features of textile manufacturing in the Quaker City. Family owned, personally managed, and surviving on the basis of timely, specialized batch production, these small to medium sized plants were quite different from the corporate giants emerging in the same period in Lowell, Lawrence or Fall River.

Over the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Philadelphia textile firms moved forward, growing rapidly in size, wealth and numbers employed. On the way, they steered their course through a variety of challenges, although in a frequently painful and hesitant way.

One of the more important of these challenges was in labor relations. Scranton shows us that the Philadelphia firms usually relied on a work culture of mutual obligations, personalism, and paternalism to maintain labor peace and profits. At times, however, there were crises. In 1886 the manufacturers defeated the Knights of Labor and in 1903 they crushed an AFL strike. In both cases, the main issue for the workers was shorter hours. In both 1886 and 1903 the textile
firms broke the strikes by cobbling together a united front that embraced the large majority of Philadelphia textile firms. Only in the area of the protective tariff could the loom bosses achieve comparable unity.

The depression of the 1890s shook the industry badly. Prices collapsed and many firms went under. It proved impossible to transfer the cooperation shown in union busting to price fixing, market sharing or cartel/merger arrangements. In particular, the desire of employers to maintain personal, familial, direct control over the plants that were their property/career/life/patrimony, rendered the type of partial or complete abdication of power needed for success through these strategies almost impossible.

The surviving firms weathered this storm and those of the early twentieth century by a variety of expedients. They introduced new technology, explored new products and utilized new marketing techniques. The result was that the period from 1903 to 1917 was a high water mark for the firms.

The World War One era was a turning point. Major and disastrous market shifts took place in the 1920s. Especially devastating was the new practice by major customers of buying in very small lots and maintaining much smaller inventories, thus shifting almost all the risks onto the backs of the Philadelphia textile firms. As a result, the Philadelphians were forced onto the defensive and faced major drops in prices and profitability.

Already on the ropes, the industry was savaged by the early Great Depression. Textile workers and capitalists alike turned with desperate hope to the New Deal, especially the National Industrial Recovery Administration, but with few results. Only World War Two's increased demand brought a respite to the crisis. When that conflict ended, the industry rapidly and decisively declined.

The above is only a flat summary of the rich "figured tapestry" of the industry that Scranton has presented. He draws upon corporate, labor and family records to give us rich insights into the minds and actions of the people in the City of Brotherly Love's textile trades. Decisions on issues as diverse and complex as pricing, sales techniques, labor relations and the transfer of power and property from fathers to sons are brought to life.

The book moves smoothly, logically and purposefully through a well thought-out chronology. It includes important sections on the work culture of the labor force and of life among working class neighborhoods like Kensington and Manyunk. It also provides useful and important contrasts of the Philadelphia case with the examples of New England and Paterson, New Jersey.

If there is any fault to the book at all, it is its very richness and density. This is not the book to curl up with by the fire or to take to the beach. While almost always interesting, it requires close attention to grasp its many insights and to see the forest through the trees. It is very welcome then, when Scranton ends some chapters with a brief summary of conclusions, and a clear flaw when he does not.

Scranton maintains, and convinces this reader that a specialized batch industry like the Philadelphia textile sector is best understood by the kind of complex narrative he provides, rather than by "all other things equal" types of reductionism. Scranton has produced an outstanding example of the former. Hopefully, it will spawn many imitators.

*Figured Tapestry* concludes with a cautionary word. In this era of the decline of corporate
dominated, large-scale, staple manufacturing in the United States, some have called for a “return” to smaller-scale, flexible, personalistic managerial styles as a solution. Scranton warns that, just as in the Philadelphia case, this approach too has its problems and rigidities and that its success hinges upon political support for the fostering of manufacturing, support that seems unlikely to occur in the near future.

Mark McCulloch, University of Pittsburgh, Greensburg
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Robert M. Blackson
Chairman
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