

Leidenberger convincingly argues that these more familiar definitions came to define the Chicago school of progressivism only after a business coalition was able to defeat the base of labor power. This pro-business agenda was part of a national effort that sought to stanch the growth of labor power, one city at a time, through community networks. Spatial power, exemplified by the teamsters' control of the distribution network, had led to political power, and employers sought to reverse that advantage by eliminating the sympathy strike. In doing so, they also brought about a public relations campaign more sophisticated than the countersubversive one developed to squelch the eight-hour movement after the Haymarket riot fifteen years earlier. This campaign sought to label labor unions as antithetical to the public interest and began to break down the alliances between labor and middle-class reformers, although the full story of how this happened needs

more development than Leidenberg has given it. On the heels of the street-car strike, the municipal ownership campaign faltered and then failed. "Good government" functionalist views of regulation, led by middle-class reform organizations, ended the public transit campaign and superceded the labor-centered coalition.

Leidenberg's book is an important contribution to labor history as well as to the history of twentieth-century reform. His conclusion—that historians' definitions of Progressive Era reform do not consider the rise and defeat of alternative "progressive moments" shaped by labor insurgencies and counterinsurgencies—provokes a host of questions for future researchers.

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*Daughters of the Union*  
*Northern Women Fight the Civil War*  
 By Nina Silber

(Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005. Pp. 332. Illustrations, notes, index. \$29.95).

There has been a recent flourishing of books on women's experiences in the U.S. Civil War. Nurses' letters have appeared, the work of female spies has been recounted, and historians have even recovered women's

experiences on the battlefield. As Nina Silber notes in *Daughters of the Union*, Confederate women's work has long been more famous than that of their Unionist counterparts, a bias that started during the war itself. But

Northern women are now getting their due, in books like Jeannie Attie's *Patriotic Toil* (1998), Judith Ann Giesberg's *Civil War Sisterhood* (2000), and Elizabeth Leonard's *Yankee Women* (1994).

Silber pulls much of this history together in one highly readable volume. Because of its breadth, hers is probably the single best book for anyone seeking to understand Northern women's war experiences. Silber discusses new forms of female employment, as well as how women managed homes and businesses in men's absence. She traces women's tentative entry into electoral politics as well as their volunteer war work, fundraising, and humanitarian aid. A chapter on "Wartime Emancipation" describes some of the ways in which freedom for African American women changed the war effort, especially for women in the antislavery cause.

Silber also draws on a rich array of primary sources written by ordinary women on the homefront. Many offer poignant commentary on the hardships of war, as well as on women's interest in national events and fervent hopes for victory. Sources from working-class and African American women are not as well represented as those from more prosperous Northerners, but Silber pays welcome attention to Southern women as they were reincorporated into the Union, and to the economic and racial inequalities that typified both regions. In her chapter on nurs-

ing, for example, she notes that most black women working in Union hospitals were classified as "cooks and laundresses" and paid far less than white "nurses," though both groups did similar work.

While many authors emphasize the war's potential to liberate women, Silber is pessimistic. She notes that Northern women were subjected to intense criticism for their supposed lack of patriotic zeal, and she finds a simultaneous public debate over women's victimization. Sometimes the two intertwined, as when *Harp-er's Weekly* contrasted the impoverished "soldier's wife" with the "contractor's wife" who ignored calls for patriotic sacrifice and went shopping with the profits of her husband's government contracts (p. 73). Silber's outlook is perhaps overly gloomy, especially in the final chapter, when she offers Mary Surratt—hanged for her role in Lincoln's assassination—as a key example of how "the federal government had raised the bar in terms of expecting obedience and allegiance from its female citizens" (p. 261). But she makes a valid point when she says that women learned that "the war, and their government, demanded their allegiance more than it encouraged their critical interaction" (p. 11).

*Daughters of the Union* raises important questions about women's changing relationship to government and citizenship in the nineteenth century. Along the way, the author offers fascinating glimpses into the wartime

experiences of Northern women, in all their hardships, griefs, hopes, and triumphs.

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### *Danger on the Doorstep*

#### *Anti-Catholicism and American Print Culture in the Progressive Era*

By Justin Nordstrom

(Notre Dame, Ind.: Notre Dame University Press, 2006. Pp. ix, 296. Illustrations, appendix, notes, index. Paperbound, \$30.00.)

Justin Nordstrom's analysis of anti-Catholic popular publications during the Progressive Era views this expression of nativism as a part of the rural-urban conflict that punctuated the period. The city, and Catholics who resided there, represented strange peoples and customs, sexual licentiousness, and lack of simplicity. Nativists grafted their movement onto progressivism and, working on the principle of guilt by association, sought to make Catholics scapegoats for modernity. In the South, where Catholics were rare, as they were in most rural areas, such anti-Catholicism was particularly intense.

Anti-Catholicism was an ultra-nationalist variation on the American propensity to believe in conspiracy theories. Most threatening to this frame of mind was the idea that Catholics vested ultimate authority in a hierarchy whose epicenter lay abroad. American distrust of centralized power in any form, whether governmental or religious, had deep roots in the nation's history, dating back to

the colonial period. Protestants were troubled by the doctrine of papal infallibility, which seemed undemocratic. Yet most charges were not original, nor were they specific to North America or limited to the time. They were as old as the Protestant Reformation—and they remain today, separating Protestantism and Catholicism.

Believing, or even reading, these extremist periodicals presupposes a degree of gullibility. The writers charged that Catholics wanted to overthrow the government, make America subservient to the Pope, abolish freedom of worship, suppress dissent, and control the world. Priests and nuns had illicit sex, murdered the offspring, and buried them beneath convents. Priests exploited the confessional to manipulate women for sex. The most sensational and titillating publications were stories of the captivity, kidnapping, and sexual abuse of women and children, described in graphic, almost pornographic, detail.