

REVIEWS

THE SOUTHERNER AS AMERICAN. Edited by Charles G. Sellers, Jr. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1960. \$5.00.

SOUTHERN TRADITION AND REGIONAL PROGRESS. By William H. Nicholls. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1960. \$5.00.

I regard these two little volumes by native Southern intellectuals as supporting the postulate that no one can understand a contemporary social problem without resorting to history. While social psychologists tell us that this present generation of Southerners is unable to provide an intelligent rationale for the principle of racial segregation, because that system violates liberal and Christian principles, historical investigation shows that the South has never been able to reconcile its social conscience with its treatment of the Negro. "The nub of the Southerner's ambivalent attitude toward slavery," writes Professor Sellers in The Southerner as American, "was his inability to regard the slave consistently as either person or property."

Both in 1860 and in 1960, Southerners betrayed schizophrenic tendencies with regard to the race question: first, they regarded the Negroes basically as a malleable and disciplined labor force, never forgetting the potential social chaos which might follow any alteration of the status quo; second, they recognized Negroes as individuals who were capable of responding favorably to the stimulus of humane, democratic, and Christian principles. Interestingly enough, the South's racial problem has been intensified because its intellectuals have traditionally articulated themselves concerning the first of these two viewpoints while at the same time keeping private their sentiments with regard to the second proposition. Logically, this gave rise to the vicious myth concerning the South's monolithic attitude in racial matters.

Although Southerners possess a healthy residue of Jeffersonian liberalism, observes Professor Nicholls in Southern Tradition and Regional Progress, they have not been able to view rationally the matter of race relations. This is the tragedy of the South because it is the race issue which "dominates all other elements of the picture." Violence is always at or near the surface of events, shutting off any serious attempt by the gadfly to get at

reality. As an economist, Professor Nicholls finds the roots of this dilemma in the historic fact of community-wide rural poverty, and the persistence of provincial traditions.

Although the lower-class white brings his racial prejudices to the city when he becomes a factory worker, it is the upper-middle and elite classes which bear the primary responsibility for community violence, or lack of it, in matters of public school integration. Traditionally, the Southern planter educated his children privately, regarding public schools as being for poor whites. Tax-supported public schools were a product of the much-despised Reconstruction era, dominated as it was by the carpetbagger, the white native scalawag, and their pliant tool, the Negro. Unfortunately, much of that Southern leadership today which proposes to avoid the integration problem by shutting down public schools and universities never had much respect for such institutions. The dominant classes seem willing to doom the lower-middle class whites, as well as the Negroes, to a lifetime of ignorance primarily because they are interested in a ready supply of cheap labor. They also find racial discrimination useful, as in the days of the Populist revolt in the eighteen-nineties, to drive a wedge between the poor whites and the poor Negroes, thus avoiding class conflicts between the "haves" and the "have-nots." Whenever the dominant minority supports law and order to the hilt in the matter of racial integration in public schools, resistance to it collapses early. When, however, those in responsible places publicly predict violence by the lower-class whites, that group always rises to the emergency.

Professor Nicholls concludes that cosmopolitan, liberal, and democratic values must supplant rural, conservative, and pseudo-aristocratic ones if the South is not to revert to a dreary replica of the eighteen-nineties when that society irrationally chose the values of feudalism, caste, and stasis.

However, it is my opinion that, unfortunately, problems are not solved merely because they must be solved if a group or a nation is to prosper, or even to survive. These authors have given a convincing demonstration, if this were needed, that Southerners can look at the racial problem dispassionately, but I am far from being assured that the majority of them will. Like God to the religious man, the irrational seems omnipresent to me.

Park College

C. Stanley Urban

AMERICA IN THE MODERN WORLD. By D. W. Brogan. Rutgers University Press. 1960. \$3.00.

Visiting Rutgers last year to present the lectures now published in this slender volume, Denis W. Brogan chatted over dinner one evening with faculty members. The conversation was going its dull academic way

until we began discussing the making of history. One of us happened to suggest that neither economics nor politics is as decisive in shaping history as art. This absurdity was too much for even the urbane Brogan. Thumping the table with his hand, he flashed out, "When will you young liberals learn that politics is serious!" The idea did not surprise us, but his vehemence did. The force of it charged the rest of the evening with an almost tangible excitement.

