

Humanities

In Search of New Wars

'Winding Down'—After Appomattox

"They shall beat their swords into plowshares," says the Bible, and perhaps in those agrarian days when most soldiers were farmers in the off-season and every village had its smith, such a straight-forward conversion of the tools of war to the implements of peace was possible.

Since then, however, technology has reared its expensive head, and "winding down" has become a much more complex process than simply thanking the troops for a task well done and pointing them back toward the furrows. Modern armaments manufacture requires staggering concentrations of capital, equipment, and skilled personnel. Conceivably the machinery that produced tanks, B-52's, "smart bombs" and M-16 rifles can stamp out hardware for peacetime, such as the rapid-transit systems that many American cities need. But that switch can't be made overnight, and a defense-oriented corporation can spend itself into bankruptcy while tooling up to produce new goods for new markets. Though this prospect might not disturb those who regard Big Business as anathema anyhow, it's worth remembering that both napalm and Barbie Dolls are made by working people in the \$10,000-and-under bracket.

For firms heavily engaged in the manufacture of war materiel, a likely alternative to the expensive, highly competitive process of developing a new product line has sometimes seemed to be a new war to consume the old product! The suggestion may seem grisly if not ludicrous—but history shows that it has been done.

In April 1865, when the Civil War ended, the Union had 70 companies of considerable size making munitions. By 1870, 50 had gone bankrupt. Of the 20 survivors, most managed to develop other products that required similar machinery and manufacturing methods; U.S. arms-manufacturers pioneered the machine-tool industry and invented or perfected the sewing machine, the typewriter, the bicycle, the high-speed printing press, portable steam-engines, and mechanized agricultural implements.

Thus the swords-into-plowshares model is not entirely fantasy, even for a technological society. But a few armaments manufacturers, stuck with a huge investment in equipment that only international tensions and actual war could make profitable, stayed in the gun business. Their search for new markets carried them

around the globe: from Peru to Japan, from Cuba to Rumania, from Denmark to Turkey. The tale of their salesmanship may point an object-lesson for a nation that has met a portion of its payrolls for decades by making things that kill.

The tale is told, surprisingly, by a 21-year-old student at Brown University. Despite the obvious promise of this line of investigation for historians, apparently nobody firmly latched onto it until Geoffrey Stewart pursued a professor's offhand remark.

In July 1877, a Russian army laid siege to the northern Bulgarian city of Plevna, where a Turkish force of 12,000 under Osman Pasha had dug in. The Turks held out against the numerically superior Russian force for five months; so impressed by the defense was the Russian general, Mikhail Skobelev, that he treated Osman royally after the surrender and adopted the Turks' rifle, the Peabody-Martini, for his own troops.

The Peabody-Martini, remarked Stewart's professor, had been made by the Providence Tool Company, in Brown University's home town. Perhaps a dozen students jotted that *obiter dictum* down; Stewart followed it up. Providence Tool went bankrupt in 1885, and its company records had been destroyed by fire. But by a superlative piece of detective work, Stewart learned that an anonymous admirer was still laying flowers on the grave of John Anthony, president of Providence Tool in the 1870's and 1880's. He checked with a church, with a florist, and traced the flowers to a relative of Anthony's—who had copies of her ancestor's correspondence.

The discovery, and a Youthgrant from the National

YOUTHGRANTS ISSUE

In 1972 the National Endowment for the Humanities created a new grant program called "Youthgrants in the Humanities" to support humanities projects developed and conducted by students and out-of-school youth. This issue of *Humanities* reports on some of the first Youthgrant projects. A brochure outlining the program and application procedures is available from the Endowment on request.

Endowment for the Humanities, launched Stewart on an investigation which took him to the Connecticut State Library, where Colt's records are stored; to the Remington Arms Company; to the Winchester Arms Division of the Olin-Mathieson Corporation; and to Great Britain's Public Record Office in London. The result is a story which indicates that, when confronted by peace at home, U.S. arms-makers were no less capable than others of contributing to mischief—and even war—abroad.

Not entirely out of choice. Between 1860 and 1870, the U.S. arms industry increased its capitalization from \$2.5 to \$4 million—a modest sum by today's standards, but huge then and a 60 percent increase by anybody's figures. The consequent expansion of capacity, as Stewart puts it, "not only enabled, but required, the arms industry to produce guns on a scale called for only by war." Workers could be dismissed, but large plants and idle machinery continued adding to overhead: by 1866, each rifle produced at the Federal armory in Springfield, Mass., cost about \$350—at a time when a good firearm could be purchased for \$30.

Advent of the Breech-Loader

Further, the Civil War had given American arms-makers a sharp technological edge over their competitors abroad. Prodded by the demands of combat, they had improved the breech-loading rifle and the metallic cartridge; now a soldier could flip down a lever near his shoulder to insert a new load from the breech side, rather than having to invert the weapon, drop powder and ball into the muzzle, tamp it with a rod, and return the rifle to his shoulder after every shot.

