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The 1910s Anti-Prostitution Movement and the Transformation of American Political Culture

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The chastity of woman is at the foundation of Anglo-Saxon society. Our laws are based upon it, and the finest and most binding of our social relations. Nothing could be more menacing to a civilization than the sale of this as a commodity.[1]

George K. Turner, "The City of Chicago:
A Study of the Great Immoralities," 1907

About twenty-five years ago the third great flush of immigration, consisting of Austrian, Russian, and Hungarian Jews, began to come into New York. Among these immigrants were a large number of criminals, who soon found that they could develop an extremely profitable business in the sale of women in New York.[2]

George K. Turner, "The Daughters of the Poor: A Plain Story of the
Development of New York City as a Leading Center of the White
Slave Trade of the World, under the Tammany Hall," 1909

[I]t cannot be too strongly emphasized that the spirit which dominates the work of the Bureau is . . . essentially a spirit of constructive suggestion and of deep scientific as well as humane interest in a great world problem.[3]

John D. Rockefeller, Jr., "The Origin, Work, and Plans of the
Bureau of Social Hygiene," 1913

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A sensational report ignited the anti-prostitution movement in the United States. In 1907, an article written by George Kibbe Turner in *McClure's Magazine* warned Americans that white women were in danger of forced prostitution. According to this narrative of so-called "white slavery," the most worrisome situation was the new immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe taking control of the sex industries in the United States. Turner argued in his report that they were not merely sex traders, but criminals in essence. The offenders among the new immigrants took advantage of the massive immigration from poor rural areas. Easily utilizing and recruiting their ignorant fellow countrymen, these criminals had succeeded in organizing a network to trade women. This network was a formidable threat to society because it preyed on white women. The organized industry of seducers and pimps deceived, kidnapped, and even raped innocent girls and women to force them into prostitution. This narrative further stated that not only immigrants but also American women were in danger of being forced into this white slavery.[4]

As this story spread, it caused panic and eventually led to the 1910s anti-prostitution movement in urban America. Historians have questioned whether such forced sex laborers were as plentiful as the report suggested. However, Turner's warning initially convinced a number of Americans. Even Congress was concerned about the trading of "white slaves." Referring to an official report on immigration by its Dillingham Committee, Congress passed the so-called Mann Act to prevent the trading of white women. In the early 1910s, popular literature and films further developed this plot of kidnapped women, and these almost pornographic images of commercialized sex offered an ample base with which to support and accelerate the anti-prostitution campaign in the 1910s United States.[5]

For many existing studies, this white slavery panic is a perfect entry point from which to explore many typical representations of the 1910s anti-vice campaign. They easily notice that anti-immigration sentiment was present in the form of sexual fear, coupled with middle-class Americans' anxiety about lower-class residents in the rapid urbanization process. As several studies point out, the white slavery narrative was a convenient vehicle for the middle class to express such feelings in symbolic form. At this point in time, the prostitution problems appeared to be the essence of troubled urban America.[6]

However, this general account should be further grounded in a longer

history of political culture. For instance, there almost always exists a fear of newcomers. What were the exact conditions that allowed this fear to grow into the specific form of the anti-prostitution campaign? Moreover, although the earlier studies focus little attention on this fact, the white slavery panic declined rather quickly and was replaced by another type of campaign in the 1910s. How can this change in the mode of the anti-vice movement be explained? These questions lead us to explore the behind-the-scenes transformation of American political culture. In fact, the 1910s controversies over prostitution constituted a series of sites in the battle for new authority at the end of nineteenth-century American republicanism. We now reexamine the earlier studies to search for an alternative research plan.

I REVISITING THE CONTEXT

The lack of historicity in the earlier literature is a striking fact. What was the reason for the 1910s United States' deep concern about prostitution issues? Historians who presume the importance of gender and sexuality have spent little time pondering this question. Otherwise, scholars appear to regard this campaign as merely a spontaneous eruption of hysteria in the age of the Progressive reform movements. With little connection to a broader historical context, studies of this anti-vice drive have confined themselves to a relatively secluded field by themselves.

Why did prostitution matter in the 1910s United States? Why at that time, why in that shape and process, and what were its consequences for history in a broad sense? These questions are indispensable for probing the course of the anti-prostitution campaign, which was actually rather winding.

