

if these scholars and others are going to make a more substantial move beyond the framework of the middle ground.

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Thomas Dublin and Walter Licht. *The Face of Decline: The Pennsylvania Anthracite Region in the Twentieth Century*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005. Pp. 275, appendices, notes, bibliography, acknowledgements, index. Paperback \$24.95).

Recent studies of deindustrialization capture the phenomenon as multi-dimensional and exceedingly complex. Historians have documented the growth of the core industries that drove an industrial revolution, like railroads, coal, and steel, and have demonstrated the troubling fault lines in the industries before the economic crisis of the 1930s. Thomas Dublin (SUNY-Binghamton) and Walter Licht (University of Pennsylvania), finding economic decline in Pennsylvania's anthracite region to be uneven yet persistent, continue this story of decline through the twentieth century. Still, measures of declining tonnage or annual employment figures fail to capture how communities, former mineworkers, and their families faced industrial collapse. We may tabulate collieries' closings and enumerate dwindling jobs, but the meanings of these effects need to be understood in personal terms. Dublin and Licht's new study *The Face of Decline* offers just this perspective.

"Unemployment," "displaced worker," and even "diaspora" are common descriptors of deindustrialization in Pennsylvania. While such terms may have captured national headlines in the 1970s and 1980s, anthracite coal communities in Pennsylvania's Lackawanna, Luzerne, Carbon, and Schuylkill counties had been facing such economic and social dislocations for generations. There, the mining industry's decline began in 1917 after a highpoint in that year's reported coal production of 100 million tons. Dublin and Licht focus on an accelerated "second stage of decline" in the post-World War II decades and have written a valuable contribution to historians' understanding of causes, effects, and, most notably, the meanings of deindustrialization which the people of anthracite mining communities who experienced this long-term economic transformation constructed. The authors use several lenses to view deindustrialization over decades and through generations of

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working families' lives: at the economic region dominated by the coal mining industry; at governmental, organizational, and institutional responses to decline at the local, state, and national levels; and quantitative profiles of demographic change across the northern, central, and southern coal fields. Most commendable are the qualitative responses offered by residents and community organizations contained in the authors' collection of nearly 100 oral interviews and hundreds of written questionnaires whose stories "tell of crisis, coping, resilience, and love of place" (p. 1).

*The Face of Decline* begins with a useful synthesis of scholarship in order to familiarize readers with anthracite's historical territory: the coal's formation in prehistoric times through the region's early industrial development during the nineteenth century. Because it existed in deep, often vertically pitched, veins in northeastern Pennsylvania, anthracite's extraction and utility was different from that of bituminous, or "soft coal," located in the middle and western part of the state. The authors review the nineteenth century's early experimentation with "stone coal," the development of transportation networks (canals and early railroads), the establishment of coal mining companies, and their cartelization by the century's end to control this fuel. Following this, we are introduced to early migrants to the region, immigrants and the development of their tight-knit ethnic communities, ways of life in patch towns, and increasing labor unrest during the late nineteenth century. The maturation of the industry and its capital and labor relations during the first two decades of the twentieth century are the subjects of the second chapter. Between the 1902 coal strike and the Great Depression anthracite communities experienced greater prosperity despite numerous and often unsuccessful strikes. Both chapters offer a solid survey of labor and industrial histories, including those by Perry Blatz, Harold Aurand, John Bodnar, and Donald Miller and Richard Sharpless, to establish the dominance of coal and railroads to the economic life of the region and to set up a transformative decade – the 1930s.

It was during the Depression's years when mineworkers "took the lead in developing creative responses to the economic crisis" (p. 6). Through collective protests workers sought to equalize working time; "bootleg" coal, and join an alternative union, the United Anthracite Miners of Pennsylvania. Such strategies fundamentally challenged mine operators' prerogatives, demanded alternative courses from the UMWA, and underscored the ineffectiveness of the New Deal's remedies. This working class mutualism, however, did not stem the tide of decline and institutional responses eclipsed these

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grassroots strategies during the post-World War II years. The authors' analysis of the interplay of corporate, union, and governmental forces is the conceptual and organizational framework for the next three chapters, the study's core.

After a brief review of expanded coal production during World War II, the fourth chapter, "Reprieve and Final Collapse, 1940-1970," analyzes the final decline of the anthracite industry through case studies of three dominant companies: Lehigh Coal & Navigation Company, located in Carbon County's Panther Valley; Glen Alden Coal Company, in the northern anthracite field; and Philadelphia & Reading Coal & Iron, in the southern Schuylkill coal basin. During the 1950s, the changing nature of corporate structures included the mining companies' divestment of coal lands and operations and the diversification of their productive holdings, such that by the 1960s the word "coal" had been dropped from each of these conglomerate's names. Dublin and Licht spare little criticism for the UMWA's inattention to anthracite mineworkers' plight in this period—the organization maintained its historical concern with the bituminous coal industry and devolved through corrupt leaders and practices. A predatory capitalism by financial interests unconnected to the region and the union's neglect once again left the area's fate to local hands.

