

BOOK REVIEWS

Voyagers to the West: A Passage in the Peopling of America on the Eve of the Revolution. By Bernard Bailyn. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986. Pp. xxvii, 668. \$30.00.)

More than a decade ago, Bernard Bailyn began work upon a new and sweeping narrative of what he described as the fundamental fact of early American history, the massive transfer of peoples from Europe and Africa to the North American continent. *Voyagers to the West*, which follows closely upon an introductory essay, *The Peopling of British North America: An Introduction*, provides the first substantive look at his approach. Where the *Peopling* volume was brief and at times elusive, *Voyagers* is full, clear and comprehensive. And where the introductory essay was controversial and occasionally problematic, its successor maintains a surer footing throughout.

The particular subject of *Voyagers to the West* is the massive influx of emigrants from Britain to North America in the decade or so just before the American Revolution. Had there been no Revolution, Bailyn writes, "History would have recorded more clearly than it has the . . . extraordinary flood of immigration" during those years, and the rapid spread of inland settlement that grew out of it. The flow of emigration in those years accelerated rapidly until, just before it was interrupted, such places as the Scottish Highlands were possessed with an emigration mania that became a matter of debate at the highest levels among the imperial authorities.

The focus of the book is not the whole of that emigration, but rather those emigrants who left at its height, during the last two years before the disruption. As policymakers began to worry about that accelerating exodus, they directed customs officials to keep a record of the passengers on emigrant ships, along with their destinations and reasons for leaving. The results of those inquiries, involving more than nine thousand emigrants, are housed in the Public Record Office. They have been used before, but they had never been systematically analyzed. By correlating that data with information garnered from shipping notices in colonial newspapers, Bailyn has produced a truly remarkable account.

The results of that investigation are striking. From his probe of the register, Bailyn finds not one but two main patterns of emigration. One, flowing chiefly from London and the southern English countryside, built upon a pattern that had developed throughout the century. That "metropolitan" emigration consisted overwhelmingly of young, unmarried men, who traveled principally as indentured servants to the midsection of colonial America, the three-colony region Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia. It included a large proportion of skilled workers.

The second pattern, comprising emigrants from northern England and Scotland, was altogether different. It consisted not primarily of single males but of whole families, and they traveled as free passengers rather than under indentures. Most were farmers, with a substantial minority of weavers and spinners from Scotland's depressed textile regions. They journeyed not to the

well-settled colonies, but to the periphery, to Nova Scotia and East and West Florida, and to the backcountries of Pennsylvania and especially North Carolina and New York. That "provincial" emigration provided most of the increase in numbers and spawned a sudden and rapid development of the colonial frontiers.

All of this is as persuasive as it is original. Only when he applies some of the more generalized themes from the *Peopling* volume does one find reason to quibble. Thus while Bailyn charts in minute detail the tremendous variety of immigrant experience, his overall emphasis is clearly upbeat. These were not downtrodden exiles fleeing from poverty and despair but hopeful venturers hoarding their few possessions in the hopes of preserving a way of life, or making a better one, and most of all, living "independent." Thus he chooses to note the two-fifths of the Scottish voyagers who indicated to customs agents that they were not fleeing desperate conditions rather than the group, half again as large, who said they were. He emphasizes too that nine-tenths of the English free passengers suggested that they were pulled rather than pushed to America, while conceding that the majority who indented themselves surely comprised the least prosperous segment of the emigrating population.

One would like to find also, in a book as extensive as this, more substantial consideration of the environments those emigrants departed. One is left to wonder how to account for the dramatic differences he demonstrates between the southern and northern patterns of emigration. Bailyn devotes some attention to the labor situation in London and the major towns but makes only passing reference to an agricultural revolution in Yorkshire, and to a collapse of the Highland social hierarchy after the '45; nowhere does he attempt to explain how the rage for emigration, and the general fascination with America, could become general throughout western Scotland, Lowland as well as Highland, among the professional classes as well as the lower. It is worth noting that Rab Houston's recent *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity* has noted a similar discrepancy between social patterns found in northern and southern Britain, which he has explained in broader cultural terms.

None of this should take away from Bailyn's achievement. It highlights a neglected phase of emigration and restores the Anglo-American, or rather British-American, focus to the last days of the colonial period. It convincingly portrays a dramatically new kind of imperial penetration of the colonial frontiers, as a surge of settlers swarmed through the backcountry that surrounded the established colonial settlements. One can only hope that his succeeding volumes will contribute as much to our understanding of the colonial place in a transatlantic world.

