BOOK REVIEWS


These eleven essays comprise a festschrift dedicated to Edmund S. Morgan and to the memory of Helen M. Morgan. All of the contributors have been doctoral students of Professor Morgan, either at Brown University, where he taught from 1946 until 1955; or at Yale University where he has taught since 1955. The customary complaint about "unevenness" cannot be invoked here because the essays are consistently high in quality. This is an important book. Although the articles really do not cohere intellectually—they are disparate in subject matter, emphasis, and methodology—anyone familiar with Morgan's distinguished scholarly career will immediately recognize that his wide-ranging interests serve as the common denominator. There are pieces devoted to colonial New England and to the Revolutionary era, as one might expect.

There is also a cluster labelled "law and politics," which according to the editors "reflect his encouragement of work quite different from his own." That is true, though only in a narrow sense. Forty-two years ago Morgan published an essay called "The Puritans and Sex" (New England Quarterly, XV [Dec. 1942], pp. 591-607), a piece not mentioned in the editors' Preface. In that article Morgan does not exactly anticipate Gail Sussman Marcus's "Due Execution of the Generall Rules of Righteounesse": Criminal Procedure in New Haven Town and Colony, 1638-1658" and John M. Murrin's "Magistrates, Sinners, and a Precarious Liberty: Trial by Jury in Seventeenth-Century New England," but I suspect that Professor Morgan is not surprised by the incidents of fornication, adultery, rape and attempted rape, incest, and even bestiality described in those two important contributions. Both authors utilize the New Haven records very effectively to further our understanding of legal procedures and social conflicts. As Marcus explains: "Of all the New England records, the most illuminating are those for the town and colony of New Haven, from its founding in 1638 until its absorption into Connecticut in 1665. . . . New Haven's records are nearly complete for the colonywide courts of superior jurisdiction; and those of the lowest level of jurisdiction, the town court, are preserved in their entirety" (p. 100).

Two of the finest contributions to the festschrift are local case studies, each with a problematique that gives it transcendent importance. In "The Problem of Allegiance in Revolutionary Poughkeepsie," by the late Jonathan Clark, the issue is, "Why did so many Patriots and Loyalists, despite the animosities and acts of violence of the pre- and early-war years seem so willing, so soon, to live and let live?" (pp. 285-86). In "Specters of Subversion, Societies of Friends:
Dissent and the Devil in Provincial Essex County, Massachusetts," Christine Leigh Heyrman poses these questions: “did relations between Puritans and Quakers living in Massachusetts towns reflect the relaxation of religious discrimination suggested by clerical commentaries and province laws? Did the orthodox laity during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries adopt the more tolerant attitudes toward dissenters promoted by many civil and clerical leaders?” (p. 39).

Heyrman’s monograph, which explores fascinating social tensions latent in dry court records, may be of greatest interest to readers of The Pennsylvania Magazine because she traces the evolution of Quakerism “from an antiauthoritarian aberration into an effective, authoritative, institutional church,” and notes (as Frederick B. Tolles once did) the supportive network of Friends along the Atlantic seaboard. Heyrman goes beyond Tolles, however, in demonstrating that “it was this antilocalistic animus of provincial Quakerism that constituted the link between social experience and religious prejudice among the orthodox into the eighteenth century. The Friends’ real heresy lay less in their challenge to religious loyalties than in their subversion of proper social loyalties by eroding the claim of individual towns to the allegiance of inhabitants. As the Friends enhanced their denominational cohesion in the early eighteenth century, they developed an increasingly ambiguous relationship to the localities where they resided” (pp. 73-74). Professor Heyrman’s work supplies a compelling example of all that is best in the “new” local history.

David D. Hall exploits a close textual analysis of Samuel Sewall’s diaries to call our attention to the high level of anxiety, “darkness” and compulsiveness in the psychic world of devout Puritans. G.B. Warden is witty, clear, and persuasive in his examination of English roots, democratic tendencies, and religious freedom in “The Rhode Island Civil Code of 1647.” Joy and Robert Gilsdorf give us a startling change of pace in their analysis of “Elites and Electorates” in colonial Connecticut. Their revisionist assessment of the concept of “deference” involves fancy footwork at the theoretical level as well as extensive quantitative analysis of elite-voter relations reflected in the upper house of eighteenth-century Connecticut. Historians interested in the social basis of politics in America will need to come to terms with this essay.

In “The Culture of Agriculture: The Symbolic World of the Tidewater Planter, 1760-1790,” Timothy H. Breen describes the nature of a “tobacco mentality” and then the “crisis of confidence” in tobacco monoculture that occurred during the pre-revolutionary era and gradually led to a shift to growing wheat. Breen’s piece is vigorous, provocative, and judicious, observing at the end that “at the same time when Virginia tobacco planters had begun to contemplate a redefinition of the culture of agriculture, they were also forced to restructure their political culture” (p. 284).

