

have rarely been heard. In short, much is commendable about this book despite the author's tendency to repeat arguments. It would be a good choice for advanced undergraduates studying gender or intellectual history.

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Anne-Marie E. Szymanski, *Pathways to Prohibition: Radicals, Moderates, and Social Movement Outcomes*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2003.

Political scientist Anne-Marie Szymanski has taken a fresh look at the prohibition movements of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the United States. Her analytical study focuses in particular on the waves of temperance agitation of the 1880s and the Progressive Era (1900-1920). During the former period, prohibitionists fought nineteen state prohibition referendum campaigns, winning six (31.6 percent). In the latter, prohibitionists won twenty-two of forty contests (55 percent). The successful campaigns of the Progressive Era gave a powerful impetus to the drive for national prohibition. Szymanski's closely argued book presents an explanation for the greater success of these Progressive Era battles.

In Szymanski's view, the key to prohibition's gains lies in the movement's growing moderation, brought about by the accession to leadership of the Anti-Saloon League (ASL). During the 1880s, prohibitionists, led by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) and the Prohibition Party, focused their efforts on forcing enactment of statewide prohibition, eschewing local efforts to obtain lesser restrictive measures, such as high license, limitation of saloon numbers, or local option. This stance Szymanski dubs "radicalism." "Moderation," in contrast, is defined by a willingness to embrace localism and gradualism. Advocates of statewide prohibition believed that local defeats would discourage

their supporters, while local successes were likely to leave dries in the affected area complacent and therefore unwilling to contribute to similar or more advanced campaigns elsewhere. Szymanski, however, argues that ASL leaders realized correctly that local defeats were likely to have the opposite effect to that predicted by “radicals,” energizing them to further effort when they realized the malevolent power of the liquor industry. Local successes would produce appreciation of prohibition’s benefits and therefore boost supporters’ willingness to advocate wider control measures. Successful social movements, she believes, wed grassroots mobilization over local issues to a nationally coordinated strategy that ties local campaigns to larger goals. Success also depends upon favorable external conditions, such as intense interparty or intraparty conflict, which provides an opening for social movements to exert leverage upon the political process. Such leverage is facilitated when the movement includes “coalitional insiders,” that is, supporters who remain within existing parties rather than withdrawing into sectarian third parties.

Topically organized, *Pathways to Prohibition* supports its argument with close examination of the prohibition campaigns of the 1850s, as well as those of the 1880s and the Progressive Era. Indeed, the author has carried out the most intensive inquiry yet into these major phases of American temperance reform. Szymanski has also mastered the extensive historical literature on her subject (with the exception of the late John Rumbarger’s work), and explicitly takes issue with the large number of scholars, political scientists and sociologists who study social movements as well as historians of prohibition, who have reached different conclusions. She has also delved deeply into the primary sources, and one product of such research is the book’s most original discovery, that during the late nineteenth century American courts eroded the doctrine of legislative supremacy, an outcome that inadvertently facilitated local-option campaigns. The concluding chapter provides further support for the argument through brief examinations of the roles played by localism in the

civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s, the Christian Right of the 1970s-1990s, and the modern environmental movement.

Political scientists and other students of social movements have not often paid close attention to prohibition, and readers of this journal should be pleased if *Pathways to Prohibition* succeeds in making prohibitionism central to scholarly understanding of movement dynamics. Although it is directed primarily to social-movement theorists, the book also presents a reinterpretation of prohibitionist history as found in the work of such scholars as James Timberlake, Joseph Gusfield, Austin Kerr, and this reviewer. The author presents a strong case, but I believe it is neither as compelling nor as original as Szymanski makes it appear.