State University of New York
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NED LANDSMAN

The Master Builders: A History of the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of Pennsylvania. Volume I: 1731-1873. By Wayne A. Huss. (Philadelphia: Grand Lodge F. & A.M. of Pennsylvania, 1986. Pp. xi, 327. \$22.95.)

There has been a great need for scholarly studies concerning the histories of fraternalism, secret societies, and voluntary associations in America. As the first

of three volumes about the history of the Masonic Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, *The Master Builders*, in many ways, helps to fill this scholarly void. Written by Wayne A. Huss, who did his doctoral dissertation on Freemasonry in Pennsylvania, this work is based on the extensive primary materials from the rich collection of the grand lodge and reflects careful and comprehensive research. It contains eight chronologically arranged chapters, focuses on the institutional functions and operations of the grand lodge, and vividly explains the role of Masonry in Pennsylvania from 1731 to 1873.

Topics and developments regarding the British origins of the Craft and the evolution of the order in eighteenth-century Pennsylvania are examined in the first four chapters. The first chapter centers on an analysis of the emergence of the Modern and Ancient Grand Lodges in England; Huss well describes the transition from Operative to Speculative Free-masonry, the structure and leadership of the Modern Grand Lodge, and the rites and symbols of this new organization. He suggests the connections of Modern Masonry to the cultural and social life of London, but unfortunately does not refer to the recent views of Margaret Jacob relating to the impact of Enlightenment ideas upon the shaping of the order. The author, however, offers a perceptive account of the Ancient Grand Lodge, explaining how this body arose, functioned, and successfully rivaled the Moderns. The next three chapters are quite impressive, for Huss is at his best in demonstrating how Modern and Ancient Masonry operated in eighteenth-century Pennsylvania. Despite jurisdictional disputes, the Modern Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania was consolidated by the 1730s, was supervised by such grand lodge officers as William Allen and Benjamin Franklin, and recruited members from various middle-class groups to its local lodges. The author cogently argues that because of ritualistic disputes, Ancient Masonry assumed a predominant position in Pennsylvania by the 1760s, developed a middle and lower middle-class base, and expanded its vast jurisdiction to lodges outside of the commonwealth by the 1770s. There are stimulating sections about the role of Ancient military lodges during the American Revolution, about the formation of a new and independent grand lodge during the late 1780s, about a public procession in honor of George Washington, and about the erecting of a new grand lodge building on Chestnut Street in 1802.

The last four chapters focus on major developments of the grand lodge from 1812 to 1873. The fifth chapter contains detailed accounts about Masonic support for the War of 1812, about Masonic processions and funerals, and about major efforts of the grand lodge to improve communications with local lodges throughout the state. Masonry, by the 1820s, was established in 80 percent of the counties of the commonwealth and recruited respectable middle-class men who were capable of paying its expensive dues. The sixth chapter examines the Antimasonic era in the state and is one of the finest in the book, for it vividly describes the political activities of Thaddeus Stevens and other Antimasons; this chapter, as well, shows how leaders of the grand lodge responded to Antimasonic attacks and ultimately prevented the order from being destroyed. In chapters seven and eight, Huss examines numerous issues and activities of the Pennsylvania Grand Lodge: the rapid growth in membership after the Antimasonic period, the augmentation of powers of some grand lodge officers, statements of prominent Masonic leaders about the Civil War, disputes with the Grand Lodges of New Jersey and New York, and the building of new grand lodge

facilities. In chapters in the last half of the book, some attention might have been devoted to describing why Philadelphia was important to the grand lodge, to demonstrating connections of some grand lodge leaders to the "Protestant Establishment" in the city, to assessing regional variations within Pennsylvania Masonry, and to explaining attitudes and mind sets of Masons from city, town, and country lodges.

The book has much to recommend it. This study is analytical, carefully crafted, clearly written and closely documented. Another major strength of the book is that Huss has utilized the computer to reveal in appendices the class composition and occupations of Pennsylvania Masons. A bibliography, a conclusion, and a cogent thesis would have further enhanced the quality of this monograph. This work will assuredly be recognized as one of the best institutional histories of Masonry and is as equally fine as the studies of Carter, Dumenil, and Lipson.

Butler County Community College

R. WILLIAM WEISBERGER

Reading Furnace, 1736. By Estelle Cremers (Reading, Pennsylvania: Reading Furnace Press. 1986. Pp. v, 194. \$10.95 paper.)