Before 1865, only Prussia had equipped most of its troops with breech-loaders; in 1866, Prussia defeated Austria, largely because of the superiority of its rifles to Austria's muzzle-loaders—and every informed military official recognized that the breech-loader was the gun of the future. It seemed clear, remembered John Anthony, "that all the civilized nations of the earth must be rearmed." Idle American manufacturers, faced with economic disaster at home, were eager to meet the demand.

At first, rearmament focused on converting muzzle-loading arms to breech-loaders. Secretary of War Stanton had purchased 2½ million rifles and carbines since 1861, and was happy to dispose of them at cut-rates; in 1866, Egypt contracted with Colt, Spain with Remington, and Brazil with Providence to alter muzzle-loaders. Through the Remingtons, the United States government exported half a million muskets to France in 1870-71.

Canada was the first customer for new breech-loaders from an American firm; in 1866, it bought 3,000 from Providence Tool—and the buying spree was on. During 1867, Colt signed a contract with Russia for 30,000 rifles, Remington sold 42,500 breech-loading rifles and carbines to Denmark and 30,000 breech mechanisms to Sweden for weapons to be completed there. So important was personal contact and even bribery in

obtaining orders—Russia's consul was promised a commission by Colt vice president William Franklin for his influence, and Remington's globe-trotting Samuel Norris was "on excellent terms" with the Danish Minister of War—that Anthony concluded, after losing both contracts in which Providence weapons were initially favored, "kissing goes by favor."

Yet the loss of the Danish and Swedish contracts worked in a roundabout way to Providence Tool's advantage. The purchase of modern weapons by her northern neighbors alarmed Switzerland, which in 1867 appointed a commission to test all available breech-loaders. The commission initially chose Remingtons, but because Remington's plant was tied up with the Danish and Swedish contracts, and Colt refused to produce Remingtons under subcontract for less than Remington would charge the Swiss, Switzerland ordered 15,000 breech-loaders from Providence as a stop-gap while waiting the delivery of a larger number of bolt-action, European Vetterli's.

Chain-Reaction Effect

Stewart's tracing of contracts between foreign nations and U.S. arms-manufacturers would be of minor historical interest were it not for this sort of chain-reaction: one nation's purchase of modern weapons scaring its neighbors into rearmament. In this sense, American and foreign arms-makers not only met an existing demand for their product, but created a new demand with every sale. This is, of course, the familiar "arms-spiral", and, given the human suspicion of his own kind, there may be no cure for it. But Stewart's research suggests that some of the 19th century's conflicts might have grown quite differently, or not grown at all, without the arms-makers' eagerness to sell guns.

His evidence is not conclusive, but Stewart believes that the Franco-German crisis of 1875 was precipitated by "the pace of French rearmament"—France bought 150,000 Remington breech-loaders within three years after its defeat by Prussia in 1870—and that the war between Venezuela and Colombia in 1873, "if it was not actually started by American munitions-makers, certainly its effects were heightened by their search for new markets."

The selling of arms is shot through with bribery and favoritism; interestingly enough, some U.S. manufacturers lost orders through their refusal to pay off high officials or members of the commissions responsible for choosing a weapon. So blatant did such corruption become when the Ottoman Empire advertised an order for a million guns in 1872 that the Sultan finally suspended the military tests and summarily declared in favor of the British army rifle, the Henry-Martini.

The decision was unquestionably influenced by the British, Stewart says, but for military rather than economic reasons. England wanted a strong Turkish state as a buffer between Russia and her own interests in the Near East, and the British knew that the Henry-Martini was an excellent field weapon. Because of its familiarity with the gun's components, some patent interests, and

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NEH Grant Profiles



Coal and Blood

Despite rosy economic forecasts for the postwar period, it was clear by 1921 that the coal industry was in trouble. Plagued by overproduction and sharp competition from low-wage, non-union southern mines, northern coal operators were going bankrupt or repudiating higher-scale, union contracts.

That meant, in turn, that the United Mine Workers were in trouble. The UMW's failure to organize mines in West Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee constituted, in the words of one official, "a pistol pointed at the heart of the union." The solution: organize south—at any cost.

The UMW chose Logan County, West Virginia, as its point of attack. Recruiting fighters from as far as Ohio and Illinois, possibly armed by northern coal operators jealous of their southern competitors' lower costs, the UMW invaded Logan County on August 24, 1921, with an army of 6,000 men, many of them World War I veterans. Commandeering a C & O train at gunpoint, the union men headed southwest from Charleston to Madison.

They met their opposition at Blair Mountain, where a hastily assembled force of non-union miners, professional strikebreakers, and sheriff's deputies were dug in with high-powered rifles and machine guns supplied by southern coal operators and the Governor of Kentucky.

