did not occur. Emma was taught by a former slave how to cook and iron. She began to sew and on March 1, 1866, wrote: "I'm getting embroidery as well as dress making [orders]." Most of their slaves remained with them until the family could no longer afford their upkeep. She reluctantly accepted defeat, but was sure that she was part of the last of "her race in South Carolina." The economic, social, and cultural transition during those months makes interesting reading.

Professor Marszalek's editing is faulty, especially relative to the "people and events" identification process. In addition, maps of downtown Charleston and of South Carolina should have been included. Emma's mother, who held the family together, is barely mentioned. Politics is eschewed. Newspapers and census data might have helped fill in some detail of Emma's life between 1866 and 1910. There is no bibliography. Finally, the non-Civil War scholar will have difficulty following the rise and fall of the Confederacy from this publication.

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This volume joins a growing list of distinguished monographs dealing with the history of the American criminal justice system. Fifteen years ago there would have been few books on such a list. Readers interested in the history of police forces, of criminal law, of patterns of criminal activity, and of attitudes about crime would have had to be satisfied with brief, superficial comments in criminology texts or else sought the primary sources out for themselves. The only subject that produced a few quality historical studies was that of prisons and prison reform. Even here the work was almost exclusively narrative; for example, Orlando Lewis, The Development of American Prisons and Prison Customs, 1776-1845 (1922) and Harry Elmer Barnes, The Evolution of Penology in Pennsylvania (1927).

That situation has changed radically and for the better. What I
perceive to have been the breakthrough came in the mid-1960s with two very different volumes. Kai Erikson explored deviant behavior in seventeenth-century New England in *Wayward Puritans* (1966) and Roger Lane gave us an administrative-political analysis in *Policing the City: Boston, 1822-1885* (1967). Historians such as David Rothman, Joseph Hawes, James Richardson, Eric Monkkonen, and especially Mark Haller have added greatly to our knowledge of the American criminal justice system. Perhaps as a sign of maturity the field now even has a survey text in Samuel Walker’s *Popular Justice: A History of American Criminal Justice* (1980).

Compared to traditional areas of historical research, however, there is still an enormous amount of work to be done. In less than 200 well-crafted pages of text David R. Johnson guides us through the “underworld” of mid-nineteenth-century America. But Johnson offers us more than a description of crime, criminals, and the police. He has developed an interpretation showing us how the theory and practice of law enforcement interacted with the actual structure and values of the underworld.

The starting point for Johnson’s analysis is the emergence of modern urban police in the 1830s. The police were seen as a way of controlling a rapidly growing, seemingly chaotic city. During the mid-nineteenth century reformers in American cities struggled with varying success to install what Johnson calls “preventative police.” The reformers had a model of behavior which they wished to see all of society’s institutions — education, the family, the church, as well as the police — inculcate into the rapidly growing urban working class. What actually happened, however, depended as much upon the values and goals of those on the lower rungs of society as it did upon the desires of middle-class reformers. More specifically, Johnson argues persuasively, the social organization of sneak thieves, pickpockets, burglars, and swindlers influenced the developing character of police work more than reformers in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, or Chicago who conceived of crime “as an abstract threat to social order.”

Johnson skillfully organizes his analysis by presenting the initial reform movement and then showing in a series of chapters how professional thieves, street criminals, and those involved in various kinds of vice shaped the activities of the police. A particularly effective chapter deals with street crime, with Philadelphia as a case study. Johnson makes the point that such crime grew out of a complex set of motives ranging from the desire of sneak thieves to profit from
quickly grabbing hats and coats from the hallways of middle-class homes to the competition between gang-dominated fire companies to control neighborhoods.

The activities of street patrolmen developed in response to this flexible situation. The cop on his beat lived with overt violence and frequently responded in kind. He was generally little respected, something new technology such as uniforms and telegraph call boxes did not alter. I was struck with how little has changed over the past hundred years when I compared Johnson's description of the street policeman's life with that presented by Jonathan Rubinstein in his study of today's police in City Police (1973).

That both legitimate society and the underworld shape law enforcement is at its clearest in the relationship of the police to "vice." Generally, the "decent" elements in society determined what behavior would be labeled vice. Attitudes toward gambling, for example, became more repressive during the nineteenth century as middle-class reformers perceived a threat to social order in the growth of gambling syndicates involved in off-track betting and chains of faro houses. The belief in decentralized political control of police left reformers at a severe disadvantage when contending with well-organized, efficient gambling syndicates. Thus reformers fumed while local police frequently protected rather than prevented gambling in nineteenth-century cities.

Johnson's volume, as well as others on our growing list, should be required reading for those who shape law enforcement policies. The lessons of the past, though frequently ambiguous, do sensitize us to the social forces that frequently reshape the good intentions of the policy makers.


The struggle to secure and sustain prohibition in Michigan is the subject of this study by journalist-historian Larry Engelmann. The author believes that Michigan was a pivotal state in the national