James H. Hutson concludes the volume with a stimulating inquiry into
"The Origins of 'The Paranoid Style in American Politics': Public Jealousy from the Age of Walpole to the Age of Jackson." In it he resuscitates the eighteenth-century meaning of "jealousy," namely vigilance or suspicion (rather than envy). Hutson shows just how pervasive and symptomatic this world-concept was; links it to political paranoia; and even shows that it could serve as a constructive force. At the start of the eleventh of his *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania*, for example, John Dickinson insisted that "a perpetual jealousy respecting liberty is absolutely requisite in all free states" (p. 343). Despite the fact that Hutson comes perilously close to reifying the concept of jealousy (e.g., at p.370), his learned and thoughtful exegesis—simultaneously a contribution to historiography and to the study of public discourse in the United States—is essential reading for anyone interested in the Enlightenment, American politics, or that burgeoning sub-field, the history of anxiety.

After closing this significant collection of essays, I felt a strong sense of historical discontinuity: how very different the colonial era was from our own. Perhaps that is one reason why it has so attracted Morgan and his students. Second, I was also struck by the impossibility of our ever again casually regarding early New England as a monolith. These essays highlight its diversity—yet another reason, perhaps, why we continue to be drawn to it.

Third, and last, I am glad that so gracious a man as Edmund S. Morgan has been blessed by so many fine students as well as a truly "classy" publisher, W.W. Norton. How many commercial publishing houses produce *festschriften* at all? With footnotes at the foot of the page? And at a price that seems eminently reasonable by current standards for scholarly books? Morgan's students have been blessed in their modest mentor, and they are twice blessed in their publisher, a gentleman named James Mairs who happens to care about history.

*Cornell University*  
MICHAEL KAMMEN

*The Practice of Piety: Puritan Devotional Disciplines in Seventeenth-Century New England*. By CHARLES E. HAMBRICK-STOWE. (Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture by the University of North Carolina Press, 1982, xvi, 298p. Illustrations, index. $28.00.)

Books that win the prestigious Jamestown Prize for Early American History deserve our special attention, because a reviewer and reader can assume that they are the products of extensive research and address important issues.
The Practice of Piety will require a reformulation of what a generation of scholars have defined as the essence of New England Puritanism. Hambrick-Stowe argues that the importance of formal theology, logical thinking, and rationalism has been overstated. In his account witchcraft, the Cambridge Synod, half-way covenant, Stoddardism, Indian wars and missions, and Ramusian logic play incidental roles. Even the influences of the success and failure of the English Puritan revolution and the Americanization of religion pale beside a cultural continuity spanning the seventeenth century. American Puritanism emerged, triumphed, and endured as a devotional movement. The discipline of piety, a view of life as a spiritual pilgrimage, constituted the heart of the Puritan world view.

Hambrick-Stowe refocuses attention from the initial conversion, which remains of paramount significance, to what happened afterwards. Puritans believed in a growth in grace after conversion and in their religious exercises sought as a desideratum additional encounters with God. Puritans agreed with John Bunyan whose famous Christian's conversion is presupposed at the beginning of the book and whose pilgrim's progress continued through life to death and salvation. In a Puritan's pilgrimage virtually everything could become a means of grace, and a wide variety of activities could prepare the church member for a continuing religious experience. For the visible saints devotional discipline recapitulated the stages of initial conversion from abasement to ecstasy, and only the renewed assurance of God's election made the encounter different.

Most of The Practice of Piety is a rigorous and sensitive examination of the devotional techniques of the Puritans. Considering their aversion to external forms, the New Englanders read and wrote an incredible number of how-to-do-it manuals, personal narratives, and even prayer guides. They engaged in colony-wide rituals: seasonal observances of humiliation and thanksgiving days, election sermons, and renewals of the covenant. Public devotion was manifested in sermons, church liturgy, psalm singing, funerals, marriages, and in preparation for and participation in sacramental observances. Hambrick-Stowe asserts that from the 1630s on the colonists accepted Calvin's version of a real presence in the communion, observed the eucharist frequently, and spent much effort in preparing to partake of the Lord's Supper. For all their emphasis upon communal religion, the colonists allowed—even encouraged—an intense personal piety and mystical rapture attained through such familial and/or solitary devotions as reading scripture, fasting, meditating, journal keeping, praying, and singing. Practice of Piety provides the best evocation I have ever read of New Englanders as a worshipping people and makes credible why Puritanism endured throughout the seventeenth century as a powerful religious movement.

