

of weapons and alcohol that encouraged and facilitated Native American frontier violence. Local residents would often stop merchants' wagons to ensure they were free of these items and many traders resorted to sending their shipments (including weapons and alcohol) alongside army detachments passing through to frontier forts. Carlisle was predominantly united behind the Patriot cause during the American Revolution, but the politics of the early Republic proved to be extremely divisive for local residents. Dueling public demonstrations planned by Federalists and Anti-Federalists during the constitutional ratification debates developed into riots that commanded national attention in 1787. Street violence returned to Carlisle in 1794 in the midst of bitter disputes over federal tax policy during the Whiskey Rebellion. The town square became a hotly contested public space when anti-excise demonstrators erected a liberty pole that was dismantled by local Federalists before being raised yet again by even more angry protesters. Pacification was forced on Carlisle as it hosted President Washington at the head of an army designed to crush further resistance to the federal taxing power. Ridner's narrative and analysis of each of these conflicts advance a stronger understanding of Carlisle's own development, but also highlight the important role this relatively small Pennsylvania community played in early American history.

Judith Ridner's *A Town In-Between* is everything a good community study should be. It is rich in details combed from exhaustive research in local and state archives. The writing is crisp and accessible, augmented well with maps and images that provide a sense of place and material culture in early Carlisle. Finally, the narrative is framed in a broad context that makes a strong case for Carlisle's importance to the mid-Atlantic region and beyond.

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Joe W. Trotter and Jared N. Day. *Race and Renaissance: African Americans in Pittsburgh since World War II*. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2010. Pp. xxi, 352. Illustrations, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$29.95)

In recent years, historians have enriched our view of the civil rights movement to encompass a broader national view of racial segregation, social activism in black communities, and white resistance to racial change during the twentieth century. No longer is the history of the African American freedom struggle a conversation that is regionally confined to the South. Exciting studies by Martha Biondi, Matthew Countryman, Patrick D. Jones, and Robert O. Self, among others, have highlighted how civil rights protests and white opposition rocked the neighborhoods, schools, buses, and streets of cities outside of the South during the second half of the twentieth century. Joe W. Trotter and Jared N. Day's new book is a noteworthy addition to this scholarship, contributing to our understanding not only of Pittsburgh's civil rights history but also of the importance of industrial growth and deindustrialization, suburbanization, urban housing, and urban "renewal" efforts in the civil rights struggles of northern African Americans, as well as the opportunities and limitations blacks faced as they pressed for both social and economic change. Built on an extensive foundation of archival sources, oral interviews, newspaper articles, and relevant secondary sources, *Race and Renaissance* is essential reading for historians of race, civil rights, and cities in post-World War II America.

Trotter and Day employ a long view of Pittsburgh's African American history, beginning in the nineteenth century when blacks (as well as native-born whites and European immigrants) sought to carve out spaces for themselves in the iron (and later steel) industry and the crowded neighborhoods nearby. Pittsburgh had always been an interracial space, though African Americans consistently experienced economic marginalization and segregation. The city's growth during the second industrial revolution yielded very uneven dividends. While black men made inroads into the iron and steel workforce (even as skilled "puddlers"), they never equaled more than 3 percent of these workers in Pittsburgh during the Gilded Age and Progressive Era. Despite extensive racial exclusion in the manufacturing economy, the black population of the Steel City continued to grow dramatically during the early to mid-twentieth century, from 27,000 in 1914 to 82,000 in 1945. Many African American newcomers regarded Pittsburgh as the "Mississippi of the North" (48): white landlords and realtors refused to lease and sell properties to blacks, consigning African Americans to specific areas of the city such as the Hill District and Homewood neighborhoods; police harassment was frequent; and local schools often excluded black children.

However, as Trotter and Day illustrate, black men's and women's experiences with urban/industrial segregation fostered a dynamic African American culture. As evidenced by the proliferation of black faith communities (including followers of Islam), the popularity and profitability of Negro League baseball clubs (such as the Homestead Grays and the Pittsburgh Crawfords), and the growth and activism of African American political organizations (such as the Urban League of Pittsburgh [ULP], the Universal Negro Improvement Association [UNIA], and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People [NAACP]), black Pittsburghers transformed the "mean experience" of segregation into "congregation," creating what Trotter and Day aptly characterize as a "black metropolis" within the city (15).

The book's main chapters explore why the proliferation of black protest politics after World War II ultimately could not dislodge the city's established patterns of segregation and racial exclusion. As Trotter and Day illustrate, the black freedom movement in Pittsburgh was very active and complex, driven forward by numerous political actors whose voices and views spanned the entire spectrum of black protest during the era of the civil rights movement. From a particularly active Urban League of Pittsburgh, to the National Negro Labor Council (NNLC) and the Negro American Labor Council (NALC), to the Black Panther Party and the Black United Movement for Progress, men and women of the African American communities of Pittsburgh struggled to break down color barriers in the city's workplaces, schools, and housing. However, several factors played determining roles in shaping the outcomes of civil rights campaigns in Pittsburgh. While the courts and the federal government overturned the legal bases of segregation, ongoing white resistance in employment offices, realtors' offices, public housing boards, local schools, and local neighborhoods limited the expansion of black employment, home ownership, access to better rental properties, and access to superior schools. In addition, postwar "urban renewal" efforts (especially Renaissance I and Renaissance II) fragmented black communities, as major sections of entire neighborhoods were leveled in order to make room for sports arenas and office buildings. Deindustrialization, as well as rampant discrimination and white resistance in the local construction trades, undercut blacks' access to the higher-paying jobs of the blue-collar elite.

Also, the culture of public schooling in Pittsburgh emphasized close ties between local schools and nearby residents—a parochial view that justified white opposition to busing schemes and redistricting meant to enhance

African Americans' access to newer schools. A combination of enduring white resistance to desegregation efforts from above and below, and the structural reality of a declining industrial base, reinforced the "slow pace of change" in postwar Pittsburgh and explained why blacks continued to occupy "the cellar" of Pittsburgh's labor and housing markets (103, 48). The final chapter of the book points to a legacy of persistence, as African Americans continued to maintain communities and push for new opportunities during the 1990s—done amid the challenges posed by the postindustrial, low-wage service economy that replaced manufacturing as the city's economic base.

Trotter and Day's interpretations of twentieth-century Pittsburgh history rightly center on the analytical frames of class and race since they view employment as a central battleground of the black freedom struggle in Northern industrial cities. However, the theme of African American masculinity is a recurrent (though unexamined) refrain in their sources. Black men's concerns about securing a patriarchal breadwinner role within their families and communities animated much of the race and class struggles for blue-collar employment opportunities in Pittsburgh's post-World War II labor market. For example, during a 1959 demonstration to demand urban-renewal construction jobs, organized by the Negro American Labor Council, men carried "Remember Forgotten Man" signs, while black marchers in 1969 challenged employment discrimination at US Steel by chanting "more jobs now for black men" (56, 112). The issue of securing the foundations of respectable working-class manhood (stable blue-collar employment, decent homes, and good schools for children) proved to be an important cultural ideal that informed black men's decision to embrace social movements for racial change and validated their demands for an end to Jim Crow racism in the cities of the North. Trotter and Day could have made an already engaging book even stronger by pursuing more fully the importance of gender politics in the histories of African American men.

Nonetheless, Trotter and Day have written an excellent study that is a significant contribution to the historiography of the civil rights movement in the North. It is a must-read for scholars and students who are interested in the histories of African Americans, cities, race and industry, whiteness, education, and social movements.

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