

(66); and there was “considerable justice” in sentencing practices which punished property offences more heavily than other crimes (412).

Overall, Oliver’s book is thus both useful and disappointing. He has provided us with a useful overview of nineteenth-century prison policy and administrative practice, filled with valuable information. But his analysis of the reasons for changes (and continuities) in imprisonment practices, overly influenced as it is by internalism, exceptionalism and apologism, is unconvincing.

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¹From historians like Louis Chevalier and Allan Silver forward (Chevalier, *Classes laborieuses et classes dangereuses à Paris pendant la première moitié du XIXe siècle* [Paris 1958]; Silver, “The Demand for Order in a Civil Society: A Review of Some Themes in the History of Urban Crime, Police and Riot” in David Bordua, ed., *The Police: Six Sociological Essays* [New York 1967], 1-24).

²The vast research project of Jean-Marie Fecteau, Jean Trépanier and André Cellard on imprisonment in Quebec is a case in point; see Fecteau et al., “Emergence et évolution historique de l’enfermement à Montréal, 1836-1913”, *Revue d’histoire de l’Amérique française* 46(2)(1992), 263-271.

³*The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State, 1688-1783* (Cambridge, Mass. 1990).

⁴“The Problem of American Exceptionalism: A Reconsideration,” *American Quarterly* 45(1)(1993), 1-43.

⁵The felicitous term is taken from Philip Harling’s description of the approach of many political historians towards understanding Tory governance in eighteenth-century England, who ignore larger meanings and slip into ‘a sort of Tory nominalism, in which an omniscient executive corrects systemic flaws simply because this is the reasonable thing to do’ (*The Waning of “Old Corruption”: The Politics of Economical Reform in Britain, 1779-1846* [New York 1996], 44).

⁶As in Carolyn Strange’s study of the Mercer, “The Velvet Glove: Maternalistic Reform at the Andrew Mercer Ontario Reformatory for Females, 1874-1927,” M.A. Thesis, University of Ottawa, 1983.

⁷The dangers of such a reliance on official statistics are well described by Howard Taylor, “Rationing Crime: The Political Economy of Criminal Statistics since the 1850s,” *Economic History Review* 51(3)(1998), 569-90.

Michael E. Birdwell, *Celluloid Soldiers: Warner Bros.’s Campaign against Nazism* (New York: New York University Press, 1999).

Michael Birdwell’s *Celluloid Soldiers* weaves together the Warner Bros. pre-war cycle of anti-Nazi films, Harry Warner’s previously unsung role as the studio’s “conscience,” and the transformation of World War I hero Alvin C.

York from a pacifist to a belligerent. As a result, *Celluloid Soldiers* reads like two books – one about the Warner Bros. campaign against Nazism and a second about York and the debate over American intervention into World War II.

The first half of *Celluloid Soldiers* delves deeply into the Warner brothers' personal history and their response, as Jews and as filmmakers, to the growing threat of European fascism. Birdwell cogently argues that Harry Warner, in particular, stood virtually alone among the Hollywood moguls in taking an early and vociferous stand against Nazism. Motivated by his deep faith in Judaism and his alarm over the rabid anti-Semitism of German fascism, Harry was one of the few film executives to publicly denounce Hitler's regime and to actively participate in Popular Front organizations like the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League. Under Harry's leadership, Warner Bros. became the first studio to close its foreign offices and withdraw its films from distribution in fascist countries, sacrificing significant profits to take the moral high road. And though the younger and more flamboyant Jack oversaw film production in Hollywood, while Harry controlled the purse strings from the studio's corporate offices in New York, it was Harry who committed the studio to a wide-ranging program of anti-fascist films that included newsreels and cartoons as well as pathbreaking features.

In many ways, Warner Bros. was the logical studio to take the lead in anti-fascist filmmaking. From the early 1930s, Warner Bros. had made its reputation as Hollywood's scrappiest and most political studio with gritty, realistic films inspired by banner headlines and controversial social problems like *Public Enemy* (1931), *I Am a Fugitive from a Chain Gang* (1932), and *Wild Boys of the Road* (1933). By the late 1930s, the looming specter of fascism in Europe was paralleled by a resurgence of violently nativist and anti-Semitic organizations in the United States, providing ample grist for the Warner Bros. movie mill. *Black Legion* (1936), *They Won't Forget* (1937), and *Confessions of a Nazi Spy* (1939) – all based on true stories – powerfully raised the cry of alarm about Nazism and the American potential for fascism. Weaving together textual analysis, production history, and historical context, Birdwell thoroughly details the complex negotiations with the Hays Office, the Production Code Administration, the federal government, and public interest groups required to bring Warner Bros.' anti-fascist message to the screen.

Birdwell shifts gears midway through the book, with excellent results. The second half of *Celluloid Soldiers* uses Warner Bros.' production of *Sergeant York* as a segue into a revisionist interpretation of the life of Sergeant Alvin C. York, the reluctant sharpshooter hero of WWI, and his role in the broader debate over American intervention. Though the story of *Sergeant York* the film is largely overshadowed by the biography of Alvin C. York the man, Birdwell deftly uses York's highly publicized conversion from pacifism to interventionism to offer key insights into the ways in which popular memory

of the Great War shaped American attitudes toward World War II.