Unfortunately, the book also continues the schizophrenic nature of recent
scholarship on New England. Social historians write as though tax lists, economic development, demographic trends, and town history exist in a religious vacuum. Hambrick-Stowe is part of an alternative perspective: a post-Perry Miller tradition which manages to ignore the fundamental issues raised by the non-literary sources. He never discusses the relation of illiteracy to devotion, never deals with the decline in church membership (and attendance?) as affecting piety, never shows why the ministers or journal keepers should be seen as normal New Englanders. In the Preface the author boldly asserts that the distance between theologically trained ministers and the laity "was not wide," but we must accept this insight on faith because little proof is ever offered. And the issue of the laity's theological sophistication goes to the heart of the debate on the nature of Puritanism. For example, Hambrick-Stowe insists that Anne Hutchinson, Perry Miller, and Norman Petit were wrong on the doctrine of preparation because the saints always made a complete break between preparation for conversion (which was a damnable heresy) and preparation in devotion (which was Godly use of means). But both the converted and the not yet awakened participated in the devotional customs used in the colony, church, school, family, and closet. Men, women, and children would need to be theologically astute and existentially consistent to have constantly made the distinction between what was God's initiative and the individual's role. It is easy to see why left-wing opponents charged the Puritans with fostering both works righteousness and Arminianism.

Finally, in spite of attractive format and excellent use of illustrations and poetry, the book remains cumbersome with too many quotations and too much repetition. Since the author did not include a summary at the end, those with neither the time, patience, nor inclination to read the entire work will have to rely on reviews. That is unfortunate, for The Practice of Piety is a very important book which should lead to a re-examination of the Puritan impact on the intellectual and religious history of America.

Swarthmore College

J. William Frost


Books about the decline of Virginia always bring to mind the closing scene of The Cherry Orchard: the ineffectual survivors of a great political tradition sit around onstage wondering what to do, while from the wings come the sounds of the ax wielded by the more vigorous Jacksonians. Daniel P. Jordan's useful
study, *Political Leadership in Jefferson's Virginia*, explains why that image should so readily present itself and, at the same time, gives us a basis on which to examine it more closely.

In one sense, Jordan's book is a straightforward study of Virginia's federal legislators in the years 1801-1825. Reviewing the backgrounds and careers of the ninety-eight men who represented the Old Dominion in the House and the Senate during the Virginia Dynasty, Jordan compiles a collective profile which is much as we should expect it to be. His subjects are wealthy, well-educated, Anglican in religion, and planters or planter-lawyers by occupation. Their families are prominent in local, state, and national affairs, and they come to their roles almost by inheritance. They are, in short, immediately familiar to us as the cream of the Virginia gentry.

If that were all Jordan had to say, an article would have sufficed. In fact, the real interest of his study lies in his effort to trace the ways in which the practice of Virginia politics, at least at the congressional level, changed over time. Jordan suggests that there were important alterations in style, if not in content, as the deferential mode of the classic period began to give way to newer forms of activity, in part derived from changes in the structure of elections. Thus, congressional districts, which took in several counties, required a more "modern" kind of campaigning than had been customary in the single-county contests for the state legislature. In this setting, oratory took on new importance—hence, Jordan thinks, much of the success of his "unlikely prototype," the otherwise eccentric John Randolph of Roanoke. And Jordan is certainly right about this, as he is when suggesting that the political careers of such non-orators as George Washington and Thomas Jefferson are hard to imagine in the context of nineteenth-century Virginia. Jordan's description of this and other changes in political techniques provides us with a fuller description than we have yet had of the practice of politics in Jefferson's Virginia, and it will strike many readers as the most valuable part of his book.

Jordan's reflections on the fate of the class his sample represents will not meet with universal approval, but they merit careful consideration. Going beyond the bounds of his prescribed period, he wonders why Virginia lost its dominant role in national politics after 1825. Canvassing, and dismissing perhaps too lightly, the usual array of explanations—a declining economy, population shifts, slavery—Jordan insists that "by the 1820s the anachronism of the Jeffersonian elite was clear," especially in the realm of ideology. This was as true within Virginia as it was in the nation at large, and the decades before the Civil War would witness the replacement of the traditional gentry leadership both in Richmond and in Washington. Thus, it would seem, the new forms of political activity pioneered by the gentry in 1801-1825 failed to preserve its dominance, and Jordan's "second generation men" were the last of their kind.

Hunter College of The City
University of New York

HERBERT SLOAN

Readers of this massive book must wonder how the United States survived its second war for independence. More than any previous study it documents the colossal ineptitude of the American government during the War of 1812. As J.C.A. Stagg notes in his preface, however, his purpose is not merely to expand upon this familiar story of incompetence; he seeks to explain it and to place it in a much larger and more meaningful context. It is difficult to summarize the many achievements of this book in a brief review. Stagg offers a comprehensive account of the politics, in the broadest sense of that term, of the war; he adds a significant new dimension to our understanding of James Madison, the purposes of the war, and why it occurred when it did; and he explores in a way that no other scholar has the nature of the federal government and its relationship to American society in the early national period.