It is true that urban American reformers in the 1910s were extremely interested in containing prostitution. Forming a united front against those who wished to maintain the prevailing status of the sex industry, brothel abolitionists discovered a cause and means to police the lives of lower-class residents. The tragedy of captured white women sufficiently boosted public outrage against the sex industry. However, the anti-prostitution reformers were not concerned only about the trading of sex; often, they were upset at each other for supporting different ideas and approaches to this problem. The cause of the agitation against prostitution was not as self-evident as it appears. Throughout the 1910s, which is considered to be the period when the anti-vice movement was at its

peak, its campaigners found more disagreements than consensus among themselves. There were various views on the following questions: How should prostitution be defined? What led to prostitution? What was essentially wrong with the system that gave rise to prostitution? Who had the legitimate knowledge and values to deal with this problem: doctors, clergymen, sociologists, feminists, or others? These issues were constantly discussed among the reformers.

It would be worthwhile to examine the roots of these discrepancies, which were derived from the fundamental transformation of American political culture since the late nineteenth century. Political culture is not merely a certain orientation to support a political party, but a system that comprises the laws and formal politics as well as the values, beliefs, knowledge, symbols, discourses, and actions that endorse the allocation of this authority and power to someone. This cultural basis is accepted by people and is considerably broader than the formal political process. It gives legitimacy to particular individuals, organizations, or more formal institutions and justifies particular social relations.[7]

This cultural system of justification is in constant need of maintenance; this was especially evident at the turn of the twentieth century. Discussions over the prostitution problem in the 1910s were a critical area in which a wide range of values, knowledge, and rhetoric were employed and tested to redefine the configuration of political culture. In fact, these disagreements and negotiations constituted an attempt at resettling American political culture. The issue of prostitution, otherwise merely fodder for gossip and inconsequential talk, was in the 1910s one of the central areas in which competing reform groups debated the initiative of changing American political culture. The earlier studies tend to overlook the diversity in this anti-prostitution movement and confine their views to the conflict between the middle-class reformers and the lower class. As a result, these studies have ended up reproducing essentially the same social control thesis. Instead, by paying attention to the differences and contests among the various actors, this paper examines the politics at this critical junction.

Let us begin by addressing the tangled historical contexts that made the prostitution problem central in particular ways: the end of nineteenth-century American republicanism. It is certain that we cannot simply assume the existence of stable American republicanism. During the Independence War and even in its aftermath, painstaking effort was invested in establishing a common membership of the United States.[8]

Yet the myth of Americanism was a viable idea that people could employ at any occasion to suit their various demands.[9] Its variants constituted a loosely united mainstream narrative to define the meaning of decent Americans. In essence, good citizens of the United States were supposed to be independent and civic-minded individuals.[10]

The emancipation of slaves in 1865 was one of the major triggers that challenged this master narrative. It was significant not only in the South, where the social structure was founded on slavery, but also in the North and even the West. As historian David Roediger vividly shows in his study of "whiteness," in addition to the African American ex-slaves, the emancipation movement affected virtually all the residents of the United States.[11] The distinction from the unfree status of slaves had been the foremost basis of American republicanism. The disappearance of this boundary led to chaos in defining decent Americans. The overall reconfiguration of American citizenship was in order, coupled with socioeconomic changes that kept undermining the authority of the conventional power holders, nurtured the new middle class, and invited the rise of workers and immigrants throughout the nineteenth century.

Given this context, we can obtain a better understanding of why an almost hysterical narrative of kidnapped women made Americans apprehensive. Indeed, the forced sex labor of white women appeared to be the worst nightmare, or the reality, in the post-emancipation era. As if replacing black slaves, white women were dragged down by un-American intruders to a filthy corner of a city crowded with poor workers and immigrants. After the formal end of black slavery, Americans were now afraid of being confronted with white slavery.

