

city. Beginning with the hopes of Progressive idealists for a unified urban community, Teaforde expertly depicts the unfolding realities of metropolitan development into the 1980s. His picture is clear: except for the years of the Great Depression and of World War II, the motif is the flight of urbanized Americans from cities to suburbs, an irreversible impulse facilitated by highways and automobiles and motivated by the urge to escape from ethnic and racial diversity. This is the dominant reality that has consistently defeated even the best efforts of local and national administrations to prevent the deterioration of the central cities. The typical result is an increasingly decentralized metropolis of discrete suburban fragments in which the central city itself is becoming simply another suburb.

Teaforde has incorporated an impressive variety of interesting and significant matters into his expanding metroscape. He introduces us to such people as the moral reformer Arthur B. Farwell and the mobster Al Capone, as well as to such contrasting situations as the planned suburb of Radburn and the unplanned ghetto of Pruitt-Igoe. In his penultimate chapter, "An Age of 'Urban Crisis,' 1964–1979," he provides us with able summations of the urban policies devised by both the Johnson and Nixon administrations and with a succinct analysis of the fiscal crises that hamstrung New York and other cities in the 1970s. The shortness of this book, of course, precludes some things that someone will think important—for instance, the "New Towns" planning of the 1960s and the process of gentrification in the 1970s. Also, although most readers will appreciate the author's emphasis on the dominating influence of social and ethnic separatism, some will regret his lapses into cynicism (e.g., Al Capone as a "true molder" of the city) and his seeming indifference to the positive side of metropolitan development. In its overall excellence, though, this book has value for all students of modern urban America. Do I plan to use it in my own urban history course? Yes, most definitely.

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*American Workers, American Unions, 1920–1985.* By Robert H. Zieger. (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986. Pp. xii, 233. Bibliographical essay, index. Clothbound, \$25.00; paperbound, \$9.95.)

By 1985, suggests Stanley I. Kutler in his editor's foreword, "the question, in short, was whether the unions had become irrelevant." Robert H. Zieger's sympathetic history of American unions, without answering this question directly, leaves open the possibility that they had.

The narrative begins in the 1920s, when American workers found themselves disunited and disadvantaged in an era of apparent prosperity, and concludes in the mid-1980s, when the same observations could be made. In between, Zieger charts the rapid rise and the gradual decline of organized labor as a major social force.

The Depression set the stage for a rebirth of unions, and their entry into politics. Rapid growth in the 1930s led to intense labor-management strife which neither existing union structures (i.e., the American Federation of Labor (AFL) ) nor the early New Deal (i.e., the National Recovery Administration) could contain. The Wagner Act achieved industrial peace and ordained both the successes and the limitations of American unionism by turning unions into managers of rank-and-file discontents, employers into guarantors of union membership rolls, and the National Labor Relations Board into the red-tape-laden referee. Hardly was this new arrangement and the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) in place before World War II broke out. During the war the deal cut in the Wagner Act was ratified by labor's No-Strike Pledge and by management's maintenance of union membership. Unlike their World War I ancestors, the new and the newly strong unions of 1945 survived the conversion to peacetime. The Taft-Hartley Act limited long-term union security more than it did short-term union successes. By winning for their members a larger piece of the larger American pie with hard-fought strikes and savvy political maneuvering, the AFL and CIO moved into the 1950s as the stable representatives of increasingly affluent workers. But by the 1960s the decline of unions both in percentage of the work force they represented and in their ability to adapt to (let alone lead) social change was apparent. Buffeted by the issues of Vietnam and civil rights, union leaders found themselves attacked by militants as part of the establishment, deserted by their membership for Republican candidates or George Wallace, and all the while manhandled by managements who had learned to flout the National Labor Relations Act with impunity. In 1968 came the moment of truth: Hubert Humphrey was defeated. But still worse lay in store: the Reagan era of massive unemployment, give-backs, and union busting. Zieger offers counterarguments to those who see unions as responsible for the deindustrialization of America, but can find no John L. Lewis on labor's horizon to marshal the forces anew.

Zieger's account, using a rich variety of earlier works, is generally well woven, concise, and adept. He gives a friendly hearing to mainline union leadership, shorter shrift to critics right and left. He places particular emphasis on the history of the United Automobile Workers of America. He makes occasional mention of Indiana's position as a conservative state which still reflects national developments on the labor scene. Particularly lucid is his treat-

ment of complex labor laws, and particularly sympathetic is his grasp of the problems of female and black unionists.

Little will be found in these pages that is new, and fellow scholars may be frustrated by his substitution of bibliographical essays for footnotes. His treatment of the years from 1968 to 1985 in a brief epilogue is a disappointment. Yet, Zieger has compiled an altogether useful account of what for now appears to have been the golden era of labor in the United States.

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*Reform in America: The Continuing Frontier.* By Robert H. Walker. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1985. Pp. ix, 270. Illustrations, tables, notes, appendix, bibliographical note, index. \$25.00.)

"Broadacre City is everywhere and nowhere" (p. 145). When Robert H. Walker quoted Frank Lloyd Wright's description of his new town utopia, he unwittingly characterized his own book. After a lifetime of studying reform in America, Walker has written a "constructive synthesis" of a "continuing frontier" he sees everywhere and in every age. His book, more an extended essay than a freshly researched monograph, invites historians to view the "reform spirit" in American history as continuous rather than periodized. In redefining the language and patterns of reform he seeks to show that "directed social change constitutes a vital and undervalued part of this nation's meaning" (pp. vii-ix).

Walker's ambitious synthesis of American reform is organized around three "modes." "Politico-economic reform," focused mainly on the politics of money from Jackson's veto to the Federal Reserve Act, also deals with poverty, labor reform, and suffrage. His second mode, "Social Justice for All," discusses the extension of political and economic participation to those "special groups" (blacks and women) who have been "outside the mainstream" but also explores civil liberties, temperance, and the asylum movement. Mode III covers utopian "planners and dreamers," ranging from antebellum to modern communes, literary utopias to science fiction, and builders of new towns to designers of world government.

To structure all this material into 210 pages, Walker has invented a new quasi-quantitative "taxonomy," which he calls "analytical social history." Within each of the "modes" are four "logical subheadings." The terms are new but hardly the categories. He discusses reform in terms of "the principal actors" (seen as associations and governments rather than people, who are largely missing from the book), the "arguments and assumptions" of reformers, and the "forms" and "dynamics" of reform, which include both a