

The author relies on a large number of often long, indented quotations that, while always appropriate and informative, do get a little tedious. But this criticism is a small matter, for Buckley has produced a seminal work that includes a thorough grounding in contemporary interpretative theory, the wise selection of images to make his points, and a solid analysis of what Consolidation Coal's photos reveal and do not reveal. The book makes an important contribution that can be appreciated by the general reader, but will be of special interest to scholars in fields such as photographic interpretation, Appalachian studies, landscape analysis, coal mining, and industrial history.

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Thomas Dublin and Walter Licht. *The Face of Decline: The Pennsylvania Anthracite Region in the Twentieth Century*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005; 277 pp., b&w photos, map, graphs and tables, 8 append., notes, bib., ind., cloth, \$65, paper, \$24.95. ISBN: 0801484735

The Face of Decline deals with the important and relatively un-studied dying phase of mining, in this case in the Pennsylvania anthracite region trending southwest from Scranton. Historians usually focus on the boom periods in mining history, rather than on eras of contraction or abandonment. But coal mining areas never had the glory days of the precious-metals districts, and the industry's often sporadic and contentious nature has led to a better examination of the hard times in coal.

Even so, much of the best work on decline and de-industrialization, particularly that of the latter twentieth century, has been done by sociologists rather than historians. So it is a pleasure to see two senior and respected historians, Thomas Dublin and Walter Licht—each of whom has written extensively on labor history in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries—examine decline

in one of the most important mineral fields in the country.

Anthracite's decline began after World War I. Anthracite tends to run in narrow, contorted veins, which makes it much less amenable to the machine mining that began to dominate and lower the cost of bituminous coal. Anthracite's heat-producing advantage in smelting could be nullified by coking, and anthracite lost its market as a fuel to cheaper, cleaner, and easier-handling petroleum and natural gas. By 1970, few working mines remained in the region, and a peak employment of 156,148 in 1917 had dwindled to 6,286. Pennsylvania anthracite employed fewer than a thousand people in 2000.

During the first great crisis period, the Great Depression, miners tried to mitigate their unemployment by forcing coal companies to adopt equalization programs, wherein all of a company's properties kept operating at least part-time, regardless of profitability, to spread employment to as many workers as possible. Some miners temporarily broke with their union, the United Mine Workers, forming the independent United Anthracite Miners of Pennsylvania after they decided that the UMWA did not represent them effectively. A third tactic used to survive the depression days was the bootleg mining of small surface veins. Bootleg miners illegally extracted that coal, processed it in small, home-made crushers, then either sold it to truckers or trucked it to nearby cities themselves. Although resisted ineffectively by the companies, bootlegging enjoyed wide community support and made a fairly effective bridge across the rough times.

During the final collapse in the twenty-five years after World War II, such temporary expedients did not avail. A fundamental reordering of the regional economy was called for, and Dublin and Licht discuss at length regional attempts to either bring this about or at least to mitigate the effects of chronic unemployment. The authors discuss efforts by governments and communities to promote industrial development to replace an-

thracite mining, starting with attracting silk mills in the nineteenth century. These efforts were often temporarily successful, but the jobs that they brought often paid much less than mining, and the companies involved often left the region abruptly. Efforts to promote regional industrial development were sparse from the federal government, unfocused in the case of the state, and competitive among local governments.

With governments ineffective, union leadership self-interested and corrupt, and capital concerned only with profit and indifferent to the region's fate, decline proceeded inexorably, and individuals were left to deal with it as best they could. Adults more often attempted to remain in the region. They accepted a lower standard of living and had wives contribute increasingly to household income or tried to survive on Social Security or black lung benefits. Those coming of age during the hard times of the 1950s were much more willing to leave the region for better economic opportunities, though they often settled nearby and returned home upon retirement.

Either strategy had social consequences. The authors emphasize the changes in family order caused by women's roles being at least partly redefined by economic necessity, and discuss the demographic consequences of the out-migration of 80 percent of the younger generation. They condemn the legacies of anthracite's decline: struggling or abandoned communities, environmental degradation, and limited economic opportunities for communities and individuals. What remains are local attempts to memorialize the anthracite days, by the survivors and others who persist, for memory or profit. The text is nicely augmented with historic and modern illustrations, though the small typeface used in the paperback edition may challenge the bi-focal set.