It is noteworthy that this white slavery panic was not merely an expression of racial fear. The specifically sexual narrative of the white slavery panic was also born in the same context of the post-emancipation era. Besides emphasizing race, class, and immigration problems, pointing out the sexual danger confronting white girls and women was another reaction to the decline of American republican ideals, which were defined not only in racial terms but also in a male-centered manner. The feminist demand for equal suffrage was the tip of an iceberg that required Americans to carry out a gendered reconfiguration of citizenship. In this context, by provoking men's responsibility to protect their "weak" daughters and wives, the white slavery narrative helped men regain and maintain their superiority over women, who had begun to claim access to the public sphere from workplaces to politics.[12]

Planted in the changing soil of American political culture, white slavery panic developed. It began in muckraker journalism and further spread to the wider popular culture. Reginald Wright Kaufmann's novel *House of Bondage* became a bestseller in 1910. George Loane Tucker's 1913 film *Traffic in Souls* proved how powerful this plot could be. Cultivated by this series of exposures, Americans supported the anti-prostitution movement in the 1910s.[13]

II A BREAK: THE RISE OF PROFESSIONALS AND THE DECLINE OF THE WHITE SLAVERY PANIC

However, more noteworthy topics for this study are the decline of the white slavery panic and its replacement by a more practical campaign to close brothels. Although the panic story survived and even remained strong in popular culture for a few years, it quickly faded from the social policies of the 1910s. Instead of targeting mythical villainous immigrants, an alliance of various reformers sought more practical and policy-oriented measures. Physicians known as sex-hygienists, sociologists, and various professionals played crucial roles in this task. Stressing the urgent need to fight venereal disease, they formed a united front of diverse reformers and pushed municipal governments to close the prostitution industry in their cities. Later, with the founding of the American Social Hygiene Association (ASHA) in 1914, this new type of reformer took the place of the earlier moral crusaders. This shift was crucial since it represented the rise of science and professionalism, which presented another challenge to conventional republicanism in terms of knowledge.

The earlier studies do not find a major rupture in this process. For many, this shift from the white slavery panic to the brothel abolition movement was simply a natural transition. Even historians such as Alan Brandt and Nancy Bristow, who specifically examine the rise of science-oriented professionals, take this shift for granted. In their view, the anti-prostitution campaign began with emotional panic and naturally developed into the proposal and implementation of practical policies. In any case, those who were opposed to prostitution wished to contain and control the lower-class city dwellers.[14]

Such an account has overlooked the fact that the 1910s brothel abolitionists strongly refused to continue the course of anti-white slavery efforts. Instead of picking up the previous threads, they explicitly emphasized their own difference. With the help of the ASHA, Vice Commis-

sions were founded in many cities. These commissions appropriately expressed the ethos of the 1910s movement and reported the situation in their cities. They claimed to have scientific authority, which was to be distinguished from the earlier sensationalism and dependence on morality. As cited by the leading sociologist George J. Kneeland, they asserted that their work was "not sensational or hysterical."[15] The Vice Commission of Philadelphia clarifies this point at the opening of its report.

> [W]e determined, therefore, to study the problems in all its phases and aspects, and to base our conclusions not upon prejudice, —religious, moral, or social, —but entirely upon the facts as we found them.[16]

From this viewpoint, those who were agitating against the danger of white slavery were believers of "vague rumors" and even "imaginary occurrences explained by hysteria or actual malingering."[17]

Instead of hysteria or morality, the 1910s campaigners highlighted their scientific conviction to challenge the conventional tolerance of brothels. Another report by the Vice Commission of Louisville states the following:

> This trade is unlawful; it is immoral; but, laying aside all questions of the legality and morality of it, it breeds disease; it ruins men and women; it makes physical lives, physical wrecks; it destroys thousands of unborn babes and brings idiots and blind children into the world.[18]

These reports claimed to have unique authority. They specifically defined the prostitution problem as the source of venereal disease and thus projected it as a threat to society in general. They certainly did not accept the conventional tolerance of brothels as a necessary evil. However, they underlined their difference from the earlier critics of brothels. Clearly showing the strong influence of sex hygienists, who had begun working a decade earlier, these Vice Commissions in American cities attempted to convince the public of the medical danger of prostitution.

It is important to understand this conflict in the context of the changing political culture. When new types of reformers such as sex hygienists emerged and joined the anti-prostitution movement, they offered both a theoretical and a practical backbone to the campaign. Trumpeting the rise of sex science, they also posed a serious challenge to the conventional values and knowledge that had framed the prostitution issue as well as other social problems in general. In essence, this move was not

merely aimed at asking for the addition of sex hygienics as just another legitimate field of knowledge required to discipline American society. Rather, sex hygienists claimed to have exclusive authority in a field where the vernacular sexual culture and morality-based evangelism had competed with each other to define what constituted decent, respectable behavior in Americans.[19] The implication of this claim extended beyond the mere issue of prostitution. By introducing medical aspects into this issue, the believers of sex hygienics implicitly demanded that the *sine qua non* of respectable Americans be rethought. They declared the death of the conventional republicanism that was lacking any scientific basis. Without taking account of this implication, one cannot comprehend contemporary Americans' excessive concern about the house of infamy in the age of Progressivism.

