

Iowa has a prominent place in Reps's book, as it did in the general production of nineteenth-century town views. Early artists such as John Caspar Wild and Henry Lewis, Rufus Wright, Lucinda Farnham, W. J. Gilbert, Augustus Hageboeck, Charles Vogt, Alexander Simplot, C. J. Pauli, and Seth Eastman painted many views of Iowa towns. Reps also portrays the artistic products of Albert Ruger and Henry Wellge, who produced by far the most bird's-eye views in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. All of the artists mentioned rendered views of one or more Iowa towns. Among the Iowa towns illustrated in vignette sections of the book are Keokuk, Fort Madison, Burlington, Muscatine, Davenport, Dubuque, McGregor, and Guttenberg. The only criticism I have of the book is the omission of views of Iowa towns by such artists as William Momberger, Phillippe Ronde, E. C. Gnahn, and William Williams. And there is the inexplicable absence of Clinton and its more notable predecessor, Lyons, from the book.

This book is a superb production, both in terms of information and in appearance. It is a beautiful book, full of fascinating stories. I recommend it highly to all historians, libraries, and to all residents of towns along the Mississippi River.

*Producers, Proletarians, and Politicians: Workers and Party Politics in Evansville and New Albany, Indiana, 1850-1887*, by Lawrence M. Lipin. The Working Class in American History Series. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994. xii, 313 pp. Illustrations, maps, tables, graphs, notes, index. \$29.95 cloth, \$14.95 paper.

REVIEWED BY MARK A. LAUSE, CINCINNATI, OHIO

Modern labor history has transcended the study of labor organizations to address the broader issues of workers' experiences in their communities and culture. More than twenty years ago, Herbert Gutman's work reminded scholars that small industrial towns framed much of that experience in nineteenth-century America. That insight has inspired an entire genre of local labor studies to which Lawrence Lipin has made a useful contribution.

Evansville and New Albany shared the Ohio River and its commercial and shipbuilding potential. The city directories, local histories, government records, and newspapers well document the emergence and development of class structures. Labor rhetoric there reflected the more general worldview centered on the small producer with a political outlook shaped by an artisan republicanism. If never democratic, the focus of power in that world was nonetheless civic and public.

Class structures, however, changed drastically during these decades. Coupled to the more general transformation of traditional artisan trades, the production of iron, glass, and coal expanded the scale of industrial life and reshaped the neighborhoods and electoral patterns in these towns. W. C. DePauw came to preside over a virtual barony at New Albany, while a more homogeneous and internally integrated elite arose at Evansville. Real power became privatized, even as "the middling sort" faded in importance and the work force became larger, ethnically more heterogeneous, and less easily organized or mobilized.

Workers—and many others—resisted these changes. Just as important as the succession of trade unions were the broad, often fraternal associations of workingmen culminating in the Knights of Labor that asserted the traditional egalitarian values of "republicanism" in opposition to the demands of the new "aristocracy." Lipin's argument that electoral politics provided an arena through which workers defined their broader class identities and negotiated for concessions represents something of a departure from an earlier scholarly emphasis on the ballot's power to diffuse workers' cohesiveness and militancy.

His argument promises more chronologically than it delivers. Leon Fink correctly describes the book as one of the few to "cross the Civil War divide," but Lipin's focus is clearly the Gilded Age. Robert Owen's New Harmony community inspired circles of well-wishers along the Ohio valley with a cooperative vision that informed the efforts of "the producing classes" well into the postwar years; the land reform agitation moved producers in both New Albany and Evansville, which had its own circle of George Lippard's Brotherhood of the Union. Antebellum concerns about "free labor" unaddressed by Whigs or Democrats inspired the emergence of a successful third party movement that provides the best example of electoral politics as an arena of social negotiation for labor reform.

Lipin generally subsumes the Civil War that resulted from that new party's victory into a competent review of economic development and Democratic resistance to the war. The conflict redefined American institutions and ideas, including electoral politics and labor ideology. Rather than cede power beyond a certain point, the powerful demonstrated a willingness to do anything up to and including the destruction of the nation. Workers in the Gilded Age carried vivid memories of the price of maintaining an electoral choice against a sectional elite that sought to set aside the results. Thus, when Iowa's Greenback Congressman James B. Weaver denounced two-party politics in 1880, thousands at New Albany cheered but later voted Democratic or

Republican. These clear limits imposed on the postwar civic culture framed the best efforts of Lipin's subjects to wring the most modest concessions.

Therefore, his argument that postwar Democrats provided a viable vehicle for such negotiation seems particularly problematic. Like Iowa and other midwestern states, Indiana experienced a promising third party movement of farmers and workers in the 1870s. Barred from power by seemingly insurmountable Republican majorities in the North, desperate Democrats often assimilated insurgent rhetoric, platforms, and candidates. More plausibly, this use of producerist or traditional republican language reflected rather than nourished workers' interests; practice indicates a negotiation that required everything of insurgent citizens and little from politicians.

Nevertheless, Lipin's analysis of class formation in its economic, social, cultural, and ideological dimensions is well researched and presented. The book's strengths (as well as omissions) are rooted in current scholarship, and his political interpretation is provocative if unconvincing. Most importantly, the book has recovered the experience of two more unique industrial communities of the Gilded Age.

*Black San Francisco: The Struggle for Racial Equality in the West, 1900-1954*, by Albert S. Broussard. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. x, 323 pp. Map, tables, notes, index. \$35.00 cloth.

REVIEWED BY WILLIAM L. HEWITT, WEST CHESTER UNIVERSITY

In *Black San Francisco*, Albert Broussard describes a city that had no black ghetto before World War II (5). Yet in 1966 the city erupted in five days of racial rioting after a white police officer killed a black teenager who had allegedly stolen an automobile. Broussard sets out to explain how this could happen as he attempts to fill a void in scholarship left because "the history of blacks in the twentieth century urban West has been largely neglected" (1).

Blacks were not drawn to San Francisco in large numbers before 1940, when they constituted only one percent of the population, because of limited economic opportunities and competition with nonwhite groups for unskilled jobs. Furthermore, San Francisco's distance from the South made it more difficult for blacks to migrate there than to many northern or midwestern cities. The small black population, nevertheless, faced discrimination in employment and social life. San Francisco's black elite challenged sensational examples of racial hatred, as did the black elites in Iowa cities such as Des Moines and Sioux City. Blacks supported the NAACP, but rejected

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