The Battle of Blair Mountain lasted a week and took 100 lives. It ended only when President Warren Harding dispatched regular Army units to support the non-union side.

Industrial violence on the scale of Blair Mountain is virtually inconceivable today, but isolated murders, dynamitings, and beatings were a regular feature of Appalachian life in the days when union membership earned a man instant dismissal. Significant as the union was to the development of the one-industry Appalachian area, however, little research has been devoted to the UMW's early days in West Virginia and the violence surrounding its organizing efforts.

But those days live in the memories of the men who fought at Blair—and before their recollections are silenced by death, a group of young journalists decided to preserve them on tape.

With the help of an NEH Youthgrant, project director Anne Lawrence, a Swarthmore honors student, and seven members of the Youth Projects Appalachian Public Interest Journalism Group, interviewed 300 oldtimers. The result, "On Dark and Bloody Ground," offers a fascinating view of history as seen by those who helped make it.

Josh Chafin, for example, who was "drafted" for Blair by a deputy who shouted into the mine, "Anyone who doesn't come fight is fired!" "Well, I didn't care about being fired, and I didn't care about fighting, either, so I figured I'd go along and see what I could think up." After seeing some friends shot down in the first advance up Blair, Chafin found "a big log. 'Right here,' I says, 'is the best place I can think of to spend the rest of *this* battle,' I says."

The miners' reminiscences tumble out in present humor and recollected fear, their partisan differences keenly remembered but softened now by the passage of years. Their occasional references to their foes on Blair Mountain as "brothers" reminds one of Dylan Thomas's summary: "There is only one war—the war between men and men." □

A Woman's Place

"On looking out at the passing train," wrote a reporter for the *Independence (Mo.) Expositor* in 1845, "we see . . . a very comfortable covered wagon, one of the sheets drawn aside, and an extremely nice-looking lady seated inside, very quietly sewing. . . . Blessed be Woman! Shedding light and happiness wherever she goes; with her the wild prairie will be a paradise!"

Well . . . the flower of the prairie may have been sewing when her husband's wagon pulled through Independence along the California-Oregon Overland Trail, but the journals kept by pioneer women suggest that this might have been her last chance for 2,000 miles to sit down. Research under an NEH Youthgrant by John Faragher, a Yale fellow, indicates that these women were as tough as any Hollywood epic ever painted them; but it also implies, as Hollywood never did, that their husbands were an outrageous breed of "male chauvinist pig."

Picture the wagons of the Manly party, stumbling into Death Valley in 1849, inching toward the setting sun. Now back off a few miles, and see Juliet Brier, plodding step after step through the desert, *carrying her son on her back*. The cattle were exhausted, the loads heavy, and every day Mrs. Brier fell far behind the party and had to catch up at night—but the only suggestion any man ever made was that Mrs. Brier and her children stay behind and wait for rescue.

Picture Lavinia Porter, hiking alongside the wagons, collecting buffalo chips for the night fire. Spying a clump of cottonwoods a half-mile off, she asked her husband to diverge from the trail so the party could cut some firewood and ease her burden. Mr. Porter refused. Confided Lavinia to her journal: "I was feeling somewhat

under the weather and unusually tired, and crawling into the wagon told them if they wanted fuel for the evening meal they could get it themselves, and cook the meal also, and laying my head down on a pillow, I cried myself to sleep."

Faragher was not seeking illustrations of male boorishness when he embarked on his study. What he was after, rather, was evidence that the overland trip altered family structure in such respects as division of labor and sexual equality, and that the westering experience might have made a permanent difference to the husband-wife relationship.

He found that labor was divided—but almost entirely in favor of the men. Women stood guard, made bullets, and drove teams in addition to their regular, staggering chores on the trail. After a day in 1853 of hunting fuel and driving stock, on foot all the way, Charlotte Pengra chronicled her evening activities: "I have done a washing, Stewed apples, made pies and baked a rice pudding, and mended our wagon cover. Rather tired."

By contrast, only one entry indicates a man taking over a woman's work. Charlotte Pengra's husband tended their youngest child when the family was stricken by "mountain fever"; but Mrs. Pengra, less seriously stricken than Mr., drove the wagon.

Shared ordeals might have been expected to alter the Victorian structure of the 19th century American family toward the male-female partnership of the Puritan family that obtained in the U.S. during the 18th century. But Faragher could find no evidence of it. The long journey over, Indians, starvation, and hardship behind, the women who had shared their men's lot acquiesced in the re-establishment of a familiar pattern and returned to the parlor, to white gloves, and to "a woman's place." □

Change on Film

The Greek roots of the word *demography* mean "people-writing," and valuable as this branch of sociology or history is, the usual scholarly approach to it—bris-

ting with census data, maps, and footnotes from defunct observers—remains Greek to young students. In an effort to interest Detroit high-schoolers in the concepts of ethnic and cultural change, three Wayne State University students obtained an NEH Youthgrant to help them boil down the abstractions of demography into an understandable study of a single neighborhood undergoing visible change.

