

was by no means the “dictator” of reconstruction policies, as he has so often been represented (p. xi).

One drawback in Trefousse’s study is that the reader does not get a full sense of why Stevens took the political positions that he did. Although Trefousse argues that Stevens’s “increasing commitment to antislavery and radical uplift is not hard to explain” (p. 46), it never is fully explained. Trefousse makes reference to Stevens’s rethinking the issue after he represented slaveowners, but why he reexamined his beliefs is not developed. Indeed, the book would have been strengthened by a fuller exploration of Stevens’s motivation in a variety of areas, including his antislavery beliefs and hostility to the South, as well as his progressive belief in complete equality (far ahead of most of his contemporaries).

Nevertheless, Trefousse has authored a solid account of this important Civil War era political figure. Stevens was decades ahead of contemporaries in his struggle for an interracial democracy, and Trefousse convincingly argues that Stevens’s “legacy made possible racial progress in the twentieth century” (p. 245).

THOMAS S. WERMUTH, assistant professor of history at Marist College in Poughkeepsie, New York, teaches pre-Civil War United States history. He has published articles on the market revolution in antebellum New York in the *Journal of Social History* and *Business History* and is completing revisions of a book-length manuscript on the same topic.

Unionizing the Jungles: Labor and Community in the Twentieth Century Meatpacking Industry. Edited by Shelton Stromquist and Marvin Bergman. (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1997. Pp. vi, 272. Notes, index. \$32.95.)

It is difficult to use the phrase “the jungle” without invoking Upton Sinclair’s classic novel; indeed, the editors of *Unionizing the Jungles* begin by noting the persistence of this “compelling metaphor for life and work in the nation’s meatpacking industry” (p. 1). The metaphor, though, does not do justice to the complexity of the history of packinghouse workers. The essays in this volume move toward bringing their experience into the mainstream of American working-class history.

The origins of this book lie in a “scholarly conversation” on the history of the meatpacking industry that was sponsored by the Center for Recent United States History (CRUSH), in which nine scholars presented their research and discussed it with other scholars and labor activists. The resulting volume includes an editors’ introduction and essays by those who presented their work.

Essay collections face many pitfalls, including uneven quality of individual contributions, lack of coherence, and inadequate contextualization. The editors and contributors have largely avoided

these, presenting essays that complement each other, represent solid research, and are consistently placed within larger themes in American working-class history. These virtues reflect the conference's success in identifying central themes in the history of packinghouse workers, including the degree to which the industry's labor relations were exceptional; the question of worker agency in union-building; the role of race, ethnicity, and gender in workforce formation and unionization; the United Packinghouse Workers of America's (UPWA) history of social and political activism after World War II; and the implications of this history for working-class history and for those interested in the current state of the labor movement.

Paul Street's essay on Swift and Company's welfare capitalism after World War I argues that this program represented more than management manipulation: it incorporated the core demands workers put forward during their wartime upsurge in organization and activism. Swift workers found ways to manipulate welfare capitalism and use it to define the terms on which they would embrace company "loyalty." When the Depression undermined Swift's ability to maintain its programs, CIO organizers found a powerful organizing tool in the expectations welfare capitalism had helped legitimize.

Peter Rachleff's essay on the Independent Union of All Workers (IUAW) goes to the heart of the debate over the potential of what Staughton Lynd and others have called "community-based unionism" as an alternative to the national, bureaucratic, industrial unionism of the CIO. Centered in the packing plants of Austin and Albert Lea, Minnesota, the IUAW organized "wall to wall" within communities, linking workers regardless of occupation and emphasizing participation and democracy. Outside the workplace, it created a union-based culture, with publications, organizations, classes, and social activities linking members and their families. The IUAW enjoyed a brief but dramatic life before disappearing under the onslaught of national unions and organizing committees in the late 1930s.

Several essays focus on the UPWA, which survived the CIO's Cold War era purges with its values of racial equality and social democracy intact. Rick Halpern explores race and radicalism in the Chicago stockyards, documenting an alliance between black and white workers that was crucial to the success of the Packinghouse Workers Organizing Committee and to the UPWA. Roger Horowitz finds the UPWA's civil rights activism rooted in its tradition of shopfloor unionism. Wilson J. Warren demonstrates how rank-and-file anti-communism and racial prejudice undermined the UPWA's commitment to social democratic programs. Bruce Fehn presents a local case study of the UPWA's commitment to racial equality. Dennis Deslippe describes the union's response to Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, finding that leaders and male rank-and-filers resisted full implementation of gender equality because of a combination of union

traditions and concern over the shrinking number of jobs in the industry. Deborah Fink documents, from a participant's perspective, the persistence of gender inequity on the packinghouse floor.

Mark A. Grey ends the volume by looking at Storm Lake, Iowa. Long a unionized meatpacking center, Storm Lake saw its packing plant close down in 1981. It soon was reopened by Iowa Beef Packers, which brought it and the city into the new order in meatpacking: nonunion workers, lower pay, fewer benefits, high turnover, and a less-skilled workforce with a large immigrant presence.

This collection contributes much to our knowledge of the history of packinghouse workers; it should prove valuable to labor historians, while also adding to our understanding of an important element of midwestern history. The successes (and failures) of the UPWA that are documented here, moreover, offer important lessons for those who hope to re-energize the labor movement.

GARY L. BAILEY, associate professor of history at Indiana University of Pennsylvania, Indiana, Pennsylvania, teaches labor and public history.

Barry Goldwater: Native Arizonan. By Peter Iverson. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997. Pp. xix, 267. Illustrations, maps, table, sources, index. \$27.95.)

Peter Iverson's *Barry Goldwater: Native Arizonan* is volume 15 in the Oklahoma Western Biography series. As such, it sticks closely to its central theme: to understand Barry Goldwater one must understand Goldwater's roots in and lifelong attachment to Arizona, both in its physical and political aspects. Thus we read of the family history of the "trader's grandson"; of Goldwater the businessman and advocate of Arizona's economic development; of Goldwater the Phoenix political reformer; of Goldwater the ham radio operator, the pilot, and the military aviator; of Goldwater the outdoors adventurer and conservationist; of Goldwater the much-admired photographer of Arizona's peoples and scenery; and of Goldwater the friend of the Arizona Indians.

Throughout the book, but particularly in the two last chapters, Iverson makes much of the tensions in Goldwater's Arizona career. Like so many westerners before him, Goldwater, in person and politics, was a rugged individualist and an opponent of intrusive and expansive government; but he also was a fierce advocate for federal aid for Arizona development, both in the water projects upon which he believed Arizona's growth depended, and in the state's aviation, highway, and military construction. At the end of his life, Goldwater came to recognize the mixed blessings of this development, for it had transformed his beloved state in his own lifetime from a remote and beautiful backwater of America to an economic powerhouse full of high tech industries and sprawling retirement cities, awash in