The bulk of the study is an intricately detailed account of the efforts of the Madison administration to organize the government and the country for war. It is a sorry tale of misapprehensions and administrative bumbles, of partisan scheming throughout the country and of petty clashes of personal ambition within the government. More to the point, though, is Stagg's telling indictment of American institutions apart from the shortcomings of flawed individuals. If Madison and the framers of the Constitution had sought, in Stagg's words, "to establish a government that could define and communicate a concept of the national interest that would generate adequate popular support for its realization," the experience of the war was a devastating measure of their failure. Only the barest of contingencies and plain dumb luck, it would seem, spared the republic from any number of catastrophes from regional dismemberment to utter collapse. Indeed, by the winter of 1814-1815 the Madison administration was forced to concede that nothing short of force might be sufficient to hold even the shell of a national republic together.

Stagg explains Madison's decision to declare war on England and the abortive efforts to conquer Canada as the logical culmination of a vision that can be traced back to 1783: they were attempts to achieve what the Jeffersonian policy of commercial coercion had failed to secure for the previous thirty years. What lent urgency to Madison's new military approach, and what shaped its tactical aims, was the rapid emergence of Canada as a significant alternative to the United States as a source of supply in the British empire, especially for the West India colonies. Unfortunately for Madison, his government was simply
too small and too weak to accomplish the ambitious and necessary task of conquering the northern provinces. Earlier administrations, Federalist and Jeffersonian alike, had refused to limit the powers of the states over the militia, and this handicap, combined with the principled Jeffersonian reluctance to provide for a substantial federal army, spelled disaster when Madisonian policy required the sudden and efficient mobilization of the republic's resources for war. Not until after the war was Madison's target, the colonial commercial system of the eighteenth century, dismantled. With the emancipation of Latin America in the 1820s and with the British decision to throw open the heavily restricted West Indies trade in 1830, the root causes of the War of 1812 were finally eliminated. But in the interim Madison and his triumphant party could take solace only in the thought that their republic had survived the alarming crisis created by their declaration of war in 1812. There is little evidence that they appreciated the irony.

Some readers may find the detail in Stagg's narrative excessive and tedious. It is most unfortunate that the book is marred by egregious errors of the printer, apparently in moving from galleys to page proofs. Often the bottom line of one page is repeated at the top of the next, and far worse, some lines are omitted altogether. This superb book and its author deserved better.

*Harvard University*  
Drew R. McCoy

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Local government law has long been a little explored area of legal history. Its significance, perhaps, has been overlooked in the march of larger events in the appellate courts and federal government. The average citizen, however, is very much more affected personally by the day-to-day actions of city or local administrations than by many of the monuments of constitutional law.

Professor Hartog's *Public Property and Private Power* is a study of New York City's development from its colonial role as a corporate property holder to that of a modern municipal political entity. This emergence was charac-
terized by New York’s divesture of its landholdings into private hands; by specific grants of authority from the state legislature; and, most significantly, by the city’s preeminence as the nation’s leading commercial center.

The starting point for Professor Hartog’s study was colonial New York as constituted under the 1730 Montgomerie Charter. This document was a ratification and enlargement of earlier charters, and was to provide the basis for what was to be considered New York’s “organic” law. The Montgomerie Charter was, of course, primarily a land grant under the Crown, and, as the author points out, the private landholdings of the city furnished the only secure legal basis for local government action.

After Independence, the New York Common Council turned increasingly to the state legislature to provide specific authority for the city’s exercise of its public functions. At the same time, the city embarked on a program of rapid divesture of its landholdings into private hands. In relinquishing its pre-Revolutionary role as a property manager, the city government was to be projected all the more rapidly into the role of a modern municipal entity. It became an accepted principle that, when the city was not acting as a proprietor, it had no inherent autonomous powers: it had only the right to act as an “attorney for the public” within the narrow limits of the authority specifically delegated by the legislature.

This legal powerlessness of New York City was to be contrasted with the great political and economic power it in fact wielded. It had grown from a colonial town of twenty-five thousand inhabitants to nearly a million by the Civil War, and was unchallenged as the dominant financial and commercial center of the nation. Hartog recognizes this, pointing out that the state legislature, in making specific grants of authority, did practically everything the city wished. This presence of the legislature as a continuing provider of authority for municipal action made it difficult for judicial action to develop in this area, and the very minor role played by the courts in New York’s municipal development was remarkable.

It would have been more helpful if the book had a separate bibliography, rather finding it scattered through the footnotes. The Montgomerie Charter could have been included in an Appendix. These are minor matters, however. The author’s style is clear and concise, with short sentences and a crisp directness which, perhaps, is not found too often in legal histories. There is a pleasing selection of maps.

