Book Reviews


Ronald Schultz has written a book that is both a dispassionate intellectual history of artisanal ideology and a passionate defense of these small producers and their worldview. Schultz has traced the historical evolution of nineteenth-century working class radicalism back to its roots in the political and religious radicalism of the English Civil War. He finds that a set of related ideals and experiences were carried by artisans from seventeenth-century England to early Philadelphia. Artisanal political tactics, policies and goals can be identified as influential not only in the self-conscious Workingman's Party of 1827, but in the political struggles of the 1720s and after. He rightfully challenges those historians who have only seen a struggle between the elite and the middle ranks, or between the wealthy metropolis and the dependent periphery in early Pennsylvania. There was a third political force in Pennsylvania's capital—one with both a coherent program and a usually cohesive body of supporters. Artisans opposed both the hereditary privilege of the aristocracy and the self-interested profit-mongering of the rising bourgeoisie. Liberalism did not precede nineteenth-century working class radicalism, but liberals and workers came to define their separate class interests in tandem in the eighteenth century. It was the American Revolution, in particular, that provided American artisans with the possibility of a fully independent artisan movement, although achievement of that goal would take another generation. While their mutual hatred of aristocracy had at times produced political alliances between the middle class and artisans, more often, and increasingly over time, the small producers struggled to assert their worth and autonomy against what they saw as the sneering parasitism of wealthy property owners.

The origin of small-producer politics can be found in a deeply held moral view of the world. Artisans knew the social utility of their labor and demanded the political rights they felt should flow from their contributions to society. It was an ethic grounded in material circumstances, particularly in shop floor relationships, engendered by the production practices of independent skilled artisans. Their skills
required their independent judgment, which was exercised through “overarching norms of mutuality and cooperation.” Craftsmen experienced an “everyday democracy in action” as long as work was “structured like a family (pp. 6-7).” From this base would develop the labor theory of value, political democracy and, ultimately, American socialism. Their ideas would sharpen even as the possibility of economic and social independence eroded under the pressures of developing capitalism. Schultz has clearly and eloquently delineated the evolution of small-producer ideology. He has more than fulfilled his hope that “the reader will be drawn closer to the experience of the tailor, carpenter, and shoemaker.” The anger of artisans at the prerogatives of the wealthy is palpable throughout the book.

Schultz has successfully managed to make the artisanal critique of capitalism come alive. But the book has the defects of its qualities. The condescension of the wealthy toward the artisan is examined in detail, but the condescension of the artisan toward women, unskilled labor, bound labor, and people of color, so clearly present in the evidence cited, is largely unexplored by the author. That William Bull inveighs against a parish priest for being as likely to “use” women as he himself has done (p. 8) hardly argues a concern for a “collective well-being of the whole” that is given as a universal feature of small producer thought on the previous page, unless, of course, women don’t count. What does it mean that Philadelphia typographers agreed to act equitably “as men towards men” (p. 121) at a time when some important printers were women? Why is the entrance of women and children into the factories categorized as displacing “skilled male labor” (pp. 170-171) when many of the jobs held by women had not previously existed and were part of a new sexual division of labor that more often excluded women? It may be that men saw women only as sexual objects, as outsiders, and as potential competitors, who should properly be at home supported by a workman earning a competent wage, but Schultz misses an opportunity to examine critically the limitations of cooperation and mutuality, or to explore the implications of the family metaphor employed by artisans. The treatment of race relations is even less nuanced. The end of slavery and indentured servitude in the late colonial period is described as if it were an unfortunate event, because it “rent the finely knit social fabric” of the city, and contributed to “declining fortunes” among craftsmen. Well, yes, freedom did destroy a source of cheap labor, but who is the parasite now? And to justify the use of bound labor because “heavy and repetitious labor was required in every trade” (p.
40) hardly supports the claim of workplace democracy hailed at the beginning of the book. The closest Schultz comes to a critical reading is when he admits that during the War of 1812, "unexamined racism" characterized "even the advocates of democracy." But this too is over-simplified, since it was not the bourgeoisie but artisans who dominated the Pennsylvania Abolition Society.

