the tasks of child-rearing will find "maternal thinking" more congenial than men have usually found it.

Meanwhile, we have much to learn from our own Molly Rush, and thanks go to Liane Norman and the Pittsburgh Peace Institute for telling her story.

---

Red November, Black November: Culture and Community in the Industrial Workers of the World

By Sal Salerno


The Wobbly, a rank and file member of the Industrial Workers of the World union, has assumed almost mythic proportions in labor history. In The Rebel Girl, an Autobiography (New York: 1955), Elizabeth Gurley Flynn summarized the image: "They were strong and hardy, tanned and weather-beaten by summer suns and winter snows. They regarded the city workers as stay-at-home softies — 'scissors-bills.' They referred to a wife as 'the ball and chain.'" As portrayed in the historical literature, the Wobbly legend bears some relation to sustaining myths of the American Republic; the legend captures the American values of frontier independence, physical strength and personal rebelliousness. It is also a myth of native born radicalism and masculine solidarity.

Sal Salerno's Red November, Black November offers labor scholars a new glimpse into the history of the Industrial Workers of the World through the lens of culture. Salerno's main argument is that historians have neglected the role of immigrants in the I.W.W. Ignoring elements of its ideology directly influenced by European syndicalism (a trade union movement that advocates bringing the means of production and distribution under the direct control of a federation of labor unions), historians have focused instead on the union's indigenous roots. Salerno sets out to correct this omission by asserting direct links between the I.W.W. and French and Italian anarcho-syndicalism.

The weight of the book's argument falls on an exploration of syndicalist symbols, language and organizing strategies in the I.W.W. Employing the familiar icons of the wooden shoe or Sabot, and the cartoon characters of Sab Cat and Mr. Block, Wobbly artists wove themes of class exploitation and conflict with folk symbols expressive of resistance and solidarity. According to Salerno, Wobbly subculture addressed the confrontations between capital and labor through its embrace of syndicalist tactics of direct action and sabotage.

Salerno argues that immigrants and ethnics played a central role in the formation of the I.W.W. At the founding convention in 1905, anarchists and libertarians helped to develop the Industrial Union Manifesto and the I.W.W.'s preamble. The German anarchist community in Chicago provided some of the ideological underpinnings for the movement. More important, Salerno highlights the relationship of the I.W.W. with the French syndicalist organization, the Confedération Générale du Travail (C.G.T. or General Confederation of Labor). While the I.W.W. rejected open affiliation with the C.G.T., rank and file Wobblies had full knowledge of its range of tactics and imitated them. Salerno argues that the symbolic uses of the Sabot and Sab Cat express C.G.T. influence. Further, William Z. Foster, later the organizer of the steel and meatpacking industries, helped adapt French tactics and ideology to the I.W.W. For Salerno, Foster's departure from the union to form the Syndicalist League of America is yet another sign of the adaptability and range of syndicalist influence.

There are aspects of Salerno's approach, however, which undermine his case for the immigrant origins of the I.W.W. Despite his use of illustrative cartoons, most of Salerno's textual argument is concerned with refuting the historical interpretation of the Wobblies, and not with primary sources. The limitations of the secondary literature on this specific subject make it difficult for Salerno to construct a convincing case. Furthermore, by focusing on I.W.W. activity in the West, the author neglects Italian syndicalists and anarchists who were central to the organization of workers in such towns as Paterson and Lawrence.

In exploring the nature of Wobbly culture, Salerno also ignored an important theme which might have opened up his discussion of the I.W.W. — that is, the ways in which the notion of solidarity itself was constructed by and for Wobblies. The image of the "footloose rebel" and the independent, manly laborer broadened the workers' belief that collective strength and unity were born of brotherhood and manliness, an image rooted not in eastern immigrant communities but in the I.W.W. myth of frontier origins. The self-presentation of the Wobblies...
blies was native-born and masculine; it masked the role of immigrant workers and activists, the connections between communities and workers, the cultural underpinnings of solidarity, and the substantial involvement of women—not only for historians but also for the participants.