This work is a major contribution to the little-explored legal history of municipal authority. It should also be of large value to students of urban development and of New York City’s municipal history from the Revolution to the Civil War.

Radnor

Nicholas Sellers
It is one of Max Weber's enduring insights that the growth of formal democracy seems invariably associated with the growth of bureaucracy. Walter Licht's superb examination of the pre-union era of railroading in America (from the 1830s to the great strike of 1877) is an emphatic confirmation of that Weberian view. Licht organizes his book around a striking observation: on the one hand, sophisticated railroad owners pioneered in introducing large-scale, bureaucratic forms of administration and management to American business. However, despite elaborate sets of rules and clearly defined structures of hierarchical authority, the actual organization of work and daily dealings with the railroads' thousands of employees were subject to the personal discretion and remarkably inconsistent judgments of lower level supervisors and foremen. As a consequence, when unionization did come it tended to focus not so much on substantive matters of wages and hours, but on the conditions and regulations governing work. Organizing workers attempted to make those matters subject to precisely defined, impersonal rules, standards, and procedures. In the process, unionization helped to bring both democracy and bureaucracy to work on the railroad. Licht therefore also notes that the invention of the modern bureaucratic organization is not only the work of innovative business elites, as such business historians as Alfred Chandler have amply documented, but, at least in the area of labor relations, the result of a thousand accumulating pressures from below, as well.

*Working for the Railroad* uses that basic thematic insight to explore every important aspect of employment—recruitment, training, discipline, workload, promotion, pay, injury and death—in this formative era of the industry. Thus, hiring was subject to various forms of nepotism and even extortion and depended far more on personal, family, and even political connections than on a set of formal requirements. Similarly, while "working to rule" was especially important in an industry where schedules and coordination were critical, tasks and duties greatly exceeded those specified in company rule books and the rules themselves were often ignored and violations punished at the whim of local supervisors.

Licht provides a wealth of fascinating information. In a gripping chapter on the perils of the industry, for example, he combines grisly reports of deaths and maimings with more impersonal data to illustrate how dangerous railroading was in this period. Despite the danger, niggardly companies refused to install available safety devices like the automatic air brake, and, remarkably, were sometimes joined in opposition by workers fearing the loss of jobs or the adding on of functions to already over-burdened jobs.
It is astonishing that there has been no serious study of what it meant to work in this critical industry during its formative period. Walter Licht has now provided us with such a study, one that is ingeniously researched, lucidly written, and wonderfully illustrated with photographs and prints that convey a real feel for what was not only a way of earning a living, but a way of life, complete with its own myths, rituals, and codes of craft solidarity. One only wishes Licht had been able to tell us even more about this culture of railroading. His "social profile" of the railroad worker—young, male (through the nineteenth century railroading remained an almost exclusively male domain), son of a farmer or else an Irish or German immigrant, in the North never black while often enslaved in the South, proud of his craft—is an enormously helpful sketch, but no more than a sketch. Inside this separate railroaders' universe there flourished a culture of republican assertiveness and Christian fraternity that nourished some of the great labor struggles of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and decisively shaped the character of the era's most dynamic labor leader, Eugene Debs. Anyone wanting to delve deeper into these and related matters will have the advantage of beginning with this pioneering monograph about work in a pioneer industry.

New York

Steve Fraser


How was a young man of the middle class, with modest reform sensibilities, to make a career for himself in the late-nineteenth century? For Henry George, Edward Bellamy, and Henry Demarest Lloyd, the answer was to become a journalist and make writing an avenue to reform. In solving their identity crises, the authors also produced Victorian America's most widely read body of social criticism.

John Thomas uses comparative biography to analyze what became of reform between the Civil War and the Progressive Era. His method involves the careful explication of the major and minor texts of Bellamy, George, and Lloyd. His intentions, which do not become fully clear until the last chapter, are to present the three authors as major craftsmen of an alternative, communal vision of America.
This argument has a number of flaws. According to Thomas, the only alternative to a capitalistic and individualistic society was a communal pastoral vision that existed only as an "interior landscape" (p. 366). That is, nineteenth-century reformers, all backwards-looking romantics, were in search of arcadia. Certainly Populism, a movement important to Thomas's argument, does not fit the straitjacket he has prepared for it. Populism, especially in the South and Southwest, was a good deal more than the movement for free silver that Thomas reduces it to, and the producer cooperatives that the Populists established and the subtreasury system they advocated were more than dreamers' schemes for the restoration of an idyllic past. In order to sustain his thesis, Thomas dichotomizes Americans into romantics and entrepreneurs, communalists and individualists, premoderns and moderns. He thus continues the unfortunate misinterpretation of Ferdinand Tonnies common to many American scholars who see "gemeinschaft" and "gesellschaft" as diametrically opposed forms of society rather than as two points along a continuum. Thomas also adopts the language of modernization, with its attendant assumptions of inexorable progress. From this perspective it is no wonder that American reformers appeared to have advanced quaint utopian schemes and an alternative America that was merely a "country of the imagination" (p. 366). To reduce the history of American reform to this is to ignore recent scholarship and to substitute sociological fallacies for history.