The book elevates the small producer to the status of hero. Schultz is absolutely right that artisans were frequently exploited and oppressed and that they had a moral vision of the community that was often superior to the self-interest of liberals, but artisans were not always right, nor were their opponents always wrong. For example, Quaker merchants' pacifism was not a "pretense" during the revolutionary war (p. 46), and sanitary measures enacted in the 1790s were less likely to be a "blatantly hegemonic" design "to impose a ruling-class view of order and cleanliness on the city" (p. 144) than a belated response to decades of complaints from the poor about unhealthy conditions, even if one person signing himself "A Mechanic" wrote to complain about the new regulations. This is a partisan account. It is fiery, eloquent, and impassioned. There is much of value here for those interested in labor, economic, political, and intellectual history, but the reader should consult recent work on gender, race, labor, and society to appreciate the distance between the supposedly universal ideals espoused by small producers and the more complicated realities of a period when not everyone was white, male, and skilled. Susan E. Klepp, Rider College


Richard Bushman's *Refinement of America* is a wonderful book about a puzzling problem. Why did Americans, in even greater numbers between 1700 and 1850, embrace the culture of the English aristocracy? As Bushman reveals in this beautifully-illustrated book, we can see the progress of gentility. Every year more Americans built spacious homes with formal parlors, stocked with tea services, fine furniture, and linens. They surrounded their homes with manicured gardens and ornamental plants. They bought courtesy books, took dancing lessons, learned the piano, and read sentimental novels. They emulated the manners, gestures, and polite address of fashionable society. Why?
The colonial elite, like Britain's provincial elites, took up gentility in the eighteenth century to share in the glory of British civilization and to assert their “class authority (404).” But why did genteel values spread to the middle class and to the aspiring poor after the Revolution? Why did plain republicans embrace aristocratic culture at the moment they triumphed over aristocracy? Genteel culture had the anti-democratic “cultural power” to exclude and intimidate, but it also had “the power to confirm identity”—to give common people terms on which they could achieve “honor and glory” (405, 412). It didn’t ask citizens to bow before their superiors. It asked them to take up an ideal everyone could pursue. “Vernacular gentility” domesticated aristocratic culture, and made it more a matter of home and hearth than social display.

Gentility nevertheless extracted a price from the middle class and the poor. The elite still looked down on their brand of gentility. They had to worry about their appearance and brace themselves for criticism. Gentility confined women, held most farmers and workers at arm’s length, and excluded blacks. Gentility thus lost ground to feminism, class consciousness, and black power after 1850, and it never had the influence among Americans that republicanism or capitalism or Christianity did. But it remains powerful, almost second nature, in all classes in American society.

Bushman is a superb interpreter of material culture. He recognizes that genteel consumption and display are purposeful. They signaled participation in a culture that valued civility, beauty, feeling, and sensitivity. Bushman is also a gifted interpreter of novels and letters, whether he is introducing us to the society and culture of northern Delaware or asking us to reconsider Harriet Beecher Stowe’s Oldtown Folks.

My only reservation is that The Refinement of America sometimes loses touch with the spirit of social history. Genteel culture divided families and communities more deeply than Bushman allows. Genteel people could be hard on recalcitrant spouses and children (witness the fate of Wallace in Catherine Sedgwick’s Home). They denied the ungenteel loans and partnerships. They drove some people away from the churches they dominated. Bushman assumes that the “plain” republican culture of the 1840s represented the traditional, indigenous culture of the ungenteel. But there is reason to believe it was a new culture, born to oppose gentility, among other things.
Bushman sympathizes with encompassing cultural ideals. He would like to see the birth of an ideal founded on the “indigenous” middle-class values of industry, piety, and compassion. This is a worthy enterprise. But it may be a hard sell. The rich and the poor may mind Bushman's assertion that industry is the property of the middle class. Social observers he disagrees with may mind being called “shallow.” American culture might be better, more genuinely republican, if we look to the middle class and the industrious poor for our culture, but only if we own our prejudices, as The Refinement of Culture reminds us we should.