They chose Delray, a two-mile-square area of Southwest Detroit that had once harbored the nation's largest Hungarian community. At first the abode of French and German immigrants, Delray began attracting Hungarians about 1898, when the Michigan Malleable Iron Company opened a factory. Other factories followed, including the Ford Motor Company's River Rouge plant, and Armenians, Poles, Italians, Gypsies, and Blacks swarmed into the area. By virtue of greater numbers and ethnic solidarity, however, the Hungarians managed to contain these "outsiders" in enclaves in the least desirable parts of town, to support three Hungarian-language newspapers, and to erect neat, two-flat dwellings that still boast some of the loveliest gardens in Detroit.

But now the community is threatened. "In ten years," predicts the owner of a bakery once filled with couples who stopped in for pastry and iced coffee, "Delray will probably be gone."

The Wayne State students, originally headed by Cynthia Rolling, a 22-year-old anthropology major, and now by Deborah Schornak, 20-year-old junior and employee of the Detroit Historical Museum, decided not only to find out why, but to illustrate the decline of Delray with color slides, taped interviews with long-time residents, and a teacher's manual.

Delray's catalog of troubles is familiar in this time of declining cities: industrial pollution from a local cement factory that coats the well-manicured lawns with dust, and a soap factory that emits "an unbearable stench"; the expansion of city facilities such as a sewage plant that will destroy 200 homes, a 70-year-old church and

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Illustrating diverse church architecture and ethnic religious practice in Delray: Left, St. John Cantius Roman Catholic Polish Church, ornamented in typical old-country style; Right, Delray Pentecostal Church, showing a different religious tradition.

them out, and not to let them come in there."

Secret service agent. Charleston, West Virginia

"Don Chafin had a secret service. In fact, I worked for him for a while as a secret service agent. I'd listen around at my mine, and see if any of my boys were talking about striking or anything like that. We'd record it if they did, and the mine owner would fire them right quick. We never said that that was the reason though, we'd always say that it was that they had missed a day, or that their work wasn't of a very good quality, or something like that. . . .

"Now, I was just a little fellow at the time, weighed only about 125. They tried to recruit me to fly the plane that flew over and dropped the bombs on the miners. But I wouldn't do that. I don't think that I'm more of a coward than other people, but I didn't want to go up there on the mountain and fight, either. Not only were there miners up there shooting at you, but you were in danger too from your own men. They had boys all over that mountain that had no idea how to handle a gun, and actually, you were more likely to be shot in the back by your own troops than you were by the opposition.

"Well, after the whole thing was over, they had a display in Logan of the bodies of two of the union men who had been killed on the mountain. . . . They were the only two sons of a widow woman up on Coal River. Well, that's where you could only cry. I admit it, I cried over that. Two young men, in the bloom of health, senselessly and violently dead. That's when I felt that the whole thing had been a real tragedy."

Neutral. Cora, West Virginia

"My way was to be a neutral. I wasn't for one side or the other. I didn't bother nobody, and nobody bothered me. . . . I always had my union card. But I'd seed, when I got to Logan, that if I kept quiet and did my work that I wouldn't get into no trouble."

Candidate for deputy sheriff. Barnabus, West Virginia

"You have to be pretty nervy in them days to be a deputy sheriff. Why, I've seen my father walk a prisoner into jail from the head of Mud Fork, some seven or eight miles. But then, he was good at that; he'd had a lot of experience bossing the chain gang."

Coal miner. Monaville, West Virginia

By 1932 he was making around thirty-five dollars a month, and that in scrip, most of which went to pay off old debts to the company. "It was just beans and bread one day, and bread and beans the next."

Coal miner. Matewan, West Virginia

"The difference working in a non-union and a union mine was like jumping out of the fire into a cool stream of water. Everybody is your buddy and they go in singing and they come out singing. Before it was every dog eat dog. When you go into anything collectively, everybody is striving to do the same thing. That's the only way you can have peace in the coal fields."

Coal miner. Williamson, West Virginia

"You can't organize when people are shooting at each other, you got to talk to them. . . . You get back to the way it is with the Appalachian people, you get someone in the community that's kind of influential, you buy

them off, get some demagoguery, you know what I mean. If we stood together, we could take care of this coal company, we can handle this situation. . . . If they take the coal out, they should leave something behind besides the refuse . . . we're West Virginians, and that's West Virginia's coal."

Non-union miner. Williamson, West Virginia

"The men'd put up a line, they'd say, don't go to work, brother. I'd tell them, I got to eat. I've got kids. They'd say, so do we, brother, trying to get the men to come out. But I went ahead, we kept on working. We got the union wages anyway. Doesn't make any sense to join, if you're getting paid, does it?"