The trouble with America in the Modern World is that the explosion never comes. While the subject--American responsibility in the dangerous post-war era--is utterly important, and the writing delightfully lucid, often witty, a reader is likely to complete the book feeling that he has been treated too gently. He may be enlightened, but not compelled.

The themes of the five short chapters are not unfamiliar. In the opening chapter, aptly (and allusively) entitled "A World They Never Made," the professor from Cambridge notes the Americans' genuine pessimism as they perceive their destiny inextricably bound up with that of all mankind. Next he argues, persuasively, that we should not try to reproduce our political or economic system everywhere around the globe, but should make both systems work well at home. Chapter three, on the character of American life, has many themes, perhaps the chief one being that we have always tended to value the businessman too much, the politician too little, and that a better balance in our estimates of them would benefit us here and abroad. Brogan's pages on education contain many kind words for our public schools and colleges, but conclude that the great social aim of welding diverse peoples into American citizens ought now to be replaced by more purely intellectual aims. His final chapter carries a similar argument over into the fine and popular arts, where the author enumerates the many advantages of democratic attitudes toward culture, yet calls upon us to love excellence more than we do.

How easily we agree with everything Brogan says! When he observes that "the United States in 1945 stood rather on a pinnacle of material power than on a peak of political leadership," we murmur to ourselves, "Perceptive!" When he asks--this a year ago--"Who knows what will be the state or the status of the Congo a year from now?" we acknowledge his foresight. Or when he points out that American institutions have been losing prestige in foreign lands for several decades, or that in our struggle with the communists and the authoritarian nationalists we are "not absolutely certain to win," we solemnly nod assent.

If we doubt his suggestion that a resolve to protect China's freedom took Americans into the second world war, or that "Imperial Germany and Republican America had more in common than had the Third Reich and the United States," we recognize these as remarks made in passing. We are not shaken by his errors, any more than we exult at his truths.

Why does the book misfire? Partly, I think, because Brogan himself has treated some of these topics more lavishly, more brilliantly, before, most notably in The American Character and Politics in America. Partly also because so many great and good men have explored the same matters in the last ten or fifteen years--to name but a few luminaries, Reinhold Niebuhr on American optimism, Kennan on foreign policy, C. Wright Mills on our attitudes toward the business elite, Conant on education, and Kazin on culture and the arts.

We are left, indeed, with the vaguely uncomfortable feeling that the cook's timing is off, or that he has mixed up our order with someone else's. Instead of steak and potatoes, we are served with mutton on toast. In speaking of our "discontent and alarm," our "suspicion, apprehension, bewilderment" over our newly precarious position among nations, Brogan is addressing the Americans not of 1960, I think, but of 1950. He has undertaken the task of explaining to us, calmly and reasonably, how we came to share world responsibility and what we might do with it now, whereas we have in fact come to understand our new role, it seems to me, and in a dim way have begun to see how it should be played. The present temper of Americans is not so much anxious as reluctant. The fears that prompted the agonizing public trials of McCarthy's regime have given way to the apathies of a people too bemused by trivia and too comfortable to care very much.

In brief, America in the Modern World seems pointed toward a place we have just left. That is why we can value Brogan's opinions but not respond to his mood, why we find him admirable and yet strangely undisturbing. We listen for Voltaire but instead hear de Tocqueville.

Rutgers University

Daniel R. Weimer

THE END OF IDEOLOGY: On the Exhaustion of Political Ideas in the Fifties. By Daniel Bell.
Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press. 1960. \$7.50.