Using these insights into I.W.W. culture could substantially enrich our understanding of key events like the steel strike of 1919 by focusing on contrasts between the Wobbly's self-perception and actions and workers' ideology. Organized by Foster, a syndicalist, the strike mobilized a diverse and largely immigrant and ethnic male labor force against the power of the steel barons. It depended on the cooperation and solidarity of entire ethnic communities. As heirs to the I.W.W. legacy, the syndicalist organizers embraced the ideal of the aggressive, isolated individual Wobbly, an image which contrasted sharply with the family orientation of immigrant steelworkers aptly portrayed in novels like Mary Heaton Vorse's *Strike!* and Thomas Bell's *Out of This Furnace.* The steel strike of 1919 foundered in the face of employer hostility, state intervention, ethnic factionalism and inter-union conflict. Inherent in this failure, as in the decline of the I.W.W. generally, was a failure of the Wobblys to comprehend their own powerful myths. If historians have been led astray in believing the I.W.W. was a product of indigenous radicalism, it was because Wobblys themselves helped to construct that myth.

I am willing to accept Salerno's argument that immigrant ideologues, tactics and cultural expression helped shape the social movement of labor in the I.W.W., but more evidence of alternative origins and patterns is needed. Despite the shortcomings of the book, Salerno points the way to a more vibrant history of labor unions as social movements. His emphasis on the cultural history of the working class and use of iconographic texts like cartoons opens up the possibilities for a history of labor in which workers not only act, but think and express themselves in art and language. Salerno has opened the way for a reinterpretation of the I.W.W. that captures the diverse origins and cultural riches of working class organization.

Elizabeth Faue
University of Rochester

---

The Pittsburgh & West Virginia Railway: The Story of the High and Dry
By Howard V. Worley, Jr. and William N. Poellot, Jr.
Introduction, illustrations, maps, appendix. Pp. 384. $52

In their history of the Pittsburgh & West Virginia Railway, the authors have assembled a veritable encyclopedia of information on the subject. The details of corporate history, the time table information, the equipment roster, and particularly the photographic coverage attest to the authors' years of research and dedicated interest.

Through its yearly summaries of corporate activities, the book details how the company's fortunes echoed those of the Pittsburgh area economy. The predecessors to the P&WV—the Little Saw Mill Run Railroad, the Pittsburgh Terminal Railroad & Coal Company, and the West Side Belt Railroad—all owed their existence to the growth of industry based on bituminous coal, a resource in which the area was rich.

By 1900, Pittsburgh, with the world's greatest bituminous coal fields, had also become the nucleus of related industries such as iron, glass, steel, coke and tinplate.

The combined industrial output made the Pittsburgh area first in the amount of originated freight tonnage of any city in the world. However, the supply of freight transportation to meet this demand was almost entirely under the control of the Pennsylvania Railroad and its allies. Even though the PRR could not meet the industrial demand due to shortages of cars and locomotives, it fiercely fought any competition. As a result, industry had to cut production, and the Pittsburgh economy suffered.

This set the scene for the entry of George Gould, who, while already controlling several major railroads, primarily west of the Mississippi, had dreams of controlling a unified rail system from coast to coast. Gould's interest in the rich Pittsburgh freight market and a transcontinental rail system led to the construction of the Wabash-Pittsburgh Terminal Railway to link Pittsburgh with the Wheeling & Lake Erie Railroad and Gould's Wabash Railroad. He reached an agreement with Andrew Carnegie, who had experienced difficulties with the Pennsylvania Railroad's service to his mills, that Gould's new road would connect with the Union Railroad, a Carnegie road serving mills in the Mon Valley.

After overcoming intense corporate and political opposition to the intrusion of another railroad into Pittsburgh, the Wabash proceeded to construct a railroad through the extremely difficult terrain southwest of the city, while maintaining a minimum of curves and grades. The result was a tribute to civil engineering, with many impressive bridges and tunnels. The crowning jewel of the railroad's entry into Pittsburgh was a lavish terminal in the heart of the city's business district. At the opposite end of Liberty Avenue from the adversarial Pennsylvania's station, the new building's beauty gained it the name the "Palace