Coal miner. Holden, West Virginia

"You know the old expression—'If you kill a man, you just hire another, but if you kill a mule, you have to buy one.' They cared more for a mule than they did for a man, in those days."

Preacher woman. Verdunville, West Virginia

"They were going real strong for the union in Mingo County at that time. Mother Jones came down to help in the organizing drive. I saw her one time, in a restaurant in Logan. She was sitting there, and there was a whole row of men around her, with rifles across their laps and guns of all kinds. She wore a big, long dress, dragging the ground, and old-timey long sleeves and a little hat on her head. . . . She'd go up on this special train through the coal fields and hundreds of miners would come to hear her. . . .

"Well, they just joined in piles, you know, and they were all fired right away and put out of their houses. They moved into these tent colonies all around. . . . I've seen rows of company houses all boarded up, and those miners living in just anything that would keep the rain off of them, tents, board houses they'd make themselves with no sides, and just about everything. I guess they just about starved."

Coal miner. Monaville, West Virginia

"I never even heard of the union until those men started coming over Blair Mountain to organize this side. They did their best to see that we didn't know anything about it. Don Chafin was about like the president of the United States in this county at that time, and he was, you know, given ten cents a ton on the coal taken out of here to keep the union out."

Coal miner. Holden, West Virginia

"Of course I could have maybe become a mine foreman or a superintendent, and made more money that way. But to do that, you needed a high school diploma at least and I didn't have one, and if there was any way that you could get one without quitting your job and starving, nobody ever told me about it. Well, I'm telling you, I just felt about like a slave."

Miner. Verdunville, West Virginia

"But you couldn't complain. We had our bosses in the mines—cut-bosses, they called them then—and they'd tell you, if you didn't do just what they said, well, there was plenty of men waiting on the outside for your job. So these miners had to work day and night to hold on to their jobs." □

(PROFILES, Continued from page 4)

elementary school; and the in-migration of Blacks who have claimed parts of Delray for their own.

Yet the investigating team came up with some surprises. One reason for the decline of Delray, for example, was the Soviet suppression of the Hungarian revolt in 1956, which brought many immigrants to the Detroit area. The fact that these new immigrants were better educated and more mobile than the established Delray Hungarians caused resentment between the two groups. It is this resentment, they say, that is destroying the close relationship of Delray's Hungarians and causing the younger people to move away from the neighborhood and to the suburbs.

Delray isn't dead yet. Its residents recently won a court battle to keep trucks off residential streets, and Father Jacobs, pastor of Holy Cross Church, is leading a campaign to "save Delray" from the industry that brought the Hungarians to it. Elderly Hungarian ladies, their heads wrapped in bright scarves, still nap on their porches, and middle-aged Gypsy fiddlers still play every Saturday night in Kovacs' bar. Though the Magyar Reformed Church's congregation is dwindling, its weekly bake-sales remain a community institution.

Yet Delray's days appear to be numbered. By developing a slide-tape kit for Detroit schools, Miss Schornak and her colleagues hope to help students "learn something of their own ethnic heritages, but also learn to see value in the variety of people who have called Detroit home." □



West End Church of God in Christ, one of many store-front churches in Delray.

(*'WINDING DOWN,' Continued from page 2*)

its large manufacturing capacity, Providence Tool eventually received the order—and made more than 600,000 of the rifles so admired by the Russian general after the siege of Plevna.

Primary Investigation Pays Off

Stewart's project began as an independent study, flourished with Youthgrant support, and became a senior thesis. It appears now that, in addition to meeting a requirement for his bachelor's and master's in European history at Brown, he will have produced a piece of primary investigation into the impact of the 19th-century "military-industrial complex" on international relations. His tenacity has turned up some documents previously unknown to or overlooked by senior historians; his most recent find is a letter from Providence Tool's Anthony to the U.S. Secretary of Treasury regarding a J. P. Morgan credit to finance production of the Turkish rifles. The note suggests that Rothschild money backed the Morgan credit, and that the Rothschild funds may have been secretly supplied by England. Disraeli advocated an aggressive policy against Russia in the 1870's, Stewart points out, and he may have used a private banking house to finance Turkish rearmament without alerting the Russians to British involvement. So, somewhat later, did Bismarck: similar strokes for similarly devious folks.

Stewart will graduate in June. Despite the promise of his project for a historian's career, he's headed for Harvard Law. "I understand there are 2,500 unemployed

Ph.D.'s in history," he says, "so this doesn't seem the moment to choose an academic career." But he enjoys history, intends to pursue it "on the side" if necessary, and hopes to blend it with law—perhaps by work in arms control.

The project has altered his views on diplomacy. "I see it as much less abstract, less glamorous and effective." It has also led him to wonder whether there are any remedies for the economic dilemma that forces corporations to seek foreign wars when peace breaks out at home.