In these 16 articles and essays, all written during the 1950's and published originally in places ranging from the Partisan Review, Commentary, Dissent and Encounter, to scholarly journals and books, we have an excellent example of a sociologist in the humanist, politically-aware tradition shedding light and, occasionally, heat on a variety of the day's important issues. About half of the chapters bear directly on the stated theme--the declining cohesion, influence, and pertinence of the lately-popular ideologies of Marxism, socialism, liberalism and conservatism, and the growth of pessimistic, perhaps nihilistic, views of contemporary life and politics. The remaining chapters are short, sharp discourses on such largely-unrelated topics as "the myth of crime waves," "the cult of efficiency in America," and "the racket-ridden longshoremen." All in all, the book is a first-

rate introduction to a set of critical, even radical, ideas about which every student and teacher of American and Social Studies should know and think more.

University of Saskatchewan

Arthur Jordan Field

THE END OF AMERICAN INNOCENCE: The First Years of Our Own Time, 1912-1917. By Henry F. May. New York: Knopf. 1959. \$5.75.

May's thesis is that the cultural revolution of the twentieth century, which rejected the moralism, the belief in progress, and the traditional characteristics of the American past, began in 1912 and continued through the 1920's. May argues that the rebellious tendencies generally associated with the 1920's were operative in the 1912-1917 period. This argument emphasizes ideological changes in tradition and rejects, as the primary cause of the cultural revolution, the socio-economic changes wrought by World War One. The author's major difficulty is his attempt to pinpoint the beginnings of the revolution to one year, 1912. May's research is impressive, his presentation skillful and provocative.

University of Michigan

Norton Mezvinsky

ORDEAL OF FAITH: The Crisis of Church-Going America, 1865-1900. By Francis F. Weisenburger. New York: Philosophical Library. 1959. \$6.00.

Professor Weisenburger has attempted a "synthesis of much widely scattered knowledge" concerning the religious lives of "hundreds" of late nineteenth century Americans. Relying largely upon secondary sources, excluding, unfortunately, some of the best and most recent material, he details in encyclopedic fashion the manner in which an increasingly secular, scientific, and urbanized world affected the religious beliefs of numerous Americans.

There is, however, very little "synthesis." Short paragraphs are devoted to unrelated incidents in the lives of many important and unimportant figures, with little attempt at analysis or integration of these incidents into the total picture of American religious life in the years 1865-1900. One wonders, for example, how valuable it is to tell us that Eugene Debs reacted against Catholicism as a youth but was much influenced by the life of Jesus, illustrating this influence by the statement that Debs hung a large picture of Jesus in his cell while in prison during World War I.

In short, although the researcher might find in this volume bits of extraneous information concerning the religious lives of many prominent

Americans, a history of the "crisis of church-going America" in the years 1865-1900 has yet to be written.

Colgate University

Kenneth B. O'Brien, Jr.

THE PEOPLE AND THE COURT: Judicial Review in a Democracy. By Charles L. Black, Jr. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1960. \$6.00.

This is a defense of judicial review, and an eloquent and persuasive one at that. Not a technical treatise, the book argues the need for judicial review as a part of the system of checks and balances on essentially logical grounds. As a reply to those who would curb the Court by legislation or amendment, it is convincing. On the issue of judicial self-restraint, the author, Henry R. Luce, Professor of Jurisprudence at Yale, focuses his attack on J. B. Thayer but meets neither Holmes nor Stone nor Charles P. Curtis. The latter's Lions Under the Throne would, indeed, make a good companion volume to the book under review. Together, they would provide a remarkably balanced introduction for the intelligent layman to the most baffling, yet most crucial aspects of our constitutional system.

The University of Kansas

Francis H. Heller

THE FEDERALIST. By Gottfried Dietze. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1960. \$6.50.

Every generation, both at home and abroad, has praised The Federalist. Few scholars have written about it. Professor Dietze's work is the first full-length book about the famous essays. Dietze not only makes a strong case for The Federalist as a powerful exposition on free government, but he also distinguishes carefully between the authors' views. Madison, for example, saw federalism as a means for creating a system of power balances, thereby furthering republicanism where factions were inevitable. Hamilton valued the centralizing tendencies provided in the Constitution's "supreme law" and "necessary and proper" clauses. Dietze has an hypothesis; he supports it systematically and with substantial evidence; his conclusions are both cogent and provocative.