Randolph Roth, Ohio State University

By Stephen G. Warfel. A Patch of Land Owned by the Company.

Eckley, Pennsylvania, won notoriety as the anthracite coal patch that Paramount Studios transformed into the set for The Molly Maguires. After Paramount turned back the clock by burying utility lines and covering paved streets with dirt, the Commonwealth acquired the village in 1971 for development as an historic site. Eckley subsequently became a living history museum administered by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission.

In 1991 Stephen G. Warfel, Senior Curator of Archaeology at the State Museum of Pennsylvania, directed a field school at Eckley for archaeology students from Pennsylvania State University. Their project in historical archaeology encompassed House Lots 117 and 119 upon which a double or semi-detached company house is located. Future plans included historical restoration of House 119 to represent the period 1946-1950. The field school’s task was “to inform restoration plans and recover buried information (p. 4).” A Patch of Land Owned by the Company is Warfel’s report, and the text is in the format and style of a report illustrated by photographs, drawings, and tables. Appendices enumerating artifacts consume almost half of the volume.

Historical archaeology combines the methodologies of two disciplines to gain a more complete understanding of the past. Because documentary evidence was limited to tax records and an 1873 map, oral history interviews with families who previously occupied House 119 and Eckley residents provided information about
the structure and lots. The archaeological investigation, however, was the primary topic. Warfel explained the on-site preparations, such as establishment of the grid, bench mark, and datum, and described the locations of forty-five excavated test pits. The test pits were distributed among the front, rear, and side yards of both lots, and a few were as large as five feet square. Test pit profiles varied in stratigraphic complexity and included fill to level a portion of Lot 119, soil dug from the basement, charcoal from burned underbrush, coal ashes, and fill from the Paramount production. Postholes and postmolds indicated that fences once separated the two lots as well as the structure from the street. The field school harvested over 13,500 artifacts including a religious medal, coins, ceramic shards, nails, cinders, bottles, and toys, but "[f]ew objects of individual . . . significance were found (p. 74)."

The field school was unable to confirm the suspected construction period of 1876-1877, but it established that the side porches, rear additions, and summer kitchens were built contemporaneously with the main structure. The plethora of artifacts enabled Warfel to construct artifact profiles for various artifact groups or classifications that made it possible to ascertain the historic use of selected site areas by the relative frequency of individual artifacts that comprised the different groups. Warfel also compared artifacts from Lots 117 and 119 with those from an excavated lot occupied by the doctor's office to test the socioeconomic model of Eckley's settlement. According to the model, occupants' social status and economic power determined the location and size of their dwellings, but Warfel concluded that the model "cannot be supported by the archaeological evidence (p. 100)." While Warfel admitted that the three-lot sample was small, some of his conclusions may be premature, especially his assertion that the Catholic medal "reflects the religious affiliation of House #117's former occupants (p. 48)" given that no proof exists that the medal found in the yard belonged to an occupant of the house.

Social historians may find Warfel's study useful for its artifact inventory and analysis, which provide archaeological evidence that illuminates the material culture of coal-patch life. Historians unfamiliar with historical archaeology will find Warfel's book an interesting case study for an introduction to the subject. The reasonable price makes this volume an attractive possibility for use in introductory courses in public history or archaeology.

Robert M. Blackson, Kutztown University


These two quarto publications are examples of local history. Dr. Snyder, a prolific scholar during his tenure at SUNY, Oswego (including *The Jacksonian Heritage: Pennsylvania Politics*), continued, after his retirement, to research "local history." His subjects include a bicentennial history of Union County in 1976 and *Buggy Town, An Era in American Transportation* in 1984. This work is a visual gem. Life in a "rural town" in central Pennsylvania is delineated for the local folk. Although uncritical, it is well written, and the topics are balanced from the early years to the present. The chapters, with numerous black and white photographs, deal with pioneering, religious and social life, municipal gifts, transportation (the coming of the railroad and trolley), wars (the Civil War and the two World Wars), sports, education, and the usual businesses (including a long-tenured buggy and auto body industry). Having a local newspaper file and photos enhances Snyder's research. Especially noteworthy is the town's energy in preserving its transportation history with a "Buggy Museum." Unique also is a cleverly written photographic "journey" through the town in 1900. Although there is a ten-page index, a table of contents, a map of Union County and some data on population would have been helpful.