Reading Furnace began producing iron products in 1736, and Estelle Cremers has fashioned a glossy, eye-catching, fact-filled, and enjoyable commemorative history of that furnace's early years and its later developments as both forge and farm. George Washington himself spent some thirty-two hours at the site during a military retreat from Chadd's Ford on the Brandywine Creek: Washington and his men needed dry guns, carriages, fresh provisions, and, of course, sleep.

Yet Cremers' account is not mere nostalgia. She examines the key men, especially William Branson who founded the furnace, their contributions to the iron manufacturing industry of Pennsylvania, their social positions and influences upon the economy, and their relationship to the power structure of the colony. After a somewhat shaky business partnership with fellow ironmaster Samuel Nutt, Branson, more an investor in land dealings than an ironmaster, and his sons-in-law turned Reading Furnace into a relatively large operation, the equal of any in England at the time. Along the South branch of French Creek in Chester County, the furnace remained productive for forty-two years, and after seven years of lying cold (1778-1785) operated as a forge for twenty-six more years.

The Branson family years (1736-1814) are the focal points of Cremers's study. Despite the unavailability of ledger books, day books, and logs, she is able, in part through the extensive Lardner Papers (one of William Branson's daughters, Elizabeth, married Lynford Lardner in 1749), to present a detailed and personal picture of iron manufacturing in colonial Pennsylvania.

Especially useful in this narrowly focused work is the careful reading of these family letters, which provide a colorful account of life on an iron plantation. Isolation and self-sufficiency are characteristic of such land tracts. *Reading Furnace* is sprinkled, too, with delightful digressions, including a sketch of the near-impossible task of the land surveyors of the period in their attempts at exactness in establishing land titles.

Though Cremers hurries over the efforts of the British to limit colonial iron

manufacturing, except to scold them and remind us that the provincial ironmakers openly flaunted the law, her analysis of the problems encountered later in manufacturing cannon for the Continental Congress is most revealing: Reading Furnace did its part, despite the inexperience of the ironmaster and the structural and material weakness in the finished product. But with the French alliance in 1778, many furnaces, like Reading Furnace, went out of blast.

At that point, Reading Furnace's glory years ended. Branson's grandson, Samuel Vanleer, built and operated a forge there beginning in the 1780's, but by the War of 1812 Reading Furnace had become a farm.

Cremers describes each of the succeeding owners and tenants of the property and includes property tax valuations and assessments, architectural descriptions of the evolving nature of the estate, pertinent ads from the *Pennsylvania Gazette* on runaways from the furnace, and a brief but useful bibliography and index. Complete with clear maps and high quality photographs of iron furnace implements, owners, ironmasters, building and grounds, and later residents, this is an excellent, well-researched little book that provides one more answer to questions about the history of the iron furnaces in colonial Pennsylvania.

The Pennsylvania State University
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EUGENE R. SLASKI

The Whiskey Rebellion: Frontier Epilogue to the American Revolution. Edited by Thomas P. Slaughter. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986. Pp. 291. \$19.95.)

Scholarly interest in the Whiskey Rebellion, for so long dormant, has revived somewhat of late. This monograph is the most impressive product of that revival. Lamenting the declining attention given the rebellion and the diminishing significance assigned to it, Thomas P. Slaughter "challenges the reigning assessment and seeks to restore it to its former place in our history." The result is a fascinating study of impressive scholarship and marked originality.

Students of the Whiskey Rebellion have tended to place it in the cramped and narrow context of a frontier uprising against the Whiskey excise which occurred in western Pennsylvania in 1794. Additionally, they have rendered emphatic verdicts of guilt or innocence upon the participants. Approaching the matter differently, Slaughter locates the rebellion firmly in a national, indeed an international, context and in an extended time frame. Although judgmental to be sure, he is more concerned with recapturing the perspectives from which the several parties observed, interpreted and acted upon events. What emerges is a compelling story told against an intricately woven background.