Many contemporaries must have been aware of this potential impact of the prostitution controversies. Especially at the turn of the twentieth century, the seemingly familiar issue of prostitution was gaining renewed attention as one of the major urban tasks for the modern body politic. The demand for social policies was evident in the United States as well as in many other industrializing nations. Yet, as historian Daniel Rodgers points out, the United States lagged considerably behind more advanced nations in Europe and some other emerging countries such as New Zealand. In the absence of strong state institutions, both local and federal administrations in the United States were quite ineffective in dealing with growing social problems in the industrial age. The American Revolution had made it possible for Americans to be proud of their body politic as the most advanced institution. A century later, they suddenly noticed that progress had reached an almost stagnant stage.[20] Given this context, the individuals or organizations that handled prostitution problems, one of the most visible social issues, could take the initiative in framing American social policies and contribute significantly to future American political culture. Thus, the stakes were high in the 1910s prostitution debate.

It can be noticed that in this process as well, gender was of considerable importance. In reality, it was women who might have held the key for American society to match the progress of advanced nations and rebuild the post-emancipation political culture. In theoretical terms, with the end of slavery, not only ex-slaves but anyone, including women, who had no access to formal power could claim full membership in the American republic. In the arena of social policies, this was not merely a

theory. As Theda Skocpol shows, in the United States, women were virtually the only reliable agents who could take care of social policies in the late nineteenth century; in this manner, they substituted for weak American state institutions.[21] No one could dismiss the activities of these benevolent women. Indeed, the exercise of social policies was indispensable for the United States to reclaim its status in the international community. Given the decline of American republicanism, this contest could prove to be crucial in setting the configuration of authority. Here, the prostitution problem was undoubtedly one of the most visible issues in troubled American cities, and women had been the central players in dealing with this issue.

Sex hygienists, sociologists, and professionals in the ASHA entered this charged situation. Pointing out that "mankind has gained much new knowledge concerning . . . transmissions of many diseases," the first president of the ASHA, Charles W. Eliot, was confident that the Association's approach against venereal disease was in keeping with the natural progress of science.[22] However, when they presented themselves as the only authority in the 1910s anti-prostitution movement and discounted other actors, these science-oriented reformers did not actually describe the situation in accurate terms. Instead, they were waging a war over political culture. Would old American republicanism and its laissez-faire institutions give way to new capable actors? If so, who were these actors: benevolent women, sex hygienists, or others? In any case, one of the major issues was the manner in which the prostitution problem should be dealt with.

A close examination of this battle over the changing political culture reveals the complicated aspects of the 1910s anti-prostitution movement. Unlike the descriptions in the early literature, the campaign itself was a fierce battle among diverse reformers over the initiative of changing American political culture. Professionals relentlessly stressed the newness of their discipline as proof of the most advanced position. They did not hesitate to describe others as backward, old-fashioned, morality-based crusaders. However, the others were unhappy to confine themselves to old and backward ideas. While nineteenth-century republicanism was no longer fully functional, even the conventional power holders did not simply relinquish their authority. Women were also unwilling to be restricted to the conventional domestic sphere. A wide range of actors remodeled themselves and were prepared to fight back and participate in the prostitution controversy.

The earlier studies have probably presumed an excessive dominance of science-oriented professionals. In fact, since the founders of the ASHA had coined the term "social hygiene" instead of using the medical term "sex hygiene," the 1910s anti-prostitution movement was carried out by a loose and varied alliance of reformers who compromised and sometimes competed with each other.[23] A more careful examination is required to explore the complicated struggle for cultural authority that underlay the 1910s prostitution controversy.

