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Hodges, Graham Russell. *New York City Cartmen, 1667-1850. New York and London: New York University Press, 1986. Pp. xiv, 224. Illustrations, appendices, index. \$35.00 (U.S.).*

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les conséquences immédiates de ces changements. Un défi de taille, relevé avec succès.

Après la lecture de cet ouvrage, on reste avec l'impression d'un travail non achevé. Le découpage de la matière à traiter et son organisation à l'intérieur de chaque chapitre offrent un excellent cadre et facilitent le repérage et la consultation. Mais on réserve à chaque thème un traitement inégal, tantôt en se limitant aux textes législatifs et gouvernementaux, tantôt en proposant des approches qu'on n'exploite qu'à moitié, tantôt encore en utilisant comme base d'exposé les résultats de recherches qui datent quelque peu (comme c'est le cas pour la partie du chapitre concernant les employés salariés).

Si l'auteur a voulu surtout faire un recueil de textes «officiels», il s'est lui-même laissé emporter, à certains endroits, à déborder des limites de ce genre de source. On se prend du reste à regretter qu'il n'ait pas succombé entièrement à cette tendance; peut-être aurions-nous pu alors retrouver, dans les conclusions de chaque chapitre par exemple, un survol des principaux débats relatifs à chaque thème et un aperçu de l'impact concret des textes qui nous ont été présentés — le tout accompagné d'une bibliographie des plus récents travaux de recherche pertinents. Cela aurait peut-être mieux contribué à nous faire éprouver, comme le dit si bien la préface, la satisfaction de ceux qui ont «le goût de comprendre la raison d'être des structures politiques les plus proches du citoyen» (p. 5).

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Larsen, Lawrence H. *The Rise of the Urban South*. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1985. Pp. xi, 220. Tables, index. \$22.00 (U.S.).

The Rise of the Urban South is the second of four volumes by Lawrence H. Larsen designed to analyze the sectional variations of urban growth in the United States. The first volume, *The Urban West at the End of the Frontier*, appeared in 1978, and studies of the Midwest and Northeast are planned to complete the series. This book contains some references to the first half of the nineteenth century but primarily as prologue; the focus is on the Gilded Age, especially the 1880s and 1890s. The author attempts not only to describe the efforts at urban development undertaken during these critical years but also to assess the growth of southern cities in comparison with their counterparts elsewhere in the nation. Conceding that southern urban growth paled in relation to the successes achieved in other regions, particularly in the West, Larsen yet maintains that the South

created an urban system perfectly suited to its unique needs. Furthermore, if the overblown rhetoric of New South boosters created unrealistic and unrealizable expectations, the groundwork was sufficiently laid for the undeniable achievements of the post-World War Two "sunbelt" era.

In seeking to create a comprehensive study of southern urbanization during a particular period, the author has relied heavily on secondary sources. Absent are frequent references to manuscript collections, state and municipal records, and local newspapers. Instead, national magazine articles, monographs, city biographies, and published federal records constitute the bulk of the sources cited in the notes. In particular, Larsen has made extensive use of a relatively unmined source, *Report on the Social Statistics of Cities, Tenth Census of the United States, 1880*, Volumes 9 and 10. Compiled by noted sanitation engineer George E. Waring, Jr., this exhaustive report on 222 of the nation's 228 largest cities includes information on a wealth of topics ranging from cemeteries to brothels, from garbage removal to policemen's uniforms. With this source Larsen is able, in one of the book's best chapters, to sketch an amazingly thorough portrait of the quality of urban services in the nineteenth century South.

General readers and southern historians will find much of value in Larsen's fact-filled monograph. Yet specialists in southern urban history may find the book somewhat dissatisfying for one basic reason — the author's apparent ambivalence about the exceptionalism of Dixie's cities. On the one hand, he notes several factors contributing to their distinctiveness, including the preponderance of Blacks, the paucity of the foreign-born, the agriculture-related industrial base, and the dependence on northern capital. On the other hand, he concludes that "the cities differed only in degree from those elsewhere in America" (p. x). Elsewhere, he suggests that "in short, except as interpreted by rabid racists, the social statistics suggested that southern cities were not much different from their counterparts above the Mason and Dixon line" (p. 59). Judging from the notes, Larsen is aware of David Goldfield's argument that southern cities have historically been closer to the plantation than to the skyscraper, but he fails to address the issue directly in the text. To what degree was the rise of the urban South in the postbellum years determined by the ineluctable impact of region? The author's failure to tackle explicitly this question makes the book more descriptive than analytical.