Slaughter divides his thirteen-chapter account into three sections entitled Context, Chronology, and Consequence. The first section begins with an extended examination of the anti-excise tradition which roots it in late seventeenth-century British thought and traces its evolution from Walpole's excise battle in 1733, through the Stamp Act crisis of 1764 to the Anti-Federalist critique of the tax provisions of the Constitution of 1787. To this tradition, the frontier fell heir. The author then describes the growing alienation of frontiersmen, from Vermont to the Carolinas, from their governments to the east, an alienation fueled by frontier perceptions of eastern indifference and unresponsiveness to western problems. After 1785, a deepening sense of grievance generated active separatist movements in Vermont, Pennsylvania,

Kentucky, the Carolinas and elsewhere, which attracted the attention and encouragement of England and France and posed a grave threat to the new nation. Exacerbating the situation were the clash of economic interests, class antagonisms, problems with absentee landlords and eastern ignorance of the actual and appalling conditions of western existence. A final chapter in this section, highly critical of Washington, analyzes his negative attitudes toward the frontier, his methods of western land acquisition and his emergence as one of the biggest absentee landlords in the west just as he assumes responsibility for making public policy for that region.

In the second section, Slaughter details the debate over the excise, its adoption and the outbreak of both peaceful and violent opposition to it not merely in Pennsylvania but along the entire frontier. Within months of its enactment, the St. Clair expedition, dispatched to pacify the Indians of the Northwest Territory, was routed in "the greatest defeat ever inflicted by Indians on a white force in North America." Frontiersmen were particularly enraged that a distant government although incapable of protecting them, would nonetheless impose a hated excise tax upon them. Meanwhile the Washington administration, beset by mounting problems both at home and abroad, fearing that the nation was about to collapse and assailed with unrestrained ferocity by an emerging opposition press, was increasingly disposed to regard opposition to its policies as treasonous. Finally, overarching all other considerations was the belief along the frontier that the struggle was in defense of hard-won liberty threatened by tyranny while from the perspective of Philadelphia it was one on behalf of order threatened by anarchy.

In his final section, Slaughter describes the outbreak of violence in the summer of 1794 (for which he holds John Neville largely responsible), Hamilton's and Washington's determination to make an example of western Pennsylvania despite the fact that the excise had gone uncollected all along the frontier, and the fiasco of the Watermelon Army (choreographed by the Federalists as a triumph). He concludes that, above all else, Federalist policy had deeply divided the country and "contributed as much as any single event . . . to the birth of the Republican and Federalist parties in the years following 1794."

It is difficult to do justice to this study in a brief review. Slaughter has organized his tale skillfully and logically, his account is graceful and vivid and he offers his readers fascinating details and insights and, in his final chapter, several provocative conclusions and speculations. This reader did, on occasions, find himself groping for the chronological or geographical context of events described and deploring the absence of even a single map. These are minor quibbles however. *The Whiskey Rebellion* supplants all previous accounts of the subject and demands the attention of any Pennsylvania or early American historian who would understand the event, its context and its consequences.

Saint Francis College

JOHN F. COLEMAN

Quakers in Conflict: The Hicksite Reformation. By H. Larry Ingle. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1986. Pp. xv, 310. \$29.95.)

Professor Ingle has written a remarkably good book about the background of the schism which developed in Philadelphia Quakerdom in 1827, in addition to

describing the creation of two distinct bodies, each claiming to be *the* legitimate Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.

He has accepted the label "Reformers," used by the Friends who were eventually called "Hicksites," by which they meant they were seeking to reform contemporary Quakerism, in order to restore what they regarded as the authentic movement created by George Fox, Robert Barclay, William Penn and others in the seventeenth century. This name is far more accurate than the label "Liberals" which has been used by many authors, notably Bliss Forbush in his biography, *Elias Hicks, Quaker Liberal* (New York, 1956).

Ingle's sympathies clearly lie with the Reformers, just as many previous authors have written from an Orthodox bias, but he has been remarkably objective in most cases, and has provided ample documentation for the points he makes and the conclusions he reaches. Unfortunately, he has a tendency toward "cuteness" which lessens the impact of what he has written. For example, he refers to the Meeting for Sufferings as "a Quaker version of the Vatican curia" (p. 16); the English ministers who were active in America in the 1820's as "The British expeditionary force" (p. 63); and the proposal by Samuel Noble, as "this Noble gesture" (p. 175). Furthermore, the title of each chapter begins with an anonymous quotation which detracts from the actual title: i.e., chapter three, "'To curb these heady high minded ones' OR What Makes a Reformer."

