the Coming of Conrail (1978). Like Graebner's the Saunders study is a pioneering effort and likewise suffers somewhat from organizational and writing weaknesses.

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American Political History as Social Analysis: Essays. By SAMUEL P. HAYS. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1980. Pp. 460. Introduction, epilogue, index, footnotes. \$25.00.)

Samuel P. Hays, professor of history at the University of Pittsburgh, stands as one of modern America's most distinguished and prodigious social historians. And yet, as Bruce Stave observed in an interview with Hays, published in the *Journal of Urban History* in November 1975, with but two exceptions, the vast scholarly output of Hays resides in articles and unpublished manuscripts. Therefore, from one point of view, by enclosing most of Hays's major articles and key papers, *American Political History as Social Analysis* fills a void.

However, Hays regards the book as more than his collected works. Indeed it is not. Instead, through these essays he attempts to mark the progress of his thought concerning the need for a conceptually rigorous, that is, systematic social history. Hays sees his quest for a meaningful social history spanning his academic career from a student in philosophy at Swarthmore College in the 1940s, to graduate study at Harvard, thence to teaching posts at the University of Illinois, University of Iowa, and the University of Pittsburgh. Nor is it unimportant to learn that Hays grew up in a small town in Indiana, and as a conscientious objector during World War II served in Oregon with the Bureau of Land Management.

Although American Political History includes sixteen essays written over an eighteen-year period, certain salient tendencies unify the whole. First, Hays endeavors to unfold the "larger context of history." History, contends Hays, must jettison its unwieldy baggage of facts, its proclivity for presidential politics, and explore social forces and social structures. Such a new and dynamic social analysis requires a sensitivity to the complexity of social organizations, the variations in social structure, and the impact of change. Accordingly, Hays treats politics microcosmically. For Hays politics

encompasses the study of people and their behaviors — collective and individual; it explores the characteristics people share in common, patterns of societal dominance, social contacts, and the changing configurations of social systems and organizations.

In several essays, including "History as Human Behavior," "Social Structure in the New Urban History," and the essay Hays considers his epitome, "A Systematic Social History," the author reiterates his belief that political history should describe patterns of human interaction, not the whirligig of American courthouse and congressional politics. He avers that political parties and legislative intrigue reflect crucial social processes occurring in towns and city neighborhoods; as such, political history must interpret phenomena such as the clash of conflicting social values and the impact of modernization upon ethnic and racial culture. In "A Systematic Social History," Hays exhorts historians to reveal the extraordinary diversity and heterogeneity of American culture and society, and furthermore, to link the emergence of hierarchical bureaucratic and administrative structures to changing social patterns and culture.

Likewise, modernization, urbanization, and bureaucratization loom as major themes in the four essays Hays includes under the rubric "The Emergence of Modern Political Society in America." His classic exposition of the impact of modernization and urbanization on political life is "The Politics of Municipal Reform in the Progressive Era." Here Hays argued that a closer analysis of urban reform shows that considerable impetus for urban structural reform flowed from bureaucratic-minded businessmen and scientific-oriented reformers who were both anxious to rid the city of boss-rule inefficiency and to make it more responsive to business and organized philanthropy. Throughout these essays Hays beseeches historians to utilize new sources of data and to employ the tools of quantification. Moreover, in search of useful quantifiable data on family patterns and immigrant social mobility Hays cautions the historian not to overlook the assistance of nonprofessionals such as genealogists whose arduous labors in the vineyards of ship registers, tax lists, and military records make them logical collaborators rather than antagonists.

Finally, one descries the hue of nostalgia tincturing these essays. As anyone must realize who, during the past ten years, paged through the Journal of Urban History, the Journal of Social History, Social Science History, or the Journal of American History, Hays's plea for "a new social history" did not go unheeded. Those historians Hays constantly cites in his essays as pioneer or apprentice social

historians — Stephan Thernstrom, Stuart Blumin, and Michael Katz — long ago left the frontier; today their contributions to urban history or "the new social history" as Thernstrom prefers to call his writing, are landmarks of modern social analysis.

Nor did the profession ignore Hays's injunction to gather and preserve the hard data for modern social history. Note, for example, the Archives of Industrial Society at the University of Pittsburgh, the Philadelphia Social History Project directed by Theodore Hershberg, the Temple University Urban Archives, and the myriad of oral history projects operating across the nation. It is a pleasure to acknowledge this book of Hays's essays as a testimony to both his positive influence as a teacher and his role as a highly successful proselyte of the "new social history."

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Ores to Metals: The Rocky Mountain Smelting Industry. By JAMES E. Fell, Jr. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979. Pp. xi, 341. Preface, map, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$21.50.)

Many historians have written about the western mining frontier, but few have studied the subject of producing gold, silver, copper, and lead from different types of ore. James E. Fell, Jr., provides a detailed and comprehensive account of the Rocky Mountain smelting industry from its rise in the 1860s to its decline in the early twentieth century. Fell shows how businessmen combined technology from the smelting centers of Europe with capital from the financial centers of the east coast to create a large industry centered in Colorado. Perhaps the author's major contribution is to explain the processes by which the smelting industry evolved from a large number of small, local enterprises in the 1860s to a few large, integrated corporations by the 1890s. Hard times after 1893 spurred fears of "excess" competition and, after several failed efforts at pools, led to the creation in 1899 of a giant holding company — the American Smelting and Refining Company, which soon controlled most of the industry. This evolutionary process in smelting, Fell clearly shows, fits well into general