

late Victorian intellectuals seized the language and imagery of Darwin's biology with enthusiasm, and hitched them to various continuing movements such as liberalism, individualism and collectivism, debates about heredity, race, and class, and questions of the rationality or irrationality of the human animal. Social Darwinism therefore became ubiquitous, pervading the entire range of social science from economics to ethics, by way of politics, eugenics, and moral philosophy, appealing to many different schools of thought and being taken up by an extraordinarily wide variety of social theorists.

This much is well known to historians. The intriguing point brought out in *Social Darwinism and English thought* is that social Darwinism was often espoused by both parties to a controversy, each protagonist believing himself the only true Darwinian. The constellation of facts and fancies that signified Darwinism to those concerned was thus an ever-variable, fluctuating mass of concepts, subject to as many interpretations as there were propagandists for causes. More significantly, it also provided the ground on which radically opposed groups could at least meet, if not agree with each other. Greta Jones emphasizes the fragmented, contradictory character of social Darwinism by describing the major arenas of debate so far as Britain was concerned. Her story, though pitched at a somewhat abstract level, is certainly comprehensive and will guide many researchers through this particular labyrinth. Yet the author has more than this to tell us: she hopes to analyse what it is that pushed – and still pushes – the social sciences towards biology, and the agents that might mediate between the two. The key, it would seem, is philosophy. At the deepest level, social Darwinism resolved itself into a theory which began from the “reality” of existing social relationships – or more often an ideological picture of them – and argued back to their apparently “natural” causation. Theorists, she claims, may have reduced human activity to hard-core biology but they failed to escape the limits of the social ideologies of their time: it was no good using Darwin to justify social science, since he was as steeped in current ideology as they were. Such myopia continues today, particularly in sociobiology. The great expectations of the nineteenth century might have faded away, but social Darwinism is not yet bankrupt and, according to Dr. Jones, lives on in one form or another.

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IAN R. TYRRELL, *Sobering up. From temperance to prohibition in antebellum America, 1800–1860*. Westport, Conn., and London, Greenwood Press, 1979, 8vo, pp. xii, 350 [no price stated].

The word “prohibition” in American history evokes the doubly heady pleasure of forbidden drinking in the 1920s; but it was during the first half of the previous century that traditional attitudes toward alcoholic beverages (that they were a social bond, stimulating to labour, and healthful) and toward taverns (that they were community centres with semi-official functions) were transformed by a segment of the dominant group into the widespread conviction that drinking was a socially divisive sin, destructive of work and body; taverns became saloons, the nerve-centres of anti-social disease. In both phases, one is talking of male culture. Mary Beth Norton has recently described the meaning to colonial women of being excluded from the public life represented by the tavern; it has long been known that women's breaking into public life included their postbellum assault on saloon culture. Now Ian Tyrrell establishes that Protestant women of upper and artisan classes played a powerful role in temperance from the 1820s.

But the chief subjects of his study are men. The first temperance reformers were upper-class, New-England “evangelicals”, inspired by the Second Great Awakening. They were also the leaders and beneficiaries of the revolutions in manufacturing and commercial agriculture which brought about the social dislocation, especially for the lower classes, whereby Tyrrell explains the massive increase in drinking between 1800 and 1830. These founders of the American Temperance Society assumed the class and ethnic biases that made first temperance and then prohibition the marks of success and road to salvation. In the 1840s, temperance was taken up by members of the artisan class who were losing status and employment – and

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drinking – because of the economic changes wrought by their temperance predecessors and class superiors. Eventually the upper portion of the artisan “Washingtonian Societies” distinguished itself from the more “vulgar” and secular, lower portions by taking on the colouration and tactics (including legal coerciveness) of the wealthy evangelicals. Antebellum prohibitionism quickly faded after its peak of 1855, its native-born opponents’ resistance stiffened by the threatened effectiveness of statewide prohibition laws which incorporated an assault on property, and reinforced by the influx of immigrant cultures still deeply committed to alcohol.

Tyrrell’s greatest originality is his establishing the historical significance of antebellum temperance. Although occasionally repetitive and lacking in substantial international perspective on temperance, *Sobering up* is a clear, detailed, and well-organized monograph. (Sober or not, the makers of the book bound in one chapter upside down.)

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ANTHONY D. KING (editor), *Buildings and society. Essays on the social development of the built environment*, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980, 4to, pp. x, 318, illus., £25.00.

One contributor to this book, Amos Rapoport, a professor of both archaeology and anthropology, tells us that among the Yagua Indians on the Peru-Brazil border “there is an absolute rule that turning away from the center of the dwelling indicates that one is ‘no longer present’ and even infants have this privilege.” Uncurtained windows in Holland are said to indicate “that there is nothing to hide and hence that one should not look.” These two provocative views of the right to privacy convey the geographical scope attempted in *Buildings and society*: in theory, nothing human is alien to it. The aim of the nine contributors is stated as “to see *all* as built form, whether this is a vast Hindu temple or a self-built mountain hut.” It is further suggested that in discussing a religious building an Islamic mosque would do as well as a Quaker meeting house. However, since these authors are writing and presumably researching mainly in English, it is not surprising that but for one chapter (the one most foreign to our concerns) on Hindu temples, architectural phenomena of English-speaking countries are mainly treated: the Victorian lunatic asylum; English and French hospitals; English prisons, vacation houses, and restaurants; English, American, and German office buildings; American apartment houses. Built form is considered as the expression of social, cultural, economic, political, and, in the case of the hospital and asylum, medical influences. Only the medical papers are relevant here, but I cannot leave the primarily, intentionally architectural body of the book without recommending its liveliest chapter on the least likely of subjects, the vacation house, by the editor of the whole, Anthony D. King (lecturer in sociology and environmental studies).

Like all good architectural books this one is superbly illustrated with plans, drawings, photographs old and new finely complementing the text and excellently reproduced on art paper. This reader found especially illuminating a print of 1862 showing some two hundred convicts on the “separate system” attending chapel for their betterment, in individual high-stacked and high-sided pews so that no one of them could see another, and five photographs from 1910 to 1980 showing incorporation into a self-built bungalow (“the vacation house”) of two converted railway cars as its long side walls.

When the asylum or hospital is considered, architectural motifs must necessarily be mixed with those from many disciplines. The hospital is placed at the point of intersection of medicine, nursing, architecture, religion, technology, and social history, to mention only prime ingredients. Thus the hospital might almost stand as a symbol for this ambitiously interdisciplinary book. Adrian Forty (lecturer in architectural history) in discussing the modern hospital in England and France chooses to stress a medical ingredient – the ambition of doctors to improve their social position through the redesigning of hospitals from the mid-nineteenth