It has been a major historiographical theme that at the end of the nineteenth century middle class America sought refuge from social conflict. No doubt the appeal of Looking Backward, Wealth Against Commonwealth, and Progress and Poverty lay in the easy solutions they offered to the day's social problems and to the suggestion that a moral community was within reach. Progress, trust-busting, and the single-tax promised the arrival of a just society without too much discomfort. Perhaps if Thomas had introduced the variable of class into his analysis and looked at who responded to his three utopians and why, he could have written a more acute study of middle class reform in the Gilded Age. Without knowing who formed Nationalist clubs, and who petitioned Henry George to run for mayor of New York, the assumption that these three reformers stood for all reform and that their utopian vision was the vision of an alternative America remains unfounded.

Rutgers University
Camden

ERIC C. SCHNEIDER

Lovely, shining mahogany bars reflecting the imprisoned sunlight of fine whisky, the sonorous hum of good conversation and the relaxed refuge of the common man's resort, the saloon, are all described, and even portrayed, in this interesting and very well researched social history of drinking places in two major cities, Chicago and Boston. The book traces the evolution of the saloon from a personal business to its status as a wholesale outlet for brewers, and then its decline as a variety of economic and social changes overtook it in the early part of this century.

The emphasis throughout this study is on the saloon as a public facility, a community institution that was a neighborhood fixture, a political focus, an ethnic exchange and an orientation point for immigrants and strangers in the new urban environment. The forces of moral censure perhaps saw more visions than habitual inebriates as they rose in righteous wrath to smite the dens of the devil's brew. The fears of the hot gospel reformers, of course, included far more than antipathy toward alcohol. Anti-immigrant prejudice, health fears, sexual phobias and distrust of democratic mores all mingled with prohibitionist euphoria in the crusades against booze and boozers. Such books as Andrew Sinclair's The Era of Excess have ably described these furies. The author of this book confines himself to a more acutely focused institutional and business analysis of the ubiquitous drinking place and does not try to exempt it from its association with crime, the charges that it killed the Yiddish theater, and corrupted the virtue of misled maidens.

The movement of German and Irish citizens to new outlying neighborhoods, the shift in the brewing industry from owning chains of saloons, the greater availability of spirits by the bottle, and increased taxes on the saloon business all played a role in diminishing the drinking place and its influence. World War I took away young men to France and stirred strong anti-German sentiments that affected German beer gardens and saloons. It was a reduced institution that had to contend with the still fiery prohibitionists, then, before the dread days of desert-dry Prohibition dawned upon the nation. Retailers had already been depressed by a long war against a sea of troubles.

This book is filled with fascinating detail pleasantly presented, and its perusal amid the quiet of some garden of libations will reveal that ethnic competition hurt the saloon business in Chicago, that Boston's bluenose regulation was finally broken by Mayor "Honey" Fitzgerald, grandfather of John F. Kennedy, and that the menus for free lunches in the 1890s could not be duplicated at our finest high-priced hostelries today. The only group that seems to have stayed with the saloon business even as it began its decline just before
1920 was the Irish. Because capital investment was low and because they could speak English and provide the kind of social wisdom that Peter Finely Dunne's Mister Dooley dispensed, the Irish remained the nation's chief psycho-bibulous resource until Sigmund Freud was popularized. Perry Duis of the history department of the University of Illinois has given us a fine business history, well illustrated and with barrel after barrel of lore and detail.

Philadelphia

Dennis Clark


The jobs most commonly held by women historically—prostitution and domestic work—rarely have been analyzed by historians. Studies of American prostitution have focused primarily on the vice commissions and reformers who sought to regulate or eliminate prostitution. Ruth Rosen, in her book *The Lost Sisterhood,* is the first to examine the work and lives of prostitutes together with the efforts of reformers. Rosen also analyzes the role of prostitution in maintaining gender and class systems.

Rosen suggests that the Progressive Era reformers sought to eliminate prostitution in response to an increasingly commercial, anonymous, and urban society. Prostitution symbolized to them all of the problems of modern society. Reformers were distressed that prostitution had become a major business enterprise run by men for extraordinary profits. Police taking bribes, landlords charging exorbitant rents, doctors selling certificates of clean health, as well as saloon keepers, taxi-drivers, and others, all pocketed fortunes. To feminist reformers, prostitution represented the ultimate in the economic and sexual exploitation of women.