The volume is divided into three parts: the background to 1819; the struggle to reform Quakerism before the 1827 schism; and the actual separations, beginning in Philadelphia. Nearly one half of the book is devoted to tracing the struggle in Philadelphia Yearly Meeting between the Reformers and the party in power which he labels "Evangelicals." After a preliminary chapter to place the controversy in the proper context, Ingle goes on to describe the Evangelical wing of the Society. Jonathan Evans, who was the leading Orthodox Friend in Philadelphia, has been described in a few deft strokes. He was the target of much of the criticism from Reformers. While not as wealthy as some of the Evangelical leaders, he had made good investments, and seemed rich in the eyes of rural Friends who saw little hard money in a year. As presiding clerk of the Meeting for Sufferings of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting he exerted substantial power. Others such as Samuel Bettie, clerk of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, Thomas Eddy of New York, Elisha Bates of Ohio, and some of the English ministers are also mentioned.

In his chapter introducing the Reformers, Ingle begins with the old Long Island minister Elias Hicks, moves on to several examples of rural Reformer leaders, and then describes urban Reformers, especially in Wilmington, Delaware. Hicks, firmly attached to the traditional belief in the Inward Light, was suspicious of the Evangelical emphasis upon the Bible as a source of authority. While lacking any formal training, he had read widely, and developed his own theology. The author has not convinced this reviewer that Hicks "remains near the top of Quaker thinkers." (p. 92) Hicks had a wide following among Friends of all ages and backgrounds, and was often eloquent in his ministry. However, he also had a tendency to enjoy shocking his listeners, and sometimes showed a lack of concern for the feelings of others. While the Reformers were eventually called Hicksites, he was not a born leader and accepted the separations with reluctance.

Rural leaders of this group included Halliday Jackson from Darby, Emmor Roberts from the Downingtown area, Edward Hicks, the artist from Newtown,

and John Comly from Byberry. Comly was the most influential of these men, and in the final months before the separation was the leading figure in planning strategy. The Philadelphia Reformers were headed by Abraham Lower from the Green Street Meeting, and included Thomas McClintock, a pharmacist, and a wealthy follower of Hicks, William Wharton. However, the men in Wilmington, Delaware, such as William Poole, William Gibbons, Evan Lewis and Benjamin Ferris provided the intellectual leadership for the Reformers. Much of the printed material issued by this group came from Wilmington, and they presided at conferences and the first yearly meeting of the new body in October, 1827.

Ingle carefully traces the struggle between the group seeking to reform the yearly meeting and return to what they regarded as true Quakerism, and the other group which had embraced the new beliefs and practices of Evangelicals, and had the power and authority to resist the challenge. He concludes that the struggle really dated from December, 1822, when the elders of the Philadelphia monthly meetings sought to muzzle Elias Hicks. After this confrontation Hicks said, "it was time for friends to assert their rights, and not suffer themselves to be imposed upon" (p. 112). In the next four years the Reformers sought to modify some of the positions imposed upon the yearly meeting by the Evangelicals, and to gain a share of the power. They were thwarted in both of these goals, and it was in February, 1827, that Comly concluded a peaceful separation into two yearly meetings would be better than to continue the struggle (p. 174). This is the most valuable section of the book.

While some of the Reformers such as Comly sought to bring about changes in a calm, orderly fashion, there were others who resorted to bitterness and invectiveness in the years leading up to 1827. This reviewer was appalled at some of the material Ingles discovered, and also entertained by certain publications, notably *The Intolerants*, a savage, humorous attack on Evangelical leaders, including the visitors from Britain. One's faith in the good sense of Quakers is shaken by the description of a near riot at the Arch Street meetinghouse in 1826 when George and Ann Jones were hoping to hold a meeting. A false alarm brought the fire engines, the hooting and shouting made it difficult for the couple to speak, and they needed an escort from a constable to escape near-mob conditions (p. 162). Ingle tends to support the Hicksite view that the English Evangelicals were largely to blame for the separation, but after reading his description of what some Reformers were doing, writing, and saying, it appears that there is plenty of blame to share on both sides.

This is an important book, one that scholars will use for many years to come, and it adds much to our knowledge of this tragic episode. There are a number of factual errors, and one may differ with some conclusions, but we are grateful to Larry Ingle for a new interpretation of the Separations.

Haverford College

EDWIN B. BRONNER

The Mills of Manayunk: Industrialization and Social Conflict in the Philadelphia Region, 1787-1837. By Cynthia J. Shelton. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986. Pp. xii, 227. \$26.50.)

This monograph, a revision of a doctoral dissertation, is one of a series of monographs published by Hagley fellows as part of ongoing research into the

development of the Middle Atlantic region. Shelton presents a study in local economic development, specifically the community of Manayunk-Roxborough in Philadelphia County, which by 1830 had become billed as the "Manchester of America" because of its heavy concentration of large textile mills. Within a rather superficial Marxist framework, Shelton argues that the social forces of production embodied within an emerging factory system—the wage laborer/capitalist employer linkage—determined to a great extent the formation of community institutions including religious, political and cultural organizations. In addition, the emerging class structure led to a workers' movement which struggled against the solidification of the factory system during the 1830s.

