

Shakers. Elements of this tradition of "radical social idealism" (p. xiii) will be familiar to those acquainted with utopian themes in American social and cultural history—New Harmony, Brook Farm, Fourierism, the North American Phalanx, Henry George's *Progress and Poverty*, Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, the Industrial Workers of the World, and New Llano. These and a host of other particular expressions of the hope for a better tomorrow through cooperation occupy Spann's attention.

But this volume is more than a catalog of those committed to the cooperative ideal. It is rather a detailed genetic history linking the various manifestations of associationism, showing what they shared and where they differed. Spann, for example, describes the various appropriations made of the social ideas of the Frenchman Charles Fourier, including his doctrine of Passional Attraction that called for acceptance of the passions as dynamic forces for good. Fourier's views went through modifications at the hands of his American disciples who adapted the structures of the phalanx and combined his ideas with their own notions about the future.

Spann does not write as a totally disinterested historian. On the contrary, he is explicit about the hope that his story will contribute "toward reinvigorating the stagnated social imaginations of Americans" (p. xv) who today face the task of dealing with a troubled world. He expresses his own faith in the cooperative vision. Without such ideals future prospects seem dim to him. "Indeed," he writes, "in a world where calculation and force outrun social imagination, it is possible that without some cooperative ideal, there may be no tomorrow at all" (p. 282).

Several observations are in order. Spann's choice of the title "*Brotherly Tomorrows*" is strangely insensitive to the fact that these cooperative experiments included many women as well as men. His sharp division between religious and secular groups seems strained at times. The Progressive Shakers of the late nineteenth century, for example, were motivated by both religious and secular ideals. On the other hand, Spann makes a very persuasive case why Americans were not attracted to Marxist socialism but rather chose other forms of cooperation.

STEPHEN J. STEIN, professor and chair of the Department of Religious Studies, Indiana University, Bloomington, has just finished a volume entitled *The Shaker Experience in America: A History of the United Society of Believers* (1992).

Snowbelt Cities: Metropolitan Politics in the Northeast and Midwest since World War II. Edited by Richard M. Bernard. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990. Pp. ix, 275. Map, tables, notes, appendix. \$35.00.)

Snowbelt Cities follows a format that Richard M. Bernard first used in *Sunbelt Cities: Politics and Growth since World War II* (1983). It includes an introduction on "Snowbelt Politics" by the editor and individual city essays by historians who are familiar with a group of twelve large cities north of the Potomac and Ohio

and east of the Missouri. The essay that might be expected on Minneapolis and St. Paul is missing, and the author draws the size line just below Indianapolis, with a metropolitan region population of 1.2 million, thus omitting Buffalo (1.18 million), Providence (1.1), and Hartford (1.04) as well as the region's very large number of cities with populations between 100,000 and 1 million.

Snowbelt Cities is more coherent than many collections of essays by diverse hands. Bernard's introduction describes a protocol that most contributors clearly agreed to follow emphasizing rough measures of population growth and decline and the participation of a set of large, loosely defined groups ("business," blacks, Hispanics, ethnics, "yuppies") in mayoral politics. Each city essay provides a narrative history of mayoral politics during the postwar period focusing on the effectiveness of municipal officials and policies in coping with the challenge of economic and racial change. Bernard concludes that "apart from the neighborhood protectionists, these groups generally agreed on the growth-oriented policies long advocated by business" (p. 19). Snowbelt cities differed from their sunbelt counterparts, he suggests, not in their aims but in the greater "relative power" of their "nonbusiness groups."

Collectively, the individual city essays provide a wealth of detailed information about postwar municipal politics. Most of the authors do an excellent job within the fifteen to thirty pages they are allowed (New York is simply too large and complex for this format). Mark Gelfand's essay on Boston is particularly successful in covering a story of intense conflict over mayoral nominations, economic policy, and race relations. The essays on three cities where Bernard judges "business interests" to be "clearly in control" (p. 19) are among the most coherent, perhaps because they have simpler stories to tell; these include Zane L. Miller and Bruce Tucker's essay on Cincinnati, Michael P. Weber's on Pittsburgh, and Robert G. Barrows's on Indianapolis.

Snowbelt Cities leaves much to be done. It is not based on a sophisticated economic analysis. It largely ignores the federal, state, and county policies that have shaped the economic and social fates of individual cities. The essays on individual cities (with the notable exception of Barrows's on Indianapolis) pay far too little attention to *metropolitan* politics and treat the central cities as far more autonomous than they are. But this is a book that will be widely useful to historians of the Midwest and of economic development as well as to students of these cities and of cities in general.

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