Reformers painted a dark picture of "white slavery," of innocent, young farm girls moving to the city or of immigrants landing on America's shores only to be kidnapped, seduced, and forced into prostitution by evil men. Often dismissed now as nightmarish fantasies or as propaganda tools, "white slavery," Rosen finds, actually existed.

Instead of enforcing the law, city police, according to the 1913 Report of the Vice Commission of Philadelphia, helped madames and pimps force women into prostitution. About ten percent of prostitutes had entered "the life" in this way. This is an important and sad addition to our knowledge of the history of twentieth-century American women; men did indeed buy and sell women into
sexual slavery. While based in fact, the idea of “white slavery” also served other purposes, according to Rosen. It deflected attention from social and economic causes pushing women into prostitution; it made women appear as passive, helpless victims; and it excused anti-immigrant attitudes.

Rosen argues that, ultimately, the reformers’ efforts to end sexual slavery resulted not in eliminating prostitution, but in increasing the risk to prostitutes. As police broke up vice districts and closed the doors of brothels during World War I, women turned to street walking and pimps. The brothels had offered women collective protection; relying on one male pimp exposed each woman alone to the possibility of extreme exploitation and brutality.

While seeking to shut down red-light districts, some reformers attempted to help prostitutes find other jobs. But prostitutes often refused to take such “respectable jobs” as domestic work because their new employers might expect sexual favors. Many prostitutes preferred selling tricks to selling dresses; it paid much more. Some women with “respectable” jobs occasionally worked as prostitutes when their families needed money. Most women entered prostitution out of economic necessity. Many came from urban working-class families which had suffered economic difficulties and/or divorce. A significant number had also been sexually abused as children by family members.

Victimized by discrimination, both as lower class workers and as women, and exploited as prostitutes, these women nevertheless created their own supportive world. They had their own initiation rites and rules governing their nurturing subculture. In the brothels, women gave each other affection and companionship they had missed in their own families and which did not exist in their relationships with men. Rosen’s discussion of prostitutes as workers is the most interesting aspect of her book.

The study of prostitution, Rosen argues, “can function as a kind of microscopic lens through which we can gain a detailed magnification of a society’s organization of class and gender” (p.xii). The selling of women’s bodies, Rosen demonstrates, reaffirms women’s subjection to men, reveals the sexual double standard, and exposes the economic inequalities faced by lower class women. The Lost Sisterhood adds to our knowledge of women’s work and the class and gender systems which operated in early twentieth-century America.

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The Preparedness Movement of the World War I period is a unique phenomenon in American history. Traditionally, the military has had little appeal for Americans. The ideals of discipline and dedication to abstractions above that of personal gain obviously clash with the individualism and materialism which characterize American life. At that time, however, an influential number of the social elite enthusiastically endorsed military training primarily as a means of rejuvenating what they considered the old virtues which had been sapped by rampant materialism. This middle and upper class recognition of social problems combined with their search for solutions placed these men squarely in the Progressive mold. Indeed, the most famous Preparedness leader, Theodore Roosevelt, was one of several who had played important roles in other reforms of the early twentieth century. In the 1970s, two solid monographs appeared which covered the movement generally and one crucial segment in detail (John P. Finnegan, Against the Specter of the Dragon: The Campaign for American Military Preparedness, 1914-1917 and John Garry Clifford, The Citizen Soldiers: The Plattsburg Training Camp Movement, 1913-1920). Michael Pearlman adds a significant dimension to these works with his social and intellectual approach of describing and analyzing the reasons why several leaders sought national salvation in Preparedness. He also extends the time beyond the World War I era from San Juan Hill to the Normandy beachhead.

The melange of reasons which brought men into the Preparedness fold included beliefs in the salutary healthful effects of exercise, outdoor living, and Spartan discipline, as well as in the individual and corporate purification resulting from meeting the challenges they presented. The military way of life seemed to be the logical vehicle for such ideas. In the process, these men hoped they could stem the deterioration of American life by setting higher goals than the pursuit of wealth. Possible side effects would be to establish social order and unity and to Americanize the immigrants. Although the author gives proper attention to the dominant figures, Roosevelt and Leonard Wood, he does not neglect others who range from the mayor of New York City to the operator of a health spa. Filtered through the consciousness of a present-day liberal intellectual, these men appear to be anachronisms in their own time or shrewd, selfish manipulators. There is little charity for noblesse-oblige these days and the charisma of a Roosevelt or a Wood is difficult to recapture.