Relying heavily on original material, Shelton uncovers three major factors behind the peculiar development process of Manayunk. First and most important, the workforce was primarily British immigrant textile workers. Whether skilled or unskilled, single men or families, they arrived in Philadelphia hoping to find a better life than was afforded in Britain. When they did not, they responded in the manner they had responded in Britain. This situation is contrasted with New England where factories relied primarily on a native rural workforce. Second, the employers lacked any real experience with either factory technology or factory worker relations. Their reactions to worker discontent portended the reactions of later industrialists including the use of strikebreakers, court injunctions and even violence in controlling the situation. Finally, the working class of Manayunk was a true family-oriented community. With entire families being employed it was not surprising that the workers' movement was embraced by the entire community and was joined by all members of the family.

The research is intensive and the narrative is well written. An original contribution to Pennsylvania history can be found in this book as little has been written on these early industrial communities (others would include Norristown and Lancaster). Two general criticisms of the presentation must also be made. First, the narrative tends to become repetitive in the latter half of the book leading to an all too brief concluding section. More noticeable, however, is Shelton's inability to utilize fully the chosen analytic framework, an inability which appears to be due to a relatively elementary background in economics. One must not forget that Marxist analysis is essentially economic analysis, a point neglected by some social historians. Nevertheless, the narrative itself is worthy of consideration by students of early industrial history and by local historians.

Widener University

SPIRO G. PATTON

Beating Against the Barriers: Biographical Essays in Nineteenth-Century Afro-American History. By R.J.M. Blackett. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1986. Pp. xviii, 417. \$37.50.)

This new book from R. J. M. Blackett is a collection of biographical sketches of six relatively unknown, but nonetheless historically significant, nineteenth-century Afro-Americans: James W.C. Pennington, William and Ellen Craft, Robert Campbell, John Sella Martin, and William Howard Day. Several of these sketches have been published previously; but brought together and published with an interpretative concluding essay, they shed valuable light on

the problems facing well-educated and ambitious blacks in both the antebellum and postbellum eras.

Blackett's subjects represent the wide range of backgrounds and experiences that could be found among American blacks in the last century. Pennington escaped from slavery, joined the Presbyterian ministry, and became a leading black abolitionist. The Crafts likewise escaped slavery but had to flee to England for their safety. William Craft worked several years for a British trading company in Dahomey before he and his wife returned to their native Georgia in the 1870s to run a plantation and a school. Another fugitive slave, Martin became a minister and abolitionist in the 1850s and then a Republican politician in Louisiana during Reconstruction. Campbell was essentially a sojourner in the United States; born in Jamaica, he taught in schools for black children in Philadelphia in the 1850s before relocating permanently in Lagos, Nigeria. A free black who graduated from Oberlin College, Day worked as a school superintendent for the Freedman's Bureau before settling in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, and becoming a lay officer of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church and a locally influential Republican politician.

Despite the different directions taken in these six lives, several important themes recur in Blackett's biographical sketches. Whether born slave or free, all six had to struggle their entire lives against obstacles erected by pervasive racism. All except Day had difficulty in obtaining a formal education and in practicing the professional skills they managed to acquire. Denied admission on terms of equality to most white-run institutions, these talented blacks turned to building their own churches, schools, and social organizations to find some respite from the buffeting of racism. Blocked from most other forms of political activity, educated Afro-Americans such as these six committed their energies to the struggle to end slavery and win civil rights for their race.

Another recurrent theme in these six lives was the important role that foreign nations played as a refuge for American blacks. Blackett is the author of an earlier study, *Building an Antislavery Wall: Black Americans in the Atlantic Abolitionist Movement, 1830-1860* (1983), which documented the transatlantic experiences of all six of his present subjects as well as several dozen more Afro-American visitors. Great Britain offered educated black Americans their first taste of freedom from racial prejudice. There they were given both recognition and opportunities that their talents could never win in the contemporary United States. Most of Blackett's subjects also shared a favorable attitude toward projects for voluntary emigration of Afro-Americans to lands such as Haiti and Africa where they hoped that blacks would demonstrate their race's capabilities. The interest of many educated blacks in such emigration projects was evidence of the frustration they felt at the lack of opportunity for them in the United States.

