eventually gave way in the 1950s to such later stalwarts of the Iowa labor movement as Jack McCoy and Russell Bull.

In a separate chapter, Warren also shows how Ottumwa's packinghouse workers formed a bulwark of the Democratic Party as it transformed the balance of power in Iowa in the 1950s and 1960s away from the once-dominant Republicans. Herschel Loveless and Harold Hughes relied on the union voters of Wapello County and other urban centers to swing the state firmly into the Democratic column in races for governor and U.S. senator, as did Dick Clark and John Culver in the 1970s.

But by then the Morrell Co. had closed its Ottumwa operations as recession, excess plant capacity, an outmoded facility, and the so-called IBP revolution in production efficiency winnowed out less productive plants. Hormel then operated a smaller plant in Ottumwa from 1974 to 1987, when Excel replaced them. Warren's chapter on the end of Morrell in Ottumwa and the meatpackers that replaced the old company is a sad litany of wage concessions, broken corporate promises and workers treated like so many disposable parts. The final insult to hundreds of former Morrell workers, now retirees, came in 1995, when the corporation disposed of $15 million in health benefits in order to lower the asking price for a sought-after corporate buyout. Warren's final chapter is a moving reminder that capital is mobile and sometimes leaves wreckage in its wake, as many other small Iowa and midwestern towns have learned since 1973.

A review can hardly do justice to the work that went into this book, though the notes give some idea of the amount of oral interviews, old newspapers, census data, corporate information, and secondary sources consulted. This work is certainly definitive and will enlighten readers interested in labor history, meatpacking, Iowa history, and small-town economic development.

A Union Against Unions: The Minnesota Citizens Alliance and Its Fight against Organized Labor, 1903–1947, by William Millikan. Minneapolis: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2001. xxxi, 495 pp. Illustrations, appendixes, notes, index. $34.95 cloth.

Reviewer Colin Gordon is associate professor of history at the University of Iowa. He is the author of *New Deals: Business, Labor, and Politics in America, 1920–1935* (1994) and the forthcoming *Dead on Arrival: Health Care and the Limits of Social Provision in the United States, 1915–1995.*

A Union Against Unions offers a remarkable case study of the ways political power is organized and exercised in state and city politics in the first half of the twentieth century. William Millikan's brilliant and

exhaustive study of the Minnesota Citizens Alliance is at once a dramatic narrative of labor relations, an incisive history of the urban political economy of Minneapolis and St. Paul, and a fundamental reassessment of the politics of reform and reaction through war, depression, New Deal, and war. Historians of urban politics and labor relations (particularly in the CIO era) have generally assumed a backdrop of business resistance and political influence, but have rarely offered more than episodic glimpses of such resistance or influence in action. Millikan fills in this backdrop in painstaking detail: in the end, we know not only how and why Minnesota business interests dug in against threats to their political or managerial power, but also the organizational details of their efforts, the ways they employed or influenced state power, and how much they were willing to spend to fight labor in the statehouse, in political culture, and in the streets.

The early chapters (about the first third of the book) trace the origins of the Citizens Alliance and its ideology in the context of rapid growth and change in Minneapolis's political economy. The key battles include the establishment of the "open shop" in the city's milling industry and machine trades early in the century and the defeat of a Teamsters strike in 1916. The latter confrontation, importantly, was not just over managerial rights but over control of commerce in the city. As in subsequent battles with trucking, construction, and transportation unions, the Alliance wanted to ensure that employers—and not the local labor movement—could maintain organizational and political ties across industries and trades. These early chapters also detail the Alliance's efforts to promote economic development, influence public opinion, and undermine labor power by controlling vocational education.

The middle third of the book carries these efforts through World War I and the 1920s. The war-era crackdown on organized labor and the left is, in many respects, a familiar story. But it is also a fundamentally local story, playing out in different ways in different cities. Millikan shows how Minnesota employers adapted war rhetoric and the anti-radical climate of the first "Red Scare" to what was already a well-established pattern of anti-labor organization, legal repression, and violence. Perhaps most remarkable here are Millikan's chapter-length examinations of the Alliance's attempts to shape judicial appointments, deputize local police to their cause, run a network of industrial spies, and pay for it all.

In the later chapters, the Alliance faces a new set of challenges, including the Great Depression, the increased electoral clout of the State's Farmer-Labor Party, and the emergence of the CIO in response to the New Deal revolution in labor law. Again, the key battle involves

the Teamsters, whose successful organization would give labor control over not just trucking but much of the economic infrastructure of the city. Although the Alliance retreats during the 1934 Teamsters strike and the CIO organizing drive of 1935–1937, they recover much of their lost ground in the late 1930s by launching a public relations drive against union radicalism, redoubling their political efforts, and nurturing jurisdictional spats between the AFL and CIO. The final victory comes with the passage of the Minnesota Labor Relations Act of 1939, a check on union power that provided the template for the federal Taft-Hartley Act in 1947 and served to "stabilize a conservative union bureaucracy and isolate the union movement from the threatening leadership of the country's radical movements" (362).

This is an immensely important book. The core narrative helps us make sense of the transformation of urban politics and labor relations through the first half of the twentieth century. The long history of the Alliance details the myriad ways (in local and state politics, in local journalism, in education, in law and law enforcement) that business interests wielded political and cultural power. Perhaps most importantly, Millikan's prodigious research (largely using the Alliance's own records) offers both a compelling case study and a model for future research regarding what is arguably the most important but least investigated question of American political history: how, in a notoriously business-dominated political system, is business power organized and exercised?

The Sanitary City: Urban Infrastructure in America from Colonial Times to the Present, by Martin V. Melosi. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000. xii, 578 pp. Illustrations, tables, graphs, notes, bibliographical essay, index. $59.95 cloth.

Reviewer Maureen Ogle is a historian from Ames. During her career in academia she wrote extensively on the culture and technology of urban America, including *All the Modern Conveniences: American Household Plumbing, 1840–1890* (1996). She now writes popular history for the trade press.

Flush the toilet. Turn on the shower. Yell at your kids to wipe their feet, and carry on a conversation with your spouse at the same time you're taking out the garbage. Mindless but necessary tasks we carry out so automatically that they're usually over and done with before we even realize we're doing them. That's the beauty of contemporary urban life and the highly regulated service city: as if by magic, water runs, garbage vanishes, wastes disappear down the toilet and out of sight. (Unfortunately, the kids still need to be told to wipe their feet.)