III REWRITING THE 1910S ANTI-PROSTITUTION MOVEMENT: SAN FRANCISCO (1911–13) AND THE COMMISSION ON TRAINING CAMP ACTIVITIES (1917–19) AS FORGOTTEN SITES

In order to further explore this fluid situation, it would be helpful to expand the geo-cultural scope of our study. Historians have focused considerable attention on the vocal campaigners of the ASHA and the Eastern cities where the Association was relatively successful. However, in addition to reexamining the loose alliance of campaigners in the ASHA, it is required to locate their activities in both the national and international contexts beyond the ASHA-dominated American East. This will help us rewrite the history of the 1910s anti-prostitution movement without neglecting the fragility of American political culture.

Two forgotten sites are extremely promising. One is San Francisco from 1911 to 1913; the other is the Commission on Training Camp Activities (hereafter CTCA), which was established by the United States in 1917 to take care of the sexual health of soldiers until the end of World War I. Both cases reveal the ASHA's various difficulties that the massive publication of the Association has hidden from many historians. They also provide us with further insight into the dynamics of American political culture.

Besides providing information on the development of sex hygienics, another of the ASHA's major tactics was to discount other approaches against prostitution. The self-confidence of the ASHA professionals was based on specific comparisons. The success and legitimacy of the 1910s brothel abolition campaign in the American East were guaranteed by failures in two particular areas. One was a group of American cities that had tolerated prostitution under certain regulations; this group was represented by San Francisco. With regard to the eventual closure of brothel zones in these "reactionary"[24] cities, the reports of the social hygienists

found "indications that these remaining strongholds of the segregation policy will ultimately give way."[25] The other area that contributed to the success and legitimacy of the abolition campaign in the American East was the decline of the tolerance/regulation policy in European nations. A researcher wrote the following: "When we are told that regulation is practiced in Europe, we may confidently reply that the system has died out in many countries and is moribund almost everywhere else."[26] This kind of report confirmed the trend from tacit tolerance of the sex industry to the brothel abolition policy. Even if the new American professionals actually had a difficult time establishing their authority, by introducing these domestic and international cases, social hygienists succeeded in representing their own knowledge to be the most advanced.

However, these supposed evidences were dubious. In fact, instead of endorsing the campaigners' claim of professional authority, these cases conversely reveal that such self-presentation does not always yield the desired result. In 1911, San Francisco did permit prostitution, but it changed its policy later, in 1913, and began closing its red-light district. However, the implications of this process were quite different from the explanation given by the ASHA. What set apart the course of the San Francisco case was a distinctive form of political culture that differed from the one assumed by the ASHA.

First, one cannot dismiss San Francisco's decision as merely a reactionary policy. Curiously, it was another version of sex hygienics that proposed tolerance of the sex industry under the city's regulation. Many physicians in the city chose not the closure of brothels, but the Health Board's plan to create the San Francisco Municipal Clinic for the periodical inspection of prostitutes. They supported the clinic system as a medically viable option against the spread of venereal disease.[27] This battle between the sciences indicated that the brothel closures that the ASHA asserted as the inevitable progress of medicine was actually just one of many possible plans.

Second, and more importantly, these physicians as well as the science-oriented reformers could not settle the debate in San Francisco. It was various non-science-based groups that were vocal in the controversy. In particular, women's groups in San Francisco played decisive roles in forcing the city to discontinue its system of regulated legal brothels. The ASHA repeatedly emphasized the dominance of science and professionals in the new age of the anti-prostitution movement. Yet, it was feminist organizations, which the ASHA often dismissed as old-fashioned

crusaders, that offered indispensable help to the struggling brothel abolitionists who had failed to end the 1911 system.[28]

This San Francisco situation was by no means exceptional. On the contrary, the strong presence of women in San Francisco city politics exemplified a major trend in the changing American political culture. It is possible that San Francisco experienced such a situation a decade earlier than many other parts of the United States. However, this was not an exception but an indication of the city's advanced situation, which people in other regions were watching.[29] In the post-emancipation era, women's claim to citizenship of the United States could not be dismissed. As I mentioned earlier, this pressure was especially intense in the field of social policies. Women had proven their capability not only in denouncing sexual immorality but also in rescuing troubled women and offering social services and a better environment for the community. This gendered politics was especially salient in the rapidly urbanized city of San Francisco. Given a less organized bureaucracy that was inadequate to meet the city's rapid development, the San Francisco women activists had satisfactorily demonstrated their capability.