Ohio University

Roy P. Fairfield

ALEXANDER HAMILTON: Portrait in Paradox.

By John C. Miller. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1959.

Students and teachers of American culture have for some time discerned a polarization in political and economic values between two giants of the early republic, Hamilton and Jefferson. Following the lead of Jefferson in his Anas reminiscences, and the scholarly formulations of Beard and Parrington, the textbooks now reveal how Hamilton's system favored aristocratic government and special privileges for the merchant-capitalists, while Jefferson advocated democratic and agrarian policies. This scheme has rewarded us with a sharper picture of Jefferson than, say, scholars of Henry Adams' generation provided, but it has depersonalized Hamilton into a symbol of class favoritism.

Some years ago Broadus Mitchell challenged all this with a new point of view developed out of his economic studies of the New Deal. (Alexander Hamilton: Youth to Maturity, 1755-1788 [New York, 1957].) Acknowledging Hamilton's aristocratic and paternalistic attitude, Mitchell nonetheless found the essence of the man's politics to lie in his extraordinary grasp of economic necessities, and in his energetic devotion to economic planning, aimed, not simply to benefit a privileged group, but to expand and enrich an entire nation. This is the view of a learned and hard-headed economist who, though appreciating the liberal sentiments of the Jeffersonian school, will not permit sentiment to obscure what he persuasively offers as economic realities.

Though Mitchell appreciates the quirks of Hamilton's personality, his preoccupation with public affairs causes him to minimize them. For this reason, the new biography by John C. Miller is of the highest value. Miller reveals Hamilton as an ambitious social climber, but, even more, a romantic pursuer of the goddess Fame, chasing his destiny (and herein lies the paradox) by means alternately rational and Quixotic. Here, at last, is a scheme which accounts for both the realistic economics of Hamilton and his enduring obsession with military adventures. It explains why Hamilton would eagerly create the means for raising fortunes in America in his role of great statesman, but would never take up the ample opportunities that came his way to amass a fortune for himself. And it explains why Hamilton would eagerly join the fight to free the United States from all ties with Great Britain in the 1770's and 1780's, only to turn about in the 1790's and work for a grand Anglo-American Empire in the Western Hemisphere, into which American independence must have been at least partially dissolved.

Both of these biographies, then, are required reading for students of the early Republic. Professor Mitchell makes a solid and challenging case for the famed Hamilton system of political economy, and Professor Miller

gives us, as no other biographer has, a living portrait of a brilliant man, by turns patriotic and selfish, noble and foolish, calculating and rhapsodic.

The University of Illinois

Robert McColley

THE CONFEDERATE CONGRESS. By Wilfred Buck Yearns. Athens, Ga.: The University of Georgia Press. 1960. \$5.00.

Professor Yearns portrays the Confederate Congress as an example of a legislature in time of war. At first the members of Congress accepted the emergency and yielded to the leadership of President Davis, but as life in the Confederacy became more difficult so did Congress, with the development of a real opposition party clearly in the offing had the war dragged on.

The treatment is topical rather than chronological. There is little of the human drama in this book; very few of the Congressmen are more than names. The volume contains a mass of information gleaned from a wide selection of sources, but there is a minimum of interpretation of the material. Brief biographical notes on Confederate Congressmen are included in an appendix.

Grove City College

Larry Gara

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AND WENDELL WILKIE. By Donald Bruce Johnson. Urbana: University of Illinois, Press. 1960. \$5.50.

Vitality and independence were Wendell Willkie's hallmarks whether as a corporation lawyer, 1940 Presidential candidate, American goodwill emissary, or titular leader of the Republican party. His impact on the nation was great. In his unorthodox, relentless, often naive way, he contributed significantly to reshaping the Republican party, to bolstering American idealism on both international and domestic issues, and to giving support to and criticism of national defense and war measures. Professor Johnson has splendidly reconstructed Willkie's still controversial political career, though recently opened relevant manuscript materials indicate serious limitations in Johnson's portrayal of Republicanism in the late 1930's and early 1940's.