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Hodges, Graham Russell. *New York City Cartmen, 1667 - 1850*. New York and London: New York University Press,

1986. Pp. xiv, 224. Illustrations, appendices, index. \$35.00 (U.S.).

Graham Russell Hodges' stated goals are many: to tell the story of New York's cartmen and their "unique ideology;" to examine New York's regulated economy as that applied to cartmen; to tell the history of "freemanship;" to look into the "unique class relationship between the cartmen and the merchants who ran the government" (p. 3); to document labour discrimination; to uncover the community and culture of New York's cartmen; to understand the nature and organization of work in early America; and finally, to present a "horse-redolent" New York City through the perceptions of the "common man" (p. 6). This is a tall order and one badly served by the organization of the book.

New York City Cartmen is written chronologically instead of topically. Each of its eleven short chapters looks at a period which ranges from six to forty-five years. Every chapter discusses a number of similar themes including ethnic relations, freemanship, political relations, residence patterns and recruitment. Episodic, repetitive and with too little sense of process, each chapter tries to stand by itself.

Hodges begins by asserting that English laws and customs provided the model under which New York operated. The London legacy included regulations by city government, hostile relations with the rest of the population, and dependence upon shipping and mercantilism. All three might be true in both cities, but Hodges fails to show the connection and indeed, the argument from analogy and anecdote without clear evidence of cause and effect mars not only this chapter but the remainder of the book.

Chapter two looks at the all-important bond between cartmen and the municipal government. This relationship, whereby the municipal authorities granted yearly licenses to carters, originated under the Dutch (so perhaps owes less to London) and continued under the English and through the early nineteenth century. According to Hodges, "Political favour became vitally important. Eventually annual renewals became a major weapon used by politicians to enforce political loyalty" (p. 23).

The cartmen on their side had the vote. Hodges discusses freemanship but in a way that becomes increasingly confusing. It is unclear whether it was required for a license. Possibly requirements changed, but we get no sense of why. Between 1700 and 1745 patronage linked cartmen and the city fathers. Between 1695 and 1735, however, carters received only 5% of the freemanships awarded (Appendix 2). Given this small number it is difficult to see the political significance which Hodges grants the cartmen.

Between 1745 and 1760 New York's prosperity filtered down to the carters. Their political focus became the mayor

who granted licenses. Hodges states that "The essential position of the cartmen in the economic life of the city, joined with their unique political power, gave them an unusual status. Their rank in society was actually much higher than historians have appreciated" (p. 45). This assertion is unproved. In 1768, 94 carters voted and 33 or about one-third were freeholders (p. 46). But we are not told the meaning of these data. To evaluate their significance, readers need to know the voting and freehold populations.

The Revolutionary era, 1760 - 1783, brought economic distress to New Yorkers. It also saw the rise of political consciousness. Hodges would like to show the politicization and importance of the carters, but the number of votes which he can actually tally are probably too few to have made much difference. Since he fails to provide the total vote, it is impossible to assess the impact of the carters.

Ties to city government remained strong after the war, as did attempts to regulate the number and personnel of carters. Once the post-war depression eased, the number of cartmen increased as the city grew. Political parties sought working-class support and the carters themselves organized although it is not stated how many formally joined the Society of Cartmen.

In the nineteenth century, government protection eroded even though carters themselves wanted monopoly and were willing to accept regulation as its price. Hodges' insistence on the importance of the issue of freemanship is unconvincing. Apparently in 1790 New York's mayor separated freemanship from licensing, but Hodges' evidence suggests that the two were not coexistent earlier. Federalist control in the early 1800s, with its property requirements, militated against the political involvement of the poor, including cartmen.

By 1845 the work of the cartmen was different. No longer as necessary as transportation needs changed, and having lost their old allies, the merchants, as capital now turned toward manufacture, the cartmen were expendable. The old rules protecting carters ended and Blacks and Irish began driving carts. Hodges concludes that "As New York City became a major metropolis it could no longer sustain traditions of labour organization and culture which dated back to thirteenth-century England" (p. 172).

Under Hodges' hand, New York's cartmen have begun to emerge from obscurity. He has made a strong case for both the ties between carters and the city fathers, and the mutual benefits which regulation brought. His argument that cartmen were nativist and racist is convincing.

What he has presented less persuasively are some of the other strands noted in his introduction. What emerges is a

portrait of the cartmen that emphasizes self-interest, nativism, racism and some patriotism; but are these beliefs unique to cartmen, and do they constitute an ideology? The same problems of finding something distinctly “cartman” plague Hodges’ attempts to look at community, culture, and work.

Finally, the sense one gets of New York is slight indeed: very little “horse-redolence” evokes an earlier era.

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