tained a fatal irony. His aim was to build a labor movement that could not be diverted from its task of preparing the working class for its emancipation. But this meant excluding all the influences and activities that would remind organized labor of its ultimate purpose. The result is evident in Gompers' own career. At some midway point, he forgot that he was a revolutionary.

. . .

THE MAKING OF THE LABOR BUREAUCRAT: UNION LEAD-ERSHIP IN THE UNITED STATES, 1870-1920. By Warren R. Van Tine. Amherst, University of Massachusetts Press, 1973. Pp. xi + 230. \$10.00.

> Reviewed by Gerald N. Grob Professor of History Rutgers University

In recent years scholars have increasingly adopted a Weberian framework in studying the evolution of American society since 1870. They have begun to analyze, in place of cycles of reform and conservatism, the rise of large bureaucratically structured organizations and the concomitant emergence of strong and cohesive professions, both of which contributed to the ordering of a modern, complex, industrial society. In The Making of a Labor Bureaucrat, Warren R. Van Tine has attempted to analyze the labor movement in a manner that is consistent with this more general interpretation of American society.

Van Tine begins his study with a quantitative analysis of 150 traditional unionists (defined as those holding office in a national or international union between 1870 and 1895) and 200 new labor leaders or business unionists (those holding similar offices between 1895 and 1920). Rejecting the discontinuities that many earlier scholars posited, Van Tine demonstrates the essential similarities between the two groups. While conceding the existence of certain differences, he argues that they were not related to social or ethic origins; they were rather "the result of the institutionalization of the union, and the simultaneous professionalization of union leadership." Indeed, the most significant difference between traditional and business unionists was tenure in office. Half of the former held office only about two years, whereas half of the latter held their post for nearly fifteen years.

Along with a sharp increase in tenure in office went other changes in both structure and ideology. By 1920 the vision of the union as a fraternity and a democracy had been replaced by the concept of the union as an army and a business. Similarly, the loose and informal structure of the pre-1895 union was superseded by highly centralized unions in which leaders became typical organization executives presiding over extensive administrative bureaucracies. These leaders wielded considerable authority and helped their unions to work effectively for the interests of the rank and file. Following Lloyd Ulman and other scholars, Van Tine attributes the thrust toward centralization to the changing economic and technological environment which made it imperative to create co-equal na-

The Making Of The Labor Bureaucrat

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