Stewart has never fired a rifle and, before undertaking his research, had a normal curiosity about guns as interesting, ingenious mechanisms that can produce dramatic results.

No more. "The deeper I got into this project, the more I found the general topic fascinating, but the specific subject revolting." □

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Coal mine, Lawson, West Virginia

"Now that march on Blair Mountain, I was into that. I was just sixteen at the time, and I had just started working in the mines a short time before, but I had a brother, Bill, who was into it pretty heavy, and I just got pulled into it that way, I figure."

"On April 1, 1921, we all came out on strike for a new contract. . . . And the operators wouldn't give us our contract, because . . . they were selling coal on the market a lot cheaper than the organized fields could sell the coal for. . . ."

"Down in that field, they had injunctions against organized labor, the coal companies did. And they had what we called thugs, wasn't anything but deputy sheriffs paid for by the coal companies. They carried pistols, and walked around in the camps, and they would beat

to what was going on back then. If one was going to die, they figured they might as well just all die together, because they weren't making no living anyway."

Widow of organizer and leader of Logan March, Eskdale, West Virginia

In prison "Don Chafin's men fed my husband plates of beans with little bits of crushed glass mixed in with them. He was so hungry, you know, that he just picked out the glass with his fingers and ate the beans real carefully afterwards."

Coal miner, Brushton, West Virginia

"They was always trying to scare the strong union men, you know, by planting moonshine stills under their houses and then trying to arrest them on it, and things like that."



the fellows up and club them and run them around and treat them just something awful. . . . Well, we was two weeks massing ourselves. While that was going on, Don Chafin's forces down in Logan was up digging trenches on Blair Mountain, and generally getting ready for us to come over. . . . They was getting ready for us, and we was getting ready for them, just like war maneuvers now, I figure."

Coal miner, Julian, West Virginia

"I started working in 1919, at Omar in Logan County. We were all signing up for the union then at our mine. . . . But there was one among us, we found out later, that was a company stooge, and he pretended like he was for it, too, and then, the day before we was all going to take the obligation at once, he went and told the superintendent who we all was and when we was planning to meet and all, and we all got fired on the spot."

Widow, West Virginia

"In 1912, they didn't have a union in here at that time. The miners were in slavery, in bondage. Many were killed all along Cabin Creek here, and some are buried in the graves here at Eskdale. They were striking for the union. . . . Mother Jones wasn't afraid of the devil and all of his angels. And she'd come up to the head of the creek here, and call out for all the men that wanted to be let out of slavery to follow her. And they did, scores of them. . . . The children went too, because there were thugs all through them hills, and it wasn't safe to leave a child alone, he'd be shot in your absence. You talk about violence today, well it wasn't nothing compared

Coal miner, Fireco, West Virginia

"I wasn't a man for running around, I worked. To tell you the truth, I loved it. When I got cut off—I got cut off for five years, they shut it down—I used to come out on the porch and give a little cry, hearing the old shifts, and wanting to go back to work. I was making good money, had a good boss, a good mine, good, clean mine. . . . I know all kinds of white folks, my age, haven't got their pension. Us colored people, we put in our time and got our money, but the company would carry the white folks, make them little bosses. The UMWA doesn't pay pensions for any bosses, so they never got any."

Deputy sheriff, Holden, West Virginia

"All my relatives were deputy sheriffs. It was more or less a tradition in my family to be a sheriff. . . . My dad became deputy sheriff back in 1912, when Don Chafin was first elected sheriff of Logan County. And, he was the reason that his brothers and his sons and all of them followed him into law enforcement, too. . . ."

"Now, at that time, the sheriff's office was used mostly to fight the union. But it wasn't always that way. . . . The purpose of the sheriff's office is not to fight the union. But Logan County, like a lot of other counties, was a small and poor county, and they couldn't pay for a deputy sheriff or two or three to live here in Holden and patrol the coal company's property. So, the coal companies said, well, we'll pay it. . . ."

"Later on, then, when they started sending organizers in here, to organize the coal miners, why, of course, the coal companies gave these deputies orders to keep

A Reading List on American

Economic History



This reading list on American Economic History was developed, under the auspices of the Economic History Association, by a panel consisting of Sidney Ratner (Panel Chairman), Professor of History, Rutgers University; Stuart W. Bruchey, Professor of American Economic History, Columbia University; Morton Rothstein, Professor of History and Agricultural Economics, University of Wisconsin; and James H. Soltow, Professor of History, Michigan State University.

The Subject

The United States is today the wealthiest and most powerful economy in the world. American economic history shows how the economy evolved from a primarily agricultural-fishing-hunting stage to one dominated by light and heavy industry, and finally to a post-industrial stage, with the highest percentage of people employed in service industries.