Another similarity in these six lives was the great personal isolation and stress they experienced as talented and ambitious blacks in a racist society. Pennington became an alcoholic and lost his pulpit. Martin committed suicide after a series of failures in politics. The Crafts died bankrupt after their plantation had been sold to cover outstanding debts. Racial prejudice in the northern Republican party prevented Day from reaching any office higher than the Harrisburg school council. Campbell in Nigeria discovered that the British government would never give a black a position of genuine power in their colonial administration.

Taken separately, Blackett's biographical sketches are well-written and offer the most complete study available of their subject. Taken as a group, they illuminate an important period in Afro-American history. Using the lives of six representative men and women, Blackett has gone far to explain the moving forces behind the generation of black leaders whose battle against racism did not end with emancipation but persisted in campaigns to aid the newly freed slaves and win equal political and civil rights. Although each paid a heavy personal price, this group set an example of uncompromising dedication to the struggle for racial justice that would inspire those who continued it in the next century.

Frederick Douglass Papers, Yale University

JOHN R. MCKIVIGAN

Growing Up on the South Side: Three Generations of Slovaks in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, 1880-1976. By M. Mark Stolarik. (Lewisburg, Pennsylvania: Bucknell University Press, 1985. Pp. 147. \$19.50.)

In this jargon-free study, M. Mark Stolarik, president of the Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies in Philadelphia, describes the experiences of three generations of Slovaks in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. The book is written for the general reader, Stolarik says, and especially for the Slovak people of South Bethlehem. "American historians have too long been writing books simply to impress each other," he observes. "I believe that it is the responsibility of professional historians to also write histories of particular ethnic groups *for* those groups." Stolarik was under an express obligation to write such a book. His research was supported by a fellowship created by a South Bethlehem Slovak, John Weldy Wasco.

Yet though Stolarik was operating under certain scholarly restraints, the book that has emerged from his diligent research and his lifetime familiarity with Slovak history and culture is an important study. It is a vivid piece of historical portraiture, and it is the first history of an ethnic group in Bethlehem (aside from the Moravians, the founders of the community). It also contains some interesting information on the history of Bethlehem, an important steel center whose population in 1910 included some sixty ethnic groups. In that year approximately fourteen thousand of Bethlehem's population of twenty thousand were foreign born.

Slovaks began arriving in Bethlehem in considerable numbers in the 1880s and 1890s to work in the furnace rooms of the Bethlehem Iron Company, reorganized in 1899 as the industrial behemoth, Bethlehem Steel. And it was "The Steel" that defined the work experience of most Bethlehem Slovaks of the first and second generation. Despite this book's title, it is largely about the first generation of Slovaks in Bethlehem, the pioneers, as Stolarik describes them. Stolarik tells the fascinating story of the building of an ethnic settlement, describing how these ill-lettered peasants adjusted to life in a mill town and built settlements centered around parish churches and lodge halls. Regretably he does not tell us much about the work experiences of Slovaks, or about their struggles to build a union movement. But he does provide vivid descriptions of everyday life in the Slovak neighborhoods, where the immigrants recreated their communal, village traditions. His chapter on Slovak religious rituals and customs is particularly interesting.

Throughout this study, much of Stolarik's information is drawn from

interviews and published and unpublished materials in church and fraternal societies, and his story is informed and enlivened by his first-hand understanding of the dynamics of an ethnic settlement (he is himself a Slovak immigrant), and by his knowledge of the Slovak language. Unfortunately, he leaves largely untold the story of the third generation of the Slovak-Americans in Bethlehem, most of whom "escaped" to suburbia. But perhaps even more interesting are the recent experiences of their parents and grandparents who remain in Bethlehem, most of them on the South Side, where they "still hold Christmas Eve suppers, party at the Sokol halls, and reminisce about the 'good old days.'" They live in what Stolarik describes as a "changing" neighborhood, surrounded by more recent arrivals from Mexico, Puerto-Rico, and the American South. Their attitudes about themselves and their new neighbors, and the uncertain future they face in a town where steel is no longer strong is not, for some unexplained reason, part of Stolarik's story. These urban white ethnics are one of the most misunderstood groups in American society, for the simple reason that we do not know much about them.

Lafayette College

DONALD L. MILLER

Work Sights: Industrial Philadelphia, 1890-1950. By Philip Scranton and Walter Licht. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986. Pp. 279. \$29.95.)

