

The Rise of the Chicago Police Department: Class and Conflict, 1850-1894

By Sam Mitrani

(Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2013. Pp. ix, 254. Illustrations, notes, index. \$50.00.)

The history of policing in the United States was revived during the late 1960s and 1970s as part of a growing academic interest in social history generally and in the history of social control in particular. The field began with studies of individual city forces—often the first since the late nineteenth century. Scholars then expanded their interest to include comparisons of urban policing, the cultural significance of famous murder cases, and the study of homicide rates. Crime, more than policing, seems to have occupied the interest of recent historians.

Sam Mitrani's well-crafted book returns us to the police, focusing on the relationship between Chicago's force and that city's business elite and politicians. He argues that elite reliance on the police to maintain order during labor conflicts followed a period of uncertainty brought on by the sympathy of some mayors and policemen for strikers and by the general inefficiency of the police force. This viewpoint is not new, but Mitrani introduces greater nuance and complexity.

Chicago's modern full-time force, begun in 1855, quickly became the object of political conflict over styles of law enforcement. The new police, created to control disorder more than to detect serious crime, set off

a debate between members of the business elite, who favored a force "independent" of political control but responsive to their demands for order, and politicians, who wanted the authority to appoint the police to carry out their law enforcement policies. The politicians won throughout the nineteenth century, but they reached an accommodation with businessmen. The result was a corrupt force that claimed an unstable legitimacy among Chicagoans by performing service functions such as returning lost children or rescuing people, and won upper-class support by becoming more efficient in response to large-scale disorder. By 1877, "the year of violence" marked by strikes in Chicago and nationwide, the police proved their usefulness to city elites. What legitimacy the police gained among the bosses was lost among workers, whose anger led partly to the election of Mayor Carter Harrison in 1879. Harrison, a Democrat, sought both to build a strong police force and to win back working-class acceptance. He implemented pay based on seniority and retained effective officers regardless of political connections. Under his administration, the police adopted the telegraph call box and quick-response patrol wagon. While both systems facilitated response to riots, they also enabled the police to per-

form rescues and other service functions more effectively. Harrison's most important step toward gaining worker support was to order the police to be neutral in strikes, instead of wading in swinging their clubs against strikers and clearing the way for scabs to enter factories. In doing so, Harrison won some worker support but lost the backing of industrialists who had organized the Citizen's Association and the more elite Commercial Club, powerful lobby groups determined to shape the city to suit themselves.

The Haymarket Square bombing and Anarchist scare of 1886 changed that pattern. The police, several of whom were victims of the bomb, launched an all-out war on Chicago's

Anarchists, the long-term results of which were to harden the police against strikers and to win back industrialists' enthusiastic support. Mitrani's story continues after Haymarket to cover the Pullman Strike and others, but the bombing established a pattern of police attitudes and harsh tactics that persisted for decades.

Mitrani has produced a well-written and thoroughly researched study of the Chicago police's development, proving that police history is alive and doing well.

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Slavery, Race, and Conquest in the Tropics: Lincoln, Douglas, and the Future of Latin America

By Robert E. May

(New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013. Pp. xi, 296. Illustrations, maps, notes, index. Clothbound, \$80.00; paperbound, \$26.99.)

Beginning with his *Southern Dream of Caribbean Empire, 1854-1861* (1973), Robert E. May of Purdue University has done more than any historian to document and explain the proslavery expansionism that overshadowed U. S. relations with Latin America and the Caribbean during the antebellum decades. His definitive biography of John A. Quitman, published in 1985, explored the life of this Mississippi governor and would-be filibusterer of Cuba who rose to general in the

Confederate Army. May's *Manifest Destiny's Underworld* (2002), provided a thorough account of the numerous filibustering expeditions to the Caribbean and Central America through which Americans sought to establish extra-legal outposts of empire. While the filibusterers found supporters throughout the United States, their base of support and most enthusiastic participants were white men from the Old South who idealized slaveholding as the key to wealth, masculinity, and