Thus, it was not surprising to find the visible influence of San Francisco women in this anti-prostitution campaign. In addition, California women had recently acquired the right to vote at the California Legislature of 1911. When leading women's organizations in San Francisco decided to exercise not only their voting power but also their responsible commitment to social policies, the issues of prostitution and venereal disease were their appropriate targets.

In terms of political culture, these San Francisco women posed a challenge to the self-proclaimed scientific professionals in the ASHA. Women claimed their own legitimacy in the post-republican era. Such an assertion was more than simply a battle between men and women. When these women presented themselves as "citizens," they called into question the role of gender in citizenship. When they joined the discussion over prostitution issues in San Francisco, they never discounted their own position and actively competed with other reformers. The San Francisco women activists did not allow sex hygienists or sociologists to monopolize scientific authority. In the decline of conventional, male-centered republicanism, these women fully utilized their past achievements and new enfranchised status and were prepared to remodel themselves for the new age.[30]

In the meantime, the authority of the ASHA was also damaged internationally. The related issues of prostitution, venereal disease, crime control, family protection, and so on were all on the agenda in the age of social politics. In an attempt to match the relentless development of capitalism-driven expansion, some nations had already begun to experiment with a variety of social policies. The future of the United States could be forecast based on whether or not it could appropriately follow and match this trend. American reformers were fully aware of this situation and their position in it. While waging a domestic battle over cultural authority in the United States, they never forgot to present their knowledge and approach as the most advanced in the world and in history. However, their claim was not accepted by everybody.

World War I finally presented an opportunity for American reformers to prove themselves internationally. Although anti-vice laws were passed in many local assemblies with considerable publicity, it was not until 1917 that the brothel abolitionists, especially the ASHA, finally acquired an opportunity to fully realize their vision in the national context. Despite a heated campaign, and even after the closure of the San Francisco Municipal Clinic, the brothel abolitionists had not fully attained their goal. But at this difficult point in the movement, preparing for its entry into the European battlefield, the United States government decided to contain venereal diseases and suppress prostitution in order to protect the health of its soldiers. By establishing the CTCA, the federal government revitalized the 1910s anti-prostitution movement.[31]

It is noteworthy that the health of its soldiers was more than a practical goal for the United States. It was crucial for Americans to send young troops who were totally different from the old and plagued European armies.[32] In other words, the activity of the CTCA was a part of the American effort to reestablish its legitimacy, which had to be recognized not only domestically but also internationally. Thus, in the European battlefields, the American reformers found a tangible area to prove themselves.

In the earlier studies, the establishment of the CTCA marks the eventual climax of the 1910s campaign. However, such a view misses another point. What was truly important was not the rise but the eventual decline of the CTCA and the entire campaign to suppress prostitution. As we have observed, the attempt to contain prostitution was a pivotal matter in deciding who could claim the initiative in the twentieth-century

American political culture. The question of the consequence of the failure of this endeavor was indispensable in examining the course and configuration of the new American political culture.

The cases of San Francisco and the CTCA first suggest the fragile authority of those who led the ASHA. The activists involved with the ASHA were vocal in stressing the legitimacy of their knowledge as the natural development of scientific truth. They sought to dominate American political culture by pointing out the end of virtue-based republicanism. However, their claim was not actually accepted by everyone as self-evident. In San Francisco, sex hygienists were powerless in leading the city's discussion. Another type of medical scientist, resistant and confident non-scientists, and enfranchised women reformers were all aggressive in pursuing their own authority. With the demise of the CTCA, medical professionals found that their conviction in medically clean and healthy Americans failed to actually uplift the lives of American soldiers, convince the public, and prove the superiority of the American body politic to European nations. Throughout these campaigns, regardless of the extent of their success at the superficial level, the bid to replace American republicanism with a version of "scientific truth" failed to produce the desired result. Those who wished to monopolize objective righteousness invariably met with setbacks.

However, these difficulties did not simply imply the revival of conventional values and knowledge; further, they did not indicate someone else's exclusive triumph in the prostitution controversy. The wide range of reformers formed a complicated alliance, not only competing but also sometimes fusing with each other. The eventual failure of the CTCA project posed a more difficult task of rebuilding and securing American standards internationally. Instead of simply assuming the dominance of science-oriented professionals, we need to examine the kind of transformation that occurred and the manner in which it affected the configuration of American political culture.

