

provide a partial treatment of imagined social and national identities in this borderlands region. It also serves as a good starting point for further inquiry.

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**Mark A. Lause, *Young America: Land, Labour, and the Republican Community* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005).**

Mark A. Lause, an Associate Professor of history at the University of Cincinnati, has distinguished himself as a keen analyst of the insurgencies that influenced mainstream politics throughout the nineteenth century. He continues this scholarship with his fine study of the National Reform Association (NRA). This organization carried to the fore the concerns working class Americans had for land reform. Lause argues effectively that the “NRA’s agrarianism formed a persistent and underlying theme for the later working-class movement” (129). Lause demonstrates how the agrarian movement of the antebellum period succeeded in securing the “Republican” Homestead Act of 1862, and also laid the ideological groundwork for the rise of fraternal organizations of the postbellum period. With this work, Lause demonstrates the intellectual connection between agitation that ‘peaked’ in the years 1850-52, with the later movements known as Greenbackism, the Single Tax proposal of Henry George, and other “non-electoral communitarian, socialist musings” that gripped national politics in the late-nineteenth century. But the organization’s influence also helped to “mobilize public opinion strong enough to topple the slaveholders’ party from office” (133). Thus we find in Lause’s work a critical link between antebellum political agitation and the social radicalism of the late-nineteenth century.

The leaders of the National Reform Association understood initially that “theirs was but a partial white, urban, Anglo-American perspective on the working-class experience” (2). Yet, their message, according to Lause, appealed to a broader segment of the working class than the anti-monopoly rhetoric of the Locofocos. National Reformers advocated three principal and inter-related measures. First, they pushed at the state level for debt reform and the end of property seizures. Second, homestead legislation that would “permit the free settlement of the landless on the public domain.” Third, reformers wanted to eliminate speculation by limiting the amount of land any one individual could own (3). As the NRA spread from an eastern, urban, working-class movement into the Midwest and West, they embraced another set of “secondary” or “auxiliary” movements, including the ten-hour workday, direct election of government officers, and “abolition of practices ranging from the Electoral College to slavery.” According to Lause, National Reformers also consistently defended newcomers to the country, urged peace, and fostered international associations” (3). While most scholars focus on the impact these undercurrents had on the Democratic Party, Lause contends that it was the Republican Party that benefited most (but ultimately learned

the least) from the ideals expressed through this movement (112-123). Though no formal membership lists of this organization survive, their influence spread nationally through newspapers and local congresses and workers' organizations throughout the East and 'West' (upper Midwest).

Lause refutes the long-standing notion the northern workers remained indifferent to abolitionist calls for emancipation and civil dignity for African-Americans. "Land reform," Lause insists, "became a multiracial movement through the direct and deliberate efforts of NRA leaders" (82). The NRA leadership rejected "racial supremacy" as a unifying factor, instead insisting that the NRA felt "frustration with an early abolitionist tendency to idealize the lot of 'free labour'." The NRA instead linked "free homes for people" to "freedom from the curse of chattel slavery" (78-80). "Most fundamentally," Lause argues, "the NRA's successful embedding of land reform into an emerging ideology of 'free labour' thoroughly transformed the way working people in 'free states' saw the question (5). It was the agitation for land reform that helped create a broader public consensus for the cause of abolitionism.

The title of this book may initially confuse readers more familiar with the expansionist Young America movement. In one brief paragraph Lause differentiates between 'his' Young America movement and the other one that is well known for its embrace of Manifest Destiny. "The NRA called itself 'Young America' to reecho the concerns of 'Young Europe' ... This has caused some confusion among scholars because the label is also applied to an expansionist literary circle" centered on John O'Sullivan and the *Democratic Review*. Lause explains that "participants in the agrarian 'Young America' and the expansionist 'Young America' shared an earlier proclivity for the party of Andrew Jackson and romantic vision of American destiny, but what they advocated was not only different but mutually exclusive" (76). This corrective needs to appear sooner, because the 'other' Young America movement has received far more attention from scholars, most recently in a paper by Yontan Eyal in *Civil War History*. Lause should have done a better job of distinguishing these separate groups who shared the same name, and rose to prominence during the same period.

He also would have helped his readers if he had added a brief summary of the groups through which the NRA exerted its influence. This reader found the various acronyms and names of different reformers confusing. Finally, Lause expends little ink on the biographies of the individual leaders of the NRA, a surprise since he wrote a fine political biography of James B. Weaver. We learn little about George Henry Evans or Lucius A. Hine. NRA reformer Alvan E. Bovay emerged as one of the 'Ripon Founders' of the Republican Party, yet Lause does not show clearly how this one individual evolved from agrarian activist to Black Republican. This represents a lamentable loss since history, more than anything else, attempts to explain how ideas shaped events and people. Lause did not illuminate the human aspect of this story.

Because of these limitations, I would caution against assigning this book to undergraduates, unless they have a strong background in labour and political history. Even graduate students will need a brief introduction before they jump in. Despite these limitations, Lause once again does a great job of showing the depth of political currents during this period. He demonstrates the link between antebellum land reform ideals and the rise of post-bellum radicalism, and carries the political history of period beyond the constraints of sectional strife.

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**Shelton Stromquist, *Reinventing “The People”: The Progressive Movement, the Class Problem, and the Origins of Modern Liberalism* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2006).**

In *Reinventing “The People”* Stromquist offers an elegant synthesis of recent work on the Progressive movement and a nuanced analysis of the importance of class for understanding reform. Integrating scholarship in political, urban, women’s, and labour history with insightful archival investigations, Stromquist captures key tensions at the heart of progressivism. Most reformers responded to the dislocations and unrest generated by industrial capitalism with proposals to renew democracy and promote social harmony while minimizing the importance of class. Radical, labour-oriented reformers, however, struggled to maintain a focus on economic inequalities against a middle-class core of activists. The latter worked to empower “the people” even as they excluded recent immigrants and African Americans from full citizenship. Ultimately, violent clashes between labour and capital from 1909 through 1914 and during the immediate postwar period shook Progressives’ faith in prospects for cross-class harmony. Yet Stromquist argues that progressivism left a fundamental legacy to twentieth-century liberalism: a denial that structural class inequalities matter in American society.

Stromquist defines the Progressive movement primarily in terms of ideology and networks. Drawing significantly on republican ideology, early twentieth-century reformers hoped to redefine ‘the people’ in order to exclude corrupting influences such as party bosses and corporate monopolists. A new language of reform, shaped especially by muckraking journalists, stressed social harmony and the need to transcend class differences. Progressives also created networks across diverse communities, which Stromquist perceptively reconstructs. Linking settlement houses, social work conferences, the National Consumers League, the National Child Labour Committee, Women’s Trade Union League, and the Progressive Party of 1912, Stromquist connects reformers who advanced a common vision of civic harmony. Middle-class activists dominated these largely nonpartisan reform networks. At times, women organized along lines of shared feminine identities to bridge class divisions. But Stromquist is also sensitive to assertions of defiance by working-class women, as during the ‘uprising of the 20,000’.