The historians Philip Scranton (Rutgers University, Camden Campus) and Walter Licht (University of Pennsylvania) have given the reader much more than a picture book on Philadelphia's industrial past. They have given us a glimpse into not only the way things were made, but vivid pictures of how the workers performed their tasks, how the employer treated his employees and even how the products were marketed. This work is more of an in-depth history of labor in Philadelphia than one realizes.

The book is subdivided into three major areas. The first section is entitled Workshops: it shows the sweatshops, their cramped quarters, the dirt and grime and sweat. The bulk of Philadelphia's sweatshops were located in Old City and the nearby blocks of upper South Philadelphia. It was here that the coats, dresses, sweaters, and other items of the apparel industry were made. Next, this section discusses the craftshops where the foundry workers, the finishers, moulders, and other skilled craftsmen plied their trade making such items as the enormous Alexander Calder statue of William Penn. Also mentioned are the sawmills and fur works of the city.

The second and largest section pertains to the mills of Philadelphia. These places of work, according to the authors, were the "lifeblood of industrial Philadelphia from the Civil War to the Korean War." It was here from fifty to five hundred workers were engaged in production. Places like the carpet and leather mills in Kensington, the textile mills and breweries of Manayunk, the yarn mills of West Philadelphia, and many others are vividly portrayed by word and photographs. This section also deals with the mill workers themselves, their attempts to unionize the 1920s, the depression's devastating effects, and the later strikes that occurred. Finally the authors show how many of the mills by the end of World War II were crumbling, and in their place the large corporate plants began to emerge. These plants are the focus of the last section of the book. To

this reader, this area is the most fascinating. Here the authors portray four of the giants of Philadelphia manufacturing: the Stetson Hat, the Disston Saw, the Baldwin Locomotive, and the Midvale Steel companies. These were the companies that employed not only hundreds, but indeed thousands of workers. The photographs relate the step-by-step processing of their product while the text reveals how the owners so completely controlled their workers. The paternalism of Stetson is of special interest. One of the company's motives was to stop the unionization of their workers—a task at which they were successful until the Depression. With the company providing its own cafeteria, Christmas bonuses, health insurance, savings funds, a hospital and dental clinic, profit sharing, athletic teams, and even a Sunday School, the workers were content. It is ironic that all that remains of this company today is the pictures—all of the buildings including the Sunday School have been torn down. The stories of the other three companies are equally fascinating.

The criticisms of this book are few. There are a few instances where the factories are incorrectly located in the city, and this reader would have liked to have seen more on the Philadelphia Navy Yard since it had one of the largest work forces in the area. But these are minor faults and they should not deter from the merits of the work. This book is highly recommended and should be in every library in Pennsylvania.

National Archives—Philadelphia Branch

ROBERT J. PLOWMAN

Pittsburgh: An Urban Portrait. By Franklin Toker. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1986. Pp. viii. 351. \$29.95 cloth, \$16.95 paper.)

Back in 1983, Franklin Toker, who is a professor of fine arts at the University of Pittsburgh, set out to write a modern, sophisticated urban history of Pittsburgh—a study of the sort Richard Wade prepared for Chicago. Toker soon concluded that such a project would have to wait until other researchers had done more of the necessary preliminary research. So he shifted gears and began what he describes as “an urban portrait.” The result is part history, part architectural handbook, part walking tour, even part tourist guide. And it is simply splendid.

In the first place, Toker writes with unusual grace and style. His prose is always incisive, often eloquent, and sometimes even moving. There is nothing bland here; Toker has strong opinions about urban policy and architectural design, and he expresses them forthrightly. He also knows good stories when he finds them, and he has sprinkled these generously through the text. As he moves through the city and its environs from one geographical section to the next, he mixes history, current events, and architectural criticism together into an engaging story. The land and especially the buildings—both those which once were and those which still are—are his focus. There are plenty of good, though not superb, photographs. The maps—at least the ones I've tried out so far—are clear and accurate, and they make it easy for armchair readers to take to their feet and walk through the city. Toker does not provide readers with an ordered itinerary, but they should have no difficulty connecting the building numbers by themselves. Toker has also added, no doubt with an eye toward sales, a helpful,

though rudimentary, guide for visitors—hotels, restaurants, night life, cultural and sports events, museums, and the like.

This volume should be enlightening to anyone interested in Pittsburgh or the broader fields of cultural or urban or business or working class history. And perhaps we who are historians ought to pass a regulation that henceforth none among us is allowed into the city without having read Toker's portrait.

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