

research in multiple languages, and this should be loudly applauded.

Second, she reverses the conventional, chronological order of most books. She discusses the uniqueness of the fully developed American system first, and then goes backward in time to look at origins. Hirt does this because, from a global perspective, the American system is so different, so peculiar, that we benefit from posing the puzzle first and then looking for its genesis second.

The difficulty is that these innovations distract Hirt from what looks like the real story: white America's obsession with preserving or reinvigorating racial and ethnic inequality. Somehow, in the comparative analysis of what zoning is and how it mutated, she glosses over how its purpose also shifted as it crossed borders. The book's "flipped" organization may contribute to this difficulty, as it leads her to underplay the importance of certain material in the later chapters. There are two areas where alternate readings of the evidence may be helpful.

The desire to protect property values was a key motivation for zoning; backers explicitly wanted artificial legal restrictions to prevent land from being subject to market risk. Yet Hirt repeats advocates' claims that zoning was necessary to make homeownership more available to people. How could both things be true, since bolstering property values would in fact make homeownership less accessible? She recognizes that zoning advocates' claims were not plausible, but this contradiction deserves more attention (pp. 155, 177). In addition, many advocates also argued that it was natural for people to associate with their own "kind" and exclude others. If it were natural, however, zoning would have been unnecessary; proponents cannot have it both ways.

This concern for property values was obviously connected to fears about racial mixing. The book contains quote after quote about the ethnic and racial prejudices of early zoning advocates—against the Irish, African Americans, and "laundries" and other immigrant businesses. In addition, early zoning laws—such as the Baltimore ordinance struck down by the Supreme Court in *Buchanan v. Warley* (1917)—were explicitly racial in character. This suggests that we should see later zoning efforts as dis-

guised attempts to get around the court's restrictions.

Hirt recognizes that prejudice matters, but she is reluctant to place it at the core of her story. She writes, "zoning ultimately gained legitimacy because [it] . . . appealed to the better angels of its advocates" (p. 134). But one cannot separate the origins of zoning from America's history of racial exclusion. White Americans accepted this intrusive regulation of their property rights not so much because of a cultural attachment to the single-family home, but largely because it guaranteed neighborhood homogeneity; the middle class entered the ranks of single-family suburban homeowners precisely by excluding the less fortunate. There were, unfortunately, no "better angels" at work.

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Making an American Workforce: The Rockefellers and the Legacy of Ludlow. Ed. by Fawn-Amber Montoya. (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2014. xviii, 213 pp. \$34.95.)

It is easy to understand why the Ludlow massacre still attracts the attention of historians. Even a nation inured to widespread industrial violence was shocked when, on April 20, 1914, the Colorado National Guard stormed a tent encampment of striking coal miners and their families in Ludlow, firing indiscriminately, torching tents, and killing eleven children in the process. As the contributors to this volume remind us, the implications of that tragic event reverberated long after the smoke cleared.

This volume grew out of a 2009 conference held in Pueblo, Colorado, in anticipation of the one hundredth anniversary of the massacre. Its essays reassess past scholarship and explore neglected aspects of this event and its complex legacy, especially the implications it held for the employees of John D. Rockefeller's Colorado Fuel and Iron Company (CFI), whose resistance to unionization had precipitated the conflict.

The volume opens with an introduction by Fawn-Amber Montoya and an essay by Sarah

Deutsch, which, respectively, address scholars' ongoing fascination with the events at Ludlow and survey the recent historiography and commemorations.

Two essays give us new views of key actors in the story. Jonathan Rees and Brian Clason offer a brief study of Richard Corwin, the founder of CFI's social control-oriented sociological department, indicating that Corwin was deeply influenced by the eugenics movement. Anthony DeStefanis examines the decision by Colorado's onetime union-friendly governor Elias Ammons to call upon the Colorado National Guard to escort strikebreakers into the mines. He shows that a constellation of forces, including a rising tide of nativism in his state, caused Ammons to mobilize the guard and then to stand behind it, even when the state auditor refused to pay the guard for purposes of strike-breaking (a problem which Ammons solved by selling "insurrectionary bonds" to Denver-based businesses and investors).

Four essays assess the reforms introduced by CFI to win workers' loyalty after 1914, especially its Employee Representation Plan (ERP), or company union. Robin C. Henry examines the massacre's effect on John D. Rockefeller Jr. and traces the development of Rockefeller's welfare capitalist approach, undertaken with the help of his publicist Ivy Lee, which, Henry argues, had a broad influence on early twentieth-century U.S. social policy. Montoya shows how CFI used its employee fairs and baseball leagues in an effort to mold employees' worldviews. Greg Patmore compares CFI's ERP to one introduced at British Empire Steel Corporation in Nova Scotia, finding that both company unions offered more autonomy to workers than scholars have generally recognized. And Ronald Mize looks at the struggles of Chicano laborers at CFI's mines in Sunrise, Wyoming, to overcome the ERP and build an independent union.

The volume closes with Maria E. Montoya's summary of Ludlow's troubled legacy. Together these enlightening essays suggest that after the passage of a century we are not finished learning the lessons of the Ludlow massacre.

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1919, the Year of Racial Violence: How African Americans Fought Back. By David F. Krugler. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015. xiv, 332 pp. Cloth, \$85.00. Paper, \$29.99.)

In *1919, the Year of Racial Violence*, a deeply researched synthesis of the escalation of racial violence in the aftermath of World War I, David F. Krugler foregrounds African American resistance against antiblack violence during the New Negro era. Krugler challenges the familiar story of black passivity and white mob terror. African Americans, he argues, engaged in a three-front war—they mobilized self-defense forces, employed the black press to reveal the truth about lynch mobs and race riots, and fought for justice in the courts.

The book, organized thematically, comprises ten chapters, beginning with a framing and contextual chapter on World War I, the Great Migration, and the New Negro movement. Krugler devotes five chapters, chronologically ordered, to black armed resistance against white civilian and state-sanctioned violence in Charleston, South Carolina; Longview, Texas; Bisbee, Arizona; Washington, D.C.; Chicago, Illinois; Knoxville, Tennessee; Omaha, Nebraska; Philips County, Arkansas; Gary, Indiana; and Bogalusa, Louisiana. One chapter examines federal and state efforts to disarm African Americans; two chapters on the fight for justice: in arrests and trials of black and white rioters, and in death penalty cases; and one on the fight against lynch mobs. The concluding chapter situates black armed resistance within the context of the black freedom movement, specifically the civil rights and black power movements.

In detailed and lively prose, Krugler narrates the valiant and unwavering efforts of ordinary African Americans, the black press and black churches, local chapters of the National Association for the Advancement of Color People (NAACP), and white allies in defense of the black community—that defied racial custom and white intimidation. That entire black neighborhoods battled whites across the nation tell us much about blacks' commitment to standing their ground in the face of white terrorism. Black World War I veterans especially—because of their military experience and combat preparedness—played a