Economic survival and welfare has depended not only on the productivity of the American economy but also on its relative stability. Despite cyclical fluctuations, the system of private ownership and enterprise has been a means of generating economic progress, and business entrepreneurs have introduced important managerial and technological innovations. It is equally true that government has played a supportive and sometimes initiating role. Farmers, industrial workers and small business men have sought support against the powerful corporations in finance, industry, and transportation. Hence American economic history deals with both the epic growth and the development of social welfare and security measures under the aegis of national, state, and local governments. Understanding of both strands is essential for facing current issues about future economic goals and the means to achieve them.

THE ROOTS OF AMERICAN ECONOMIC GROWTH, 1607-1861: AN ESSAY IN SOCIAL CAUSATION. Stuart Bruchey. New York: Harper & Row, 1965. 234 pp. Available in paperback.

An excellent introduction to American economic

growth from colonial times to the outbreak of the Civil War. Stuart Bruchey concentrates on the role of government vs. that of private enterprise, the contribution of internal improvements to the creation of a national market, and the importance of capital accumulation for productive investment. A complementary volume to Bruchey's, but more controversial in its emphases, is GROWTH AND WELFARE IN THE AMERICAN PAST: A NEW ECONOMIC HISTORY. Douglass C. North, Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1966. 210 pp. Available in paperback.

THE EMERGENCE OF A NATIONAL ECONOMY, 1775-1815. Curtis P. Nettels. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962. 424 pp. Available in paperback.

A major survey of the economic history of the United States from the disruption of the colonial economy in 1775-1783 to the formation of a national economy, under first a Hamiltonian, then a Jeffersonian program. Effectively weaving economic matters into the fabric of social and political developments, Nettels also stresses the importance of achieving political unity and a stronger central government for the development of a national economy.

BUSINESS IN AMERICAN LIFE: A HISTORY. Thomas C. Cochran. New York, N. Y.: McGraw-Hill, 1972. 402 pp.

Presenting an important interpretation of American history centered around the institution of business, this book constitutes a "history of a business society," rather than the history of business or economic life in the more conventional sense. The author presents with unusual lucidity and liveliness business influences on family life, education, religion, law, politics, conditions of employment, and the general social structure throughout the entire span of American history.

THE TRANSPORTATION REVOLUTION, 1815-1860. George R. Taylor. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1951. 490 pp. Available in paperback.

The development of turnpikes, canals, and railroads between 1815 and 1860 is regarded by most economists as a powerful stimulus to the rapid economic growth of the United States. George R. Taylor presents an interesting narrative of the effects on transportation, manufacturing, labor, foreign trade, and banking. Some new interpretations have since been advanced, but Taylor's book still provides a superb synthesis.

CHANGE IN AGRICULTURE: THE NORTHERN UNITED STATES, 1820-1870. Clarence H. Danhof. *Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969. 322 pp.*

Agriculture was the most important unit of the American economy from colonial times to the end of the nineteenth century. Clarence Danhof has written an important study of the major changes in northern agriculture, from the traditional family farms to production for regional, national, and international markets. As the farmer's approach to farming became more demanding and more scientific, dramatic changes occurred in his acquisition of knowledge, introduction of plant varieties and livestock, and use of farm implements. A useful supplementary book on the relation of the farmer to government is FARM POLICIES OF THE UNITED STATES, 1790-1950. Murray R. Benedict. *New York: Twentieth Century Fund. 1953. 548 pp.*

LABOR IN AMERICA. 3rd edition. Foster Rhea Dulles. *New York: Crowell, 1966. 439 pp.*

The best general coverage of the development of trade unions from the colonial period to the 1960s for beginning college students or the non-college mature reader. Foster R. Dulles presents in a lively style insights into the problems of labor unions in different periods and circumstances. Although strongly sympathetic to workers, the book maintains a judicious balance throughout. An alternative labor history for more advanced students is A HISTORY OF AMERICAN LABOR, EXPANDED AND UPDATED. Joseph G. Rayback. *New York: The Free Press, 1966. 491 pp. Paperback.*

PROSPERITY DECADE FROM WAR TO DEPRESSION: 1917-1929. George Soule. *New York: Harper & Row, 1947. 365 pp. Available in paperback.*

The United States underwent crucial changes in a period that opened with the crisis of World War I and closed with the catastrophe of the 1929 depression. These developments, analyzed by George Soule with great skill, include the organization of a war economy, the problems of peacetime reconstruction, the expanding economy of the twenties, and the largely unexpected Crash of 1929. The book provides a balanced account of the complex events and trends in this period: the impact of the government upon the economy, the consequences of financial policy, the power of big business and high finance, the status of workers, and the sources of depression in agriculture.