In one of the most compelling sections of the book, Birdwell examines the heated public debate between York, who by the 1941 release of *Sergeant York* had become an outspoken advocate for intervention, and aviation hero Charles Lindberg, a leading spokesman for the America First movement (as well as suspected Nazi sympathizer). In the last chapter, Birdwell finally brings his analysis back to the film industry. Examining the 1941 Senate investigation into pro-war propaganda in motion pictures – including the Warner Bros. productions of *Confessions of a Nazi Spy* and *Sergeant York* – Birdwell makes explicit the connections between the America First movement and key members of the Senate committee, and points suggestively to the political uses of “Americanism” in these hearings as a precursor to the postwar investigations of Hollywood by the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Overall, *Celluloid Soldiers* is an uneven, though often compelling book. Birdwell’s effort to recuperate Harry Warner as a “premature anti-fascist” offers an important warning against the tendency to dismiss the studio executives as craven reactionaries as well as a reminder that a genuine commitment to anti-fascism could spring from a variety of political perspectives. Nevertheless, in his zeal to valorize Warner’s anti-fascism, Birdwell gives short shrift to his equally fervent anti-communism and the impact that might have had on his participation in Popular Front organizations like the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League (which was rife with Communists) or on the actual content of the Warner Bros. anti-fascist films (several of which were written or produced by radicals). For example, the analysis of the production of *Confessions of a Nazi Spy* makes no mention at all of Communist screenwriter John Wexley. As my own research on Wexley’s contributions to the postwar anti-fascist thriller *Cornered* makes clear, Wexley fought hard (though not always successfully) to ensure that his political commitments were reflected in his film work. A committed anti-fascist, Wexley would certainly have tried to influence the political content of *Confessions*, and his absence from Birdwell’s discussion of the film is more than a little puzzling.

In this sense, *Celluloid Soldiers* might have benefited from a more sustained analysis of the internal politics of the studio system, on the one hand, and of the broader context of the politics of the Popular Front, on the other. Though the 1930s was certainly the heyday of anti-fascism in Hollywood, it was also the heyday of American communism and an era of intense labour conflict between the studio moguls and the “cultural workers.” As many recent studies of Hollywood politics have shown, filmmaking in the studio era was a highly contested process, and though Birdwell clearly details Warner Bros.’ battles with external censors, he pays little attention to any conflict or negotiation within the studio over the political content of the anti-fascist films.

As the curator of Alvin C. York’s papers, Birdwell has mined this archival collection to great advantage in tracing York’s conversion from pacifism to

interventionism and in connecting his personal odyssey to the broader political and cultural climate. However, despite Birdwell's argument that York's association with Harry Warner and his collaboration on the film version of his life was the critical factor in his political transformation, the second half of the book has only a tenuous connection to the Warner Bros. campaign against Nazism. *Celluloid Soldiers* aims high, but as a whole, it misses the mark.

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Diane Winston, *Red-Hot and Righteous: The Urban Religion of the Salvation Army* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999).

"A donut's just a donut, boys," chimed a rhyme extolling the work of American Salvation Army "Sallies" who baked and distributed thousands of the sweet pastries to front-line soldiers during World War One. However, a donut is never "just" a donut; in the muddy trenches of France, it becomes "a sweet-scented wreath which in God's garden grows" and a reminder of "a slice of mother's love." (219-220) The donut is layered with even more meanings by Diane Winston in *Red-Hot and Righteous*, an account of the Salvation Army's "urban religion" in the United States. In the hands of the Sallies, the lowly donut embodied religious symbols in the form of a simple circle of wholeness, composed of the manna of that most sacred of foods, bread. Coffee and donuts were a "secular communion of a nonsectarian character" that offered a means of communicating the Army's underlying Holiness, theology, and activism. (5, 217) If the "doughnut girls" were a public relations coup, determining the relative "success" of the Army in engaging popular culture is a far stickier problem. Donut sales rose exponentially after the war, but measuring the relationship between religion and culture requires a deeper analysis. Winston serves us with a tantalizing piece of work, but it is one that ultimately leaves the reader looking for more satisfying nourishment.

As a cultural history of the Salvation Army in the United States from 1880 to 1950, *Red-Hot and Righteous* is obviously concerned with far more than donuts. The scope and variety of material elements explored in this work are its greatest strength. Salvationists employed open-air meetings and boisterous parades as a means to sacralize secular space, building a "Cathedral of the Open Air" that both evangelised the unchurched and mocked Victorian conventions of respectability. Symbols such as the distinctive Army uniform and the Christmas kettle were themselves appropriated by the surrounding culture and recognised as identifiable elements of American urban life. The Army was successively involved and featured in vaudeville shows, theatrical productions, and movies; cultural activities that both shaped and reflected