

against which the quixotic failures of the others can be measured.

At first glance, Jones' inclusion in the group seems somewhat arbitrary—a device by which to dramatize the lesson that middle class intellectual reform is inherently futile unless “words” are justified by “deeds” and by saving contact with the working classes. Jones passes the author's deed-test with flying colors, and in this crucial difference lies his historical significance. Yet Jones shared with his fellow knights of the golden rule an almost born-again faith in the utility of Christian benevolence and also a sense of discipleship to their European mentors, Mazzini, Ruskin, and Tolstoy. The broad inspirational impact of this trio on American Christian social reformers at the turn of the century is one of the important findings of Frederick's study.

Frederick writes with explicit presentist preoccupations. His book is “about the present and about me,” he warns. “Otherwise, there would have been no reason to write it” (p. xv). Further he acknowledges what he calls “a quasi-New Left perspective” (p. 271). This angle of vision presumably accounts for his relentless effort to impose on his subjects a judgmental evaluation borrowed from the chastening radical experience of the 1960s. Repeatedly he invokes the concepts of middle class guilt, self-isolation, élitism, over-optimism, and inability to reconcile ideals and practice. These define the crucial failings of his knights. His new left assumption, that progressive reform was significant primarily for its stabilization of the political economy which the Kingdom of God promised to transform, serves to validate the theme of failure.

Thorough in his research, gifted in his prose, and candid about his preferences, Frederick has produced an important monograph which is also a revealing historiographical document.

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Affairs of State: Public Life in Late Nineteenth Century America. By Morton Keller. (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1977. Pp. ix, 631. Notes, tables, index. \$17.50.)

In recent years historians, led especially by the efforts of Samuel P. Hays, Robert Wiebe, and Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., have been reexamining the nature of late nineteenth and early

twentieth century American history. Morton Keller's study is an extremely valuable addition to this growing body of literature. The synthesizing works of other historians have dealt primarily with economic and social changes, while slighting somewhat the interaction between these changes and politics. Keller investigates precisely this overlooked area—the public polity, in which he includes party politics, foreign policy, law, and government involvement in the economy.

Keller divides his study into two major part. The first covers the years 1865 through 1880. In this period he finds “the wartime legacy of active, expanded government” to have affected all aspects of the public polity “in Congress and the courts, in the victorious North as well as the defeated South, in a broad range of social and economic policies” (p. 35). Yet, even as the Civil War boosted the power of the federal government and led to an increase in its involvement in social and economic affairs, countervailing forces—localism, laissez-faire ideas, and racism—were at work against the nationalizing and centralizing forces. The second section deals with the relationship between politics and industrialization during the 1880s and 1890s. Keller views economic and social changes as causing major alterations in the public polity, but, again, he notes that there was widespread resistance to these changes.

Affairs of State is an important book for anyone interested in the evolution of American politics. Well written and organized, Keller's study brings together in a readable, comprehensive volume information from a wealth of secondary sources. The extensive footnotes provide guides for further reading. The most significant contribution of the work in this reviewer's opinion is Keller's amply documented assertion that tension between the old and the new underlay American politics in the four decades following the Civil War. Particularly worth noting is his conclusion that localism, opposition to government involvement in the economy, individualism, and the continuance of preindustrial values modified and slowed the nationalizing tendencies present in American life. Keller's findings suggest that the American experience was more complex than the works of other historians have indicated.

For all its value, this study has a few shortcomings. Keller occasionally overstates his case. Business and economic historians may question his statement that “the Civil War remains the great watershed in the history of the American nation,” with an “agrarian, decentralized” nation on one side

of the divide and a "nation of cities, factories, immigrants" on the other (p. 1). Most will probably see more continuity in nineteenth century American economic development than does Keller. By the same token, some historians may well question just how "distinctive" or "new" it was for Americans "to call on government to assist economic development" after the Civil War (p. 162). In fact, governmental bodies greatly aided economic growth in earlier times, particularly in the realm of internal improvements. Despite his generally encyclopedic range of knowledge, Keller sometimes neglects works which might have added to his discussion of certain topics. For instance, his treatment of the silver issue might benefit from some consideration of the studies by Walter Nugent and Allen Weinstein.

Despite its few problems, *Affairs of State* is a superb book, a "must" for those interested in nineteenth century American history.

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Toward a Warless World: The Travail of the American Peace Movement, 1887-1914. By David S. Patterson. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1976. Pp. xi, 339. Notes, index. \$15.00.)

Sparked by his sympathy for the Vietnam peace movement, David S. Patterson investigated activities of American peace groups from 1887 to 1914. The result is a critical history of peace leaders and their failures, which is heavily documented and makes use of quantitative data on key peace leaders. Using a chronological approach, except for two chapters, Patterson examines the assumptions and programs of the leaders. The peace movement reached its highest point on the eve of World War I, but peace leaders failed to realize that militarism and nationalism were growing forces and not a vestige of the world's uncivilized past. In short, the peace movement grew and prospered, but relatively it lost much ground in the race against war.

In an effort to bring meaning to an "extremely diverse, amorphous movement" (p. ix), Patterson studies thirty-six leaders, a group chosen by position and consistent participation at peace and arbitration conferences. He assigns the leaders to categories of pacifist, generalist, world federationist (federalist), and legalist, but warns that some leaders moved from one category to another and that others did not fit a