The University of Kansas

Donald R. McCoy

DIARY OF GIDEON WELLES: Secretary of the Navy Under Lincoln and Johnson. In three volumes. Edited by Howard K. Beale with the assistance of Alan W. Brownsword. New York: W. W. Norton & Company. 1960. \$25.00.

Ever since the publication of Gideon Welles' diary in 1911 scholars have wondered how closely the printed version resembled the original. The present edition, under the capable hand of the late Howard K. Beale, promises to end the controversy for all time.

Students of the Civil War and Reconstruction periods have been heavily indebted to the indefatigable Welles for information and enlightenment regarding the solution of problems that confronted the administration during these trying times. Almost every night the Secretary of the Navy sat down and recorded his impression of the day's events, illuminating his comments with pungent observations on the circumstances, the participants, and the outcome. Nothing escaped his scrutiny: military affairs, foreign policy, domestic problems, the intricacies of political and sectional disputes--all served as grist for his reportorial mill.

The editor, in an illuminating and perceptive introduction, points out that the Diary as originally written was not intended for publication, but that Welles continued to make corrections and additions and later evidently had publication in mind. Beale has performed a remarkable service for the historian and the curious reader, for he had included the Diary in its original form; the passages added, deleted, or modified by Gideon Welles and by his son, Edgar, in the 1911 edition; and correspondence which relates to certain entries. A detailed index provides an invaluable aid to the subject matter of the work, but most readers will be content to immerse themselves in a narrative that adds a different dimension to a troubled era in American history.

University of Kansas

Raymond G. O'Connor

THE TRUMPET SOUNDETH: William Jennings Bryan and His Democracy, 1896-1912. By Paul W. Glad. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1960. \$4.75.

Historians have long awaited a definitive biography of the boy orator of the Platte. Glad modestly disclaims an attempt to fill this gap, but he has provided the reader with a perceptive study of the political leader who represented agrarian dissatisfaction with the effects of industrialism.

Bryan is portrayed as a "Son of the Middle Border," whose political beliefs rested on the foundation of an "ethically conscious Protestantism." Profoundly moved by the plight of the under-privileged, Bryan felt that

social justice could be achieved only by allowing the people to be masters in their own house. Though Bryan never reached the White House, Glad contends that his influence was felt in the reform legislation of the Progressive era. The book ends with the emergence of Wilson as Democratic leader in 1912. Bryan, though rejected, could take pride in the knowledge that his principles had prevailed.

The University of Kansas

Raymond G. O'Connor

DE KOONING. By Harriet Janis and Rudi Blesh.

New York: Grove Press, Inc. 1960. \$1.95.

STUART DAVIS. By Rudi Blesh. New York:

Grove Press, Inc. 1960. \$1.95.

Although these two books are in the Evergreen Gallery series of paperbacks devoted to contemporary painters and sculptors (both American and foreign), and despite the shared authorship of Rudi Blesh, they represent two rather different concepts in art history and criticism. Of the two, the one devoted to Stuart Davis is potentially the more interesting (and useful) for the student of American culture. The effective text and adequate illustrations review the life and work of an artist whose development reflects most of the salient episodes in the history of American art during the twentieth century. In contrast, De Kooning's rather important place in American art was secured less than ten years ago, and consequently the book devoted to him is, of necessity, largely interpretive criticism. Without disparaging the latter approach, one can't help but wonder at the relationship of these two books in a single series. De Kooning's reputation has been achieved in part by his work, but also by numerous publications such as the one considered here; Davis' reputation, earned long ago, has been the justification for this publication. One cannot help but see this difference in the "meatier" text of Stuart Davis.

The University of Kansas City

George Ehrlich

FRANK LLOYD WRIGHT: Writings and Build-

ings. Selected by Edgar Kaufmann and Ben

Raeburn. New York: Horizon Press. 1960.

\$3.95. Paper, \$1.95.