Weber's work is a "labor of love" which required ten years to complete. A history teacher in the Indiana School District, she wanted to "preserve . . . the history of a mining town before it is lost forever (p. iv)." She has accomplished that goal. Vintondale, a coal patch town in Blacklick Valley is in western Cambria County. Using over a hundred personal interviews, county and newspaper records, photographs from private sources and, especially, a collection of company records and photographs found in her grandfather's attic, she has told a compelling story of labor, industrial, social, and ethnic history. Written in an informal, conversational style, she traces the early industry at Eliza Iron Furnace, and the story of the land companies which led to lumbering, coal and railroads. There are, then, biographical sketches of the "coal barons" (she never uses that term), especially of W. Delano, "the" New Yorker who would dominate the coal period of the valley. Coal production history is described using quantitative data including annual reports of the coal
companies and mine superintendents' diaries. Only ten pages are devoted to union activity up to 1930. Then she begins the usual town history format, i.e., Vintondale before World War I, first families, improvements, ethnic heritage and "minorities", public services, education, businesses (including data from hotel registers), churches, and a final chapter on "The Notorious Side" (drinking, fights, the "Black Hand", and the KKK). Inserted, inexplicably, in the middle of the work is a fifteen-page "Memories of Vintondale" by Frances Pluchinsky. In seven brief chapters, she describes coal patch life in a clear and fascinating manner.

Weber devotes thirty-seven pages to "Wehrum", a former coal patch. Again, using company data and photographs, she describes life and labor there, particularly the mine explosion of 1909. Claghorn, another Delano patch from 1903 till 1924, is described in ten pages. Graceton, in southern Indiana County, receives two pages. The balance of the work contains nineteen appendixes, a total of 175 pages. These data are from the attic cache, and state and county sources. They include Vintondale and Brachen birth and death certificates, 1906-21; annual company reports, of mine accidents, prosecutions, evictions, fires, and balance sheets; lists of company fatalities, by year; mine diary data, by year; fires; privately owned lots; tax assessor's records; obituaries, including Wehrum; and, finally, a translation of the markers in the Wehrum Cemetery. There is no comment on or analysis of these data.

Weber provides an extended table of contents. However, there is no index and the "Bibliographies" are poorly delineated. Although there are over two hundred photographs, many of them excellent, they are too often not in their proper locations, and their captions are often vague. There are numerous typos and the maps are poorly chosen and reproduced. This work seems to be the result of a number of projects that were put together in a rather procrustean fashion. More attention should be given to the editing process in a promised volume two.

J. K. Folmar, *California University of Pennsylvania*

By Terry Radtke. *The History of the Pennsylvania American Legion.*


Not only Legionnaires, but all those interested in Pennsylvania history will enjoy and learn from Terry Radtke's fine history of the state's American Legion. By
commissioning Radtke, a professional historian of the twentieth century, to write its official history in a scholarly, uncensored way, the Pennsylvania Department of the Legion has once more demonstrated the sense of vision and leadership which has made it the most numerous and ranked it among the most active departments in the nation.

The Pennsylvania Legion was instrumental in shaping the national organization. Pennsylvanians Eric Fisher Wood and Franklin D'Olier, the first national commander, were among the inner circle which brought the Legion into existence immediately following World War I. John Thomas Taylor, the Legion's principal Washington lobbyist for three decades, was a Philadelphia lawyer of the Penrose machine. From employment drives for World War I veterans during the Great Depression to building houses for homeless Vietnam veterans, Pennsylvania legionnaires have worked continuously to better the lot of all veterans, not just members.

Radtke does not skirt over incidents such as the Legion's role in firing two leftist teachers at West Chester State Normal College in 1927 or strikebreaking activities by some posts in the 1930s. On the other hand, the presence and acceptance on equal terms of black, women, and labor posts in the Pennsylvania Legion are also noted. The Legion's prominence in World War II civil defense and athletic, educational, and charitable activities in many localities properly forms a major part of Radtke's story.