Professor Pearlman does not attempt to tell the Army's side of this story. When he briefly refers to the responses of regular officers, he indicates that they
were basically self-serving. But more than self-interest was involved. They had reasons based on the writings of Emory Upton (who is not mentioned) for opposing some of the aims of the Preparedness leaders. Regulars were concerned with the defense of the nation not with social reform. Preparedness as championed by the civilians and the maverick General Wood had little relevance to the real threats of the day. As it was, the aims of the Preparedness leaders might confuse or even obstruct the efforts of regulars to prepare for and fight the war that was in the offing.

The two Roosevelts, father and son, begin and end this account in a romantic flourish. The elder led his Rough Riders in a war that was short enough to permit such shenanigans while Theodore Roosevelt, Jr. had the misfortune to be in a much larger war against a much more formidable enemy. The difficulties young Ted had with regulars in World War II give the author the opportunity for a summing up of the basic differences between those civilians who looked to the military for a way out of social dilemmas and the professionals who assumed that the basic purpose of that institution was to fight war as efficiently as possible. In this “Epilogue,” the author demonstrates an understanding of the regulars that he seemed to lack in the earlier chapters.

This is a well researched, thoughtful book, illuminating aspects of this militaristic offshoot of Progressivism. It is a worthy complement to the other two excellent monographs on Preparedness.

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This is a warmly appreciative biography of a man who richly deserves such an appraisal. As a personal portrait it is brilliant; as an institutional mirror it is narrow and distorted. The biography follows the usual schema, tracing Dr. Eisenhower's life through his childhood in Abilene, his education at Kansas State, his unexpected appointment to a diplomatic post in Scotland, and, upon his return, his marriage to Helen Eakin and entry into the Washington bureaucracy via the Department of Agriculture. After this Milton served under every president from 1923 to 1943. He became a superb administrator
and was soon sought out for especially tough jobs like heading the Office of Land Use Planning under Agriculture's Henry Wallace, or managing the War Relocation Authority which forced Japanese-Americans out of their homes in 1942—a task he hated and took only at the earnest pleading of President Roosevelt. After this Milton became second in command at the Office of War Information.

When his older brother, Dwight, was named Commander of American Forces in Europe, Milton became a primary target of the media, which probed him constantly for inside information. In the spring of 1943 his Alma Mater, Kansas State College, offered him its presidency. He accepted and began his main work, successive presidencies at Kansas State, Penn State and Johns Hopkins. While most of the book focusses on his work at these three institutions, it is not an institutional history. Rather, the authors select episodes in each presidency to illuminate the personality and character of the man.

In each place, Eisenhower sought to eliminate weaknesses he perceived which were so deeply embedded in tradition that few local people saw them. At Kansas State he brought required liberal arts courses onto a campus which concentrated on vocational training. At Penn State he worked to overcome the self-satisfied provincialism of the college and to raise it to the status of a nationally recognized university. At Johns Hopkins he succeeded in replacing the chaotic degree-granting procedures by curtailing the arbitrary powers of the faculty and creating clear and university-wide standards for the awarding of degrees.

At each institution Dr. Eisenhower gave his deepest personal commitment to the students, and emphatically directed faculty attention to their education. He first voiced this theme in 1943, urging colleges to prepare for the hordes of returning G.I.'s who had earned priority consideration. He continued this emphasis throughout his career, an attitude which grew in part from his happy association with President William Jardine of Kansas State who had befriended him as a student.

Milton's unpretentious bearing and his natural friendliness endeared him to young people. His office door was open to them and his informal manner put them quickly at ease. He was curious about and interested in their ideas. He had the courage to exercise common sense—something many bureaucrats seemed instinctively to fear. And he exemplified a whole set of traditional American values which he had learned early and held onto throughout life: duty, responsibility, hard work to prepare for every job, willingness to learn another's point of view, readiness to compromise on lesser issues to attain larger ones, the belief that it is more important to advance your job than yourself, and as counterpoint to such serious matters, a self-deprecating sense of humor constantly in evidence.

The authors derived most of their information from taped interviews with
Dr. Eisenhower and his former associates. These tapes provided many anecdotes which enliven the book and illustrate the subject's philosophy and administrative methods. But heavy dependence on oral history has led the authors into many mistakes which reference to documents would have corrected. In the Penn State chapters, for example, the authors greatly overstate the alumni influence over football before 1950, and speak of Dean George Haller, a well-known campus personality, as "Heller" in half a dozen places. The segment on athletics presents many errors of chronology and some very dubious assertions in the guise of fact. And the authors have failed to give Dr. Eisenhower credit for some of his major contributions to the institution.

But these unhappy lapses are subordinate to the primary purpose of this book which is to reveal the character of a remarkable man whose values, this reviewer wishes, could be taught across the land. The authors have succeeded in giving life to these. For this reason, readers will be enriched by spending some of their time in visiting with Milton S. Eisenhower through his kindly and inspiring biography.

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