The St. Louis Veiled Prophet Celebration: Power on Parade, 1877-1995

Patricia Mooney-Melvin
This volume is more cohesive than edited volumes generally are. Beginning with an introduction by Crocco outlining the questions the volume attempts to answer and ending with an analytical chapter by Andra Makler, the essays in between give brief biographical sketches of their subjects and analyses of their work based on their publications. Each chapter concludes with an excerpt from the subject’s own writing. The chapters, similar in format, present seamless discussions of the women under consideration. Each author wishes to write his or her subject back into the history of social education but does so critically.

A number of themes run through the essays. All of the women theorized about the meaning of education for democracy. Most took a more inclusive view of citizenship than did many of their contemporaries. All were proponents of active learning. Some took leadership roles in professional associations such as the American Historical Association and the National Council for the Social Studies. Others were outsiders. All were influential in their own times, but overlooked or forgotten since. Gender shaped their careers and the acceptance of their ideas, although not all of them acknowledged that fact and most did not directly address gendered differences in citizenship.

This volume is an important contribution to the history of education for democracy in the United States. By restoring these women to that history we are better able to see the evolution of ideas that led to the “new social studies” of the 1970s and to debates that continue today on the role of education for citizenship in a democracy. The book is also an important contribution to the history of women and the history of ideas in the United States by restoring these women to their roles as public intellectuals in an important debate on democracy.


Reviewer Patricia Mooney-Melvin is associate professor of history at Loyola University Chicago. She is the author of many books and articles on public and urban history.

Historians have become interested in the ways groups have used the public sphere as they attempt to exert control over their communities. Public spectacles, such as parades, pageants, and street demonstrations, offer opportunities to examine the various ways segments of the urban populace have tried to promote particular visions of the political, economic, or social landscape.
Thomas M. Spencer explores the creation, development, and experience of a specific celebration over more than a century. The Veiled Prophet celebration originated in St. Louis in 1878 and over the years became a fixture of the city’s cultural and social life. During much of the celebration’s history, a parade designed to provide civic instruction and a ball to highlight social status were the centerpiece of the festivities. During the 1960s and 1970s, challenges generated by the civil rights movement and hostility toward the conspicuous display of class and racial power wrought changes in the Veiled Prophet production. By the mid-1990s, the ball had become a more private affair, and the parade was transformed into a larger entertainment event, devoid of civic meaning.

According to Spencer, the Veiled Prophet organization emerged in response to the urban disorder generated by the 1877 general strike and to concerns about the city’s status in the larger, regional urban sweepstakes. Elites were galvanized into action after workers attempted to control the streets and shape public opinion during the confrontation between labor and the business community. Elites were also concerned about the city’s economic decline in the face of Chicago’s rising economic dominance after the Civil War. Thus, they wanted a vehicle that would both allow them to exert control over the street—and the messages disseminated there—and one that would attract regional agricultural interests to St. Louis. The Veiled Prophet production failed as an economic magnet, but the organization’s parade served to symbolize elite control and to reinforce its beliefs about the hierarchical nature of class relations.

Although the Veiled Prophet celebration was and is larger than an annual parade, much of Spencer’s discussion centers on the Veiled Prophet parade as an expression of class dominance. Although the focus of the parade changed over time, the basic message remained the same: power and authority rested at the top of the social and economic hierarchy. Initially drawing on history as a way to simultaneously legitimize elite control and teach civic loyalty, the parade ultimately became less didactic and more commercialized. Nonetheless, its increasing emphasis on entertainment did not represent, at least to its organizers, lessened attention to the symbols of power and cultural control.

Spencer’s study possesses an interrelated strength and weakness. On the one hand, it provides an opportunity to view a celebration over time and to assess the impact of changing historical contexts, each possessing different class, gender, and racial sensibilities, on the nature and meaning of a public spectacle. Much of the literature exploring the
use of the public arena has focused on the late eighteenth through the early twentieth centuries. A majority of the groups examined have not possessed the same longevity, either. On the other hand, Spencer fails to tie the spectacle's evolution over time to larger changes in society that affected the nature and success of the celebration's message. He does not completely ignore these linkages, but he often asserts rather than demonstrates them.


Reviewer Deborah Fink is an independent anthropologist. Her latest book is *Cutting into the Meatpacking Line: Workers and Change in the Rural Midwest* (1998).

For Cheri Register, Ph.D. identifies her as both packinghouse daughter and academic, and *Packinghouse Daughter* probes the coupling of the packinghouse culture in which she was raised and the academic world she chose. Although providing only tantalizing peeks at the inside of the Wilson packinghouse that sustained and shaped the world of Register's family and community, the book is about how this stark reality etched itself into her mind and soul. By delving into the particularity of her roots in post–World War II Albert Lea, Minnesota, Register opens a broad and penetrating consideration of class and the intersections of diverse streams of American life. Giving us her own clear voice throughout, she is able to allow a number of other participants to speak for themselves and to thereby provide multiple takes on what she presents.

The centerpiece of the work is a 1959 strike that pitted the United Packinghouse Workers of America (UPWA) against Wilson, the most intransigent of the old-line packing companies. By recovering the logic of both union and management positions, Register explains why Wilson's appeal to property rights and personal freedom resonated in the Midwest outside of Albert Lea and why the complex and contextual character of the union arguments could get lost in detail. In fact, through the years participants have switched and adjusted various details of the events to make their stories clearer and more to the point. *Packinghouse Daughter* uncovers inconsistencies between oral tradition and "facts" and raises questions about material that had dropped out of the picture. Stripping the veneer off the standard labor history strike story, Register both complicates and strengthens her lifelong labor loyalties.

In many ways, Register had a privileged childhood. Born at the end of World War II, she experienced the window of union strength