Fine illustrations and a detailed account of the epidemic of Legionnaires' Disease which afflicted those who attended the Philadelphia Convention in 1976 enhance an excellent book. Lengthy appendices list Legion officers, whom I imagine will be a major market for the volume. But I suspect most Pennsylvanians, and even many Legionnaires, will be amazed at the diversity and importance of the organization's lobbying for veterans and patriotic causes and its local community functions. This fast-paced, informative narrative reflects credit on the Pennsylvania Legion and historian Radtke.

William Pencak, Penn State University; Editor, Pennsylvania History


With a slightly updated introductory overview, this is a reprint of the 1980 edition of *American Mosaic.* It comprises 16 edited interviews with first-generation immigrants who entered the United States between 1895 and 1979. The collection includes persons from more than fifty geographic regions, primarily countries. Interested in the personal drama of immigration and adaptation as well as the different reasons for emigrating, the editors selected people to be interviewed for their "human story," not their statistical significance. No specific countries of origin or geographic areas in the United States are stressed. Although the oral histories of a few prominent immigrants are included, the emphasis is decidedly on ordinary persons.

*American Mosaic* is divided into three parts that roughly reflect chronological periods. Part I, "The Last of the Old: The Traditional Immigrants," covers the period prior to the outbreak of World War II. "The Wartime Influx: Heroes, Victims, Survivors" consists of persons who entered the United States during the war and into the mid-1950s. The final part, "Immigration: A Continuing Process," includes some representatives from traditional European origins, but this section also reflects the changing trends in American immigration after 1965. Although the collection is divided chronologically, the selections within each division are not arranged by date, geographic origin, or any other discernible unifying characteristic.

Morrison and Zabusky have compiled a collection of perceptive interviews that reveal, often poignantly, the immigration experience and its many complexities. Eschewing the ethnic-specific approach, they provide a cross-section sensitive to the gender, age, and socio-economic as well as other differences within and among America's immigrants. Special attention is given to the diverse reasons persons left their homelands and to varied experiences in the United States.

But *American Mosaic* has its shortcomings. The introductory overview, revised to outline immigration trends and legislation since 1980, makes no reference to the Refugee Act of 1980. The rationale for the format and arrangement of selections within the book's three chronological parts is not readily apparent. Headnotes contain both subjective and concrete descriptions of the interviewees' physical appearance, demeanor, and personality traits. In many instances, these depictions come
perilously close to being stereotypical. In a collection sensitive to including interviews with both males and females, it is unfortunate that the revisions in the introductory overview did not involve making those pronouns that refer to “the immigrant” gender-neutral instead of consistently masculine. The decision to identify persons by country of origin instead of ethnic group is also unfortunate. For immigrants from multi-ethnic countries such as “Yugoslavia,” “Czechoslovakia,” and the “USSR,” ethnic identity could be a potent factor influencing both the decision to emigrate and subsequent experiences in the United States. Persons reading the life histories of immigrants should be made aware of their specific ethnic identities. Such criticisms notwithstanding, this is a valuable collection that provides the public and scholars a first-hand look into the lives and thoughts of persons who were part of the epic movement that helped make the United States a multicultural nation.

June Granatir Alexander, University of Cincinnati

By David Hackett Fischer and James C. Kelly, *Away, I'm Bound Away: Virginia and the Westward Movement.*


As this fascinating catalog of an obviously impressive exhibition at the Virginia Historical Society (held from October 6, 1993 through May 31, 1994) makes clear, it was less the United States than the Commonwealth of Virginia that conquered trans-Appalachian North America in the decades following the American Revolution. In the early nineteenth century, tens of thousands of Virginians abandoned the Old Dominion to move west. Some left voluntarily, in search of better living conditions or because of their opposition to slavery (or both); many others left involuntarily, African-Americans sold to clear land and work on new plantations in Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Missouri, and Louisiana.

