sector as it abandoned the concept of health insurance as social insurance—the philosophy of a single rate for all members of the community. Though the 1960s may have offered a turning point in the way care was organized in America, Medicare followed the path of least resistance by accepting the prevailing reimbursement assumptions, greatly increasing expenditures and facilitating capital expansion. In this sense, Medicare made hospitals more "capitalistic" and weakened their nonprofit character. Hospitals became, as Stevens puts it, "merely—and clearly—vendors" (p. 298). The story unfolding since then is one of a continuing and frustrating effort to control cost, mounting federal regulation, and, most recently, the implementation of hospital prospective payment under the Medicare program. The shift of the American hospital away from charitable concerns, Stevens believes, is largely a product of federal policy. "In their basic motivations and assumptions about the pay ethos, stratification, and income maximization, the voluntary hospitals have changed very little since the beginning of the century. But at issue now are fundamental assumptions about 'charitable purpose' as an in-built, moral attribute of health care institutions" (p. 333).

During the century, with advances in biomedical technology and surgery, the hospital increasingly came to occupy a central place in our vision of health care. Although never becoming the organizing core of formal regional systems of care, as some experts advocated, informally the hospitals became increasingly dominant and diversified in their patient care activities and responsibilities. Hospitals became part of larger health care centers, and in the past 20 years there has been extensive consolidation of institutions in both profit and nonprofit networks. Following Medicare, there was a great deal of money to be made by hospitals through generous reimbursement that included capital costs. But as financial pressures became more acute, government efforts to ratchet down prices accelerated an already evident pattern of declining hospital admissions and lengths of stay. Within a relatively short time, a remarkable range of services have been shifted to ambulatory settings, contributing to increased vacancy rates in many hospitals. As we move into the 1990s, hospitals seem less the focal point for organizing care than in earlier decades, but existing reimbursement schemes, despite the introduction of diagnostic related groups, continue to bias care in the direction of inpatient services and technical procedures. Enhancing function and quality of life among the chronically ill remain neglected challenges.

Stevens explores the dilemmas of the contemporary hospital with insight. She recognizes that in our curious mix of private institutions, largely subsidized by public monies, we have constructed an expensive administrative infrastructure that makes our medical system the most highly regulated in the world. Noting the irony that the heavy hand of government has come under the guise of "private enterprise," she seems reluctant to push her analysis to its logical conclusion. The federal government is depicted as the heavy, having created the incentives that pushed the voluntary hospitals off their charitable course. But the incentives that presumably perverted the hospital and medical care more generally were precisely those that hospitals and doctors insisted upon in return for their cooperation in the Medicare program. Stevens doesn't appear to assign blame in proportion to responsibility.

Whatever the historical case, the fact is that our present medical care system, however resilient, is diminished by large gaps in care, imbalance between curative efforts, rehabilitation, and prevention, and failure to impose financial discipline on physicians, hospitals, or other providers. It is extraordinarily wasteful and increasingly weighted down by bureaucratic regulation. There is increasing dissatisfaction on the part not only of patients and health professionals but also of industry and government, who pay most of the costs. It seems an appropriate time to examine whether the many billions of dollars we spend to maintain the mirage of a private "voluntary" sector represent a good investment. Stevens's carefully documented volume, informed by deep and important values, is an invaluable primer for undertaking this task.

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A Psychologist of the '20s

Mechanical Man. John Broadus Watson and the Beginnings of Behaviorism. KERRY W. BUCKLEY. Guilford, New York, 1989. xvi, 233 pp. + plates. $19.95.

John B. Watson (1878–1958) became the first American "pop" psychologist in the 1920s by publishing a series of manifestos and self-help manuals that promoted his vision of a world perfected by behavioral engineering. He found an eager audience among fellow academics and the general public for his claims that the urban middle classes could gain personal peace and social order by following the prescriptions of tough-minded technocrats. Watson assured fellow academic psychologists that his experimental method, for which he coined the term "behaviorism," would assure their acceptance as natural scientists who could predict and control human action; he dedicated his widely read *The Psychological Care of Infant and Child* (1928) to "the first mother who brings up a happy child" and found frequent opportunities to attack housewives, marriage, the family, religion, and other old-fashioned institutions. Watson's legend is large among social scientists, for whom he stands as an advocate of a creative scientific reductionism that narrowed the subject matter of psychology while expanding the possibilities of its application, and he probably had an impact upon the lives of thousands of children raised by parents who turned to Watson for advice before Benjamin Spock displaced him as the prominent source of store-bought directions for child-rearing.

Despite his salience as a scientific and cultural icon, Watson's work, both as an experimental psychologist and as a popularizer of science, does not read well today. His famous experiment with the infant Little Albert, which became a classic textbook example of the conditioned reflex, has been reexamined and found shoddy; Watson trained few students, and even those of his colleagues who were most sympathetic to his desire to bring objective methods to psychology found shallow his attempt to banish philosophy from science. Cultural historians point to the obvious misogamy and other nasty traits in Watson's popular writings, which reveal his deep cynicism, personal insecurity, and distrust of emotional intimacy. Watson's life was full of stark contrasts. His pioneering work in comparative animal psychology, which included *the* exemplary study of neurological development and learning in the white rat and his classic study of terns in the Dry Tortugas, earned him election as president of the American Psychological Association in 1915, at the age of 37, but he was dismissed from both The Johns Hopkins University and the New School for Social Research for sexual misconduct. His scientific reputation was built on a demanding commitment to an austere methodology, but he made a fortune as an advertising executive who devised enormously successful campaigns to sell cigarettes and toothpaste through cynical manipulation of emotional insecurities, and he lived the life of a Connecticut society dandy.

Kerry Buckley's *Mechanical Man* provides the first thoroughly researched biography of Watson. Although Watson destroyed most

of his personal and professional papers shortly before he died, Buckley was able to find a good deal of his personal correspondence in the papers of colleagues such as Robert Yerkes (Yale) and Adolf Meyer (Johns Hopkins). In addition, Buckley has skillfully exploited a rich monographic literature in the history of psychology that has developed in the last 20 years as cultural and social historians discovered the potential of the history of scientific professions and as many psychologists turned to historical investigation as a means of gaining needed perspective on their discipline. *Mechanical Man* definitively dispels a number of myths concerning Watson, such as the claim that he was dismissed from Johns Hopkins because of controversial sex research. Buckley's biography is especially strong as a work of cultural history that interprets Watson's popular appeal. Buckley does not have a strong interest in the history of psychology as an intellectual discipline, however, and those who seek a more sympathetic account of Watson's achievements as a scientist may turn to Robert Boakes's *From Darwin to Behaviourism: Psychology and the Minds of Animals* (Cambridge University Press, 1984) and to Watson's scientific publications. Buckley provides a convincing case study, however, for those who believe that reductionism is a poor strategy for intellectual historians regardless of their primary academic affiliation. John Watson's science was an expression of his energetic and tortured search for self-control and social status. Buckley shows why Watson wanted to banish consciousness from intellectual discourse, and why he failed. *Mechanical Man* deserves a wide audience.

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