In the first place, Szymanski's key terms, while used consistently, are defined with a specific meaning that is not self-evident. I use "moderate" and "radical" to refer to differences over goals, not means. To me, radicals want to bring about major changes in society, while moderates want only small ones. But Szymanski's moderates and radicals are presented as pursuing as an ultimate goal only one kind of social change, on which they both agreed: national prohibition. They differed merely in the means they proposed to bring it about, as the moderates were willing to accept piecemeal, local, and gradual change as steps to state and then national prohibition, while the radicals wanted to bypass the local and move immediately to state, followed by national, prohibition. This distinction suits Szymanski's purpose, which is to explain why different strategies work or don't work, but understanding that the two groups, in Szymanski's view at least, wanted the same outcome seems to me to diminish the importance of her project.

Focusing on differences over means leads Szymanski into a misunderstanding of a significant conflict over goals. In her view, any mode of liquor control other than state or national prohibition is "moderate." This leads her to describe the dispensary system, under which state or local governments operate all retail liquor stores, as supported by moderates (93).

This labeling ignores the fact that the most sweeping of all such schemes, the nationalization of the liquor industry, was advocated in the mid-1890s by the most radical prohibitionists – in terms of both goals and means – the “broad-gauge” faction of the Prohibition Party, who also wanted to sever ties with the existing Protestant churches and reach out to the Populists to create a grand reform coalition.

The second and third problems I have with the book is that the argument is not as new as it first appears and it assumes away what I see as the major issue in explaining the changes in the prohibition movement between the 1880s and the 1910s. Historians have long recognized that the ASL succeeded because it managed to reach the prohibitionist constituency – middle-class dry voters – more effectively than did its predecessors at the head of the dry forces. We have also recognized that such people were more comfortable with the gradualism of the ASL than with the all-or-nothing message of the Prohibition Party, supported for a long time by the WCTU: “elect us or the nation is doomed to perdition.” The real issue is why they felt this way, since the apocalyptic events of the 1890s – the severe economic depression, the rise of Populism and socialism, intense conflict between capital and labor, the vicious presidential election of 1896 – could easily have given rise to a different orientation.

The historical context of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era enters Szymanski’s analysis in the form of court decisions and the changing terms of party competition, but it plays only a limited role in shaping prohibitionist strategies because the author implicitly assumes that prohibitionists were merely prohibitionists, not citizens who were concerned about the direction of their society and were seeking firm footing in constantly shifting sociopolitical terrain. Only in three portraits in the penultimate chapter, of local gradualists who converted to national prohibitionists, does the reader get a sense that dries may have been interested in the Social Gospel or tenement-house reform or the alleviation of poverty. But even in these portraits

the impetus behind their conversion is assumed to be the fortunes of dry legislation. Progressive reform enters the story solely as a factor exogenous to the prohibition crusade, not as historical change that challenged prohibitionists to realign their movement, and themselves, politically. Her dries, in other words, are one-dimensional prohibitionists, motivated exclusively by the fate of the dry cause, rather than citizens whose perceptions of that cause were affected by everything else that was going on around them. In such a portrait there is no room for prohibitionists, such as the Prohibition Party broad-gaugers, who were willing to abandon prohibition itself if such a course would help to align them with the forces for change in American society. Although it seems unduly abstract, the picture may be true to life. But it should be defended, and is not.

Pathways to Prohibition addresses an important problem: why the prohibitionists attracted widespread support in the statewide referenda of the Progressive Era. Its answer, that increasing numbers of voters rallied to the cause because they had been socialized by previous local contests over more limited liquor-control measures, is plausible and well supported by evidence of aggregate voting behavior, statistics of WCTU membership, and a handful of individual biographies. This explanation, however, in my view does not displace earlier arguments that focus upon middle-class voters' fears of Populism, socialism, and social disorder, the movement's ability to align itself with Progressive social currents, and the weakness of the liquor industry. But it is not incompatible with such interpretations. Prohibition in the United States was a densely woven fabric, and Anne-Marie Szymanski deserves a toast with something stronger than cold water for her proficient tracing of one of its prominent, but previously overlooked, threads.

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