

in the nineteenth century. Douglas V. Shaw outlines the cultural conflict between Irish immigrants and native-born white Americans in the railroad town of Jersey City. Focusing on the rise of the Irish to political dominance in the 1860s and the nativist reaction and resurgence in the 1870s, Shaw's concise essay illuminates the context of cultural struggle in which the immigrants lived. Michael Gordon traces the transformation of the boycott from its origins as a means of ostracism in Irish peasant society to its emergence as a powerful economic weapon of Irish workers in New York City in the 1880s. His observation that other ethnic groups employed this method of economic sanction, however, casts doubt on his depiction of the labor boycott as an expression of Irish cultural identity.

The most disappointing part of this volume is the summary by John Modell, consisting of the remarks he made at the end of the conference. The casual style and limited insights of the piece make it an unsuitable concluding essay for the volume. A new essay, generalizing from the findings of the articles, evaluating their significance, and placing them in the context of the development of the field since the time of the conference would have greatly increased the value of the book.

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Welch's Grape Juice: From Corporation to Co-operative. By WILLIAM CHAZANOF. (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1977. Pp. xi, 407. Preface, acknowledgments, appendixes, notes, bibliographical essay, index. \$20.00.)

Professor Chazanof has written an interesting and readable book about a product whose "inventor," Charles E. Welch, possessed both religious idealism and business acumen of a high order. Unfermented grape juice represented an idea derived from the teetotaler's Methodist background of the Welch family of Vineland, New Jersey. Because he believed the term grape juice carried an unfavorable connotation, it was put on the market in 1882 as "Dr. Welch's Unfermented Wine," to further its adoption for sacramental purposes. Early trade was slow, and dentistry, his basic profession, had to be relied on for many years as the family's source of sustenance. The father, Thomas Bramwell Welch, continued to give financial and psychologi-

cal support, yet it was "C. E." who implemented the vision of producing and marketing a product Americans have come to know as Welch's Grape Juice, now controlled by the National Grape Cooperative Association, Inc. In the 1950s, this was the brainchild of Jack M. Kaplan, an imaginative and innovative New York businessman whose style was reminiscent of Charles E. Welch, the chief difference being that Kaplan was of Jewish background, and there too hangs a tale.

However, the unsung hero was Ephraim W. Bull, who experimented in the 1850s with various strains until he arrived at the proper qualities of the grape which was named for Concord, Massachusetts. It was discovered that this grape could grow well in the cool moist Erie-Chautauqua plain with its favorable climate and soil. Welch migrated with the grape, finally settling down in Westfield, New York, where his entrepreneurial talent established his home plant which pressed the first grapes for sale in October 1897.

It was at first a modest concern with most of the family's cash and credit reserves tied up in new plant and machinery. But it was a gamble which paid off. Welch was driven by a kind of Social Darwinism which proclaimed the superiority of the Protestant ethic and bid openly for Methodist employees. His religious idealism worked both to produce an acceptable sacramental juice and to generate support for missionary activity from the company's modest profits. Until he died in 1926, he dominated as a benevolent despot the basic policies of the Welch Grape Juice Company with his manager sons constantly deferring to his judgment. Internal problems were generally managed smoothly, and few employees had to worry about their positions. The nub of the operations was the delivery of a satisfactory quality and quantity of grapes from local growers, and keeping them pleased. This was not easy, for Welch's sabbatarian principles forbade the processing of grapes on Sunday, and managers who risked this rule were in forfeit of their jobs. Extensive advertising campaigns and expansion created a national product which was not hurt by the examples set by William Jennings Bryan and Josephus Daniels of Wilson's cabinet who temporarily dried up diplomatic functions and the drinking habits of enlisted men in the armed forces.

Welch's product began to rival carbonated beverages in popularity by the time of the First World War, being sold widely at soda fountains and wherever people stopped when thirsty. Net sales were never overwhelming by current standards, nor were executive salaries. At his death Welch's net worth may have been close to a million

dollars. The Prohibition experiment boomeranged against Welch's product as many politicians and voters falsely associated the company with a campaign to infringe on their civil liberties. For almost four years Welch's operated in the red, yet under C. E.'s benevolent rule no employee lost his job as a result.

Except for Paul, Welch's sons did not possess much business judgment, and so in 1928 a Nashville syndicate bought control of the company, keeping Paul on as a kind of a front man until it in turn sold out to Kaplan. For seventeen years the new owners permitted the plant to run down while Kaplan's Brocton company pushed Welch's products hard. In 1945, Kaplan bought out the Nashville group. This nearly proved disastrous, for Kaplan had not inspected the seriously rundown condition of the plant and equipment. What had kept Welch's going were heavy war orders, steady employment, and its name.

Kaplan turned things around by applying the successful Brocton experience (1933-1945), and with daring ingenuity, a large dose of moral idealism, plus a team of exceptional executive talent, he pulled Welch's (whose name he kept) out of an impending slump. In character he seldom hesitated in taking a plunge, and by the early 1950s Welch's was restored to full health, and Kaplan himself was ready for larger things. He was looking beyond to a situation whereby the owners and controllers of the company would be the grape growers organized on the cooperative principle. But acceptance of industrial democracy came slowly, especially when promoted by a Jewish businessman. It stirred the endemic nativist sentiment which had been the religious heritage of that part of the economically depressed district.

It took Kaplan several years of strenuous public relations work, personal contacts with growers and managers, and constant counter-attack against religious intolerance. The bigots, led by the local press, could not see how a New York Jew could be democratic, idealistic, and yet pragmatic. But the battle was won when the National Grape Co-operative Association took full control in 1959. The business arrangement was dual in nature, National and Welch's both having a governing board. National, through its grower members, supplied the fruit and working capital for research and expansion, and Welch maintained its identity through general control of production and merchandising. This has worked fairly well, although National's owners have developed an apathy to company operations beyond the price paid for their grapes. The Welch organization almost by de-

fault tends to initiate business policy. Recent trends demonstrate what is going on widely in fruit production — that is, a sharp reduction in the number of producers and increased production through research on declining acreage.

The format of the book and its physical qualities are almost extravagant, particularly in terms of the heavy slick paper, fifty-some photographs, and the many cartoons, illustrations, and tables, all highly useful. Technical and financial detail are handled skillfully and clearly, and there is just enough personal data on the important participants to give the story a healthy flesh-and-blood quality. The author has become knowledgeable on the science of viticulture as well. The heart of his material has been interviews with members of the Welch family, longtime employees, and leaders of the two organizations, interwoven tastefully. Financial records, however, were not available after 1969 — for reasons not clear to this reviewer. First names are used widely to avoid confusion, giving the style a tolerable homeyness without vulgarity. Company and industry-wide developments are discussed carefully with seldom a boring page.

Good bibliographical essays tie in with each chapter's material. The notes are at the back of the volume, but judging by their character, some of which are pages in length, do not seriously divert the reader's attention. Occasionally there is misuse of words. For example (p. 10), flaunt is used in the sense of disregarding openly, rather than as extravagant display. The price of the book is high, but considering both materials and literary workmanship, Syracuse is to be commended for putting out a definitive work which should be worth the price to most libraries as an example of first-rate business history.

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West Virginia: A Bicentennial History. By JOHN ALEXANDER WILLIAMS. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1976. Pp. xi, 212. Invitation to the reader, acknowledgments, suggestions for further reading, index. \$8.95.)

Unlike traditional state histories, Professor Williams's new book does not begin with the statehood movement, nor does it pay tribute to founding fathers or give a general treatment of economic