A Living Wage: American Workers and the Making of Consumer Society
moreover, took seriously their race consciousness, attending not just to their families but using the political voice that other black women still lacked to promote civil rights in the pre-Brown era.

Working with a fragmentary written record, Chateauvert has produced a substantial study. Greater attention to context would have enhanced the book. The Ladies’ Auxiliary remained small, never numbering more than 1,500. It is not apparent how representative Auxiliary members were of African-American women or members of other union auxiliaries. Chateauvert indicates the important civic role of Auxiliary women, but it is not always clear how well integrated or well regarded they were in their communities. Nonetheless, Marching Together is an important work that highlights the significance of gender in the history of workers’ movements and the prominence of organized labor in the history of the civil rights movement.


REVIEWED BY JEFFREY KOLNICK, SOUTHWEST STATE UNIVERSITY

Lawrence Glickman has written a critically important book for all people concerned with the creation and interpretation of consumer culture. Whether in small-town Iowa or metropolitan Chicago, the lure of Nike shoes, a new sport utility vehicle, or a familiar fast-food franchise off the highway links Americans together in a complex web of consumption. Indeed, the way we consume shapes not only our identities as Americans but also our nation’s foreign policy and the lives of countless workers in the global economy.

Understanding how consumer society was constructed and how the meaning of it was contested and changed over time is the purpose of Glickman’s book. Looking back at the origins of consumerism (according to Glickman, an idea that began to take shape a little over a hundred years ago) provides us with long-forgotten models for understanding our own world. We come in contact with workers who sought to modify market forces for the human end of social justice in an industrial society. We encounter turn-of-the-century working-class consumers who clearly understood that bargain hunting at the retail end has consequences at the point of production. In this age of global capitalism, the working-class consumerism of a century ago, which linked consumption to production and sought to humanize the market, has important lessons for all of us.
Glickman’s main focus is on the Gilded Age and Progressive era, though he carries his argument up through the New Deal. The goal of the book is to show how in its origins consumerism served working-class intellectuals in making demands on employers for a living wage. Two main ideas dominate Glickman’s assessment of how workers came to shape consumerism: the shift from a producer- to consumer-based labor ideology, and a slow acceptance of a market-based wage economy over proprietary or entrepreneurial models. To lay out these broad and significant shifts in working-class thought, Glickman thoroughly examined the labor press and studied both major and obscure works by labor intellectuals. In the process, he rediscovered a powerful intellectual tradition among working-class leaders and an equally significant and well-read rank-and-file. For Glickman, consumerism was not a middle-class construct adopted by working families, but instead a contested idea for which workers played an important role in setting the terms of the debate.

Glickman shows how the rapid spread of wage labor following the Civil War required workers to adjust their understanding of both economic justice and democratic institutions. He then begins to ask a series of important questions. How did these changes affect working-class thought regarding wage work? What role did these changes play in the development of consumerism, working-class politics, and the eight-hour day and union label movements? How did they affect gender and racial identity and the drive for a minimum wage and various New Deal programs? Glickman is able to answer these questions in important new ways because he correctly sees workers as living “within a web of related identities and activities. He or she was a worker, a producer, a merchant, a consumer, an owner of labor, a self-owner, and a citizen” (103). By linking production and consumption in clever ways, workers of one hundred years ago attempted to redefine economic justice to include some measurable amount of leisure and a standard of living above a mere subsistence.

Glickman has written an important book. Recent demands by communication workers in Iowa and the Midwest for shorter hours and higher wages and new living wage campaigns for workers as diverse as citizens of St. Paul, Minnesota, and Vietnamese women who assemble Nike shoes demonstrate the significance of understanding the changing nature of consumer society. Glickman offers his book as “the beginning” of a more complete history of consumerism. In future volumes, one would hope for a more extended critique of consumer society along environmental and internationalist lines as well as some discussion of rural consumerism. But Glickman has given us many
tools, tried and true, to critique our own consumer society. I strongly encourage you to read this book and to carry on in the tradition of trade unionist Robert Hunter, who in 1916 wrote, "Workers must stand by each other, believe in each other and love each other in the shop. But there must also be unity where they go to the grocer and clothier" (113). This is an enduring lesson in an age of global markets.


REVIEWED BY ELLIS W. HAWLEY, UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

The importance of the U.S. Employment Service (USES) in the wartime government of 1917–1918 and in the larger processes of American state-building has long been ignored or understated, largely, it seems, because the agency’s central records were destroyed. Prior to this effort by William Breen, no historian had undertaken to reconstruct the agency’s story from surviving records in other collections, especially those held by state archives, where Breen has found and used surprisingly rich resources. The result is a solidly documented, carefully crafted, theoretically sophisticated, and lucidly written study showing that the wartime USES became a major agency with far-reaching powers and that conflicts over its administrative form reflected larger battles over America’s acquisition of a modern administrative state. The study should be of particular interest both to historians of the war’s home front and to scholars of how federalism, mobilization initiatives, and private-sector organizational developments affected public administrative formation.

Three major themes stand out: the expansion and growing regulatory power of the wartime USES, the conflict within it between national centralizers and state-based advocates of a federal system, and the political misjudgments that delayed its establishment as a major peacetime service until 1933. Beginning with a chapter on prewar labor markets and employment services, Breen then devotes three chapters to the initiatives, debates, and failures of 1917, two to developments leading to the federalist triumph of 1918, two to regional variations and operations in selected states (especially Connecticut and Ohio), and two plus an epilogue to postwar developments. A central problem, he argues, was the inability of centralizing bureaucrats in the Labor Department to secure and convince others that it had the neces-