These tangled questions would show us a more dynamic transformation of American political culture. Who had what kind of authority, and in what bases? Earlier scholarship has paid little attention to irregular cases, not only within the ASHA but also in cases such as San Francisco and the CTCA, since these situations do not fit well with the social hygienists-centered view that has been prevalent so far. However, when we sense the hidden tensions in the post-emancipation United States, we can comprehend the process in a more nuanced way. What kind of com-

petitions, alliances, fusions, metamorphoses, and failures did reformers experience through the 1910s prostitution controversy? Further, how did they affect the course of the American political culture? These are questions still to be asked.

NOTES

[1] George Kibbe Turner, "The City of Chicago: A Study of the Great Immoralities," *McClure's Magazine* 28, April 1907, 582.

[2] George Kibbe Turner, "The Daughters of the Poor: A Plain Story of the Development of New York City as a Leading Center of the White Slave Trade of the World, under Tammany Hall," *McClure's Magazine* 34, November 1909, 47.

[3] John D. Rockefeller, Jr., "The Origin, Work and Plans of the Bureau of Social Hygiene," January 27, 1913, statements 1913 folder, box 9, series Bureau of Social Hygiene, Record Group [RG] 2. Rockefeller Boards, Rockefeller Family Archives, Rockefeller Archival Center, Sleepy Hollow, N.Y. [hereafter RAC].

[4] Turner, "The City of Chicago."

[5] Turner, "The Daughters of the Poor"; S. S. McClure, "The Tammanyizing of a Civilization," *McClure's Magazine* 34, November 1909, 117–28; Theodore A. Bingham, "Foreign Criminals in New York," *North American Review* 188 (September 1908): 383–94; U.S. Congress, Senate Committee on Immigration, *White Slave Traffic Report,* 61st Cong., 2d sess., 1909–1910. Ernest Albert Bell, *Fighting the Traffic in Young Girls; or, War on the White Slave Trade; a Complete and Detailed Account of the Shameless Traffic in Young Girls* (Chicago: Illinois Vigilance Association, 1910); U.S. Congress, Senate Immigration Commission, *Reports of the Immigration Commission*, 61st Cong., 3d sess., 1911, V. 37; Theodore A. Bingham, *The Girl That Disappears: The Real Facts about the White Slave Traffic* (Boston: R.G. Badger, 1911).

[6] Frederick K. Grittner, *White Slavery: Myth, Ideology, and American Law* (New York: Garland, 1990); Mark Thomas Connelly, *The Response to Prostitution in the Progressive Era* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982); Ruth Rosen, *The Lost Sisterhood: Prostitution in America, 1900–1918* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982); Barbara Meil Hobson, *Uneasy Virtue: The Politics of Prostitution and the American Reform Tradition* (New York: Basic Books, 1987).

[7] Ronald P. Formisano, "The Concept of Political Culture," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 31 (2001): 393–426.

[8] David Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism, 1776–1820* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997); Ruth H. Bloch, *Visionary Republic: Millennial Themes in American Thought 1756–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Alan Taylor, *William Cooper's Town: Power and Persuasion on the Frontier of the Early American Republic* (New York: Knopf-Random House, 1995); Gordon S. Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (New York: Knopf, 1992).

[9] Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes*.

[10] Eric Foner, "Free Labor and Nineteenth-Century Political Ideology," in *The Market Revolution in America: Social, Political, and Religious Expressions, 1800–1880*, ed. Melvyn Stokes and Stephen Conway (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1996), 99–127; Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party before the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970).

[11] David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (London: Verso, 1991).

[12] Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, "African-American Women's History and the Metalanguage of Race," *Signs* 17 (1992): 251–74; Etienne Balibar and Immanuel Maurice Wallerstein, *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities* (London: Verso, 1991).

[13] Reginald Wright Kauffman, *The House of Bondage*, (New York: Moffat Yard & Co., 1910); George Loane Tucker, dir. *Traffic in Souls* (1913), New York: Kino on Video, 1994.

[14] Allan M. Brandt, *No Magic Bullet: A Social History of Venereal Disease in the United States since 1880* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985); Nancy K. Bristow, *Making Men Moral: Social Engineering during the Great War* (New York: New York University Press, 1996).

[15] George J. Kneeland and Katharine Bement Davis, *Commercialized Prostitution in New York City* (New York: Century, 1913), x.

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