Efforts to reindustrialize the anthracite region by the federal government, state government, and several municipal industrial development associations are the subjects of the next chapter, and the authors effectively use records from Pennsylvania Power and Light Company's Industrial Development Department to track over 1200 firms from the 1940s to the 1980s. Seemingly, there was little debate among community leaders who came to preside over "industrial development" associations such as Hazelton's Community Area New Development Organization (CAN DO): their plan was to reindustrialize by enticing companies that promised blue-collar manufacturing jobs to migrate to the area, by building industrial parks, and extending favorable leasing and tax rates to relocating companies. The authors sift critically through Chamber of Commerce boosterism and fundraising promises. In their estimation, these measures come up short. Likewise, Dublin and Licht's survey of residents' own evaluations reflect a similar assessment at the uneven, if not dismal, record of revitalization.

Chapter Six, "Personal Responses to Decline: Fathers and Mothers, 1945-1990," showcases the oral histories and begins with a statistical overview of employment patterns and geographic mobility in the region by

age cohorts and life-stage, drawn from the 1920 manuscript census and the Public Use Microdata Samples for 1930-1990. Interviews with both men and women revealed the strategies of “persisters,” those who remained in their communities, and “out-migrants,” (approximately one-quarter of the interviewees) who permanently sought employment outside of the region. A third category, “commuters,” included the husband/father who often traveled significant distances to work. For some respondents, this became a step in the process of out-migration. While the oral histories narrow to the Panther Valley, from Tamaqua to Jim Thorpe, the temporal scope of the chapter expands to capture how this parental generation, as adults and as retirees, responded to the anthracite industry’s collapse.

The chapter yields an important gendered analysis of how men and women faced declining economic opportunities in different ways. A “blurring of gender roles” created tension and resentment as patriarchal traditions eroded. This also shaped the sons’ and daughters’ life choices, subjects explored through written surveys from Panther Valley High School graduates. Parents encouraged their children to pursue higher levels of education and prepare for careers that would, undoubtedly, take them away from the region, and testimony from these sons and daughters confirmed this explicit advice as well as the unspoken expectations of their parents: “[w]hile my father didn’t send me to college he did something I will always remember. He would not let me work in or around the mines” (p. 162). Such sentiments reflect that the closing of the mines was a gradual process, and because of the economic hardships families in the region endured, the children had a generation’s worth of experience upon which to draw in order to face their own economic instability and uneven transition into a post-industrial economy.

The survey of two generations of personal experiences, however, reveals much more than economic motives in their search for employment or in their ability to retire. In the study’s compelling final chapter, “Legacies,” the authors succeed in substantively adding a human “face” (or many faces) to economic crises, revealing persistence, resilience, and maintenance of community connections. Unlike Dublin’s earlier book, *When the Mines Closed*, there is little nostalgia expressed by the respondents about the necessity of children or neighbors to move away; for those who did relocate, they did not move far. The authors are at times rather surprised at the efforts of families to remain in the region. Juxtaposed with personal stories are many photographs, especially those taken by George Harvan in the 1960s, which provide a visual portfolio of empty coal cars, sealed mine entrances, abandoned store fronts,

and a ravaged landscape. The authors offer some comparisons between the anthracite region's industrial decline and those occurring internationally, with particular reference to coal mining in Great Britain. This is an attempt, albeit brief, to suggest other governmental and institutional actions that might have offset economic crises or ameliorate their worst effects. Simultaneously, *The Face of Decline* is a familiar story and a distinctive one; in the 500-square mile area rich with unique coal we find a region that correlates to and reflects the economic health of the state and the mid-Atlantic, and holds lessons for a national story of economic exigencies and reindustrialization trials and errors during the second half of the twentieth century. Residents' (and former residents') recollections and, at times, contested narratives, capture generations of reactions and strategies to cope with long-term economic transformations.

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Susan Kalter (editor). *Benjamin Franklin, Pennsylvania, and the First Nations: The Treaties of 1736-1762*. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2006. Pp. xiv, 453. Glossary, index. \$45.00).

The word *treaty* may call to mind a scribed, signed, and sealed document recording a legal agreement between several European nations. To eighteenth-century Native North Americans, however, "treaty" also referred to the actual diplomatic conference during which they hashed out interethnic agreements. These conferences were elaborate affairs, attended by hundreds of Indian men, women, and children and equally-large numbers of white officials, translators, scribes, and onlookers. They commonly featured lavish feasting, dancing, gift exchanges, and richly-metaphorical speeches by both Indian and European speakers, who endeavored through their words to create a ceremonial atmosphere conducive to peace. Indian treaties were, in short, dramatic spectacles, jointly choreographed by their Indian and European participants. Benjamin Franklin viewed them as a form of Native American literature, akin to a stage play, and believed there might be a literary market for transcripts of treaty conferences. Not one to avoid commercial experiments, Franklin, between 1736 and 1762, published the minutes of fourteen treaties between the government of Pennsylvania (joined periodically

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