The lead author of *Face of Decline*, Thomas Dublin, won the Bancroft Prize for a previous history, this reviewer has not; so the reader can take the following criticisms in that light. This book comes across strongest in its social his-

tory, but weaker on the realities of industrial management. The authors seem perplexed and distressed that former coal companies ceased to devote themselves to the losing proposition that was anthracite.

Dublin and Licht blame the declining economy of the anthracite region on greedy and heartless coal companies; corrupt, hierarchical, and self-interested unions; and short-sighted and ineffective local, state, and federal governments. They seem reluctant to blame the obvious: the steady loss of markets for anthracite after World War I. The authors also decry both "the devastation caused by mining and its abandonment." Mining exploited and endangered workers and harmed the environment, but it sure was a shame to see it go.

Their solution to regional decline? "Robust government programs" that would permit residents to remain in the region and nullify the decline of its industry as much as possible. The authors hold the handling of coal's decline in Europe, particularly Great Britain, as preferable to America's more decentralized, *laissez-faire* treatment of the problem. European solutions included nationalization of mines, environmental remediation, job training, various stipends and allowances paid to miners to mitigate some of their costs, and government "redundancy payments" made to those willing to quite the business entirely. But would many of these measures be politically practical, or even constitutional, in the federal American system emphasizing individual and property rights?

Frankly, this work might have benefitted from a comparative glance to the west. Just because such things had never happened in the Pennsylvania anthracite region before does not mean that they had never happened. A reading of some of the literature of the American West on the subject of decline might have better informed this study: the dependence on outside capital, which abandons declining communities for greater returns; the inevitable decline of mineral-extractive

communities upon the loss of their resource or its market; the common occurrence of the ghost town; the need to either commute or migrate significant distances to work. All of these things, which westerners take for granted, strike Dublin and Licht as both unnatural and unfair.

Face of Decline addresses a very significant subject—in both mining and industrial history—through an important case example, but it does so unevenly. It handles some things very well, but misses other opportunities. The authors gave extended attention to two important aspects of the social transformations caused by decline: the alteration of sex roles, as women became an increasingly important component of their families' paid economies; and the decline's differing influence on older and younger generations. But the effects of the decline upon different ethnic groups, if any, go unmentioned. Since ethnic groups usually came to mining districts in waves, one wonders if "last hired, first fired" had any influence on particular groups. Aside from noting the absence of racial conflict due to the absence of blacks in the region, this entire subject goes unexplored.

Also curious is the authors' failure to examine other obvious indices of social distress in the face of decline. Dublin and Licht made no attempt to analyze marriage and divorce records, crime rates (including, most significantly, domestic violence, murder, and suicide), graduation rates, or school attendance figures. The figures for all of these categories are both available and comprehensive in the years following the Great Depression, which are the heart of this study.

Such information could have helped the authors sustain their findings (matched by this reviewer's research) as to the resilience of people in a declining economy. Residents willingly made decisions factoring a standard of living against such things as attachment to place or occupation, then adjusted their lives accordingly. Some accept a lower standard of living to remain in a place or among kin, while others make the opposite choice,

but people do adapt, largely successfully, in the face of decline.

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Colleen Whitley (ed.). *From the Ground Up: The History of Mining in Utah*. Logan: Utah State University Press, 2006; 506 pp., numerous b&w ill., b&w and three fold-out color maps, notes, bib., author bios., ind., cloth, \$34.95. ISBN: 0874216397.

From the Ground Up undertakes the ambitious mission of summarizing Utah's long and varied mining history. Subjects run from the celebrated, such as Bingham Canyon and the uranium boom, to less-heralded but important industries like coal mining and saline production (the latter constituting over a quarter of the value of the state's industrial-minerals production in 2002). These are generally corporate and production histories, with much geology, and some social, labor, ethnic, and a touch of environmental history.

The book is laid out in three sections. The introductory portion features a general geological treatise about the state that is fairly accessible to the lay reader; a general overview of Utah's mineral production; a biography of Patrick Edward Connor, the most significant early figure in discovering and developing Utah's mineral resources; and a chapter on Utah's mining legends and folklore. The second section contains chapters on the saline, coal, uranium, and beryllium industries. The final part of the book contains biographies of Utah's major mining districts: Iron County, Bingham Canyon, Silver Reef, Alta, Park City, Tintic, San Francisco, and Uintah.

Nineteen authors contributed to this volume. They include mining history's singular and refreshing variety of historians, scientists, and industry officials, many of them Utah natives. *From the Ground Up* is extensively illustrated, with three black-and-white photo sections contain-