AMERICA'S GREATEST DEPRESSION 1929-1941. Lester V. Chandler. *New York: Harper & Row, 1970. 260 pp. Original in paperback.*

The period from 1929-1941 presents many difficulties to the economic historian because of the world-wide impact of the great depression. Lester Chandler has avoided a partisan approach to the varied efforts of the New Deal to fight the depression. His book succeeds in describing, in understandable language, the main economic events during the depression, its effects on business, farm, and labor groups, the major recovery measures, and the climate of economic and political opinion that helped to mould different policy proposals. The reader interested in the Roosevelt Administration's evolution in policy-making and crisis-management probably will want to go on from Chandler's volume to study F.D.R. in World War II, THE STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL: A CHRONICLE OF ECONOMIC MOBILIZA-

TION IN WORLD WAR II. Eliot Janeway. (Vol. 53, Allan Nevins, ed., YALE CHRONICLES OF AMERICA.) *New Haven: Yale University Press, 1951. 382 pp.*

THE U. S. ECONOMY OF THE 1950'S. AN ECONOMIC HISTORY. Harold S. Vatter. *New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1963. 308 pp.*

A well-organized, path-breaking study of an era characterized by relative affluence and notable technological progress on the one hand, and on the other by persistent inflation, economic recessions, and the spread of depressed areas. Harold Vatter explains incisively the historic background of these problems and analyzes the relevant conditions in industry, labor, agriculture, and government. The reader will also find profitable a companion study, THE AGE OF KEYNES. Robert Lekachman. *New York: Random House, 1966. 324 pp.* This carries the study of American economic growth, as related to the theories of J. M. Keynes, down to the mid-1960s. An opposing point of view is to be found in CAPITALISM AND FREEDOM. Milton Friedman. *Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962. 202 pp.*

Suggestions for Discussion

1. If an egalitarian tone was strong in eighteenth-century political affairs, why did it not lead to a rough equality of wealth? Did these early Americans understand the concept of economic democracy?

2. What relationship, if any, existed between the political independence won by the American Revolution and the subsequent economic expansion of the U.S.?

3. To what extent did Southern and Northern farmers before the Civil War have similar problems of investment, markets, labor costs? What major difference did slavery make? To what extent have farmers given up reliance on a competitive market since the 1929 depression and the New Deal?

4. Did the evolution of American business into the modern corporation of the 1870s cause or merely contribute to unification of the nation and its growth to an economic power? Did trusts and mergers (e.g. Standard Oil, the U.S. Steel Corporation) strengthen or weaken the thrust of competition?

5. To what extent does America's high standard of living depend on the dominance of the economy by giant corporations, big government and agribusiness?

6. What led industrial workers to organize trade unions? What impact have unions had on wages, hours, working conditions, and employment of their members? of non-members? Viewed historically, has government (state or national) generally helped or hindered trade union organization?

7. In spite of the champions of states rights and *laissez-faire*, there has been a long trend to centralized government in the U.S. Why did believers in free enterprise appeal to the government for subsidies of turnpikes, canals, railroads, highways, airlines? Why did businessmen and corporations seek government intervention on a massive scale during the depression of 1929 and World War II? To what extent has this attitude carried over into present times? □



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NEH Notes

Legislation in Process

Authorizing legislation for the continued existence of, and higher funding for, the Endowment has been passed in both Houses of Congress. Because of differences between their bills, a conference is necessary before a final bill can be sent to the President. Appropriation bills are currently being considered by respective appropriations committees and will probably reach a final vote during the summer. The Administration has requested \$65 million in outright funds and \$7.5 million to match private gifts to the Endowment.

Soviet Art Show Continues its Travels

With significant financial support from NEH the exhibition of "Impressionist and Post-Impressionist Paintings from the USSR" is continuing its travels around the United States.

The Endowment is financing the educational and interpretive programs connected with the various showings: at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art beginning June 15 and ending July 8; at the Art Institute of Chicago between July 18 and August 12; and at the Kimbell Art Museum in Ft. Worth, Texas from August 22 to September 16.

Including a grant to the National Gallery of Art in

Washington, where the paintings were first exhibited in this country, the Endowment has given over \$200,000 in funds to support the educational and interpretive aspects of this cultural exchange.

BBC *War and Peace* to be Presented by WGBH/Boston in Fall of 1973

An NEH grant to WGBH/Boston will help the station acquire and present the BBC film on Leo Tolstoy's *War and Peace* next fall on educational television. Modeled on other BBC dramatizations of novels, such as *The Forsyte Saga* and the Masterpiece Theatre productions, the film will be arranged in 9 programs of 1½ to 2 hours each. The times and places of broadcast will be announced at a later date.

Research Application Deadline

November 19, 1973 has been set as the deadline for receipt of Research applications for grants to start in most cases not before September 1, 1974.

Youthgrants in the Humanities

A new group of 15 *Youthgrants in the Humanities* has been awarded this month from a group of 130 eligible applicants, bringing to 577 the number of formal applications received during the first year of the program.