This is a handy, inexpensive source book on the American artist who has enjoyed the greatest esteem abroad. There are helpful introductory notes by the editors, a United States map showing location of his buildings, and a definitive listing of the executed works throughout the world. The body of the work is excerpts from Wright's own published works which carry the reader through the development of Wright's architectural ideas.

There are more than 150 offset illustrations of drawings and photographs of executed buildings. The writings where he philosophizes suggest counterparts in American transcendental thought, but work notes on such a project as Unity Church in Oak Park are the most exciting of all. Such writing and the buildings which resulted show the artist as the critic of society.

University of Kansas City

KJLaB

PSYCHOANALYSIS AND AMERICAN LITER-
ARY CRITICISM: By Louis Fraiberg. Detroit:
Wayne University Press. 1960. \$5.95.

The reader who struggles through a murky presentation of Freud's writings on art and the extensions thereof by Ernest Jones, Hanns Sachs, and Ernest Kris, finds that the author has used this material as grounds for scolding Brooks, Krutch, Lewisohn, Wilson, Burke, and Trilling for not having embraced Freudianism as completely as has he and for their lack of proficiency in the latest Freudian categories. Trilling comes off best of his fellow critics, but Fraiberg's heart really belongs to Marie Bonaparte. While too frequently guilty of narrowly regarding terminology and methodology as ends in themselves, Fraiberg occasionally offers a glimpse of the profundity and freedom psychoanalysis can provide for the exercise of one's individuality in every area of expression, including literary criticism.

Newark College of Engineering

Abraham H. Steinberg

EDGAR A. POE: The Inner Pattern. By
David M. Rein. New York: Philosophical
Library. 1960. \$3.75.

It has been a long time since Marie Bonaparte and Joseph Wood Krutch published their psychoanalytical studies of Poe. This sort of thing has gone out of fashion, and readers are too likely to be suspicious. But despite numerous shortcomings, this is a valuable little book. The patterns which the author sees are really there; there are parallels between Poe's tales and his biography.

Perhaps by design, the author makes no effort at critical evaluation. His failure to make use of the extensive body of critical and scholarly work on Poe, however, is a real deficiency. There are in print discussions of topics important for Mr. Rein's argument; he should have used them. Moreover, despite its brevity, this is a repetitious work; the same incidents are related again and again; the same documents quoted and requoted. Worse, the book's baldness will alienate many readers. The psychological and biographical patterns which the author detects are too often presented

in foolish-sounding statements such as this, from the discussion of "Metzengerstein": "Like the horse, Allan was of a rival family."

SGL

EDITH WHARTON: *Convention and Morality in the Work of a Novelist*. By Marilyn Jones Lyde. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1959. \$4.00.

This bold yet carefully-reasoned interpretation successfully questions the usual view of Edith Wharton as a novelist primarily absorbed in the intricacies of manners and social class. The author sees Mrs. Wharton's greatest work as the product of a complex theory of morality, rooted in early intellectual influences, which located the supreme good in a fusion of belief, beauty and truth. Elaborating on this theory, the author makes clear the important distinction between morality and convention as they operate both to oppose and to reinforce each other in Mrs. Wharton's work. The decline in the quality of the novels written after World War I is ascribed to the weakening of traditional concepts of morality and the consequent irrelevance of Mrs. Wharton's concern with the effect of convention on character.

Barnard College

Annette K. Baxter

HAMLIN GARLAND'S EARLY WORK AND CAREER. By Donald Pizer. Berkeley and Los Angeles: The University of California Press. 1960. \$4.50.

Resurgent interest in American Realism has uncovered rich veins of cultural gold but has by-passed many significant lodes. Mr. Pizer partially remedies one oversight by this analysis of ideological forces which shaped and directed the literary production of Hamlin Garland. The most original contribution lies in the treatment of Garland's local-color realism. As practice and as critical theory, it paralleled that of William Dean Howells. However, the American Studies scholar will find significance in the discussions of Garland's association with and furtherance of Single Tax, Populism, and Impressionism, all of intense interest to him, personally and professionally. The carefully prepared notes and bibliography suggest further potential areas for development.

Bowling Green State University

Alma J. Payne