

sharing information on successes and failures of revitalization efforts there can be highly productive, as Fairbrother and Yates recently demonstrated in their edited volume, *Trade Unions in Renewal* (London, Continuum, 2003).

The great strength of *Unions in the 21st Century* lies in the breadth of union experimentation it uncovers, in its readiness to envisage a future in which unions may no longer resemble what we have always understood them to be, and in its desire to help shape a movement that more closely corresponds to what workers actually want. Those enamored by social movement unionism, which originated in the global South and has captured the imagination of so many scholars, or those who find a service-oriented approach to unionism uninspiring, will perhaps find this volume less than satisfying. But as most of the authors make clear, any possible revival for trade unionism requires a multiplicity of initiatives that can tap into the expressed desire of a majority of workers for some form of representation. Because it provides so much food for thought on how this might be accomplished, this collection should be read by all who are concerned about the fate of organized labor.

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**Labor, Loyalty, Rebellion: Southwestern Illinois Coal Miners and World War I**

CARL R. WEINBERG

Carbondale, Southern Illinois University Press, 2005

xiii + 246 pp., ISBN: 0809326353, \$28.90 (paper)

The 1918 patriotic lynching of German-American Robert Prager by fellow miners provides the backdrop for this book. From this starting point, Weinberg explores the complexity of the Illinois coal miners' class-consciousness during the buildup to WWI and the consequences thereafter. He takes us through a historical journey to understand how militant miners (many of whom were active socialists that fought employers, the government, and even their own union leaders) went from denouncing WWI as a 'rich man's war' (p. 3), to murderous ultra-patriots within a year. The book is a study in class-consciousness versus ethno-nationalism with impressive historical detail, which is reason enough to read it. However, this wealth of information is not firmly placed within a broader theoretical context.

The book opens with a description of the miners' lives prior to the lynching. A majority of the residents in many towns, including local union and political leaders, were German immigrants or direct descendants. The men were contingent workers who supplemented their subsistence through small farming while the women and children worked in local factories. The men themselves had a long battle-proven history of solidarity and militancy. For example, Socialists would even win or come close to winning many local elections.

Chapter 2 provides a fascinating account of the Wilson administration's effort to mobilize public opinion in support of entering WWI, especially in the mining regions

of the country. This effort was based on a massive propaganda campaign coupled with a suspension of civil liberties in order to radicalize the population in support of war. The government went so far as to cultivate an environment of fear encouraging vigilantism in a McCarthy-like persecution for 'spies.' This resulted in beatings, forcing people to demonstrate their loyalty by publicly kissing the flag, tarring and feathering of suspicious 'elements' (notably recent immigrants), and deliberately using German-Americans as scapegoats.

Chapter 3 articulates how the media were used as absolute tools of state propaganda, resulting in an absurd altering of facts. Yet miners maintained their class-consciousness, as demonstrated by their strikes at the end of 1917. But, despite victories, fundamental issues remained unresolved, such as penalties for illegal strikes, workplace safety, and wages that trailed inflation. The last half of the chapter provides an interesting reconstruction of the times, although it becomes a bit burdened by a plethora of facts, dates, and names.

The fourth chapter examines the impact of the Bolshevik Revolution and consequent Brest-Litovsk peace treaty in March 1918 between Russia and Germany. This allowed Germany to concentrate its forces against the Allies. Consequently, the Allies' perception was that Germany could be victorious. Subsequently, the US responded with a national campaign of hyper-propaganda, as well as suspending free speech.

Chapter 5 delves into these events which, exacerbated by alcohol, led to the scapegoat lynching of German-born Prager that made international headlines. Weinberg notes that interestingly, half of the mob comprised middle-class professionals, small business owners, local politicians, and two paper editors. But the role of middle-class America in all of this is never addressed in any depth. The conclusion is that the ethical culprit was indeed the Wilson administration's pro-war propaganda. The author also holds accountable union leaders who often were co-opted, ultimately betraying their own members' class interests. The text closes with chapter 6 lingering on the rebellions of 1919 in the aftermath of the lynching.

Overall, Weinberg is very methodical in bringing together the events that led to the ultra-patriotic lynching, and raises many questions of interest. Unfortunately, there is little theoretically informed analysis that would explain these events from a broader perspective, leaving many of those questions partly or wholly unanswered. For example, union officials are identified as undermining their own militant rank-and-file in favor of war, support of the government, and even accepting bad contracts and working conditions provided by war-profiteering coalmine owners. The book would have benefited greatly if it addressed the rich literature on the suppressive role of union leadership relative to militant class-conscious rank and file. For example, *Strike!* by Jeremy Brecher (1997) provides historical detail but through a well-guided theoretical prism.

In addition, although Weinberg is interested in working-class cleavages, he limits himself to description only. The book would have gained in explanatory power had it incorporated the vast literature on America's highly fragmented working class, along racial, ethnic, gender, religious, or other lines that impede working-class

consciousness and thus action. More disappointingly, there is practically no reference to the literature dealing with the very question the author seeks to answer: the interaction of ethno-nationalism and class-consciousness. Instead, he concludes that the cause of the lynching was government propaganda and ethno-nationalism which ultimately cannot coexist with working-class interests. He draws as proof the events which he describes in the book devoid of theoretical grounding. Yet, here too, there exists a rich literature on the dynamics of ethno-nationalism and 'identity' relative to class-consciousness which is largely overlooked in this book.

In conclusion, readers seeking deeper theoretical insights will find this work lacking. However, as a source of rich encyclopedic historical information, the book is invaluable for those interested in the labor movement.

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**Lost Laborers in Colonial California: Native Americans and the Archaeology of Rancho Petaluma**

STEPHEN W. SILLIMAN

Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 2004

xxii + 253 pp., ISBN: 0816523819, \$39.95 (cloth)

Just as the US was proclaiming its independence, Spain began its colonization of the northern California coast in earnest with the founding of the mission of San Francisco de Asís. The San Francisco Solano mission in Sonoma was established in the midst of indigenous inhabitants who had begun to adapt to the steady stream of Spanish, Russian, and American explorers and settlers. By 1834, Lieutenant Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo converted a land grant in the North Bay into the Rancho Petaluma, a sprawling 44,000 acres later increased by another 22,000 acres. Vallejo then launched military expeditions against small groups of Native Americans living in the region such as the Satiyomi and Yolotoi. He also began the exploitation of Indian labor on Rancho Petaluma, constructing his adobe and outbuildings with redwoods brought from Bodega Bay.

Rancho Petaluma is now a California State Park. Historians knew that there were a large number of Native Californians brought to the Rancho as a labor force. Yet no historical archaeologist before Silliman, who began his work on Petaluma in 1996 while a doctoral candidate at the University of California at Berkeley, resurrected the exact nature of the work and daily lives of the Indians, the location of their homes, or even the approximate size of the labor force. This book opens to view the labor of the Indians. When park officials took over, they allowed archaeologists to begin the reconstruction of what life had been on the Rancho.

Silliman, now an assistant professor at the University of Massachusetts Boston, follows the material trail to tell us about the lost Indian laborers and to debunk that myth that California Indians worked happily on the Ranchos.