Whether they were white or black, migrating Virginians had a enormous impact on their new homes. Many became important political leaders and successful entrepreneurs west of the Appalachians. But the state’s influence was hardly limited to the relatively familiar public world of business and politics. In everything from family structure to architecture, manners to religion, emigrants from the largest, oldest, and richest state in the Union made trans-Appalachia something close to
Greater Virginia.

Scholars will not find this idea new. Rather, the achievement of *Away, I'm Bound Away* is the richness of the evidence its authors use to support and develop their thesis. A clearly-written introduction ably ties the exhibition into the never-ending and increasingly unproductive scholarly debate about the significance of the American frontier and details “Movement” to, within, and beyond Virginia. Most interesting are the comparisons Fischer and Kelly make between the patterns of settlement in seventeenth-century Virginia and nineteenth-century trans-Appalachia. They find that migrants neither created cultures anew in different settings nor simply recreated the worlds in which they had been born. Just as the colony of Virginia was a variation on English themes, so too were Mississippi, Illinois, and other trans-Appalachian states to a significant degree variations on Virginia themes. More than an exhibition catalog, *Away, I'm Bound Away* is revisionist history argued with subtlety and ample evidence.

There is, moreover, plenty in this book to command the attention of people uninterested in historiographical arguments. Studying the details of the exhibition and looking at the dozens of wonderful pictures (many of them in color) and maps is like reading an encyclopedia—in the most positive sense. *Away, I'm Bound Away* will reward both thorough, reflective readers and those simply interested in learning intriguing facts at their leisure. All will come away with a vivid sense of the enormously important, even decisive, roles played by Virginians, black and white, female and male, in the expansion of the United States in the early nineteenth century.

Andrew Cayton, *Miami University of Ohio*

By David W. Carmicheal. *Organizing Archival Records: A Practical Method of Arrangement and Description for Small Archives.*

(Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1993. $9.95.)

The lack of professional management of archives in smaller historical organizations remains a large problem for the archival profession. Despite limited resources, often preventing the hiring of an archival staff, many smaller historical organizations have strong archival collections that, if accessible, would be of great
use to historians. The existing professional literature is often too technical for organizations that must rely on novice archivists who possess little or no formal training. What these organizations need for staff instruction is a simple manual, one that presents the tasks and basic principles needed to arrange properly and describe archival material.

To such an end, David Carmicheal has produced a splendid and long-overdue book that will enable smaller repositories to approach their archival holdings with the same professional care as the larger institutions. Carmicheal provides an excellent explanation, in simple terms, of the archival arrangement and description process. He also includes helpful exercises that allow people in charge of archival collections to visualize how the work is done without touching the material, and thus averting potential disasters.

In his introduction, Carmicheal rightfully states that there are numerous ways to process and control archival material and that he is only offering one approach. This approach, though limiting, is perfectly suited to his audience and will be less confusing to people who are trying to manage archival material. Carmicheal has structured the book to take the reader step-by-step through the life cycle of a donation. He includes a good section on how to accession and catalog archival material that was in disarray. Other sections explain the need to keep material in the original order, how to conduct simple and inexpensive conservation work, and how to control the archival material with collection and accession numbers. Information from all of these sections is reinforced by valuable exercises in the rear of the book which provide correct answers and the rationale behind them. They make it easier for the archivist to advance from the exercises to working with actual material.

The only area where I feel Carmicheal provides too little information is in his directions on how physically to arrange archival material. While he rightfully begs people to maintain provenance, or the material's original order, he does not provide a method for archivists to handle material that arrives at the repository in disarray. Organizing that material in a logical manner, usually by the type of document (correspondence, financial material, etc.), is an important task for the archivists and will allow them to process valuable, but messy, material. Carmicheal ignores the possibility that archival material may reach a repository in overstuffed boxes or garbage bags. Therefore he fails to offer any viable solutions to those problems.
While this book will have little interest for archivists with advanced education or work experience, people thrust into the position of archivist will find this book extremely useful. Hopefully, this book will be joined by others to assist archivists in small repositories to gain control of their material, and allow them to document their communities with the same capacity as larger repositories in Pittsburgh and Philadelphia.

Corey Seeman, *Head of Reference and Processing, Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh, Pa.*